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The political geography of hemp Cannabis in South Africa: A development critique

BY WENDELL MOORE

PhD Thesis



Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSPHY

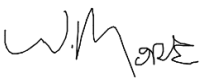
In Geography in the Faculty of Science at the

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

SUPERVISORS: DR. A. WAFER & ASS PROF. S. MNWANA

Declaration

I Wendell Moore declare that this Thesis/Dissertation/Research Report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.



(Signature of candidate)

2nd day of June 2023

In Johannesburg, South Africa

Abstract

The discourse on Cannabis that is generally understood in the public domain, revolves mostly around its recreational uses and more recently its medicinal potential. The plants industrial usages and overall worth to society are often framed in relation to these more popular parts of Cannabis. The study focuses its attention on hemp Cannabis to tell a different story but acknowledges that all the uses of Cannabis are interlinked. Using an extensive desktop analysis, Cannabis webinars and conferences, as well as autoethnography, the thesis shows that there is in fact more to the plant than what first meets the eye. It especially illuminates two important dimensions of Cannabis that are often overlooked when discussing the plant. Firstly, by its nature Cannabis is political, which is deeply embedded in how the plant is understood in the geographic diaspora of the Global South. Secondly, it shows that any serious social scientific analysis of contemporary Cannabis development must think through how the ways of knowing, produced during prohibition, will become a part of the plant's future.

This thesis therefore argues for an appraisal and maintenance of the historical resistances of Cannabis used prior to legalization, if its development in the legal era is to be successful. To be sure, such innovative and alternative models of practical development should become a standard part of the geographies of all work economies. Moreover, making use of these forms of resistance is not about Cannabis gaining the approval from 'the market'. In fact, the skills learnt while labouring for Cannabis, when it was prohibited, has become such a permanent feature of its development that liberal democratic consent is not an option. Therefore, the thesis proposes that Cannabis development delink from the prohibition narratives inscribed onto the plant. It continues by showing that the current medicalisation of Cannabis only updates gatekeeping models. Hence, an agrarian alternative was suggested that consolidates all the uses of Cannabis without undermining any one part of the plant. Lastly, the thesis documents the possibilities of gaining access into the industry for black people, the poor working class and women. What it argues is that ownership, just employment and leadership of Cannabis industries in South Africa must be repurposed so that ordinary people can also play a part in making sure the plants contemporary development is truly sustainable. Taken together, this is the critique of development that the political geography of hemp Cannabis in South Africa reveals.

Acknowledgements

For… …God

To my Father, the real Prof
And my Mother, the millionaire.

To my family.
Carmie, the mother of my children,
Lee and Jamal my sons.
Joshua my other son.
My brother Swazi,
My sister (W)Robbie.
Sibs, Chris and Miriam and Robin.
My cousins Angus and Neil, Sharon and Clayton
My cousin Jessica and daughter Josephine.
My cousin Berel and Auntie Teresa
Auntie Elaine and Uncle Joe.
Auntie Connie, Aunite Mary and Auntie Margret
Granny,
Oom Lukas, Uncle Benny.
Clinton and Ryan, my brothers from another mother.
Mam Pam, Fernie and Froggy.

Noordgesig in Soweto, Johannesburg.
Oom Williem, The crew (you know who you are).
Sipho, Tbos, Bra Dumsa, Richie, Silent warrior and the black DJ!
All a way a Africa; South African massive, Swazi massive, Zimbabwean massive, Kenyan massive, Caribbean massive, Canadian massive!

Made it this far, still a way to go, in this connection!

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List of abbreviations

ANC	-	African National Congress
CBD	-	Cannabidiol
CODESA	-	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
DALRRD	-	Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development
GEARG	-	Growth Employment and Redistribution
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
RDP	-	The Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAB	-	South African Breweries
SACP	-	South African Communist Party
SAHPRA	-	South African Health Products Regulatory Authority
SAP	-	Structural Adjustment Program
SASO	-	South African Students Organization
SME	-	Small and Medium-sized Enterprise
THC	-	Tetrahydrocannabinol
TRC	-	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UN	-	United Nations
USA	-	United States of America
WB	-	World Bank
WWII	-	World War 2
WTO	-	World Trade Organization

Fundamental definitions

Hemp

For the purposes of this study hemp refers to the industrial usages of Cannabis. It is therefore understood as different to medicinal or recreational Cannabis explained below. Hemp is defined here as the products produced from the stalk (baste fibre and hurd), seed (nut and oil), leaves and inflorescence (bio refinery products) of the hemp Cannabis plant. These are processed to make goods as diverse as textiles, food, building materials, paper, energy, tech-products, agro-chemicals, cosmetics, industrial products, seed cakes, tech-textiles, personal care products and other products such as bio-composites. Most importantly the plant hemp and its products can not be used as a psychoactive substance.

Source: Salentijn, Zhang, Amaducci, Yang, Trindade, *Industrial crops and products* 68 (2015) p.33.

Medicinal Cannabis

Medicinal Cannabis refers to both medical and pharmaceutical Cannabis products.

Source: The Global Cannabis Report, November 2019, p. 23.

Medical Cannabis

Medical Cannabis refers to plant-based or plant-derived Cannabis products prescribed by a medical practitioner for the treatment of a specific condition or disease (e.g., epilepsy, pain, multiple sclerosis (MS)). Medical Cannabis uses the whole unprocessed plant, the processed plant or the chemicals contained within it. It can include high CBD and low-THC products, though CBD products may also appear as consumer goods. Medical Cannabis products are currently prepared as plant materials, oils, tinctures, edibles or capsules.

Source: The Global Cannabis Report, November 2019, p. 23.

Pharmaceutical Cannabis

Pharmaceutical Cannabis refers to products formulated using pure cannabinoids (either plant-extracted or synthetic) that have been through full clinical trials and licensed as a medicine. Examples of products include Sativex, Epidiolex, Cesamet, Marinol and Syndros.

Source: The Global Cannabis Report, November 2019, p. 23.

Recreational Cannabis

Recreational Cannabis refers to any Cannabis used for non-medical purposes [but not hemp], and this category includes black market products [where recreational Cannabis has not been legalized]. It ordinarily has a higher concentration of THC, the psychoactive and intoxicating compound of the Cannabis plant, and is illegal [but this is fast changing] in many countries and states. People tend to smoke (or consume via edibles) recreational Cannabis, or use oils and vaporised products.

Source: The Global Cannabis Report, November 2019, p. 23.

CBD

Cannabidiol (CBD) is one of the most important of at least 113 cannabinoids identified in the Cannabis plant. CBD is indicated for use in treating conditions such as chronic pain, insomnia and anxiety as well as seizures and spasticity. There is an emergent market for CBD-infused consumer goods, capsules and oils. These products may also be used for wellness purposes such as aiding sleep, or for pain or anxiety management, that do not require a prescription.

Source: The Global Cannabis Report, November 2019, p. 23.

THC

Tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) is another of the most important cannabinoids for human use. THC has been shown to play an effective role in the treatment of many conditions, especially chronic pain, MS-spasticity and severe nausea among others. THC is also known for its psychoactive effects and for this reason, it is more heavily controlled than CBD in many regions.

Source: The Global Cannabis Report, November 2019, p 23.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

I first learnt about hemp in the mid-1990s. While I had known about Cannabis, through reggae music and Rastafarians, I had always thought the plant could only be used for smoking.[1] Once I learnt that the plant could also produce textiles, paper, oils and other useful products and even medicinal goods, I immediately wanted to experience more the plant had to offer. While living for the cause of this plant I found, as this thesis will also show, that there is much more to Cannabis than I had originally comprehended. And although this thesis focuses on the political geography[2] of hemp Cannabis development, it recognizes the intersectionality of social and economic categorizations that heavily influenced its findings, analysis and conclusions.

Because industrial Cannabis (i.e., hemp) cannot make a person 'high' if it were smoked, it is often less common than its medicinal and recreational parts. Nevertheless, all the uses of Cannabis are generally ostracized in South Africa. Negative colonial and post-colonial discourse about the plant always relates it back to the deviant act of smoking marijuana. These historic, legal and moral constraints continue to have resonance over the plant's contemporary development. What is more, the current development program of this plant, is still largely being decided upon by those with wealth and power. While those without, continue to struggle, unethically, to have ownership and influence in the Cannabis industry. By regarding the sets of relations (geography) that Cannabis has to shifting prohibitions (recreational marijuana) and continued gatekeeper discourse (the medicalization of Cannabis)

[1] Cannabis will be used to describe the entire range of uses of the plant; industrial, medicinal, recreational and spiritual. The word has been capitalized to emphasize and signify the interrelationship of all the uses of Cannabis. However, to provide distinction, this study will use the term hemp to describe industrial Cannabis. Marijuana (more commonly called dagga in South Africa), when used, will be in reference to recreational and medicinal Cannabis. This terminology is used to distinguish the fact that hemp unlike marijuana cannot be used as a psychoactive substance for medicinal, recreational, or spiritual purposes.

[2] By political geography I mean those dynamics of power that have interacted upon, with and through Cannabis over the course of its prohibition history roughly from around the mid-1920s to the present. And as Duvall (2016: 3) has pointed out there is generally "… relatively thin literatures on Cannabis geography … and Cannabis history in Africa…"

enables a discussion located around hemp that challenges the accepted discourse about the plant. Such critique is essentially what guides this entire works thesis.

Showing where the discourses of hemp Cannabis in South Africa have come from, where they are presently situated, and where they will go in the future are therefore of primary concern to this thesis. What is problematized is the fact that although hemp Cannabis is a potentially useful agricultural crop, its negative link to recreational Cannabis keeps the wide range of potential uses of Cannabis development separated and side-lined, rather than unified and consolidated. A critical view of Cannabis geography therefore is about rehabilitating historical narratives and discourses about the plant that contemporary development seems to be side-lining. Consequently, the thesis argues that Cannabis development needs to be delinked from negative recreational marijuana narratives. Cannabis development as well needs to be mindful of gatekeeping[3] by the largely Western model being employed to medicalize Cannabis.

Scholarship, of the non-food crop, Cannabis, is therefore a useful lens with which to provide an assessment of contemporary South African development.[4] This thesis does so by illustrating what new social and economic landscapes have arisen since the landmark South African Constitutional Court judgement that legalized Cannabis use for private use on September 18, 2018.[5] How formerly prohibited goods, such as Cannabis, are incorporated into a free market economy is of particular interest because it highlights how capital maintains 'power over' merchandises; even those it formally dismissed. This is instructive to post-apartheid experiences with neo-liberalism (or 'late-liberalism' see Povinelli 2011) which has proved to be a deterrent to the construction of successful African development. Party politics, the state, as well as broader neoliberal agendas, that have remained reliant on free market economic planning, have benefited only a minority, rather than most black people. Because of this, many South Africans feel there is a need for a different approach to how

[3] The term 'gatekeeping' is employed here to describe those efforts at Cannabis development in the contemporary period that are meant to benefit the few rather than the majority in an effort to control access to the economic potentials arising through global legalization efforts.

[4] Non-food crops for this thesis are those plants that produce recreational, medicinal or industrial goods and whose main function is not to provide humans with food. Cannabis, unlike any other non-food crop, is able to produce all three of these types of goods. It is this capability that makes the plant unique; although this ability to produce more than one agricultural product can apply to other plants too.

[5] However, the Constitutional Court Ruling becomes problematic for Cannabis use in public spaces or when ordinary citizens want to sell it privately (Schindlers Attorneys, 29 Nov 2018, Accessed 28 September 2021).

development occurs in the country that does not compromise the ideals of 'the people'. One of these is the development of a Cannabis industry in South Africa that is freed of such limitations.

To sum up, the scholarship of hemp Cannabis offers unique ways of regarding for example, development, political geography, South African history, labour practices, agriculture and the goods produced from non-food crops. As well as the tools – in this case Cannabis – that can be employed to enhance positive change in South Africa.

1.1 Problem identification

Development is defined for this thesis as how societies create and sustain progressive change, economically and politically, within and without.[6] Because the term has become associated to the negative impacts created by over half a millennium of liberal democratic capitalism discourse, this analysis will attempt to reclaim it. Development, it will be argued, can only be progressive if it is labour centered and viewed from the lens of emancipation and revolution.[7] However, global Cannabis development is too reliant on recreational and medicinal categorizations that are apolitical and disassociated from the plants natural agrarian setting. They are therefore flawed for three fundamental reasons:

1. They rely on prohibition era accounts of the plant and remain too heavily linked to drugs and criminality.
2. The discourse of Cannabis medicalization remains the preserve of a problematic liberal democratic discourse.
3. They rarely promote black people, the poor working class and women as the driving force behind the development of a labour centred non-food crop sector.

Even though recreational and medicinal narratives of Cannabis dominate its discourse, this study of hemp development must acknowledge the direct relationship

[6] Development is defined as many things. It has been defined as a simple process of progress of society and the attainment of basic needs such as food, water, shelter, health care and education. It has also been argued to be about fundamental change of social, economic and political institutes and the conscious activity of people in order to ensure the continuation of such ideals for the future generations (Emeh 2013: 116-117; see also Willis 2005).

[7] See Tandon (2015) for instance.

all Cannabis usages have to one another and is incomplete if it does not. It is therefore undoubtedly impossible to discuss hemp Cannabis without discussing recreational or medicinal Cannabis. Most of the negative press Cannabis receives stems from the fact that smoking dagga can make a person 'high'. It is this fact, most of all that has bred the mistrust between people and plant. Oom (Interview, Noordgesig Soweto, 28 June 2019) who was until recently, an active 60-something-year-old small farmer of over a decade in Noordgesig, Soweto, is a good example of this mistrust. Even though his antagonism towards Cannabis, rather than the chemical drugs people smoke seem misdirected, he embodies a person who certainly believes that without Cannabis there would be less drug problems in society. Another example of experiences people have had with Cannabis and their subsequent perception of the plant, comes from the coloured township, Bonteheuwel in Cape Town. Dread (2000: 60) states "Most of the old style drinkers were dead set against the dagga. It was a drug and their government subsidized alcohol wasn't. Such was the logic." Cannabis prohibition in these examples has bred negative views about the plant that are not easily changed, while alcohol is regarded as an acceptable part of life. Therefore, the legalization of Cannabis does not mean how people perceive the plant will automatically become positive. This is particularly true for older generations who have been more influenced by the narratives of prohibition, having lived through it longer.

Not only have Cannabis prohibition geographies[8] succeeded in making the discourse of Cannabis murky but they have also created a societal dependency on liberal democratic capitalism's vision for Cannabis development. However, the post-prohibition era does not necessarily mean that Cannabis will be incorporated into the market in a manner that the 'Cannabis movement' agree with (Bewley-Taylor, Jelsma & Kay in Buxton, Chinery-Hesse & Tinasti eds. 2020; Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021; Jelsma, Blickman, Kay, Metaal, Martinez & Putri 2021; Polson & Bodwitch 2021). For this thesis the Cannabis movement is anyone who supports the decriminalization and legalization of Cannabis. More specifically, it refers to the people who have worked with and for the plant during prohibition rather than those who only seek access into its industry because it is cleared legally and has good economic potential. Multinational companies and venture capitalists now entering the Cannabis market might also like

[8] For this study 'prohibition geographies' means those interactions and relationships that Cannabis has formed in economic, social and political spaces since the rise of global prohibition began in the 1920's to its decline in the contemporary period.

to term themselves as a part of the 'Cannabis movement'. The difference between their idea of the Cannabis movement and the definition I use in this thesis is that their entry is recent and always coincides with the changes to policy and legality regarding Cannabis. The 'Cannabis movement' are therefore defined here as "social movements [which] are intrinsically related to social change" that began when Cannabis still was illegal and considered morally deviant (Britannica, 'Social Movement', Accessed 06 October 2022).

Multinational companies getting involved with Cannabis in South Africa are already showing signs of participating within a development framework that liberal democratic capitalism has shaped rather than that defined by the 'Cannabis movement'. People, like myself, without the required capital, can become labourer's in Cannabis companies, or operate as small scale Cannabis entrepreneurs. This might prove increasingly difficult as corporations attempt to assert control over as much of the industry as they can. It will likely also mean it will be a struggle to independently own a globally competitive Cannabis production site. Prohibition geographies therefore still exist; i.e., certain people are prohibited from participating because of the material nature of Cannabis development processes. Moreover, the continued focus of the legal Cannabis industry on recreational, and more recently medicinal marijuana, sustains the marginalization of hemp as a commercial agricultural activity. It also weakens the possibility of building a viable non-food crop sector in which Cannabis can occupy a leading position. I will argue throughout the study that hemp is the most underrated component of Cannabis, while stressing nonetheless, that the three parts of the Cannabis plant are inextricably linked.

To clarify, the focus of this study is on hemp, although the entire *Cannabis* plant family is also in focus because it is impossible to discuss one without the other. This thesis therefore focuses on one non-food crop and one of three parts of a single plant. A discussion of this microcosm dissects the sets of relationships involved in broader issues of development affecting South Africa. By critiquing the sets of relationships that exist for hemp Cannabis will form the cornerstone of the discussion about alternate[9] forms of development. Cannabis is an important crop because all three of its usages neatly fit into the important spaces occupied by agriculture, the medical

[9] Of course the idea of alternative development, which is that illicit crops such as cannabis can be substituted by getting farmers to farm 'non-drug' crops, is not something this thesis supports. Alternative development for this thesis means rather finding a new way of doing development from accepted and largely Western norms.

industrial complex and the functional goods produced by non-food crops such as clothing, light construction materials, paper, biofuels, or interior design materials.

The thesis demonstrates how colonial agrarian policies made certain crops important and excluded others based on political, economic and social factors (see Duvall 2016). Secondly, it shows how international and national prohibition, as well as economic histories, continue to influence aspects of South Africa's current regulatory frameworks and decision making. Third, the thesis reveals that the Cannabis conversation revolves around three groupings based on the usages of the plant, namely, recreational, medicinal and industrial. It argues that it is hemp, which is most lacking in this debate, even though it is an imperative component of the plant's overall development and future. Lastly, the study will endeavour to show how the study of hemp is able to provide critical and original formulations of agrarian development programs for the country, region, and continent.

What will be argued, is that there has been a legal masking to the debate about Cannabis that has limited the potential of situating the plant outside of recreational and more recently, medicinal categories. Essentially, the study will show how narratives about Cannabis, which have been constructed through very particular colonial and post-colonial histories, have concealed and continue to obscure a multiplicity of factors behind this plants removal from the non-food crop industry and therefore future production space and employment.[10]

1.2 Problem statement

Certainly, this thesis is important because it highlights how hemp and other forms of Cannabis, if managed correctly, are arguably a potentially valuable non-food crop for South African development. The plants dynamic recreational, medicinal as well as industrial usages can be used to the countries advantage. The unique circumstances of Cannabis also challenge conventional logic about agrarian political economy while highlighting how non-food crops are an underappreciated aspect of its scholarship. The term non-food crop is used here purposely to distance Cannabis from negative

[10] Narratives are framed in history and produced, reproduced, repackaged and changed over time (see London 2009). The notion of 'narratives' is a leitmotif that could be used to explore broader issues of contemporary South African political economy. For example, 'narratives' could be used to explore perceptions of race, sexual and identity constructions in contemporary South Africa.

stereotypes that terms like ‘drug crops’ or ‘compensation crop’ suggest (Carrier & Klantschnig 2016).

This thesis will showcase how colonial attitudes and legislation remain *prima facie* the dominant motivation behind contemporary South African, and African agrarian policy regarding Cannabis. Therefore, Scheibe, Shelly & Versfeld (in Buxton et.al. 2020) argue essentially that historically and in the contemporary period, South Africa adhered(s) to a ‘Prohibitionist drug policy’. Understanding how African development inserts itself into the global discussion about Cannabis is significant to the studies concern with the practical implications of social, economic and political systems and its impact on black people, the poor working class and women in South Africa.

An analysis of hemp also feeds directly into the highly charged agrarian questions related to food security; land; the domination of the largely Western medical industrial complex over medicines and the practice of medicine; as well as the development of practical, innovative, and productive solutions for African and South African socio-economic change. This research therefore discusses hemp Cannabis as a conduit through which to critique the various sets of relations that have influenced South Africa’s history, political geography and development. By regarding just one part of the Cannabis plant – hemp – this research aims to provide valuable input into a spectrum of issues that are important to South Africa’s past, present and future.

1.3 Research aims and objectives

1.3.1 Aim

To explore the multiple and complex sets of Cannabis political geography that interact and persistently establish the realities of development for the plant, with a special focus on hemp Cannabis.[11]

1.3.2 Objectives

1. **To illuminate new ways of thinking through the relationship of Cannabis to the legacy’s prohibition geographies inscribed onto the plant.**

[11] This framing is partially borrowed from that used by the African philosopher V. Y. Mudimbe’s objectives for his authoritative book *The invention of Africa* (Escobar 1995: 6).

2. **To critically assess geographic alternatives to the contemporary medicalization of Cannabis.**

3. **To document a political geography of hemp Cannabis in South Africa that can consolidate all the usages of Cannabis.**

4. **To propose a critique of development that is concerned about the modes of containment still prevalent in ownership, access to employment and leadership in the Cannabis industry.**

1.4 Adding context to hemp Cannabis narratives

Cannabis Sativa L means 'cultivated' Cannabis which accentuates the close relationship this plant has had to human societies and agrarian development (Paterson MA Dissertation 2009: 16).[12] Plants are cultivated because the goods they produce add intrinsic value to the society in which they are being farmed. Coleman (Saturday Star, 7 May 2016, p.13) therefore rightly pointed out that the difference in Cannabis cultivation is that "hemp is agriculture, while marijuana/dagga [medical and recreational] is generally horticulture".[13] As such, the work involved in the farming of hemp and that of recreational and medicinal marijuana differs in scale, farming techniques and most important in the products that are produced.

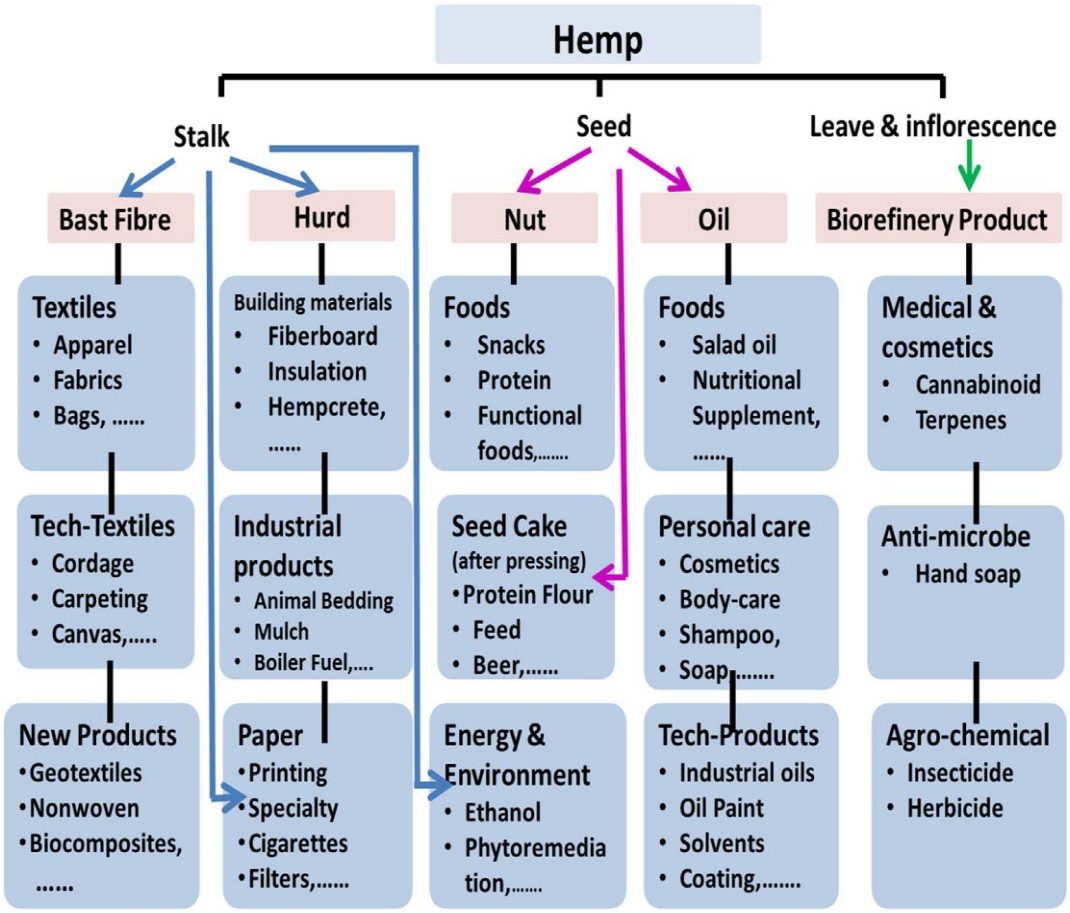
Hemp has been and still is renowned throughout the world for its multiple product capabilities which include paper, textile, construction products, oils, seed and bioenergy production to name a few (Bouloc, Allegret and Arnaud eds., 2013). Figure 1 shows the various industries linked to hemp which include, "agro-industrial fields such as agriculture, textile, bio composite, paper-making, automotive, construction, bio-fuel, functional food, oil, cosmetics, personal care, and [the] pharmaceutical industry" (Salentijn et.al. 2015: 32). It must also be recognized that marijuana, does have, besides its recreational usage, important medicinal properties for critically ill

[12] "Depending on the taxonomical treatment adopted, the genus *Cannabis* (Hemp, Family Cannabaceae) includes up to three species, each with a very long history of domestication" (Pollio 2016: 234). These three types are *Cannabis Sativa*, *Cannabis Indica* and *Cannabis Ruderalis*. *Cannabis Sativa L*. is the name of the entire Cannabis plant family these three types all fit into.

[13] Please note that the full reference for this newspaper article I have been unable to attain and so is not fully referenced in the reference list.

patients, pain relief, multiple sclerosis, nausea and epilepsy for instance (Chapkis & Webb 2008; Crowther, Reynolds, and Tansey eds., 2010).

Figure 1: Hemp's flowchart and multi-purpose utilization



Source: Salentijn, Zhang, Amaducci, Yang, Trindade 2015: 33

Nonetheless, and primarily because of hemp's relation to marijuana, the crop is underdeveloped in South Africa; although its legality is undergoing change. Hemp has a very low Tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) content, the principal psychoactive constituent of recreational marijuana (Agricultural Research Council 2014). Hemp therefore cannot make a person 'high' if it were to be smoked. Hemp however does have a higher concentration of CBD (Cannabidiol) that is not psychedelic: It cannot make a person high. Both THC and CBD have health benefits and work to improve the bodies endocannabinoid system that has an important "… role in regulating many functions and processes, including, sleep, mood, appetite, memory, reproduction, and fertility" (First Crop, Accessed 05 January 2022). Nevertheless, the link to 'drugs' remains the most ever-present theme in any discussion of hemp and Cannabis. Warf

(2014: 433) quite rightly adds about the almost 14,000 years of known Cannabis use in the world that "While it has been accepted and tolerated more often than not, Cannabis has also been repeatedly demonized in different historical contexts; attempts to restrict its usage have invariably reflected political and moral agendas rather than established science." The Cannabis plant therefore has been one of the victims of complex sets of political and economic decisions that culminated in its prohibition, from the early 20th century. Every use of the plant, including hemp that could not be used for psychedelic purposes, or the plants important medicinal uses were banned.[14]

Hemp was made illegal, popular discourse argues, because textile, paper and plastic industries supported by bankers and politicians, wanted to remove hemp products commercial threat in the marketplace. To do this, politicians and big business used the relationship between hemp and recreational marijuana to link all Cannabis products to 'hard drugs' (Herer (1985 [2010]); London 2009: 63-67).[15] Relating Cannabis to drugs and deviant behaviour (which had a racial slant) became a useful leverage tool for politicians throughout the cold war, reaching its apex in the 1980s (London, 2009: 83-89).[16] However, since the 1990s increasing pressure has forced many policy makers to revaluate recreational and medicinal marijuana regulations. Originating from a heartland in Europe (the Netherlands most obviously from as early as the 1960s) legal, essentially legal, or decriminalized Cannabis policies are now fully fledged in many countries of the world and in many American states (Amaducci et al 2015: 11-12; Bouchard, Potter & Decorte in Decorate et al. 2011: 273; Dills, Goffard, Miron & Partin 2021; Fijnaut & De Ruyver 2015: preface). Warf (2014: 433) adds "As the historical record of this drug makes clear, the open, legal use of marijuana is less a matter of moral equivalency than a return to the historical norm."

[14] For more detailed discussion about the criminalization of Cannabis and subsequently the demise of the hemp industry see: London, (2009: 63-67), also Decorate, Potter & Bouchard (2011) and Fijnaut & De Ruyver (2015).

[15] The narrative that recreational marijuana is a 'hard drug' is still a common policy advocated by international agencies such as the United Nations (UN) (Bewley-Taylor, Blickman, Jelsma 2014), security agencies, as well as several religious, research and civil society organizations. Furthermore, a large segment of most societies, including South Africans, have been socialized to believe recreational marijuana is a 'gateway' to using and addiction to 'hard drugs' (see Interview Oom, Noordgesig Soweto, 28 June 2019).

[16] Linking drug use to minority groups occurred also in the history of Cannabis in Nigeria in the early twentieth century (see Klantschnig p.72 in Klantschnig, Carrier & Ambler 2014). Its prohibition was also portrayed as a means of preventing black men from coming into physical contact with white women during the interwar years in Great Britain (see Cross p.138 in Manning (ed) 2007).

It must be noted that Africa and South Africa especially played a decisive part in getting Cannabis scheduled as a dangerous drug by the League of Nations in the mid-1920s (Chattopadhyaya 2019; Duvall 2019; Nkosi Devey & Waetjen 2020; Waetjen 2022). This has meant that "African colonial laws were generally earlier than elsewhere. Before Cannabis was first listed in a global drug-control agreement – the League of Nations' 1925 International Opium Convention – its farming, possession, and use were prohibited across most of Central, East and Southern Africa … Only Turkey and Greece seem to have enacted similarly stringent prohibitions by 1925" (Duvall 2019: 7). Thus, how history is read and what political geographies interacted over time to create the prohibition of Cannabis are often times more complex than dominant Western narratives. Nonetheless, the fact that this study is concerned with Cannabis from the era of prohibition to the present means its focus on Western (which includes Union and apartheid South African government's views) narratives created through prohibition remain the dominant lens used to understand its contemporary circumstances and future development.

South Africa, like the rest of the world, has also had legal challenges to Cannabis prohibition since the 1990s. These challenges were set in motion by Gareth Prince in the late 1990s and through the 2000s all of which were dismissed by the courts (see Mia 2020: 403-407). In the last 10 years the legality of recreational, medicinal and industrial Cannabis usage in South Africa begun to gain ground more swiftly. The 31 March, 2017 Western High Court judgement declared "the prohibition of the cultivation, use and possession of Cannabis within the privacy of the home, unconstitutional" (Myrtle Clarke, Accessed 05 January 2022). And finally, on 18 September 2018, the Constitutional Court of South Africa made it a citizen's right to use Cannabis in their private space.

However, most African states continue to maintain the prohibition of recreational, medicinal and industrial Cannabis regardless of the current international debate surrounding decriminalization and or legalization.[17] A snapshot of recreational Cannabis legality internationally shows that all of Africa except South Africa, Lesotho, Malawi and Zimbabwe maintain prohibition against recreational marijuana but do have legal concessions for the production of medicinal marijuana and hemp (Adebisi &

[17] African countries inherited colonial prohibitionist policies towards not just marijuana, but also alcohol and khat for example. Khat is prominent in East Africa and when chewed acts as a stimulant for recreational and work contexts (Carrier p. 105-123 in Klantshnig et.al. 2014).

Olaoye 2022). Most of Asia and many parts in Europe still maintain prohibition even if enforcing this is difficult throughout the world. Because of the legal status of Cannabis, the agricultural production of hemp, and hence hemp goods, is limited throughout Africa and South Africa. This means the decisions to invest in certain crops are motivated by political and economic interests rather than sustainable agricultural agrarian transformation (Duvall 2016: 1).

Various colonial and contemporary resolutions decide which crops to invest in and that continues to shape agrarian development in South Africa, Africa and the black diaspora. "However, Cannabis is generally not analysed in agricultural terms" according to Duvall (2016: 2). Nevertheless, some of the most prominent crops that have directly aided 'colonial accumulation' in Africa and former slave economies have been maize, sugar cane and cotton but also opium, cocoa and Cannabis; although less forthrightly.[18] The study of hemp therefore adds to the debate about the various relationships that specific products or crops have (had) in the development of societies, politics and economies.

For instance, Kurlasky (2003) has presented the multiple and global linkages that the production and use of salt has had, while Beinart & Wotshela (2011) have emphasised the localized social agrarian history of the prickly pear in South Africa's Eastern Cape region. In another example, McCann (2005) demonstrates how maize was 'encountered' and 'produced' by colonialists and Africans when introduced as an industrial crop onto the continent from the sixteenth century. The documentary "*The botany of desire, Part 1*" (2009) also provides a comparative analysis of Cannabis to other plants, including the tulip, the potato and the apple. Likening Cannabis to other plants is important because it is always viewed out of the context of nature due to the persistent framing of the plant as a substance. The association of plants to evil is not new, even the apple (the garden of Eden) has gone through phases of belief, from evil then to wholesome, to celebrated ("*The botany of desire, Part 1*", 2009). These agrarian frameworks that decide which plants can and cannot be used continue to hold substantial power over 'developing' countries agricultures. They also present a

[18] Interestingly, "Maize is so widespread, and so widely considered by Africans as an African crop, that it is difficult to see its adoption, and subsequent infiltration to the heart of many production systems, as enforced" (Beinart & Middleton 2004: 20).

challenge to ‘emergent economies’ to rethink how they insert themselves into the global economy, and, with what products they will base their development plans on.[19]

Asserting a South African perspective of hemp into the existing literature of Cannabis, by providing an analysis that illuminates this non-food crops potential role in the country’s development, therefore is important. It will be argued that by exposing how crops such as hemp are ‘produced’ (i.e., the discourse that has made them important or not) highlights why Cannabis provides a unique view of a multiplicity of geographic development relations that are expressly political but also economic. Moreover, the study of hemp introduces a new space within which to understand Cannabis outside of medical and recreational categorizations

However, this thesis does not sanction the idea that hemp or Cannabis is a panacea to agrarian transformation in South Africa. And to be sure, this thesis is not a policy paper, but rather, its strength lies in establishing the interplay between various sets of relations that influence Cannabis development in the country. Cannabis is profoundly tied into a web of complex social, economic and political dynamics that its pursuit in Africa and South Africa remains deeply thwarted. Thus, a critical inquiry into hemp, as just one aspect of South Africa’s development, will endeavour to uncover the complicated sets of interactions involved in the past, present and future of Cannabis

1.5 Conceptual and theoretical design

Making sense of the complex interactions that are incorporated in the study of hemp Cannabis in South Africa requires a multifaceted approach. Furthermore, because the study of Cannabis is dominated by Western discourse, any discussion of it in South Africa requires historical and theoretical frameworks able to interpret these to fit the circumstances faced in Africa.[20] In addition, the theoreticians and historiographical content used must be able to answer the aim and objectives of this thesis.

The key intellectual concerns for this thesis are heavily indebted to restoring the black revolutionary history embedded in Cannabis that thus far has not been fully

[19] The terms ‘lean’ and ‘fat’ is a noteworthy terminology for describing ‘developing’ and ‘developed’ nations (see Olopade 2014).

[20] Important international Cannabis literature has little discussion of the plant from the point of view of Africans, see for instance, Decorate, Potter & Bouchard 2011; Fijnaut & De Ruyver 2015; London 2009. Furthermore, the more limited literature of the plant in Africa is mostly concerned with recreational marijuana, see for instance, Legget 2002; Klantschnig, Carrier & Ambler 2014; Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021).

interrogated anywhere theoretically (Chapter 3). Second, this revolutionary stance is taken a step further methodologically by promoting work, employment and labour as more essential to development more generally, Cannabis development included (Chapter 4). Third, it shows how prohibition history has underdeveloped Cannabis (Chapter 5). Fourth, it discusses how gatekeeping continues through the medicalization of Cannabis (Chapter 6). Fifth, it proposes that the consolidation of all the uses of Cannabis is possible when the plant is housed within the non-food crop sector and understood as a key method to bolster alternative labour practices (Chapter 7). Last, the thesis provides a conclusion (Chapter 8) by way of a critique of the contemporary development of Cannabis to influence a more just way that black people, the poor working class and women can participate in the industry.

Overall, this analysis of Cannabis tries to provide an internationalist perspective of the political economy of the plant. The work of James (1984) as well as Gilroy (1993) pay special attention to assembling a history of blacks in the diaspora that is not separate to world history but necessarily a part of it.[21] A history of Cannabis should do the same; that is, highlight how this plant is infused into the wider geopolitics of oppressed people's history from the end of slavery, through the anti-colonial nationalist struggles to the contemporary struggles of the new millennium. To this end, the key theories and theoreticians used in this thesis are also representative of the broad aspects of the "international herb".[22]

This study makes use of five key historians and theorists, who speak directly to these concerns including, Rodney (1973) (underdevelopment), James (1938 [1980], 1984) (the workers revolution), Cooper (2002) (gatekeeping), London (2009) (marijuana medicalization), and Povinelli (2011) (late liberalism).[23] These theorists provide the framework with which to conceptualize Cannabis not only in simple recreational or medicinal terms. Their analysis provides the means of understanding aspects of black revolutionary history that defied the dominant paradigms operating in

[21] Archille Mbembe ideas about the 'Postcolony' can perhaps also be included here for his explanation of Africans place in the world (see Mbembe 1992; 2005; Mbembe & Balakrishnan 2016).

[22] Culture, 'The international herb' *International herb*, Virgin Records: 1979.

[23] A fuller analysis of these five key theorists is provided in subsequent chapters. Large parts of the thesis also make use of an exceptional discussion of emancipatory politics in Africa by Neocosmos (2016). His main point being that emancipatory politics does not exist within the state but survives outside of party politics because it still governs as though people do not think or have agency. Peoples political action, he argues, are therefore not limited to their constituent vote and are in fact only emancipatory when activated by their participation in 'real' political processes. Elite connections within the flawed processes of state and party politics to Neocosmos (2016) do not constitute emancipatory politics.

the world that also tried defining the place of this plant in the non-food industry. The study makes use of these theorists because they offer not only theoretical but, more importantly, historiographical frameworks that can ground revolutionary history in a way that makes it accessible to this study of hemp Cannabis. These theorists speak to the concepts that continue to bind Cannabis to prohibitionist logic that stunts the plants development and medicinal conceptions that are largely about gatekeeping the status quo that 'late liberalism' is a viable option to development.

Beginning first with Rodney (1973), who offers a substantial portion of the studies critique of development, in his declaration that European intervention into Africa fundamentally underdeveloped the continent. Rodney's (1973) analysis of black historiography can be used to understand prohibition histories as well as the continuation of 'underdevelopment' in contemporary development more generally. Revisiting the notion of underdevelopment, allows the thesis to pose the argument that development consciously removed what it did not want from participation in its global development. From this basis it is possible to argue that development made it taboo for black revolutionary history and action to affect how economic development proceeds. Cannabis development (as well as other goods and ideas) is likewise being disabled by the non-inclusion of its black revolutionary history. Dependency schools of thought therefore proposed that delinking from capitalist 'world systems' was a means of correcting such underdevelopment.[24] This explanation will be used to show how Cannabis can also be accounted for when conceptualized outside of the terms of prohibition. These terms are still prevalent in the lexicon of recreational and medicinal marijuana. In other words, Cannabis must delink from the constant recreational and medicinal categorizations offered by the free market if it is to propose a way forward for the entire plant's usages.

Second, James (1938 [1980], 1984) offers a classic black Marxist perspective that remains principally about the revolutionary worker and the usefulness of revolutionary action to the world. Gordon (2008: 165) states "James's intellectual contributions consisted of his continuous production of oppositional histories and diagnoses of political phenomena through which he articulated his notion of 'the

[24] Immanuel Wallerstein coined the notion of a 'world-system' to explain how leading (core) countries interacted in an unequal basis with middle income (semi-periphery) and poorer (periphery) countries. Ultimately, this 'world system' maintained the power of the few (core countries) particularly over the majority (periphery regions of the world).

creative universal,' which, he argued, manifested itself in the resilience of the working classes and the peasantry". This perspective is essential to the development critique the thesis makes, namely: A truly equitable and sustainable development future not only for Cannabis, but also other commodities, ideas and inventions, must be labour centred and include black revolutionary thought and action into its strategies. Proposing methods of action designed by and for the Global South is what both Rodney (1969 [1996], 1973) and James (1938 [1980], 1984) as well as Fanon offered in their "…alternative models of revolution with shared premises [with Marxism] but different conclusions" (Gordon 2008: 165). These theoretical positioning's can provide this thesis with the grounding with which to critique the narratives created by prohibition geographies that conceptualized Cannabis as first and foremost a recreational good and more recently a medicinal commodity.[25]

Thirdly, and following from the 'groundings' provided by Rodney (1969 [1996], 1973) and James (1938 [1980], 1984), the thesis uses an updated version of Cooper's (2002) notion of gatekeeping to problematize the medicalization of Cannabis. The 'gatekeeper thesis' offers a valuable method of highlighting how the otherwise useful contemporary drive towards the medicalization of Cannabis, is just another effort aimed at ensuring the gate to liberal democratic capitalism is kept intact. The thesis concedes that the medicalization of Cannabis is beneficial to the global development of the plant. It however contends that this still does not do enough for all the plants usages, particularly the industrial aspects of hemp. What is required is a developmental alternative that does not limit Cannabis to medicinal and drug categorizations. Thus, the acceptance of medicinal categorization of Cannabis is useful but still constrains and controls what can and cannot be incorporated into the plant's development (see also London 2009). If the medicinal gate is kept, access to ownership of Cannabis industries, it is argued, will still largely be the prerogative of the elite over the marginalized.[26]

[25] Recreational goods including tobacco, alcohol and Cannabis have long been a part of most societies. Western development particularly made use of them to maintain control over labour regimes and people. For example, the 'tot system' in the Cape Province, as well as the opium trade of the British Empire in Asia. See for example Mills (2005) discussion of Great Britain's trade and prohibition of Cannabis in the 19th century.

[26] For Mafeje (Nyoka 2019) the power behind the peasantry lay in the fact that they were a land-owning class rather than a rural dweller with no standing. Ownership in Mafeje's (Nyoka 2019) analysis is central to conceptualizing the agrarian sector. It is only through ownership of Cannabis industries by marginalized communities that the agrarian Cannabis sector, in South Africa and other parts of the world, can have a chance to compete fairly against much longer standing agrarian commodities (maize, wheat or cotton for example). These popular commodities have dominated liberal democratic capitalism's agrarian programs since the early

Fourth, as London (2009) further argues, the drive towards the medicalization of Cannabis does little to rearrange who controls the development design for the plant. Problematizing medicalization allows the thesis to show how formerly prohibited goods such as Cannabis remain regulated by the very same liberal paradigms that made them illegal in the first place. In other words, the medicalization of Cannabis is only acceptable now because the liberal capital system has been able to decide the extent to which the boundaries of their system can be pushed. That is, corporations have found ways to package Cannabis as a health and wellness product which detaches the plant from the social and cultural roots of the plant in the black experience. Therefore, the contemporary medicalization of society, Conrad (2008) argues, has been able to create new boundaries for formerly criminalized practices such as masturbation, alcoholism or gambling for instance. Extrapolating from the idea that the medicalization of Cannabis is just another gate being offered to the marginalized to keep, can show how other political goods, particularly black revolutionary history, or black ownership of key labour markets, are denied access to legalized capital markets. These practices fundamentally challenge the basis of liberal capitalism and its developmental paradigms and are for that reason denied.

Lastly, Povinelli (2011) speaks directly to how 'late liberalism' continues to manage global economic development through its control over political, economic and social mechanisms. Thus, it is essential, as all these theorists in one way or another show, to ensure that the notion of development is critiqued. In this way the most marginalized members of society, historically black, poor working class and women can decide directly how development occurs. And more importantly than that, what Povinelli (2011) as well as this study speak to, is how access to employment opportunities also means extending these to include the ideals and designs of work that the most marginalized groups have energized. By doing so these groups can have ownership of the work they produce and hence make tangible decisions in the development process. This study therefore reasons, which many participants[27] spoke

20th century but also throughout the field plantations of the 400 years of Atlantic slavery – but at least in this hemp Cannabis was an equal competitor!

[27] This theme was common in the following conferences, for example, (Cannabis Convention, YMCA, Orlando East, Soweto, 22 February, 2019; Cannabis Conference, Sandton Johannesburg, 10 August, 2019; Cannabis Conversations, hosted by Prof. Katerere, 13 August 2020; Cheeba Africa Webinar 03 September, 2020, Accessed 06 September 2020; The Africa Cannabis Journey, Global Go Connect 08 September; Cannabis Webinar Conference, Hosted by Vukani Communications 10 – 11 September, 2020.

to as well, that it is more useful to have ownership over the work you produce to ensure it production is led in a direction of your choosing.[28] This can reduce the apathy inherent in the alienated labour force created by liberal democratic capitalist paradigms.

1.6 Research plan and methodology

Table 1 reiterates the aim and objectives of the study, as well as what data was collected, including the methods used to answer each research question. Ultimately the study makes use of 5 empirical sources of evidence, in order of their importance respectively:[29]

1. Intensive desktop analysis
2. Cannabis conferences and webinars
3. Autoethnograpahy and ethnography
4. Informal conversations as well as informal discussions
5. Online platforms relevant to Cannabis

Table 1: Methods table

Aim	Required data	Tools/methods
To explore the multiple and complex sets of Cannabis political geography that interact and persistently establish the realities of development for the plant, with a special focus on hemp Cannabis	• The views and accounts of wide-ranging individuals at the local level. • The stories of leading actors in the South African Cannabis movement. • Cannabis organizations and industries in South Africa and the world.	• The literature, online sources, and desktop analysis of hemp and Cannabis. • The public views of participants at Cannabis conferences and webinars. • The ethnographic account of the researcher's attempts to gain access to the hemp

[28] Buju Banton ('Destiny' *Inna Heights*, Germain Records: 1997) sings defiantly, "I wanna rule my destiny".
[29] Please see the later chapter of the methodology used in this thesis. What that chapter attempts to do is provide a 'methodology of Cannabis labour' because it argues that a theoretical argument for development still requires a practical component.

	• A discussion of how Cannabis fits into South Africa's development plans. • The historical record of Cannabis in South Africa and its link to the plants current positioning in post-apartheid South Africa.	Cannabis industry in South Africa. • Informal conversations about hemp and Cannabis • Online platforms for contemporary analysis
Objective	**Required data**	**Tools/methods**
To illuminate new ways of thinking through the relationship of Cannabis to the legacy's prohibition geographies inscribed onto the plant.	• An assessment of the prohibition of Cannabis particularly from the 1970s to the contemporary period. • Discovering the various geographic relations that Cannabis has to prohibition history and legality. • How Cannabis fits into and disrupts the broader notions of prohibition and development in South Africa.	• Desktop analysis of the historical record of prohibition • The public views of participants at Cannabis conferences and webinars. • Informal conversations with individuals
To critically assess geographic alternatives to the contemporary medicalization of Cannabis.	• The views of various stakeholders and ordinary people regarding the medicalization of marijuana. • The role of Cannabis more broadly in the contemporary agrarian and alternative developments in South Africa.	• A desktop analysis of the drive towards the medicalization of Cannabis globally and in South Africa. • The public views of participants at Cannabis conferences and webinars. • Informal conversations with individuals.
To document a political geography of hemp Cannabis in South	• The role hemp Cannabis plays in contemporary South African development	• A desktop analysis of Cannabis globally and in South Africa.

Africa that can consolidate all the usages of Cannabis.	• Using autoethnography to document the ability of ordinary people to gain access to the Cannabis industry.	• An ethnography of the researcher's attempts to gain access to the Cannabis industry in South Africa. • The public views of participants at Cannabis conferences and webinars.
To propose a critique of development that is concerned about the modes of containment still prevalent in ownership, access to employment and leadership in the Cannabis industry.	• The overall views of Cannabis stakeholders in private and public institutes. • The opinions and views of ordinary people interested in Cannabis.	• Desktop analysis of literature on current policy decisions in South Africa and other parts of the world regarding Cannabis. • An ethnography of the researcher's attempts to gain access to Cannabis industry in South Africa. • The public views of participants at Cannabis conferences and webinars.

Source: Researchers own

1.7 Ethics

The ethical concerns of Cannabis studies before the 1990s were primarily traced back to the plant's psychedelic properties which led the discourse of the plant to a tendency to dispel new ways of conceiving of the plant. The conscious association of marijuana's recreational uses to chemical drug abuse and trade has, for most of the last century, decided the fate of Cannabis from an ethical point of view. Cannabis was unethical because it was illegal and hence it became a muted conversation as were the plants medicinal and industrial uses. The South African Constitutional Courts decision on September 18, 2018 has in many ways limited the ethical aspects that studies about industrial, medicinal and more especially recreational Cannabis in South Africa had to take into account in the recent prohibition past.[30]

[30] Crowther et.al., (2010) provide an interesting history of the difficulties researchers faced in studying Cannabis effectively and with adequate funding prior to the 1980s.

Nonetheless, because of the fragility of the Constitutional Courts judgement in terms of what is and what is not legal for Cannabis, Povinelli's notion of 'quasi-events' is useful. Povinelli (2011: 13) states, "If events are things that we can say happened such that they have a certain objective being, then quasi-events … never quite achieve the status of having occurred or taken place. They neither happen nor not happen". A similar notion is noted by Carrier & Klantschnig (2018) who use the term 'quasilegality' in their discussion of Cannabis and khat. Carrier & Klantschnig (2018: 3) use this term because of "… its ability to capture a key aspect of not just drugs like khat and cannabis, but other commodities, activities and even people whose relationship to the state and law is ambiguous." Like 'other' things and groups Cannabis remains 'ambiguous' to the law and the state

Cannabis in South Africa is in this way a 'quasi-event' because the Constitutional Court's decision has left it up to legislation to decide exactly what the policy will be regarding the plant. And since the court's decision is still pending the passing of The Cannabis Bill, enforcing the law has been problematically left to the local interpretation of police, making Cannabis production still illegal for the majority of people. Legalization has therefore neither happened or not, so therefore should not be understood as an 'event' or as having an existence different to the one that prohibition inscribed onto the plant. Gareth Prince (Cannabis Convention, YMCA, Orlando East, Soweto, 22 February 2019) one of South Africa's leading Cannabis experts and long-time member of the Cannabis movement in South Africa, called the period since the Constitutional ruling a 'grey area'. It is a 'grey area' precisely because even with the new court ruling there are legal complications the entire Cannabis plant family, including hemp, continue to face. People can, and do still get jailed for Cannabis regardless of the constitutional change (See Fields of Green for all, Accessed 03 January 2022).

To avoid this legal complication the discussion of prohibition used in this thesis, that is largely concerned with recreational marijuana, gathered its empirical data from informal conversations, as well as from participants of Cannabis webinars and conferences. It avoided using people actively involved in recreational Cannabis production because of the ethical and legal challenge this posed.[31] These positions

[31] It is still illegal to sell recreational marijuana. Some of the difficulties of doing research focused on recreational Cannabis are highlighted in Patterson (MA thesis, 2009: 'note on sources').

were clearly laid out in the application for ethical clearance to the University of the Witwatersrand. As such, ethical clearance was granted (PROTOCOL NUMBER: H22/04/23) because the study posed 'minimal risk' to participants. 'Minimal risk', for the University of the Witwatersrand, is defined as "Where the likelihood and magnitude of possible harm are no greater than those imposed by daily life in a stable society, or routine educational or psychological test" (Knight: n.d). The fact that the thesis is more concerned with hemp Cannabis than the psychedelic aspects of the plant I suspect also made this judgement a little easier to make! The ethical clearance was granted for the use of 1) Individual interviews (e.g., Structured, semi-structured etc.) 2) Personal communication (e.g., Email or informal conversation with experts) 3) Autoethnography, and 4) Use of data from social media.

Potential informal 'contributors' – not informants! – to the study were identified through their interest to the topic of the thesis.[32] Others were found whenever the conversations I had with ordinary people happened to stumble on the fact that I was doing a thesis on Cannabis. These informal conversations/interviews were therefore largely unstructured and unplanned, but nonetheless, regular and ongoing 'groundings' (see Rodney (1969 [1996]) that occurred on many more than just one occasion. What I hoped to achieve was to gather a more rounded view of people's ideas about Cannabis; to think of Cannabis, outside the box of 'Cannabis'.

To ensure 'minimal risk' to contributors pseudonyms were used to ensure the compete safety of the contributors to the study who consented to informal conversations for the study. It is important to ensure the risks to contributors is minimal during and after theses are completed. The usual manner to ensure this is to complete formal signed consent forms. However, in some cases consent, which in itself is a 'process', can be provided for verbally if participants feel more comfortable (Knight n.d). This is particularly true in the Global South where literacy, language issues, power relations, vulnerability – economic, social, political – and cultural perceptions make formalized consent sometimes feel wholly ethnocentric to contributors of knowledge (Knight n.d). Consent was therefore provided for verbally in all 7 informal interviews because of the awkwardness contributors had in making their knowledge formal through the use of their signature. I also found, once in the field, that many

[32] This idea of interviewees as contributors rather than 'informants' was pronounced in conversation by a fellow PhD candidate.

contributors did not want to be audio-recorded and felt unease in having a conversation in a conventional interview interviewee manner. Because of these limitations it was important to protect contributors by ensuring them that informal interviews would be completely confidential and anonymous and not shared in a way that their identity might become traced back to them in the future. Therefore, I did not ask for, or use any identifying information, and the ideas given towards the research was held securely and not disclosed to anyone else during the research phase. Contributors also did not receive any direct financial benefits from participation and there were no disadvantages or penalties for those contributors who chose to participate or even withdraw from the study.

The contributors to the study were told that I would protect their identity through anonymity. Any ideas contributors shared, they were told, would become part of a PhD thesis that if passed, would be published and housed safely in the Wits Institutional Repository (WIReDSpace): Wits E-Theses/Dissertations (ETDs). This is a safe storage for completed thesis since it requires permission from Wits Legal Office or the Research Office if any part of it is to be published elsewhere. It will therefore become an invaluable source of secondary analysis. With the permission of contributors, it was relayed that the data collected and stored there from this research project may be used by other researchers in an anonymized format in the future. What was also made clear, was that contributor knowledge was a two-way learning process (of the researcher from contributors and from myself to the contributors). This ideal of learning is specific to the notions of ethnography which has a different perception of what contributors are to a study (see Chang 2008; Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011 or Potts 2016). They are not informants to all knowing researchers but rather contributors of knowledge that is equal to and many times even greater than that of researchers because it is organically practiced.

However, pseudonyms were not used for participants of webinars and other online conference material because their views are already on public platforms that are widely accessible. Hewson (p. 442 In Hewson 2014) concludes about the ethics of online observational research:

> In summary, there presently is no accepted set of standards for ethics in online observational research, with a key ongoing debated and controversial issue being when it is necessary to disclose research intentions and obtain informed consent and when it is acceptable to deem material freely available for use as data due to being readily accessible in the public domain.

The views obtained from online observational research were nonetheless also not taken out of context and for the most part represented positions that the 'Cannabis movement', of which I would consider myself to be a part of, agreed with. As such, the thesis has ensured that whatever was quoted or paraphrased from webinars and online conference participants was accurate and in the context they meant. The importance of webinars and conferences is that these give a greater range of people voice. Such platforms provide the views from a lot of people whose opinions one will not find in the rather elite spaces of academic journal articles and books. Regardless of participants being informally interviewed or their comments taken from online public platforms all possible contributors had to be approached with a certain amount of reflexivity to understand, without bias, the divergent viewpoints people have of Cannabis.

Since the debate about Cannabis is highly polarised between those for or against, care was also taken to try present a more balanced account of the plant in South Africa. On the other hand, Fijnaut & De Ruyver (2015: Preface) argue that rather than explaining these two extremes a 'third way' must be found that takes account of both polarized views. As a result, the researcher endeavoured to focus the conversations with all participants on hemp rather than recreational or medicinal marijuana as a means of extending the possibilities of this 'third way'.

Still, because my own position is inclined towards the support of Cannabis, researcher bias remained the biggest ethical concern for this study.[33] However, as a researcher I had to present neutral interpretation of the facts, regardless of my personal investment and views about hemp and Cannabis. Furthermore, because the study of hemp Cannabis in South Africa has quite real policy implications meant that care had to be taken to describe the potential development of other Cannabis uses in South Africa. Thus, these potentials were not presented as a panacea for agrarian

[33] While attending the court case of the 'dagga couple' in July 2017 it became increasingly clear that I had to either be a supporter of those seeking new Cannabis policy or those against its legal status changing. The 'Third way', being neutral in this case was not something I could do owing to my many years of advocating hemp (Field Notes, 01 August 2017, Pretoria High Court). Although it is part of the objective of this study to show why a focus on hemp rather than medicinal or recreational Cannabis produces a different set of narratives, it is still a conversation about one of the uses of Cannabis and as such must insert itself clearly in support of the plant. This creates the difficulty for the researcher of being impartial. Nonetheless, all researchers, especially ethnographers have their own personal views which will come across in the work they produce, even if all sides of the argument are presented (see Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011; Potts 2016; Weisner 1996).

development for the country. The study of hemp Cannabis and development in South Africa had to therefore be foremost a study about the plant and its relation to political geography, development and agrarian transformation.

Moreover, this thesis aimed not to be a piece of written work that only other scholars can read: It should be accessible to a wider audience. To facilitate this process is not only methodological, but also ethical. Cornel West (1989 in Okpara and Lee 1995: 358) therefore challenges the black philosopher to ask

> Who are we writing to? And who in any way holds us accountable? Is it the profession? In part it must be the profession if we are going to be a part of the profession. But is it solely the profession? And if it is more than the profession, then who else is it? Is it the black intellectual community that cuts across disciplines?

These questions are pertinent to a PhD thesis but also to the process of development. Consequently, it would be unethical for this thesis not to have concerned itself with how the benefits of a legal Cannabis market will accrue to the marginalized. As such, questions of ethics have everything to do with the practical effort they seek to achieve. If development increases the economic, as well as social and political well-being of those already with these capabilities then it has done a disservice, ethically speaking.

This is precisely why James (1938: 291) noted, in speaking about the ethical attempts of Toussaint L'ouverture in Haiti in the years before his capturing: "Toussaint was attempting the impossible - the impossible that was for him the only reality that mattered. The realities to which the historian is condemned will at times simplify the tragic alternatives with which he was faced." Toussaint had to choose between channelling the development potential of former slaves to building up a new society or using the boiling rage former slaves justly had for their slavery to ensure some type of retribution was paid to the French slave masters. Toussaint chose to build Haiti; the more fatal route for the French, who knew a successful Haiti would lay bare the weakness of Europe's theoretical, methodological and most importantly moral and ethical suppositions. Thus, in pursuing a more ethical route the researcher must be aware that they tread a tightrope that has historically been taken from under them by force.[34] Neocosmos (2016: 527) states in this regard, "The ethnographer's silencing

[34] The record of repression against those who have attempted to propose new theoretical, methodological and moral positions against oppression is too long to mention. For the purpose of this study one such example is suffice; the repression Rastafarians faced in the early years of their existence in the 1940 to the 1960s throughout Jamaica and the movements subsequent spread in the diaspora (Rodney 1969 [1996]). It comes as no surprise that Bob Marley and Peter Tosh both suffered assassination attempts, that of Tosh being fateful.

is, of course, a colonial state practice, and that practice continues unabated today." This silence is moreover particular to new contributions to knowledge that challenge the dominant discourse.

1.8 Contribution to knowledge/originality

This thesis contributes to knowledge production because there is generally a limited critical academic consideration of Cannabis in South Africa (although this is fast changing), let alone a study of the plant focused primarily on one of its three usages.[35] The fact that this is a current and fast-moving field of analysis given the recent changes in the law also makes this contribution unique. It is therefore an original effort because the legal space opening is also so new. This is therefore an important study because we are at a key inflection point in the establishment of a legal sector. Contending with struggles of inclusion and non-inclusion is something South Africa has struggled with since independence that they might get right with Cannabis if its space is watched closely. This means quashing the status quo that the plant has only to do with recreational and medicinal usages in order to prove that Cannabis exists as a much more central feature of development and political geography in South Africa than most studies acknowledge.

Secondly, this thesis offers a critical discussion of development that can be applicable to more than just Cannabis. Its documentation of the sites of interaction of hemp Cannabis shows that the plant has links to broader issues of politics, economics and society. A study of hemp Cannabis therefore engages with important contemporary concerns that move the discussion away from being solely about the plant's recreational uses.[36]

Thirdly, the thesis adds new theoretical and methodological ways of understanding Cannabis which previous studies struggled to make clear. It illuminated the often-discreet historiography and theories of black revolution and resistance that are encompassed in the study of Cannabis, and many other developments. These are

[35] Studies of Cannabis in South Africa include for example, Agricultural Research Council; Chattopadhyaya 2019; Coogan, MA dissertation, March 2016; Croucamp 1997; DAFF 2015; Du Toit 1980; Legget 2002; Nkosi, MA dissertation 2019; Nkosi, Devey, Waetjen 2020; Patterson, MA dissertation 2009; Singh, MA dissertation 2019; Waetjen 2022.

[36] Coogan, 2016 has produced a useful MA dissertation about hemp. The focus of the dissertation is very helpful for dispelling the myths about hemp as a saviour crop while emphasising the economic truths that hemp has as an agrarian good in South Africa.

often far too easily dismissed in most disciplines in the academic institute (see Morris 2015). By further arguing for a theoretical, yet practical pedagogy, produced a more tangible output for the concerns of the Global South. This enabled the thesis to link the study of hemp Cannabis directly to the practice of development.

Fourth, the framework that this thesis uses to study the political geography of Cannabis in South Africa provides an original perspective with which to reorganize the agrarian sector to cater for a legal Cannabis industry. By regrouping recreational and medicinal marijuana as non-food crops, rather than substances, consolidated all the uses of the plant into one unified sector. This approach can be transplanted to other agricultural produce that have been negatively affected by colonial agrarian decisions. A micro-analysis of a plant and its interaction with bigger forces that influence it offers fresh methods with which to positively critique the analysis of agrarian transformation in post-apartheid South Africa.

Fifth, by using hemp Cannabis as a conduit through which to understand various aspects of South Africa's contemporary politics and socioeconomics is an innovative method of assessing the ongoing challenges of development facing the country. These include increasing black ownership, access to just employment opportunities for the poor working class and ensuring women occupy real leadership positions.

Lastly, what makes the study most important is its unique analysis of Cannabis. The thesis provided important points of departure to regard to make the development of hemp Cannabis (but also medicinal and recreational Cannabis) successful. Using hemp to interpret the role that the plant has been assigned to play in the contemporary era as a leader of black ownership, pro-poor employment and women's' leadership is only being noted in more recent literature (see Buxton et.al. 2020; Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021; Dills et.al. 2021; Jelsma et.al. 2021; Kay et.al. 2020; Manu et.al. 2021; Polson & Bodwitch 2021; Riboulet-Zemouli et.al 2019). In the end, the study points to an alternative world of development that could be used to bolster a country, continent and diaspora struggling desperately to find original solutions to its political, economic and social woes.

1.9 Structure and breakdown of the study

In summary this thesis is concerned with the subject of hemp Cannabis. In its analysis it provides a critique of development. The research problem **(Chapter 1: Introduction)** attempts *to explore the multiple and complex sets of Cannabis political geography that interact and persistently establish the realities of development for the plant, with a special focus on hemp Cannabis.* However, the marginalization of hemp is directly linked to the recreational and medicinal uses of Cannabis. Therefore, **(Chapter 2: Literature review: The story of Cannabis)** casts a wider net to adequately explore the multidimensional connections Cannabis has to a wide range of political, social and economic factors. To do this, requires the thesis to also give an appraisal of the embedded historical resistances embedded in how Cannabis has been understood in large parts of the Global South **(Chapter 3: Conceptual and theoretical framework: The black revolutionary history embedded in the discourse of Cannabis)**. The black revolutionary associated to Cannabis is of importance to how development more generally can be improved upon which moreover forms the theoretical backbone of this thesis. Nonetheless the thesis then proceeds to show that through this history **(Chapter 4: A methodology for the labour of Cannabis)** was produced by ordinary people that in fact is more relevant to the immediate future of Cannabis in South Africa.

The study then proceeds to focus attention on hemp but is not able to escape the image of the plant as predominantly a recreational 'drug', thus proposes delinking hemp **(Chapter 5: Delinking from the prohibition geographies of Cannabis: Revisiting underdevelopment)** from the prohibition narratives that dominate recreational and medicinal marijuana discourses. It then becomes possible to look (**Chapter 6: Beyond simply gatekeeping the medicalization of Cannabis: A geographic alternative)** to provide an agrarian alternative to the current medicalisation of Cannabis. The chapter argues that while medicalization is useful, it is dominated by a liberal democratic capitalist discourse that continues to ensure African states and powerful economic interests maintain favourable gatekeeping policies, which further marginalizes hemp. It then finally becomes possible for the thesis to discuss **(Chapter 7: The political geography of hemp Cannabis in South Africa: An autoethnography of Cannabis opportunities).** In this chapter it is argued that the development of hemp Cannabis, that includes the plants political aspects, makes existing labour arrangements for black people, the poor working class

and women become the 'head cornerstones'[37] of South African development. When Cannabis is developed from the non-food crop sector it consolidates all the usages of Cannabis rather than develop recreational, medicinal or industrial uses as separate parts. It is then possible to offer a real **(Chapter 7: Conclusion: 'Points of departure': A critique of development)**. The fundamental critique of development this thesis contributes is that without including the revolutionary history of Cannabis into the plants development such a project will fail. The ownership, employment, and leadership of the Cannabis industry must provision real opportunity to black people, the poor working class and women if it seeks to be successful. If such action is pursued it will ensure the development of Cannabis will not be marginalized in favour of the rich but rather be pro-poor, for the working class and with women.

[37] Bob Marley and the Wailers 'Corner stone' *Soul Rebels*, Upsetter: 1970.

CHAPTER 2

Literature review: The story of Cannabis

2.1 Overview of literature

Much of the literature about Cannabis is legalistic – i.e., too heavily focused on the thin line between moral and deviant regulation. The social history of Cannabis and hemp is therefore generally concentrated on narratives about the plant's criminalization and incorporation into the discussion about drugs (Carrier, Neil & Klantschnig 2018; Decorte et.al. 2011; Fijnaut & De Ruyver 2015; Klantschnig, Carrier & Ambler 2014; Legget 2002; London 2009; Manning (ed) 2007). This literature is focused on the recreational and cultural usages (Klantschnig et.al. 2014; Legget 2002; Paterson MA Dissertation 2009; Rubin 1975; du Toit 1980) as well as the plants medicinal applications (Chapkis & Webb 2008; Crowther, Reynolds, and Tansey eds., 2010; London 2009). Studies about the Cannabis plants industrial usages, from a human science perspective are more recently gaining ground (Bouloc, Allegret & Arnaud eds., 2013; Buxton et.al. 2020; Coogan 2016; Herer 1985 [2010]; Gerwel 2018; Owusu, Arthur & Aboagye 2021; Riboulet-Zemouli, Anderfuhren-Biget, Velásquez & Krawitz 2019, Warf 2014). What can be inferred from literature specific to the plant Cannabis is that the prohibition of recreational substances has a long and more complicated history than the simple reductionist argument about drugs (Cross in Manning 2007: 136; Fijnaut & De Ruyver 2015: preface; Klantschnig et.al. 2014: 1-2; Legget 2002; Manning 2007; Warf 2014). As such the literature about Cannabis is confined and compartmentalized to discussions about recreational and medicinal marijuana. This literature review therefore attempts to find where hemp lies in this dialogue in order to place more attention onto the other uses of the plant.[38]

The literature about Cannabis does nonetheless present a quite thorough, although common, narrative about the political and business interests that colluded to spearhead the drive to criminalize Cannabis in the early 20th century. However, this

[38] Furthermore, Terrence McKenna, a 'counterculture icon' and drug advocate who changed how Americans think about Cannabis, in an interview for the documentary '*The hemp revolution*' states "More money has been spent trying to find something wrong with Cannabis than any other vegetable material in human history" *The hemp revolution*, Accessed 05 March 2019; High Times Magazine, November 18 2019, Accessed 10 June 2021 .

analysis of the political economy of Cannabis is not well rounded. There is an inadequate discussion, particularly of revolutionary history related to Cannabis, agrarian development, labour concerns and ecological perspectives that also influenced the decision to criminalize Cannabis.[39] The legalistic prohibition account, unfortunately then, still dominates the discussion of all the uses of Cannabis.[40]

This literature review will show the historical phases as well as contemporary place of hemp. It will begin with a brief history of hemp to highlight the important part it has played in human societies. Second, it will provide a sketch of the significant place South Africa played in getting Cannabis to become globally prohibited and its internal regulations regarding the plant to the 1970s. Thirdly it will show how hemp was affected by global prohibition, the most dominant aspect of Cannabis history in the last one hundred years, which narrowed the discussion of the plant to be dominated by Western conceptions of recreational and medicinal marijuana. Lastly, it will provide a critique of Cannabis literature by highlighting hemps agrarian nature and the plant's ability to illuminate important alternative spaces for South African and continental development.

2.2 A brief history of hemp

To understand hemps contemporary position must begin with an understanding of hemps historical incorporation into agricultural activities as an agrarian good. Map 1 provides the routes and times of diffusion of Cannabis from central Asia to the rest of the world. Hemp has been cultivated from before Christ and was one of the most important crops (for ropes, ship sails, cloth and paper) throughout the world, until the 18th century (Bouloc et.al. 2013: 7, 8-10, 14-15; Decorte et.al. 2011: 6; Herer 1985 [2010]; Schultes et al p. 22 in Rubin 1975; Warf 2014: 419-420).[41] Hemps decline as

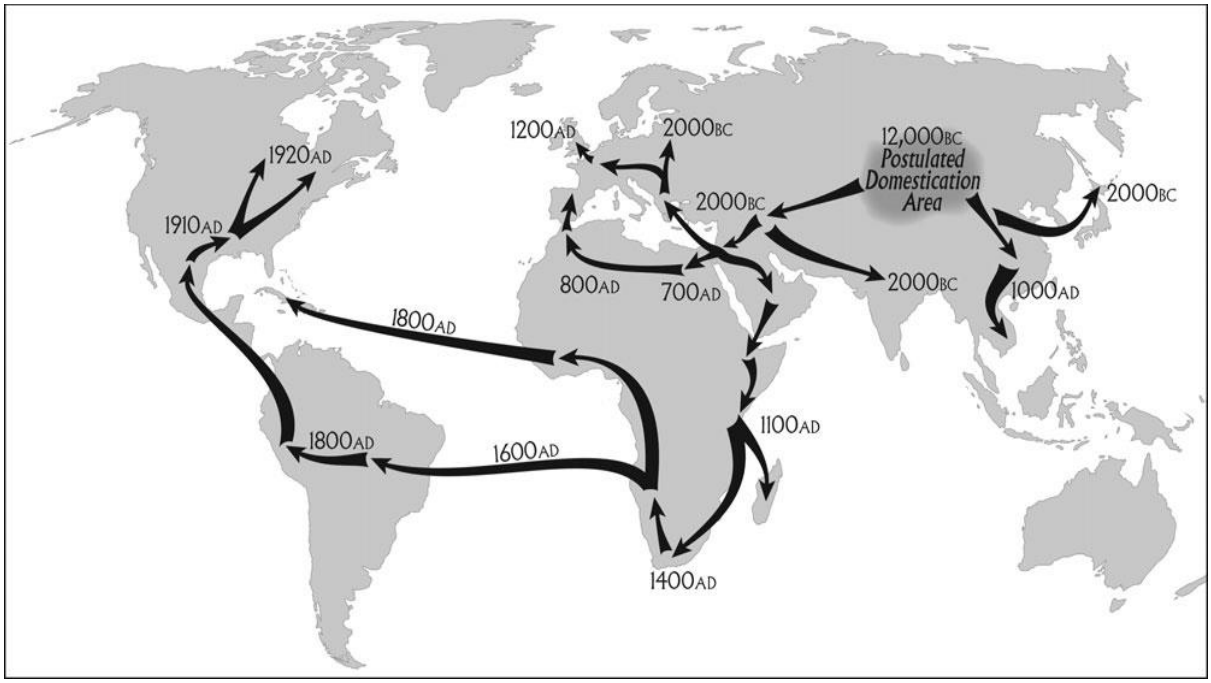
[39] The thesis pays attention to revolutionary history, labour concerns and agrarian development. Although ecological perspectives are important to the story of Cannabis, they are not discussed at length in this thesis but are featured throughout this study, nonetheless.

[40] London (2009: iii, 15, 17-48) highlights how discourses and narratives are made up to legitimize policy decisions which over time influence public perceptions about the decisions that have been made. For instance, Cannabis only became a crime once it became criminalized. Over time the ideas used to sanction its illegality particularly that it is a 'gateway drug', have become social norms for understanding the plant, regardless of if they are true or false. To be sure, as in most parts of the world, alcohol, not Cannabis, remains the 'predominant psychoactive substance across Africa' (Ambler, Carrier & Klantschnig, in Klantschnig et.al. 2014: 2).

[41] The exact region where Cannabis originated from is unclear, but China and the Asian sub-continent are regarded as the first parts of the world to cultivate the plant (Schultes et al, in Rubin 1975: 25; Benet, in Rubin 1975: 39).

a leading non-food crop began in the late 18th century with the mechanization of the cotton industry, and in the early 19th century, with inventions most notably of the weaving machine, mechanized agricultural tools and the steam engine that further diminished hemps importance (Bouloc et.al. 2013: 18-20; Warf 2014: 426).[42] By the mid-19th century, the United States of America (USA) had become a leading industrial force which meant that the advances made in paper production from wood during the mid-19th century, which the USA and Canada had ample supply of, ensured the decline of the hemp industry in North America and Europe. Lastly, the introduction of synthetic fibres in the second half of the 19th century further challenged hemp and other plant fibre goods (Bouloc et.al. 2013: 22). What must be emphasised in this historiography, is that, until the early 20th century hemp goods and all other Cannabis production were treated and regulated as any other agricultural commodity, i.e., they were agrarian goods rather than problematic recreational or medicinal substances.

Map 2: Historical diffusion of Cannabis



Source: (Warf 2014: 419)

It was only at the start of the 20th century that hemp became increasingly linked to the recreational usages of Cannabis. This led to international prohibition policies,

[42] Furthermore, hemp was challenged by other fibre crops such as jute and flax.

initiated no less by South Africa in the 1920s, which were by the mid to late 1930s heavily backed by the rapidly rising USA hegemon, which ultimately made all the uses of the plant illegal (Fijnaut & De Ruyver 2015: 6, 11; Warf 2014: 429; Waetjen 2022).[43] The motives behind why Cannabis was made illegal in the USA have nonetheless become the template for understanding how hemps history and contemporary circumstances are understood globally. This has limited the consideration of how Cannabis prohibition existed in other parts of the world, particularly Africa (See Croucamp 1997 for a good discussion of prohibition in South Africa). Because colonial African Cannabis laws were in fact the precursor to the international prohibition efforts being pushed by the USA, and stem from the larger European colonial project recent literature has begun to unearth this (see Chattopadhyaya 2019; Duvall 2019; Nkosi, Devey, Waetjen 2020; Waetjen 2022). Americanized Cannabis prohibition histories are nevertheless useful for showing how the removal of Cannabis from agrarian control mechanisms benefited the growth of multinational industries. But they do not adequately show how prohibition made the state regulate the production and non-production of a crop that had for centuries maintained its agrarian autonomy. Increasing state powers in the agrarian sector was an important control mechanism over manufacturing and the production of goods. In the nationalist driven era of the inter war years, commodification through capitalist led industrial development, set the tone for the modernist project of the next quarter of a century.[44]

Prohibition efforts in the USA also relied on creating moral panic through the intense lobbying of newspaper, petrochemical investors, bankers, politicians and a newly created Federal Narcotics Bureau, in 1930. All this ultimately led to the passing of the Marijuana Tax Act on 2 August 1937, which imposed unusually high taxes on hemp cultivation that made it uneconomical to grow any form of Cannabis in the USA (Bouloc et.al. 2013: 22-23; Warf 2014: 430).[45] Through this Act the non-food crop Cannabis was effectively banned in the USA. This strengthened the case for the global prohibition of Cannabis owing to the hegemony the USA had over the political

[43] For example, The Hague Convention of 1912 and the Geneva Conventions of 1925, 1931 and 1936. Specific 'vegetable crops' that were prohibited included Cannabis, poppy plants used to produce opium and later in the 20th century, the cocoa plant used in the production of cocaine (Fijnaut & De Ruyver 2015: 6).

[44] The modernist project, spearheaded by the desire to commodify as much of the agrarian as possible, could be argued to have continued right to the end of the 20th century. In fact, Povinelli (2011) argues that modernity continues in the 21st century under the guise of what she calls 'late liberalism'.

[45] For a more detailed discussion about the criminalisation of Cannabis and the subsequent demise of the hemp industry, see (Decorte et.al. 2011; Fijnaut & De Ruyver 2015; London 2009: 63–67).

economy of the world's nation states. Moreover, even in countries that continued to grow hemp, mostly those with communist leanings, the stiffer competition from new products after World War II (WWII) ensured that hemp occupied a negligible agricultural position throughout the cold war era (Bouloc et.al. 2013: 22-23).[46] It has only been since the 1990s in North America and parts of Europe, South America and Africa that there has been renewed interest in the production of Cannabis goods and hemp. Changing consumer preferences for natural and environmentally friendly products and the stalemate that drug discourse produced, alos triggered this transformation (Wang & Shi 1999: 345; Warf 2014: 432-433).

2.3 Cannabis regulation in South Africa prior to and during the plants global prohibition

Without question therefore, the prohibition efforts begun in the first half of the twentieth century dominate the historical and contemporary geography of Cannabis. What though is quite recent literature in this regard is that many of these prohibition efforts are in fact measures that were put in place in various parts of colonial Africa prior to its global introduction. In a letter sent on 28 November 1923 to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, J.C. van Tyen, then Secretary to the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, Jan Christiaan Smuts, argued that Cannabis should also be included as a drug deemed to be 'habit-forming' (Chattopadhyaya 2019). The chain of events that followed saw Egypt also join the debate on South Africa's side as well as France Italy, the United States as well as Turkey and Greece (Chattopadhyaya 2019: 610; Waetjen 2022: 360). This eventually "… culminated in 1925 with the formal designation of the cannabis plant as a dangerous drug, next to raw and medicinal opium, the coca leaf and crude cocaine, and morphine" (Chattopadhyaya 2019: 589). South Africa had an important place in colonial affairs, particularly since Jan Smuts was internationally revered as a key architect of the League of Nations and valuable ally to the direction of empire in the inter war years. "In other words, in 1925 [because of South Africa's and other countries that followed its request], cannabis was fixed into place, literally scheduled into a list, affixed to existing regimes of criminal law, and

[46] China and the Russian Federation dominated the production of hemp during the cold war because they had not been signatory countries to international policies of the UN: Asia remains hemps preeminent producer (Bouloc et.al. 2013: 23; Wang & Shi 1999: 347; Zhang 2008: 54).

given a monochromatic identity in an emerging world of nation-states" (Chattopadhyaya 2019: 589-590).

However, prior to this intervention by J.C. van Tyen the South African government, various farmers and entrepreneurs had pursed efforts to make Cannabis a viable trade option. For example the Industries Department of South Africa in November 1923, 'days before Van Tyen despatched his letter' had asked about the possibility of 'experimenting on South African hemp plants in Natal' to find out if it was commercially viable (Chattopadhyaya 2019: 597-598). The Union state therefore was willing to make a profit off of Cannabis but had to reconcile these with its racist moral positions particularly those of its black population (Chattopadhyaya 2019: 599). Cannabis was hence seen as a 'breakdown in racial and cultural boundaries' (Nkosi et.al., 2020: 73). Still, what is important to recognize here is that it is necessary to 'rethink the assumptions behind the history of prohibition" (Chattopadhyaya 2019: 612). Nonetheless, the most direct and lasting impact of the colonial laws against Cannabis lay in how it devalued the plants worth to African agriculture. Thus, "For Cannabis, drug policy implies agricultural policy" (Duvall 2016:12) which means it is the task of scholars to deal with agricultural policies historically to really understand the value that Cannabis would have to its contemporary agriculture future.[47]

In addition, Waetjen (2022: 360; see also Nkosi et.al., 2020: 73-74) argues that "Within South Africa itself, and for decades, prohibition in practice meant dagga's accommodation as a custom in the 'tribal' countryside and suppression as a 'habit' in the urban civil spaces." But regardless of these measures South Africa remained one of the world's largest producers of Cannabis with 'fully half of the world's reported total' in 1946 (Waetjen 2022: 360). But an immediate change to Cannabis enforcement was felt once Apartheid was instituted in 1948. By 1949 already, a commission was formed to investigate 'dagga abuse'. This commissions report in 1952 recommended focusing control measures to stop the supply of and cultivation of dagga (Waetjen 2022: 361). "Police raids were organised to search out and destroy fields of cultivation, undermining earlier [pre-apartheid] economies of protection and accommodation that had been fostered between police and growers" (Waetjen 2022: 361; see also Nkosi et.al., 2020: 76). Finally, the Abuse of Dependence Producing Substances and

[47] Remember that the first Act to be passed after the creation of the union of South Africa in 1910 was the Native land act of 1913 which lay the seeds for the total destruction of black agricultural producers (Nkosi, Devey, Waetjen 2020:71).

Rehabilitation Centres Act of 1971 saw to it that "Tens of thousands of people, overwhelmingly Black, were incarcerated under the law from the early 1970s" (Waetjen 2022: 362).

2.4 The prohibition geographies of hemp internationally

Without question therefore, the prohibition efforts begun in the first half of the twentieth century dominate the historical and contemporary geography of hemp. This study, however, emphasises Cannabis prohibition geographies from the latter half of the 20th century, from the watershed events of 1970s, to provide a contemporary and international analysis of hemp. The oil crisis, cold war dynamics and the neoliberal development paths that African countries were forced to take from this period onwards are a grounding for understanding contemporary African development and agrarian production (Borras Jr. 2009: 5-6; Somerville 2015: xi-xiv). Furthermore, it is at this impasse that Cannabis became an international anti-establishment symbol through the Rastafarian and hippie movements. Ultimately these groups initiated a new and renewed interest in the plant. Lastly, it was also during this time that important fissures in Western capital development were exposed which unfortunately led to even more conservative measures.

Under the auspices of the Washington consensus, led by USA's President Ronald Regan (1981-1989) and Prime Minister Margret Thatcher of the United Kingdom (1979-1990), global economic development was repackaged to continue benefitting neoliberal capitalist democracy (see Neocosmos 2016; Povinelli 2011; Willis 2005). Thus, certain ideals and goods that were formally prohibited during most of the 20th century were now controversially included and contradictorily repackaged as useful commodities.[48] Cannabis is just one example of a product regarded as not imperative to colonial and American capitalist development, nevertheless, had begun to be reintroduced into contemporary Western capitalist development by the 1990s.[49]

[48] Although the Reagan administration strongly supported the 'Just say no' campaign against drugs, relaxing Cannabis prohibition in the USA, was by the start of the 1990s becoming a reality. Another controversial inclusion into policy making at that time was the increasing recognition of gay and lesbian rights.

[49] Some of the countries and parts of the world where the outright prohibition of Cannabis has been lifted include the Netherlands, Portugal, and other European countries, Canada, certain states in the U.S.A, Uruguay and South Africa (Fijnaut & De Ruyver 2015). Another, although more extreme, example of the reintroduction of formerly banned practices is South Africa's scrapping, from the 1980s, of many irrelevant Apartheid Acts such as the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act in 1985, and the repeal of Pass laws in 1986. What is unclear is to what extent these apartheid social engineering projects damaged people's perceptions of

To be sure, the current literature about hemp does confront the political and economic factors behind its removal from agricultural production in the West. However, it fails to adequately explore these within the context of Africa's colonial and post-colonial prohibition history.[50] Nor, does it show how this non-food crop is being incorporated into the Global South's contemporary agrarian plans. The literature about Cannabis is predominantly being produced in the West and countries where hemp or medicinal and recreational marijuana use is legal. Some of these texts include (Chapkis & Webb 2008; Decorte et.al. 2011; Fijnaut & De Ruyver 2015; Herer 1985 [2010]; London 2009; Rubin 1975). The more limited discussion of Cannabis in Africa focuses on the recreational and cultural usages of the plant rather than its application as an industrial crop (du Toit 1980; Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021; Duvall 2019; Klantschnig et.al. 2014; Legget 2002; Manning (ed) 2007; Paterson MA Dissertation 2009; Rubin 1975).[51] Ultimately, how the plant is being situated in the new millennium is still being framed principally by Western discourse hence the focus of this literature review on its arguments.

There are, nonetheless, many positives in how the West is redesigning the discourse of Cannabis in their countries and creating a development platform for other countries to follow. However, because the plant has a different set of circumstances in African countries, it is impossible to implement/trace Western development ideals related to Cannabis onto this continent.[52] For example, historical racism, colonialism, the concomitant effects of 'agrarian dispossession', and most importantly post-colonial statehood must be included in the discussion of any topic about Africa (Somerville 2015) – hemp and Cannabis are no exception. These factors were key to the

interracial love and sex or the racialized ideas that signified access into or out of state provisions for non-whites. Similarly, with Cannabis, prohibitions ending does not mean its negative social narrative are diminished instantaneously. This is the problem post-prohibition Cannabis policy finds itself in.

[50] Thus the works of Chattopadhyaya 2019; Duvall 2019; Nkosi, Devey, Waetjen 2020; Waetjen 2022 are important in exploring the 'African roots of Marijuana' better.

[51] Coogan's (2016) MA dissertation is one of a limited number of academic texts written specifically about hemp in South Africa. See also Owusu, Arthur & Aboagye (2021) article about hemp in Ghana.

[52] Kautsky as well as Lenin argued, using Karl Marx's idea of revolution occurring differently in different parts of the world, that resolving the agrarian question could take multiple forms depending on the specific circumstances of the country, nation or place (Marx 1876 [1976], in Akram-Lodhi & Kay 2010: 181, 188). Likewise, hemp and Cannabis exist differently in various regions of the world, so their development will proceed according to those sites discourse of the plant.

underdevelopment of Cannabis in the Northern hemisphere but are even more of a concern in the Global South.[53]

It is also important to grapple with why Cannabis prohibition is maintained in African states, while being relaxed in the West. This thesis argues that this has to do with the interest of Western hegemons but also, African leaders and big business who seek to maintain control over all new economic gates (see Scheibe, Shelly & Versfeld in Buxton et.al. 2020). Using Frederick Cooper's gatekeeper thesis, Somerville (2015: 323, 331) adds that although African economies are still dominated by global capitalism, African elites are 'active agents' in maintaining African under development, whether willingly or unwillingly. This thesis agrees that the maintenance of Cannabis prohibition in Africa, particularly considering Western efforts at decriminalization, is to be blamed on African development ideals. Many of these ideals are still based on colonial models of development, where poor and ineffective African leadership is an ordinary result of the colonial legacies of 'indirect rule'.[54] Therefore, Neocosmos (2016) asserts, that the African state form is no longer the purveyor of emancipatory politics on the continent. Protecting state interests, rather than the countries citizens, is an aspect of its political culture that it performs regularly, even if this means maintaining the gates of prohibition.[55]

Therefore, the gatekeeper model, the thesis contends, must be updated to provide a more useful alternative agrarian development course for Cannabis in Africa. One it argues that regards medicinal and recreational Cannabis equally with hemp Cannabis. And to be certain, it is more useful for African development to confront our own leadership shortcomings before they become problems. This way the continent can try to ensure women occupy more of these leading positions, all the poor working class are provided just access to employment opportunities and ownership by black

[53] This point will be made more explicit by using Walter Rodney's (1973) classic text, "*How Europe underdeveloped Africa*", as a framework to explore how these factors underdeveloped Cannabis in Africa.

[54] This policy empowered local traditional leaders. But, where such rulers did not exist the colonial administration would put in leaders who suited their needs (Wikepedia, Indirect rule, Accessed 10 March 2022). This tendency still exists in African countries where the best qualified often are not 'suited' to the needs of African administrators (See also Mbembe 1992; 2005).

[55] See (Mbembe 1992; 2005). The prohibition of alcohol and cigarettes during the Covid 19 pandemic could offer an interesting study of the relations and compliance of citizens to Government regulations and their overall usefulness. It seemed there was a political agenda to this prohibition that the pandemic provided the cover-up for! Alcohol and cigarettes and their users became, in this sense, the scapegoat for the overburdened South African health care system.

people becomes a norm. However, popular narratives have been produced over time that make such efforts difficult to achieve.

2.4.1 The creation of the popular Cannabis narratives

For example, producing a narrative that Cannabis was a harmful drug, became a necessity, to ensure the prohibition of all the uses of the plant.[56] This narrative was consciously produced and pursued by colonial governments, the USA, and international agencies that in the process dispossessed hemp from legal agricultural production. Therefore, the study of hemp is inextricably linked to the narratives about the Cannabis plant, particularly its recreational, but also its medicinal usages. These narratives linking Cannabis to illicit drugs have had the effect of shading all uses of the plant, including industrial hemp, in negative terms. Therefore, the misconception is continually recreated that the plant only has recreational and medicinal marijuana properties.[57]

The popular understanding of Cannabis and hemp in South Africa must be understood in a global historical context to correctly diagnose how these narratives have come to exist. It is thus useful to use the Focauldian analysis of archaeology originally, but more thoroughly genealogy, to understand the chronicles surrounding Cannabis. "*Archaeology* wants to show structural order, structural differences and the discontinuities that mark off the present from its past. *Genealogy* seeks instead to show ''descent'' and ''emergence'' and how the contingencies of these processes continue to shape the present" (emphasis in original) (Garland 2014: 371). For Foucault, genealogy was a way of writing critical history to show

> … how contemporary practices and institutions emerged out of specific struggles, conflicts, alliances, and exercises of power, many of which are nowadays forgotten. It thereby enables the genealogist to suggest – not by means of normative argument but instead by presenting a series of troublesome associations and lineages – that institutions and practices we value and

[56] Contemporary development is delinking marijuana from drugs and aligning it closer to other recreational non-food crops, most especially tobacco and crops that produce alcohol beverages. However, if a successful agrarian Cannabis discourse is enabled, food, water, land and labour, would take center stage in the debate about the space that Cannabis actually should occupy in a Southern agrarian perspective. This means the leading voice of the agrarian should still not be recreational marijuana and other recreational non-food crops, such as tobacco and crops producing alcoholic beverages, even if they all are very important agrarian crops.

[57] In recent times recreational marijuana has spawned a 'Cannabis culture' that has 'millions of web pages' as well as large amounts of literature dedicated to this aspect of the plant that easily outnumber those of industrial hemp (Decorte et.al. 2010: 4-5).

> take for granted today are actually more problematic or more ‘dangerous’ than they otherwise appear (Garland 2014: 372).

The tale of Cannabis is a story of similar contradiction that highlights the political economies that have intertwined over the years to create firstly, a prohibition narrative and more recently, a medicalization narrative. Both of which, this thesis will argue, were decided upon only when their creation suited the needs of the neoliberal capitalist order.

Genealogy is able to show the processes by which ‘contemporary practices emerged’ and the historical factors ‘upon which present-day practices depend’. As such, it highlights how present conditions are shaped by ‘complex power relations and struggles’ (Garland 2014: 373). Thus, “A history of the present begins by identifying a present-day practice that is both taken for granted and yet, in certain respects, problematic or somehow unintelligible – the reformative prison in the 1970s, for example, or the American death penalty today – and then seeks to trace the power struggles that produced them” (Garland 2014: 373). In the case of Cannabis whose contemporary legalization is taken for granted (but is developmentally problematic), there is a need therefore to trace the ‘power struggles that produced them’. The thesis argues that it is the black revolutionary thought embedded in Cannabis that is the power struggle that produced global legalization efforts. Furthermore, only when this aspect of Cannabis is incorporated into its development can it be sustainable and uncontaminated by the capitalist motifs subconsciously being reproduced through the popularization of Cannabis legalization. Genealogies concern, therefore (and in terms of this understanding of Cannabis), is clearly not history, but trying to understand the present by using ‘historical materials to rethink the present’ to reconstruct how these are produced (Garland 2014: 373).

The design of prohibition, and medicalization to a certain extent, fundamentally shaped(s) the present understanding of Cannabis. Contemporary liberal narratives therefore think Cannabis development is best suited within the powerful and lucrative medical industrial complex, large scale agriculture and manufacturing industries which are still reliant on capitalist models of development. This serves only to reproduce a failing development tradition rather than producing new ways in which Cannabis can exist in societies (see for instance Bewley-Taylor, Jelsma & Kay in Buxton et.al. 2020; Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021). It is therefore necessary to trace the “(historic power

struggles, modes of control, alliances and associations) and their continuing operation today" if a better understanding of the contemporary position of Cannabis is to be understood in South Africa (Garland 2014: 376). The best way to do this, the study argues, is by engaging with a discussion about the plant Cannabis that does not focus on the popular recreational and medicinal usages. Instead, by focusing on hemp enables a discussion of power and knowledge more forthrightly. It also moves the discussion of the plant Cannabis away from the powerful but compromised liberal, neoliberal and 'late liberal' dictates about the plant.

Common literature about recreational Cannabis in South Africa has tended to present the plant based on the popular narratives about the plant focusing on for example, marijuana in the context of the drug trade, rural livelihoods, and various social histories of the plant (du Toit 1980; Paterson MA Dissertation 2009). These studies are useful in locating the place that Cannabis has occupied in South African society but have not directly challenged the impact global narratives have on the development of the plant. Furthermore, even a narrative about Cannabis informed from the continent and the black diaspora must do more than simply refute the claims made by Western notions about the plant. It must also provide an alternative way in which the development of the plant can proceed that is authentic to the circumstances of the Global South. Therefore, while the medicalization of Cannabis, from former criminal statuses, being pursued in many Western countries is useful to the Global South, a narrative centered on understanding Cannabis development here must be likewise innovative.[58]

To be certain, the study of hemp in South Africa is aimed at updating and analyzing the present and future of this plant, rather than seeking to "establish a certain point of view" as is often the case when writing about African concerns (Young 2010: x). Hemp, this study will show, is not a panacea but one of many possible remedies that could benefit African development to "do in decades what Europe achieved in centuries".[59] Essentially this means three things: Firstly, debunking hemp from recreational and medicinal Cannabis prohibition narratives; secondly, providing an agrarian alternative for Cannabis rather than a plant history reliant on political

[58] London (2009) explains how the medicalization of Cannabis is just another institutional citizen control mechanism, but likewise does not incorporate the African context into this ground-breaking exploration.
[59] Dutch anthropologist Peter Geschiere found a sign in a government office in a remote village in Cameroon in 1971 so aptly stating this (Young 2010: 58).

economy that have become more commonplace (Beinart & Middleton 2004: 11); and lastly, ensuring an innovative solution is proposed to the development critique this thesis makes.

However, Robbins (2005: 454) warns that commodity histories tend to over-exaggerate the power of the crop, which Karl Marx labelled 'fetishism of the commodity' which is a common feature in the literature of hemp and Cannabis.[60] Robbins (2005: 455-456) adds that many commodity histories are almost advertisements for the product but say little about the workers and relations of power in the industry, nor do they mention global capitalism. In addition, (Wang and Shi 1999: 354, 356) add that more economic analysis of hemp is required that includes "…the silence of the large paper, textile, and oil manufacturers… [when] assessing the potential of industrial hemp".[61] Therefore, the discussion of hemp from a social science point of view, that critiques the existing modes of development of the plant, requires a dialogue of the non-food crop hemp that gives voice to these silences of commodity histories. Fundamentally, what must be critiqued is the notion that hemp and other Cannabis usages are primarily commodities. Although this is a useful start and central to Western conceptions of the plant, being a commodity is not necessarily the fundamental component of the plant if conceptualized from the Global South.

2.4.2 The Rasta view of Cannabis: Black histories centrality to the formation of the political geography of the plant

There are different conceptions of Cannabis that have been formed not only as a response to prohibition, but because they are narratives of the plant that exist in black historic experience. Moreover, these conceptions of Cannabis are often in direct confrontation with popular views most associated with the plant. The most common black movement that advocates for Cannabis usage and that has got a worldwide following is Rastafarianism.[62] The use of ganja for Rastafarians is "religious, spiritual

[60] Some book titles about hemp include "Hemp for victory: A global warming solution"; "Hemp horizons: The comeback of the world's most promising plant"; or "The gospel of hemp: How hemp can save our world".

[61] The thesis had originally intended to conduct interviews with paper and textile manufactures in South Africa to analyse this position further. However, the constraints of the Covid 19 pandemic as well as changes to the direction the thesis took meant no such interviews were conducted. This is an area of future study because it is a very real challenge for hemp to compete in a sector dominated by large paper, textile and light industrial goods manufacturers.

[62] There have been other influences of Cannabis in Africa, such as blacks in the diaspora, jazz, labour regimes and Africans themselves. In the documentary "Marijuana: A chronic history" (2010) Accessed 05 March 2019) it shows that Jazz musicians such as Cab Calloway, Fats Waller and Louie Armstrong recorded songs about

and medicinal among others" (Chawane 2008: 171). To be sure: "… first, it is important to know and understand that Rastafarianism is not about ganja — but ganja is part of Rastafarianism so that the two cannot be separated" (Chawane 2008: 175). Gordan (2008: 170) illuminates, "The Rastafari movement, with its symbols of recognizing 'natural' blackness such as dread locks and cultural links with music and rituals around ('ganja') that led to direct conflicts with the Jamaican (and other Caribbean) governments, brought these [black historic experience] questions to the fore."

Rodney (1969: 61) states further "In our epoch the Rastafari have represented the leading force of this expression of black consciousness. They have rejected this [the] philistine white West Indian society. They have sought their cultural and spiritual roots in Ethiopia and Africa. So that whether there is a big flare up or not, there is always the constant activity of the black people who perceive that the system has nothing in it for them, except suppression and oppression." Cannabis has been interpreted for Rasta, in a manner that fits their understanding of a world that they consider to be at odds with the black historic experience. Therefore, regardless of the prohibition of Cannabis, Rasta took hold of this plant and lent to it a narrative that was much more than its abilities to be a viable commodity. It became a representation of the political geography they embraced that was black, Pan-African, pro-poor and obviously revolutionary.

Cannabis was symbolic of Rasta and its use and their belief in the plant was more than simply for recreational smoking. For Rasta, Cannabis is not only spiritual but also a way of leaving 'Babylon' (the term used to describe the Western civilization Rasta's find themselves in as former slaves in the Western hemispheres) (Rodney 1969: 8). This notion of leaving the West (Babylon) was the mission of Marcus Garvey, a hero for many Rasta's, but who was once condemned in Jamaica, although is now considered a 'National' hero (Rodney 1969: 8). "Marcus Garvey was one of the first advocates of Black Power, and is still today the greatest spokesman ever to have been produced by the movement of black consciousness" (Rodney 1969: 20). Although it was never possible to move most black people 'Back to Africa', as Marcus Garvey had famously tried to do, the idea of escaping from Babylon was at least made real through the realization of black consciousness and the appeal to black power. Over the course

Cannabis throughout the 1930s. Popular culture has had a great deal of influence over marijuana usage and how people understand the plant.

of time black consciousness made it possible for blacks in the Western diaspora to be removed from the Babylon system, if not in body, then at least in mind.

Thus, the divide between the secular and the religious being adopted by the West as well as "Protestantism [that] envisaged the human career as a cumulative moral voyage, unrelieved by the possibility of atonement or absolution" were all incompatible to a Rasta worldview (Comarof in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 171; Povinelli 2011: 170). Rasta people sought to insert a religious ethos or spirituality into their lives, and workspaces, to escape the bloody memories black people had had with slavery. The conceptualization that Rasta has imbued Cannabis with is therefore an original one, formed from the experiences of black people in the diaspora, rather than an adopted Western and Asian tradition. Therefore, the development of Cannabis in the Global South should reflect aspects of the Rastafarian understanding of the plant.

Rasta has also avoided being associated with anything that will dominate or deteriorate black people's progress. Nonetheless, "While Rastafarianism may be seen as a political, social or religious movement … it does not align itself with any such movement. This is because the Rastafarian worldview embraces all these aspects, and at the same time, tends to represent an antithesis of what other mainstream movements stand for" (Chawane 2008: 202). Historically, Rasta has never agreed with many of the conceptualizations of the West and has actively pursued an alternative lifestyle and way to live in a world they still see as being dominated by 'Babylon'. However, with the global momentum towards Cannabis legalization, Rasta's commitment to uphold its views of the plant and how society can use them is at stake. Being drowned out by the very real capitalist nature of the current strategies for the renewal of Cannabis as a commodity crop is a threat Rastafarians must face.[63]

In addition to Cannabis, some of the popular symbols of Rastafarians such as dreadlocks, Rasta attire, language and music have also been adopted by members of society who are not Rasta (Chawane 2008: 156). While it could be argued that this is a natural tendency in an ever 'shrinking world', what must not be forgotten is that the space Cannabis occupies in a free-market system and the one it occupied during prohibition are vastly abstracted. Cannabis as a commodity is a much more slippery

[63] While attending a Cannabis Expo held in Sandton, Johannesburg it was clear that Cannabis was being promoted as a business opportunity. Rasta people were being called to join in on these opportunities. However, what was never openly discussed (although the sentiment was felt) was how to make Rasta sensibilities compatible with the more Western conceptions that view Cannabis primarily as a commodity (Field notes, 10 August 2019).

slope to have influence over than the production of an illicit 'black market' crop such that Cannabis was during prohibition.[64] As a legal agrarian commodity Cannabis will compete with products much longer in the popular market. Therefore, an analysis that is not only about the psychedelic properties of Cannabis offers a more complex way in which to analyse the plants abilities to vie for recognition.

2.5 The place that hemp occupies in contemporary South African agrarian space and economic development

Cannabis and most obviously hemp, is first and foremost an agrarian crop. Agrarian studies literature, however, does not adequately incorporate the role played by non-food crops, such as Cannabis, in agrarian development (Duvall 2016; 2019). The focus is predominantly on agrarian political economy (Akram-Lodhi & Kay 2010; Bernstein 1996; Fairbairn et.al., 2014), land practices (Hebinck & Cousins 2013; Moyo 1995, 2011), labour struggles (Rutherford 2017), the agriculture, predominantly of food crops (Greenberg 2015; McMichael 2013), rural (and urban agrarian) development (Hebinck & Cousins 2013; Jacobs 2017) and the livelihoods of small scale to commercial farmers (Hebinck & Cousins 2013).

Using every available avenue, such as Cannabis and the expansion of the non-food crop sector, can only add to the positive transformation of an all-inclusive agrarian space. And since "… agrarian reform has a potentially important role to play in [the] this economic reorganisation [of African societies]" (Greenberg 2015: 975) non-food crops such as Cannabis should be included in the discussion about agrarian transformation. Moreover, since Africa is still primarily an agrarian economy Laudati (in Klantschnig et.al. 2014: 175) argues its "… interface with the world market now, and for the foreseeable future, is in agricultural commodity exchange". However, this must be qualified because South Africa is not primarily an agrarian economy and in fact most of its citizens live in urban settings. To be fair, the African continent is fast becoming urbanized so that the relationship to the agrarian and rural economies is transforming rapidly. Nevertheless, the tendency of dialogues about agrarian studies to exclude non-food crops is still surprising considering that this sector is comprised

[64] In many ways this is similar to liberation movements struggles to adapt their style of leadership to suit party politics. The two are so far removed from each other that it has been a very difficult task for black governments to reconcile these differences and be as effective leaders as they were during the liberation struggle.

of recreational, medicinal and industrial crops which all have significant value-chains outside of the agrarian proper.[65]

Hemp's ability to add to Africa's 'productive' industrial power creates the enabling environment African countries need to be able to become diversified economies, as opposed to producers reliant on raw materials (Somerville 2015: 317; Young 2010: 147). The non-food crop sector has a closer relationship to manufacturing industries than the food and intermediary crop sector because the finished products of recreational, medicinal and industrial crops are mostly functional goods (cigarettes, alcoholic beverages, medicinal products, paper or textiles for instance).[66] Borras Jr. (2009: 15) argues that development that harnesses the "…synergies between agriculture and industry and goes beyond the rural–urban divide offers the best possibilities for generating a process of rural development able to eradicate rural poverty." Non-food crops are usually grown to create a manufactured good which means their industries have an established relationship to capital and industrial development making them even more important to developmental reform. Non-food crops therefore should be understood as an essential part of global agriculture as well as an important intersection between politics, economy and society due to its unique relation to various types of product manufacturing.

Unfortunately, it is precisely because of the close relationship non-food crops have to power and wealth that prompted capital to prohibit Cannabis from competing in the market. By removing Cannabis from legal agricultural production allowed capital to gain an additional, and very strategic, foothold over agrarian production globally (particularly in the recreational, medicinal and industrial sectors where the plant was most active). The prohibition of Cannabis from the non-food crop industry and hence agrarian development ensured the expansion of the tobacco and alcoholic beverage

[65] In Fairbairn's et.al. (2014) review of the 40 plus years of publication of the Journal of Peasant Studies, a leading journal for agrarian studies, little is mentioned about non-food crops such as Cannabis and their importance to agrarian fields of study. Rather, cereal and other food crops remain the centrepiece of agrarian studies and global agriculture because they are viewed as the leading site of industrial capitals continued power over agrarian goods and production (Ramankutty et.al. 2004; McMichael 2013). The circumstances in Africa are somewhat different because besides food, land dispossession occupied a central role in colonialism's efforts at dominating the agrarian. In South Africa land was a central means of dispossession, but so to was the creation of a black labouring class, both of which functioned to ensure 'white capital monopoly' according to Wolpe (1972).

[66] Food crops is defined in this thesis as crops whose main purpose is the production of food. Intermediary crops are defined for this thesis as those crops that are used to enable the food or non-food crop sectors. This includes spice crops for example or herbs used in cosmetic productions.

industries, chemically produced medicines and synthetic goods industries through the heavy backing of powerful urban capitalist interests (Bouloc et.al. 2013; Fijnaut & De Ruyver 2015). However, such capital-intensive industrial development had serious consequences particularly for the natural environment.

2.5.1 Cannabis and the ecological movement

A futuristic developmental narrative of Cannabis must also connect to the concerns of the ecological movement that are likewise impassioned to create a different world to the one capitalist expansion promotes. It is for this reason that there is a strong affinity between the ecological and Cannabis movement: Both are supporters of environmental and sustainable development. Afsahi (p.202 in Butxton et.al. 2020) however warns that contemporary Cannabis development is not as ecologically conscious as it can be as it slowly falls into the 'school of thought that espouses unfettered competition'. Ecological theory therefore contends that environmental change requires broader economic, societal and political transformation (Dobson 2007; Weston 2012). Hence, mobilizing for the creation of a sustainable green Cannabis economy must simultaneously activate social justice needs such as just employment and eradicating poverty (Afsahi in Butxton et.al. 2020; Agyeman, Bullard & Evans 2002: 78; Cone 2000: 36).

Marxists and environmental justice advocates however warn that ecological positions sometimes reinforce the status quo because they ignore "the relationship between capital and labour", as well as race, in environmental concerns (Cone 2000: 36; Dobson 2007: 22). Moreover, according to Afsahi (p. 185 in Buxton et.al. 2020) the environmental aspects of Cannabis receive 'little attention' from researchers and activists although "… the environmental argument has been put forward many times to show the benefits of cannabis (insulative, depolluting, etc.) and to moralise the market." In addition, the environmental movement, as is global Cannabis development, is largely centered in the North and is arguably a "privilege of wealth and power" (Weston 2012: xiii, 87; Dobson 2007: 18). Environmental concerns based on Western utopian ideals certainly have limited practicality for the realities of the Global South. Ultimately, social and environmental justice for Africans and blacks in the diaspora means more than simply the creation of a clean and sustainable environment.

This study therefore engages with environmentalism from the perspective of those with marginalized life chances and opportunities that Joan Martinez-Allier (2002) has called "the environmentalism of the poor". The 'Green revolution' therefore is understood in its own way by citizens of the Global South and subsequently occurs in a different way than in the ecological movements of the Global North. Divergent social and environmental experiences of people from the Global South shape their understanding and action towards ecological concerns (Patterson 2015; Pope, Smith, Shacks & Hargrove 2011). The Cannabis plants multiple connections to various agrarian, social, economic and political developments put it at the forefront of ecological revolution based on the concerns of the Global South.

The enormous influence international policies (Greenberg 2015: 957) have over the practices and development of South Africa's agrarian sector, including the control over agricultural produce, need a complete transformation. It is no coincidence then that the legal Cannabis industry seeks to insert itself into the new spaces being created by such reorganization. Yet, in post-apartheid South Africa, policy makers continue to advance 'large-scale commercial farming' models for agrarian agricultural development without reforming the 'inherited agrarian structure' that these large commercial – and still largely white owned – farms are a central part of. Thus, they have created a situation that has had little originality or impact in transforming colonial and apartheid-era agrarian mechanisms (Hebinck in Hebinck & Cousins eds., 2013: 9, 18). Furthermore, agrarian policy decisions in South Africa are fuelled by political gerrymandering and economic gain rather than social improvement concerns (Hebinck in Hebinck & Cousins eds., 2013: 15).[67] Considering new dimensions with which to enhance developments transformation in South Africa, while simultaneously painting a clearer picture of the multiple sites of interaction that even the most marginalized can prosper from, is therefore fundamental.

2.6 Cannabis and development

The place that hemp and Cannabis will occupy in South Africa depends on the development course that it is to follow. These will either be liberal minded and therefore about including through practices of exclusion the majority, or, revolutionary minded

[67] Contemporary international Cannabis debates being advanced by political entrepreneurs, also use the economic potential of a legal Cannabis market more forthrightly than environmental justice or social transformation concerns (see Riboulet-Zemouli et.al. 2019).

which would be inclusive to the majority and possibly exclude the wealthy and powerful minority. Tandon (2015: 145) offers that "Development is a process. The process is resistance – relentless opposition to the imperial system… until liberation." Using Tandon's (2015) definition this means resisting any Cannabis development that operates from a position of superiority to the other… 'until liberation'. Thus, whatever development course is taken for Cannabis means taking up a resistance to unequal benefits accruing from the economic resources of the emerging Cannabis industry (see Riboulet-Zemouli et.al. 2019; Tandon 2015). A liberal minded development for Cannabis will be inaccessible to the majority of South African citizens and therefore is ill-advised.

Development is defined here to be how societies create and sustain progressive change, economically and politically, within and without. It is argued, in this thesis, that, a sustainable development effort in the Global South is only possible if black people, the poor working class and women own, produce and lead this change. An interesting report titled *Cannabis and sustainable development* agrees and notes how

> Non-democratic, repressive, and authoritarian approaches to supply and demand reduction policies [for Cannabis] have systematized government corruption … increased arrests and imprisonment rates … and augmented factors of social and health risks for people who use Cannabis … by hindering access to appropriate prevention and education for safe consumption … ultimately generating innumerable human rights violations … in particular among women, minorities, and the poorest (Riboulet-Zemouli et.al. 2019: 4)

Therefore, development is more than only an economic affair and must include political and social provisions and changes as Tandon (2015) has so bluntly imprinted. In South Africa, these depend to a large extent on how race, class and labour issues are resolved. Manoeuvring these issues conspicuously enough to suit the new Cannabis industry will test even the best development practitioners. The future of any part of the Cannabis industry in South Africa is also reliant on making use of development solutions that are flexible and nuanced enough to adapt to the changes that will no doubt occur as the industry expands (see Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021). However, for Mbembe terms like 'development' are 'broad categories' that are 'hydraulic concepts' which fail to really study rural Africa properly (Mbembe & Balakrishnan 2016: 37). Nevertheless, the idea of development is not new to any society.

Development has been formulated by the Western hemisphere for the last five hundred years (i.e., through slavery, colonialism and racism). The Global North's control over economic, political and social resources of the world, most especially those of the Global South, remains the biggest source of resentment that oppressed people have consistently raised against 'so-called' development (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015; Rodney 1968, 1969 [1996], 1973 [1983]).[68] With this in mind, special care must be taken, at the onset of developing a legal Cannabis industry in South Africa, to ensure that ownership of the narrative and defining of the development discourse is given to all people who rightfully deserve access to its markets (Bewley-Taylor et.al. in Buxton et.al 2020; Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021; Jelsma et.al. 2021).

Development as an official ideal in Africa, began after WWII, when the civilising mission of colonialism was abandoned in favour of granting national independence to former territories and through refocusing its mission as a form of poverty alleviation (Escobar 1995; Stoler and Cooper 1997: 35; Willis 2005). "The idea of 'development' simultaneously promised that Africa would make an enhanced contribution to production – saving the empires – and that Africa would receive the benefits of the technical knowledge and newfound ability to plan, as well as whatever capital these powers could afford to invest" (Cooper in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 412). New African leader's embraced development which became a 'national goal' best achieved by a nationalist programme of action rather than an independent workforce.

The labour movement, which advocated for development based on expanding the working class and other civic organizations (church, sporting codes, artists and intellectuals for example), were however side-lined or swallowed into the nationalist project. This occurred even though labour movements had been at the forefront of national struggles for liberation (Cooper in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 425). Hence, upon taking power, nationalist governments adopted development as the new form of nationalism post-independence. Neocosmos (2016: 362) therefore quite rightly asserts that "Development was a fact of politics in the immediate post-independence period in Africa, but it is no longer one today, at least not in any comparable manner."

Presenting development as a national endeavour of merit assumed however that the nation-state was a viable vehicle within which development could be housed.

[68] And since the 1980s another source of resentment has been the neoliberal conditions placed on Global South countries to qualify for structural adjustment loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank (WB).

But as Cooper (in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 427; Neocosmos 2016 also stresses this point) warns, “The notion of sovereignty itself has its traps, and global acceptance of self-determination as the ultimate value in international politics has often occluded discussion of the content of that sovereignty.” Although independent, nation-states by themselves could not achieve their development goals – it required a network of actors. Moreover, nation-states had little bargaining power in affairs that could potentially upset the continued supremacy of neoliberal democratic capitalism, as such were still subject to foreign rules. Neocosmos (2016: 413) is adamant, “Clearly, the African state – which has been singularly unable to genuinely represent the nation since independence – owes its survival primarily to whether it conforms to Western precepts. Today this means whether it is labelled ‘democratic’ or not by the West, i.e., whether it fulfils several measurable criteria, and not whether democracy is rooted among the people.” This meant that many of the development schemes of new black governments were dependant on, and the prerogative of, larger and more powerful political economies.

These constraints steered nationalist governments and its leaders to become gatekeepers between external and internal resources, which has become a crucial component of developmentalist ideologies (Cooper in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 428; Cooper 2002). The idea of gatekeeping was about how ‘bourgeois nationalists’ so easily incorporated themselves “… as brokers between African ‘tradition’ and postcolonial ‘modernity’” (Cooper in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 408; Cooper 2002). And when democracy and ‘good governance’ were promoted at the end of the cold war as solutions to African development problems they were welcomed by African governments and its leaders. Overhauling nationalist legitimacy was an important part of maintaining the new gates of ‘late liberalism’.[69]

However, the fact of Cannabis prohibition added to the complications for the development programs of nationalist governments in the changing legal climate of the 1990s. Nationalist governments were therefore forced to choose sides. Either rely on the long-standing activist traditions, such that Cannabis is, or side with those ‘late liberalism’ seemed to be promoting for the activation of their new gates.[70] The late

[69] Mbembe (1992); (2005: 10) would add that it was more complex than that because “It is difficult to have faith in the redemptive potential of a discourse that is the manifestation of a subject dispossessed of its subjectivity, of its choice, and of its desire by a demonic power of which this subject is the prey.”

[70] The legalization of gay and lesbian rights being perhaps such an example. South Africa, it must be noted, adopted such measures and enshrined these in the Bill of Rights in 1993 already. The rest of Africa has not

start South Africa had in recognizing that Cannabis should be included into development plans is an example of the indecisiveness that characterised African policy making at the end of the cold war. The legal system of South Africa finally took a decisive turn, almost 30 years later, on 18 September 2018, to assert their authority and grant people the constitutional right to use Cannabis.[71]

The Constitutional Courts decision enabled the many different business opportunities that already exist in the Cannabis industry to be introduced to people, even those with negative views about marijuana. Because of the one-tracked idea a vast majority of people have of Cannabis, when Dr Kunene began her talk, at one such conference, she was clear to note that the conference was not about the smoking of marijuana. What she wanted to speak to was about harnessing the development potential of a versatile and underutilised agricultural plant (Field notes, Ecowar Africanna Cannabis Conference, Sandton Johannesburg, 14 August 2019). This conference targeted the following two groups: Group 1; Rasta, indigenous knowledge systems, and small farmers, Group 2, women and military veterans (read former freedom fighters) (Field notes, Ecowar Africanna Cannabis Conference, Sandton Johannesburg, 14 August 2019). For Dr Kunene, a leading member of the Cannabis movement in South Africa and founder of the House of Hemp, the first black owned Cannabis Company in South Africa, seven groups have helped her and her interests in Cannabis from their humble beginnings in 1992. This was when she and the House of Hemp first approached government to take seriously Cannabis and the development potential it has to offer the country, to being the first company in South Africa to be awarded a legal medical Cannabis licence (Field notes, Dr Kunene, Ecowar Africanna Cannabis Conference, Sandton Johannesburg, 14 August 2019). These seven groups are, according to Dr Kunene the following: Rasta; family; friends;

followed suit and in fact has been largely anti-LGBTI, for example Uganda's 2013 Anti-Homosexuality Bill that attempted to (but failed) to get the death penalty for homosexuality (DW.COM, Accessed 04 January 2022). Many reggae musicians have also been quite vocal in their criticism of gay and lesbian people and the whole LGBTI movement. Buju Banton for example was not allowed to perform in the United Kingdom in the 1990s owing to his song 'Boom bye bye' that had overtly anti-homosexual lyrics (Wikipedia, Buju Banton, Accessed 04 January 2022).

[71] By making this decision, the legal choices 'late liberalism' offered to nationalist governments as a condition of their 'financial aid' were no longer the only options citizens had anymore. Legalizing Cannabis has always been an example of this alternative. See Bewley-Taylor, Blickman & Jelsma's (2014) interesting discussion of the historic role of the United Nations in Cannabis policy making and reform.

healers; experts'; military veterans; people with money (Field notes, Dr Kunene, Ecowar Africanna Cannabis Conference, Sandton Johannesburg, 14 August 2019).

The development ideal that Dr Kunene was stressing was the insurance that the people who must benefit from Cannabis development should be those who have been a part of the Cannabis movement, in whatever capacity, from before the ending of the prohibition era (see also Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021). This development ideal regards the followers, workers and leaders of the Cannabis movement as the rightful people to decide Cannabis development logics. The agrarian space and economic development of Cannabis in South Africa therefore has a lot to learn as it prepares to navigate the vast operations neoliberal democratic capitalism will no doubt continue to recommend.

2.7 Notes on the political geography used in the thesis

Underdevelopment

Because it is impossible to discuss hemp without a discussion of how Cannabis prohibition underdeveloped the plants entire productions, the framework developed by Walter Rodney becomes very useful. Rodney (1973) proposed that the continent of Africa and black people more generally have been underdeveloped – as opposed to developed – by slavery, colonialism and the racist development of capitalism. This thesis argues that the prohibition of Cannabis was aimed at consciously under developing all the usages of the plant, more particularly hemp, by removing it from participating, and more importantly competing, in capitalist development. Cannabis was one of the victims of Western capitalisms drive to dominate global economic development from the inter war years to the end of the cold war. An interrogation of how 20th century colonial and international agendas of prohibition influenced contemporary Cannabis legality in Africa is therefore an essential starting place for this studies analysis sections.

The notion of underdevelopment is steeped both in historiographical and theoretical content so is a useful for comparative analysis. But to be clear, the underdevelopment of the 'other' by the 'empire' does not mean African societies did not develop, despite this, during its appropriation (Emeh 2013: 118). For Emeh (2013: 118) explorations into underdevelopment are usually about economic development

and the internal and external factors that make regional development, more generally in the Global South, slower than the Global North.

Development, underdevelopment and dependency theory are conceptually interlinked and were variously established by Gundar Frank, Samir Amin and Immanuel Wallerstein in the 1960s and early 1970s (Emeh 2013: 119; Willis 2005). Underdevelopment as a development paradigm was popularized and expanded by Walter Rodney in his famous 1973 book entitled *How Europe underdeveloped Africa.* By using Rodney's (1973) 'black Marxist' dependency analysis to understand Cannabis – particularly its prohibition – enables the discussion of the plant to be located away from a predominantly Western conceptualization. Moreover, the use of Caribbean theorists such as Rodney and James is all the more important to a discussion of Cannabis because of the significant role this part of the black diaspora played in shaping Pan-Africanism, Rastafarianism, black power movements and ultimately contemporary decolonial theoretical positions.[72] Highlighting the role played by the Caribbean in formulating black revolutionary thought, James (1975 [1984]: 221) states, "Worldwide contributions by black West Indians are no wise limited to the reshaping of the world order. Individually and in the mass they have enriched the content of world culture, its variety of forms and modes of expression." Gordan (2008: 56) agrees, arguing that these group of islands were essential to the "development of Africana thought." This inspirational black history came to be the lead that many African nationalist movements ultimately expanded upon in their drive to attain independence.

However, for Emeh (2013: 121) dependency theory is also problematic for understanding contemporary African concerns and the ways its development will proceed. This is because it largely blames 'others' – in this sense Western efforts – for Global South problems. Like Cooper (2002) and Somerville (2015: 323, 331), Emeh (2013: 121) argues, although far more firmly, that "The reality of the matter is that the

[72] Some of the most important architects of black African thought and revolutionary spirit that James (1975 [1984]: 221) names who come from the Caribbean include; Toussaint L'Ouverture of Haiti, the leader of the slave revolt that led to the first independent black nation in the 'free world'; Marcus Garvey of Jamaica, key strategist for the 'Back to Africa' movement; Henry Sylvester Williams of Trinidad an early proponent of Pan-Africanism; George Padmore of Trinidad early black Marxist and long-time freedom fighter for African unity; Aime Cesaire of Martinique who introduced the concept of Negritude; Frantz Fanon of Martinique the well renowned black and anti-colonial thinker; Stokely Carmicheal from Trinidad who became key figure of the Student Nonviolent Action group and the first to use and popularize the 'Black power' concept. These people, ideas and movements have heavily influenced African development and are infused deeply into the discussion of Cannabis from a black perspective.

major culprits of the destruction of Africa today, are Africans themselves." For Emeh (2013: 122) when poverty is created, underdevelopment has occurred. He argues that Africans have played a large part in creating African poverty and therefore the West should not only be blamed for sustaining underdevelopment. Ultimately Emeh (2013: 127) calls for a "…paradigm shift in the study of Africa's underdevelopment. Instead of looking outside, we simply have to look inward and see our problems steering (theirs) [staring?] at us, and then we can handle them head long."

There is truth in Emeh's (2013) assertion, that there are serious internally created problems with African development. This thesis also wholeheartedly agrees with Neocosmos (2016) that African state politics no longer has a strong emancipatory potential and therefore the substance to solve African problems. However, this thesis disagrees that the leading cause of poverty on the continent, and therefore its underdevelopment, are principally the fault of Africans. The failures of African development, this thesis reasons, can still be found historically and theoretically – and therefore practically – in Western global economic planning (see Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013; 2015). Emeh's (2013) assertions are therefore problematic, in that, while locating parts of the causes of African underdevelopment, they offer no political or economic prescriptions to solve these. On the other hand, Neocosmos (2016) does offer some prescription when he argues for a return to a peoples based emancipatory politics outside of the state to solve African underdevelopment. Emeh (2013) therefore fails to say how underdevelopment/poverty can be stopped. What African development needs are methods with which to enact new development. The thesis argues that one of these solutions is Cannabis (not to be confused with recreational marijuana as a panacea for all the development woes of the Global South).

While the medicalization of Cannabis, like Emeh's (2013) discussion of how Africa itself is causing its own underdevelopment, is valuable for progressive African Cannabis development, there are somber 'points of departure' that still need to be attended to for the plants development on the continent to be successful.[73] This thesis argues that a more useful focus of Cannabis development is one located closer to hemp and the overall uses of Cannabis as a non-food crop. Cannabis therefore is one

[73] The idea of 'points of departure' must be attributed to Dr Hulani Mdingi who stressed the need for a PhD thesis to challenge knowledge and not just accept its supremacy (Informal discussion, 24 April 2020).

method of increasing the development of the Global South, and as such, one solution to Africa's underdevelopment.

Gatekeeping

The second theoretical and historiographical framework used by this thesis follows chronologically from colonial underdevelopment by expanding upon the idea of gatekeeping put forward by Frederick Cooper (2002). Gatekeeping can be used to understand how post-colonial nation states positioned themselves in relation to the former empire and the 'new' citizens that fell under their control. How post-colonial states positioned themselves safeguarded economic, but also political, and at times social rewards accruing from this neo-colonial relationship. Most African leaders and its oligarchy benefited immensely from this relationship while the citizens of African countries continued to suffer.

For instance, the prohibition of Cannabis, including the archaeology and genealogy (in a Foucaultian sense) of Western conceptions of the plant, were continued in newly independent African countries. African states approved the empires reasons for prohibiting Cannabis because it was thought that keeping that gate was worthwhile for both former empire and the nation-states. However, maintaining the prohibition of Cannabis has proved difficult because it has become more profitable to (re-)include this plant into its development plans than to sustain its illegality. It is for this reason that however useful the gatekeeper theory is for explaining why African states maintained Cannabis prohibition, it must be used in conjunction with a realistic account of the African state post-cold-war. Wamba-dia-wamba, (foreword, in Neocosmos 2016: x) states, in this regard, "People's enthusiasm for the achieved independence or victories of the national liberation movement has faded away. Postcolonial states have become increasingly unresponsive to the demands, needs and aspirations of the large masses of people they have to serve." The 'end of history' discourse, that many African states made deals with, failed the people. The end of the cold war fundamentally rearranged and changed what gates are to be kept, if in fact there are gates to be kept, as well as the players who will be involved in keeping the gates of 'late liberalism'. However, in this rearrangement a 'medicalization of society' occurred that has continued certain forms of gatekeeping (see Conrad 1992; London

2009). For instance, the medicalization of Cannabis maintains the power that international companies and nation-states have over the plant's development.

Nevertheless, it is within the space being created by the medicalization of societal problems where contemporary Cannabis discourse is currently being located. London's (2009) theoretical and historiographical mapping of marijuana therefore forms an important component to this study's argument. London (2009) shows the various discourses, interactions and settings that transformed the plant into a crime in the early part of the 20th century and from a crime into a medicine by the end of the same century.[74] London's (2009) argument is that this new drive to medicalizing Cannabis has not fundamentally changed the discursive power that neo-liberalism has over the plant and in many respects is only gatekeeping many of them. This thesis agrees with this assessment and attempts to add to it through arguing for a geographic alternative for Cannabis development in the non-food crop sector. Updating the gatekeeper thesis, through proposing a geographic alternative to medicinal and recreational drug categorizations of Cannabis, allows for hemp to be situated at the forefront of the plants debate, rather than at its end.

Democracy

The third note on the political geography used in this thesis has do with how democracy became regarded as the best way for development to proceed at the end of the cold war. Ensuring democracy became the system of governance in Africa and other parts of the Global South was considered imperative to sustainable global development. Neocosmos (2016: 362) however has some interesting notes about democracy; "Clearly, the dominant state form in Africa today sees itself as a 'democratic state' and is so named by global power as long as it conforms to the prescriptions of the West." He continues;

> From the perspective of emancipatory politics, the current appellation, 'democratic', is clearly inadequate. To qualify as 'democratic', the state should not be judged according to a Western checklist, but according to whether it provides the conditions for the existence of politically independent forms of popular organisation and is fully open to control by the *demos* [emphasis in original], rooted in its sociality so that the people can be shown to truly govern" (Neocosmos 2016: 362).

[74] Gambling addiction or alcohol abuse have also moved over time from criminal designations to their institutionalization within medical boundaries.

For Neocosmos (2016), the truest form of democracy in South Africa existed in the 1980s, because it was during this time when people were galvanized to practice a form of emancipatory politics and democratic accountability. Since then, democracy has become an unquestionable fetish that has not been seriously contextualized theoretically and politically (Neocosmos 2016: 366). The transition of 'popular practised democracy' into a state exercise is not a simple process because of the political 'opportunism' of national politics. "This distance between practised democracy and the state is a gulf which cannot be easily bridged without major transformation" (Neocosmos 2016: 370). Thus, Neocosmos (2016: 535) points out that

> … when Nelson Mandela and the ANC came to share state power in 1990, they themselves did not fully understand what had happened – i.e., that people wished to 'control themselves', as it was put in the language of the time. Hence, they simply talked as trustees, as representatives; they substituted their individual or party will for that of the active people. In this they were, more often than not, supported by the people themselves, who implicitly assumed their leaders' thinking would be similar to theirs.

However, state thoughts about democracy and the democracy practised by people on the ground have, since the 1990s, moved further and further away from each other. To a point, it could be argued, where they are almost no longer compatible with each other.[75]

Democracy in South Africa, and the continent, has failed to adequately distribute 'freedom' to the citizens most in need of them. Democratic party politics post-cold war has become a game of maintaining legitimacy in a world dominated by neoliberalism, rather than a tool with which to enable development. The power of the state therefore has remained dependent on inadequate political, economic and social structures and prescriptions.[76] It has not developed or continued its own brand of democracy, like that of the 1980s. Without a real chance at controlling what power would pass down to its citizens, the state in Africa has become a filter through which development ideals of global authorities could be passed down onto.

On the other hand, when governments did try to promote their own course of action to its citizens, that did not follow (and possibly disrupted?) the neoliberal

[75] This was clearly evident in the looting events of July 12th, 2021, throughout South Africa.

[76] It would be good to remember that post-colonial states were set up with colonial structures in place that were set to serve the metropoles, but unfortunately these were the only states new African leaders had to work with.

establishment, they often ended up being 'populist'. The presidency of Jacob Zuma in South Africa is a good example of this: South African citizens were willing to be participants of his brand of politics as long as the interface between people, state and the superstructure enhanced their personal well-being. Unfortunately, populist politics is often prone to corruption, maladministration, nepotism, tribalism and racism. It also has forced South Africans to reconsider what tools it uses to advance development, because the state seems to be failing in this regard. Neocosmos (2016: 196) is adamant, "If it is true that the possibility of emancipatory politics has today been evacuated from parties in Africa and the state as such – and the evidence to this effect seems convincing – we need to ask the question of whether politics has now been embodied elsewhere, such as in NGOs and social movements, or whether it has disappeared altogether from social life." South Africa, like other African states, was too far submerged in unsustainable neoliberal democracy that any effort to remove themselves from its constraints was certain to distress certain parts of its population.

Rather than increasing the wealth[77] of all the nation (economic development) the South African state began to select who would fit into its order, which meant only certain groups of people were included into its development efforts. Such populist democratic development models were also seen in the USA under the leadership of Donald Trump. The rising global resentment at these 'so-called' democratic practices is further proof that the state can no longer honour the 'social contract' of the genuine democracy it has made with citizens. Neocosmos (2016: 20) highlights that "In post-apartheid South Africa the democratic fetish is so overwhelming today that it has become extremely difficult to question the equation of such state democracy with freedom itself."

Neoliberalism

Alongside democracy and good governance, neoliberalism was argued to be an essential (or only) (see Fukuyama 1989) building block for development at the end of the cold war, which many African countries also adopted. Neocosmos (2016: 536)

[77] Remember that the thesis defines development as society's ability to create and sustain progressive change, economically and politically, within and without. The idea of wealth here therefore is not only economic, similar to the original intentions of Adam Smith's foundation liberal text '*The wealth of the nations*'.

provides a strong account in this regard and is quoted at length, to show how neoliberalism was able to take the reins of South African development post-cold war.

> After the socialist vision was discredited, neo-liberalism won out with barely any opposition, because its vision had been fully theorised, and also because it was obviously in a position of global power to become universalised very rapidly within the state. On the other hand, the popular vision of freedom was not understood and had not been theorised; it was feared for what it could unleash, as was rapidly shown by the mass riots following upon the assassination of Chris Hani on 10 April 1993. Economically, the view that won out was, crudely put, that apartheid had been a state intervention in the market; therefore, all that was required for freedom to be realised was a short-term 'levelling of the playing field', so that a Black middle class could develop, and the market would equalize racial society in the long run through a 'trickle-down' process. South Africans have been suffering from this misunderstanding ever since.

Gordon (2008: 223) continues, "The general goals of neoliberalism are to expand the hegemony of the market economy or capitalism, dwindle away the role of the state in human affairs as much as possible, especially the economy, and to facilitate the growth of Anglo-civil libertarian democracy." Thus, the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP's) neoliberal development pursued were able, for example in South Africa, to remove any strands of left leaning development ideals the state might have had in the 1980s and early 1990s. For instance, the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP), Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) and the various development strategies South Africa has had since 1994 have become, over the course of 25 years', ideals that have less to do with development than with the implementation of neoliberalism (see also Schneider 2003).

It is no wonder then that ever since the implementation of neoliberal development, inequality has become a leading feature of South African socio-economics.[78] Rather than dealing with the very real issues of race, class, gender or unemployment, the majority of the poor working class were side-lined in favour of

[78] See Chatterjee, Czajka and Gethin 2020 or the World Inequality Lab for statistics regarding the rate of inequality in South Africa. See also Scott K "South Africa is the world's most unequal country. 25 years of freedom have failed to bridge the divide" Accessed 14 March 2022 for a news report full of these statistics as well. The point is inequality, poverty, unemployment and marginalization in South Africa are a very serious concern that has likely increased post the elections of 1994. This means there are very real structural and decision making flaws that have been both inherited and pursued since the 1990s that perpetuate these conditions. It is these continuities and even discontinuities that this thesis is more concerned about deconstructing than providing statistical evidence of inequality etc. that can nevertheless be found throughout popular news media as well as academic literature.

adopting a neoliberal paradigm that is attentive to elite needs. It makes sense then that there is a global resurgence of alternative models of development because of the failures of neoliberal development in the Global South as well as in the Global North. To be clear, "This combination of neo-liberal capitalism and liberal democracy has not bypassed Africa, and the character of the state in Africa has been radically transformed" (Neocosmos 2016: 411). Hence, throughout this thesis the label 'liberal democratic capitalism' is used to describe these models of alliance that almost never work independently from one another and that to a large extent have bred forms of 'other' development.

Capitalism and 'other' development

Contemporary development requires new and alternative models of development that are not reliant on neoliberalism and the markets it has in operation. The point of such movements must be to propose something new as opposed to being "simply 'against' what exists or requesting a better place in the system" (Neocosmos 2016: 198). The development of Cannabis must be similar. Gordan (2008: 86) adds in this regard about Fanons understanding of the dialectics of recognition, "Fanon argues that it is futile for colonized and racially oppressed peoples to seek their liberation through seeking recognition from their colonizers and racial oppressors. In doing so, they will be caught in a logic that props up their oppressor as the standard of human value."[79] Cannabis development must not be a reproduction of existing commodity market practices (Bewley-Taylor, Jelsma & Kay in Buxton et.al. 2020; Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021; Jelsma et.al. 2021). 'Other' forms of development are therefore troubled with 'the standard of human value' being unquestionably Western, especially since liberal democratic capitalism remains inherently problematic and inequitable. Various forms of 'emancipatory' action have been expressing themselves in South Africa through rising dissent and consistent protest action (See Alexander 2010; or the events of July 12th 2021). The rebuttal from the state has been to end these forms of dissent in order to maintain its power and therefore control of the gate. This is most easily noted in the tragedy and brutality that occurred at the Marikanna massacre in 2009 in South Africa.

Such forms of violent action are inherent to the Western neoliberal development plan many African states have adopted. As Marx (1844 [2009]) noted, capitalism has

[79] See also Freire (1970 [2005]) in this regard.

created the conditions that will ultimately lead to its own demise. According to Marx (1844 [2009]), the proletariat or according to Freire (1970 [2005]), the oppressed, is the only part of the population capable of causing this demise. However, the poor working class still requires its own weapons with which to fight back with. Because, as Marikanna highlights, the state and capitalism are not only willing to use its economic base, but also its control over the majority of the world's arms held with the army and police force. Neocosmos (2016: 340) goes a few steps further in elaborating about the Marikanna massacre;

> This was not a simple 'wildcat strike' and it would be misleading to attempt to understand it in this manner. It was a revolt against representation as such: against unions, against parties as well as against the employer. It was in fact a brief action against the state, a rebellion, precisely because it stood against everything the state expects of politics within state subjectivity: representation through appropriate channels and following the laws, rules and procedures that the state itself has established. The workers quite clearly refused to do this. It is therefore fairly apparent why the state's actions should be governed by fear. The rebellious moment constituted one of the reasons why the state reacted with such extreme violence. What is striking about the events as they unfolded is that the employer was very much out of the picture and left all action to the state.

It is within this space of rebellion that the contemporary development of Cannabis finds itself in. Cannabis is a tool that can be used to provide an alternative form of development for South Africa. Other controversial means that the proletariat still has to fight to make use of include land, food or water for instance. What is essential, is that whatever tool is used, it must be able to withstand the pressures of facing off with a neoliberal democratic capitalism willing to use 'whatever means necessary' to defend its power. Therefore, in order to ensure Cannabis is not taken over by neoliberal development the Cannabis market must ensure that its intentions are first and foremost geared to poor working-class sentiments. Furthermore, Cannabis development can only be effective if, in its practical implementation of alternative labour methods, it embodies forthrightly the black revolutionary history embedded within its discourse.

2.8 Towards a sustainable labour centred Cannabis industry

Access to ownership, employment and leadership opportunities in the contemporary South African Cannabis industry is something that needs to be conceptualized further

if it is to be implemented effectively. Furthermore, the development of a sustainable Cannabis industry that safeguards just opportunities to all must be first and foremost a practical effort. Therefore, an equity policy, or a type of reparations is not impossible to fathom for the most marginalized who are unable to enter the legal Cannabis market because of economic constraints.[80] Such a strategy however must be concentrated on the labour of Cannabis. That is, the sustainability of equity and reparations relies on their ability to generate continued and inspired labour rather than creating ownership, employment and leadership positions for alienated 'black skin, white masks'.[81] However, the discussion of reparations is one that historically has not borne fruits for the most marginalized. Black people still find they must continue to prove their humanity, the poor working class remain trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty and what is more, for women "it's [still] a man's world".[82]

In a discussion of the reparations and the failed efforts to convince the US government that the historical debts of black people are still outstanding Kelley (2002: 131) states:

> The reparations movement exposes the history of white privilege and helps us all understand how wealth and poverty are made under capitalism – particularly a capitalism shaped immeasurably by slavery and racism. It stresses the fact that labour – not CEOs, not scientists and technicians, not the magic of the so called free market – creates wealth. The reparations movement provides an analysis of our situation that challenges victim-blaming explanations, explaining that exploitation and regressive policies create poverty, not bad behaviour.

Learning from the reparations movement can be useful for the Cannabis industry. It demonstrates that it is wiser not to shy away from addressing the disadvantages the 'free market' has repeatedly incurred onto the most marginalized. By addressing this at the inception of a legal Cannabis industry, the "dispossession of the already dispossessed"[83] might be avoided.

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[80] Dr. Thandeka Kunene stressed this point as well (10 August, 2019, Cannabis Conference, Sandton Johannesburg). To be sure, ensuring access to the marginalized is guaranteed in the development of the Cannabis industry in South Africa is something that is being thought about quite earnestly (Wendell Moore, Observation/field notes, Cannabis Conferences and webinars 2018- 2021).

[81] This of course is borrowed from Fanons' famous thesis.

[82] James Brown, Single release "It's a man's man's man's world', 1966. Like the classic song by Bob Marley ('No woman, no cry', *Natty dread*: 1974) James Browns "it's a man's man's man's world" expresses the heartache of double effect on women of 'the man's' oppressive world and the black man's existence in that world.

[83] This important wording was framed by a contributor (Informal conversation Pretoria, 09 December 2019).

Acknowledging the poor starting place of some people interested in entering the Cannabis industry as Kay et.al. (2020) have done is essential to the industries long-term sustainability. Recognizing this marginalization and the imbalance of the competition compared to people who have access to economic resources is a crucial ingredient to understanding how to address inequality. Policy can address this matter formerly by establishing actual redress procedures to enact equality. Nevertheless, it is also up to those in the Cannabis movement to not forsake their respect for 'black lives' as well as the eradication of poverty and alienated work.

Access to the legal Cannabis industry can be a profitable and worthy way for the formerly marginalized to make a living (Wendell Moore, Observations, Cannabis Conference and webinars 2018 - 2021). Raising the economic well-being of the marginalized is important to a sustainable Cannabis industry. However, what is more essential to longevity for the most marginalized is ownership and becoming employers as well as leaders of their own business ventures. Cannabis development therefore must be weary of a strictly economic model to demonstrate its progress because as Kelley (2002: 133) points out,

> Money and resources are always important, but new vision and new values cannot be bought. And without at least a rudimentary critique of the capitalist culture that consumes us, even reparations can have disastrous consequences. Imagine if reparations were treated as start-up capital for black entrepreneurs who merely want to mirror the dominant society. What would really change?

Economic gain is necessary but should not be the central aim of the Cannabis movement. The sustainability of the Cannabis industry also depends, largely, on the willingness of its participants to continue addressing economic and labour inequality. Myrtle Clarke (Cheeba Africa Webinar, 03 September 2020) even showed her anger at money driven Cannabis development when she shouted;

> We in South Africa are sick of hearing about billons and squillions that this industry is worth ... So I want all of the economists and the agro-economists and the lobbyists and the academics to stop speaking about these big numbers … because you are enticing pump and dump schemes, share scheme, [inaudible] of foreign investment that do nothing but keep our South African people in laboured servitude. I want to speak about planting a seed.

By making use of the revolutionary history embedded in the social, political as well as economic understanding of Cannabis will enable the industry to remain

grounded in its critique of the ways in which inequality is perpetuated in business. If the Cannabis industry seeks equal access for all its participants, it must problematize how the labour of Cannabis will exist amongst the hegemony of the capitalist world system. Just access to labour opportunities in the legal Cannabis industry is not equal if it does not also encourage and expand the ownership of these industries by black people, the poor working class and women. Without a genuine push in this direction Cannabis development not only reproduces an alienated labour force but also continues the marginalization of the already marginalized.

The critique of development

This thesis then is a critique of neo-liberal development post-cold war. It also provides a useful way of adding to London's (2009) *Foucaultian* analysis of Cannabis. For Povinelli (2011: 17) "But whatever neoliberalism is, what it refers to is not an event, but a set of uneven social struggles within the liberal diaspora". It is because of neoliberalism's unevenness that it is necessary to critique those developments of Cannabis that sustain economic development and means of production that is unhealthily liberal in orientation.

For this reason, Povinelli (2011) uses the term 'late liberalism' to highlight what neoliberalism has become. Povinelli (2011: 25) argues that "White Power" has shifted its invisible boundaries and means of 'control over' "… as it responds to a series of legitimacy crisis in the wake of anticolonial, new social movements, and new Islamic movements. But in a broader sense late liberalism is a belated response to the challenge of social difference and the alternative social worlds and projects potentially sheltered there". Thus, this thesis can argue that the analysis of hemp – and Cannabis more generally – cannot be maintained within narratives whose discursive means is still decided by late liberalism. Instead, the plant must be re-established as an agricultural non-food crop commodity to highlight the alternative social world of the agrarian wherein Cannabis can be a major part of. Criminal or medicinal categorizations that marijuana is currently placed in fail, this thesis will contend, to adequately explain the industrial applications of hemp nor the agrarian nature of all plants. In the long run hemp provides a unique critique of development because of the difficulty of containing the plant within late liberal attempts at maintaining capitalisms declining wealth and power. And this is the critique of development that this thesis

proposes: Development requires fundamentally revolutionary method(s) of labour to achieve a more sustainable society for all.

2.9 Conclusion

More than any other factor, the connection to smoking for psychedelic purposes still frames the political and economic outlook of Cannabis and is the most popular narrative about the plant. However, a discussion of the Cannabis plants multiple and complex sets of interactions is not linear (i.e., it is a drug), but rather multidisciplinary (i.e., it should be related to recreational, medicinal and industrial production). All parts of the Cannabis plant therefore impact upon politics and economics at all scales. This literature review therefore has located Cannabis within the broader contexts of historic political economy so that the nexus between money and power is clarified in connection to this plant. However, there are two major limitations to the literature directly related to hemp and Cannabis: First, the political economy of Cannabis existing in the literature fails to adequately expose how access to the new Cannabis industry is still regulated by the same types of systems that prohibited Cannabis in the first place. Such a practice only reproduces the unequal relationship between those who will work in the industry and those who will have ownership of these legal Cannabis industries: Second, and related to the first, is that the plant's black revolutionary history receives little attention. As such the development potentials of this aspect of Cannabis is not being used to frame and direct the way in which the legal Cannabis market and labour will proceed. The next two chapters' deal with these issues at length: Essentially, they outline how important revolutionary thought and a labour centred approach will be for Cannabis development in South Africa.

CHAPTER 3

Conceptual and theoretical framework

The black revolutionary history embedded in the discourse of Cannabis

3.1 Introduction

"To think a politics of emancipation is thus to theorise the freedom to make political choices" (Neocosmos 2016: 372).

Zondi (2018: 20) captures the essence of this chapter's discussion concisely,

> The thinkers of the south are expected to sound like, write like and speak to the world through the language and conventions of the north. There is a significant evidence of attempts to challenge this mainstream, from Marxists to Feminists, post-colonial and subaltern thinkers, but realism-idealism family of thought remain firmly dominant without occasional acknowledgement of the other. The other's thought remains the other thoughts.

Because black thought remains revolutionary the process of development continues to discard it. It appears that at every stage of development, rebellious history is normalized and forgotten, yet without it development will fail.[84] The arguments made in this chapter firstly try to rescue the position of an alternative ontology of Cannabis. In a way, this chapter is a project of radical alterity that illuminates the 'otherness' that the black history of Cannabis is regarded as in the contemporary development of the plant. Secondly, the analysis contends that by including black revolutionary history forthrightly into the contemporary development of Cannabis facilitates the recognition of those people most marginalized by free market economies. Lastly, proposing such a theoretical framework for comprehending Cannabis critically assesses whether the historical resistances connected to the plant – that exist at the periphery of its current development practices – can be retained during its contemporary development in South Africa.

The conceptual framework presented in this chapter therefore attempts to unearth the black revolutionary history (what Neocosmos (2016) terms 'emancipatory

[84] Tandon (2015) also speaks to this idea of development as resistance.

politics') embedded in the discourse of Cannabis to show how it is imperative for the contemporary development of the plant. This chapter provides a conceptual basis for all the arguments made in the thesis and highlights how the genealogical – in the Foucaultian sense – history of Cannabis also bred an indomitable revolutionary spirit within the movement.[85] What's more, it shows how the political geographies of all Cannabis uses are indispensable to the development of hemp in South Africa.

The chapter begins by showing why a political understanding of Cannabis is directly connected to black revolutionary history formulated since the conquest of Africa by the Atlantic slave trade.[86] However, the chapter shows that black radical history has been ignored in most mainstream global strategies, including Cannabis development. It then goes on to show why such history should be appreciated rather than neglected in the contemporary development of the plant. Cannabis development requires all the aspects of its black history to ensure its present-day industry does not repeat the mistakes of prohibition that underdeveloped the plant, the people historically associated to it and Global South development more generally. It argues that revolutionary history is in many ways a developmental practice itself and therefore global development can benefit greatly from its prescriptions.

3.2 The conceptual framework

3.2.1 Blackness and revolution for this study

Because the chapter is a discussion of black revolutionary history and its correlation to Cannabis it is important to start by defining what blackness and

[85] London's (2009) analysis of Cannabis must be credited for establishing how prohibited goods are so easily incorporated into capitalist 'world systems'. What this thesis adds is that those goods not only forfeit their revolutionary history in doing so, but also in a sense, sign a 'social contract' that allows the good to try and compete in the free market on certain conditions. What the thesis therefore contends is that this consciously limits the potential ownership by people who had originally been a part of the Cannabis movement during prohibition (See Kay, Jelsma & Bewey-Taylor 2020). Thus, black people, poor working class and women will remain most marginalized in a free market approach to Cannabis which is what the medicalization of Cannabis does. This confirms the popular argument that it was a political economic decision to prohibit Cannabis in the first place, for the right to control the decision-making powers over the agrarian sector (see regarding the agrarian Nyoka's 2019 discussion of Mafejee).

[86] There was of course a longer period of Indian Ocean slavery that likely would show how Cannabis came to Africa. Perhaps this is a site for future study. However, the influence of Atlantic slavery on Africa and the people it transported to the diaspora influences much more of the contemporary politics, social and economic landscape of the Global South. The influence and effects of 500 years of Western domination quite simply still impacts on black people's being. This sections concern is with the history that impacts the contemporary development of the Cannabis hence the focus on the Atlantic slave period, colonialism and racism of the 20th century.

revolution mean for this study. Beginning with black, Dyson (1995: 26) points out that black history serves the important function of remembering; “Admittedly, the development of stories that posit black heroes and saints serves a crucial cultural and political function. Such stories may be used to combat historical amnesia and to challenge the deification of black heroes …” These histories can act as a source of inspiration for marginalized communities by illuminating how the present conditions have come about and ways in which these might be alleviated.

As such, for this study, blackness is defined as the history, politics, social and economic conditions of development for all people of colour. There is a vast array of people that have commented on blackness.[87] Du Bois, for example, posited more than a hundred years ago already that blackness is socially constructed and therefore must be analysed as such (Morris 2015). For James (1969 [1984]: 194), blackness was universal, “To say it’s [blackness] some kind of ethnic problem is a lot of nonsense”. James instead advocated for the ‘revolutionary worker’, since at least the 1940s, and argued that the study of black people is also deeply intertwined with the development of Western civilization (Worcester 1996). While for Martin Luther King Jr (1967, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 285), black power was “a cry of disappointment” at the persistence of oppressive and hegemonic white power. Rodney (1969, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 182) however, was explicitly straight forward, “Black Power is a doctrine about black people, for black people, preached by black people. I’m putting it to my black brothers and sisters that the colour of our skins is the most fundamental thing about us.” Walter Rodney was speaking commonly with his ‘brothers’ here (See Rodney, 1969 [1996]), but understood, as an eminent activist scholar, that blackness is more than simply a skin colour.

Blackness is a way of revealing the role of oppressed people in the history of the world. Blackness is therefore not an exclusive abstract, or some sort of parallel to whiteness. Gillroy (1993) and Gordan (2008) argue along the same line as James (1969 [1984]: 194) did when they showed the vast and various ways black people have stimulated historical development far beyond the Atlantic regions outside of Africa. Fanon (1956, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 172) adds, “To study the relations of racism and culture is to raise the question of their reciprocal action.” Kassandra

[87] W.E.B Dubois, Garvey, Fanon, Malcolm X, Kwame Toure (formerly Stokely Carmichael), Huey Newton and Biko are just a few.

Frederique of Drug Policy Alliance (speaking at Transform Drug Policy Foundation webinar, 5 June 2020) further shows that ultimately what black people are fighting for is the same in all parts of the world:

> And that the opportunity here in the United States and across the borders, across the countries, across the pond, is that recognizing that what we're trying to do is to remove the tools that has been used for anti-black white supremacy globally. That blackness is not something that is distinct to the US. That white supremacy is not something that is distinct to the US, but that it is something that is being weaponized across the country … I actually think that it's most important for us to actually work on it together. We may have different regulation schemes that we have to navigate through but the things that we're fighting [for] are the same.

The way that blackness is conceived therefore must not assume a homogeneous grouping but rather understand that a heterogenous group can still be united (Dyson 1995: 62)[88]. Thus, by acknowledging the diversity of blackness means accepting the deep intersections it has to class and gender that add further complexity to its social construction (Dyson 1995: 102; Morris 2015). Black consciousness therefore agrees with Marxist analysis because it also views the inequalities of the world as largely a creation of the capitalist project. However, black historic analysis of capitalism posits that the Atlantic slave experience, colonialism and racism is what shapes how inequality and capitalism is perpetuated. This is different to the European centred analysis of capitalism that Marx understood, which focused its historical analysis on the relationship between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Nonetheless, both black and Marxist revolutionary analysis agree that the assimilation of workers (remember that for blacks this was initially as slaves) into a capitalist system benefitted the bourgeoisie class at the cost of the proletariat.

Incorporation into liberal mainstream political, social and economic systems, that is often the carrot offered by liberal integrationists and 'late liberals', is therefore not the goal of blackness (Dyson 1995: 81; Povinelli 2011). It is for this reason that dependency theorists suggested so strongly to delink from the capitalist 'world system' because it was designed, they argued, to advance Western interests over 'others' (Rodney 1969 [1996]; 1973). Rather, Dyson (1995: 164) stresses "The radical democratic antiracist struggle should, in Malcolm's [X] spirit, oppose all forms of oppression while constantly forging links with other progressive peoples and

[88] This is the same for coloured identity in South Africa (See Moore 2015, MA dissertation).

organizations". The goal therefore of black revolution is to provide a consciousness that speaks to poor and working-class people[89] of all genders, without minimising other forms of revolution.

However, Mbembe's (1992) position to understand relations in the post colony offers a very definite but useful counter to the stance of this chapter. He argues that subjects of the post colony have several identities rather than one that they must manage that need to be flexible enough to 'negotiate as and when required' by the *commandement* (Mbembe 1992: 5).[90] James (8-25 August 1960 [1984]: 142) agreed and states that "sex [gender], class and race" are exploitative tools used by capitalists as well as "reactionary elements" to ensure their positions of power are secured into the future, what has become known as 'identity politics'. Being black therefore is not enough to negotiate the power of revolutionary change (James) or the 'post colony' (Mbembe). In this way Mbembe (1992: 5) contends,

> Hence it would be wrong, it seems, to continue to interpret postcolonial relationships in terms of resistance or absolute domination, or as a function of the binary oppositions usually adduced in conventional analyses of movements of indiscipline and revolt (e.g., counter-discourse, counter-society, counter-hegemony, 'the second society', etc).

For Mbembe (1992: 3) opposites are not useful thinking for understanding postcolonial societies. However, such a position also suggests that to use black revolutionary history is to think 'opposite people'[91] and apply this to people's perceptions of reality. However, this is not the point of blackness or revolution. Still Mbembe's (1992) positioning has added a vital way of understanding postcolonial societies and must be considered when thinking about the historiography of black and revolution.

With Mbembe's (1992) important critique in mind, this thesis must provide a statement for how it defines revolution in an era that has clichéd the use of the term. If blackness is the historical, political, economic and social conditions of development

[89] "The greatest irony of contemporary black nationalism may be its use by members of the black middle class – for instance, black intellectuals and artists thoroughly insulated in niches of protection within the academy – to consolidate their class interests *at the expense* (theirs) of working-class and poor blacks" (Dyson 1995: 99).

[90] Mbembe (1992: 3-4) states, "In the postcolony the *commandement* seeks to institutionalize itself, in order to achieve legitimation and hegemony (*recherchehe hegemonique*), in the form of a *fetish* … The champions of state power invent entire constellations of ideas; they adopt a distinct set of cultural repertoires and powerfully evocative concepts; but they also have resort, if necessary, to the systematic application of pain. The basic goal is not just to bring a specific political consciousness into being but to make it effective."

[91] Newen Afrobeat (ft. Seun Kuti & Cheick Tidiane Seck), 'Opposite People' *Newen plays Fela*: [Independent] 2017.

faced by people of colour, what is meant by revolution? What is suggested is that there are multiple nodes that revolution stems from, blackness being but one of these. Others include, but are not limited to God, spirituality, education, women, poverty, the workers, the arts, morality, the environment, and the experiences of oppression faced by ordinary people (often the poor working class).[92] Kwame Nkrumah states (1964, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 56) that revolution constitutes ethical change; "A society does not change its ethics by merely changing its rules. To alter its ethics, its principles must be different. Thus, if a capitalist society can become a socialist society, then a capitalist society will have changed its ethics. Any change of ethics constitutes a revolutionary change." For this reason Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013: 349) notes that the project of decolonization necessitates a project of 'deimperialization' which entails the Global North also "… abandoning Eurocentrism and the spirit of imperial domination … [as well as] Western arrogance." Revolution then must be the curtain call for such efforts.

Perhaps then the blunt definition of revolution by Malcolm X (1964, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 77) suffices, considering his stance as a black revolutionary leader in the tumultuous late 1950s and 1960s in the United States of America:

> This is a real revolution. Revolution is always based on land. Revolution is never based on begging somebody for an integrated cup of coffee. Revolutions are never fought by turning the other cheek. Revolutions are never based upon love your enemy and pray for those who spitefully use you. And revolutions are never waged singing "We shall overcome." Revolutions are based on bloodshed. Revolutions are never compromising. Revolutions are never based upon negotiations. Revolutions are never based upon any kind of tokenism whatsoever. Revolutions are never even based upon that which is begging a corrupt society or a corrupt system to accept us into it. Revolutions overturn systems …"

Clearly then, revolution is a multifaceted matter and far from uniform. Orwell (1949: 162) so clearly alludes to this in his classic novel *1984*, "Already we know almost literally nothing about the Revolution and the years before the Revolution". Nonetheless, a popular definition provided by Cambridge Dictionary defines revolution as a big or sudden change in the government or the way things work. Their definition also highlights that this change is usually violent or accompanied by war (Cambridge Dictionary online, Accessed 08 November 2019).

[92] For instance, it would not be unrealistic to have theses about Cannabis that are focused for instance on the spiritual revolution (Rastafarianism), music revolution (Reggae music) or environmental revolution (the Hippie movement) embedded into its history.

Revolutionary objectives and methods are often misunderstood and made out to be inherently violent. Revolution can/does cause an upheaval to the status quo and as such people advocating for it are often persecuted, oppressed and face intimidation through violent methods of coercion from the bourgeoisie and those with political power. Malcolm X (1964, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 278) clarifies what it is revolutionaries actually fight for, "… we are not fighting for integration, nor are we fighting for separation. We are fighting for recognition as human beings. We are fighting for the right to live as free humans in this society. In fact, we are actually fighting for rights that are even greater than civil rights and that is human rights." It is precisely this fight to be human that Asante (1991, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 340) argues scares not only whites but black people as well, enough so to make some blacks want to deny their blackness, because to be black is not to be human.[93]

The conscious activities of revolutionaries are not the drivers of violence and in fact have throughout history been grounded in non-violent protest. Freire (1970 [2005]: 55) states clearly, "Never in history has violence been initiated by the oppressed. How could they be the initiators, if they themselves are the result of violence?" Although some revolutionaries have consciously driven violence when no other option is able to bring about the political, social and economic changes they seek.[94] But even the acts of violence (or non-violence) of revolutionaries are acted out of a sense of humanity, and for this they are persecuted.[95] Some examples of the non-violence (or some examples of the violence perpetrated against revolutionary actors) of revolutionary actors include Jesus, Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr, Patrice Lumumba or Steve Biko. Speaking about the confrontations of power that occur in revolutions, which are often misunderstood, and the cause of violence perpetuated against revolutionaries, Martin Luther King Jr (1967, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 288) states:

> Power, properly understood, is the ability to achieve purpose. It is the strength required to bring about social, political, or economic changes. In this sense power is not only desirable but necessary in order to implement the demands of love and justice. One of the greatest problems of history is that the concepts of love and power are usually contrasted as polar opposites. Love is identified with a resignation of power and power with a denial of love.

[93] Fanon famously argued these points in his classic texts *Black skin, white masks* (1952) and *The wretched of the earth* (1961).

[94] Obvious examples of violence used in self-defence include the various struggle movements of the 50s through to the 1970s in many parts of the colonized world.

[95] See Bouteldja (2016) and the idea of revolutionary love, but also the work of Freire (1970 [2005]).

Hooks (1989, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 336) agrees and adds about love in relation to the feminist movement, “Embedded in the commitment to feminist revolution is the challenge to love. Love can be and is an important source of empowerment when we struggle to confront issues of sex, race, and class.” Bouteldja (2016; see also Freire 1970 [2005]) in many ways agrees with this in her assessment that there is a politics involved in ‘Revolutionary love’ that is more generally an overarching (if not predominant) principle of revolution.

Revolution, like love, is a process rather than an event, as Mafeje (1978, in Nyoka 2019: 174) so rightly points out in reference to the youth uprisings of June 16, 1976, in Soweto.[96] It is precisely because it is a process that its long-term strategy is developmental in nature. However, the process of revolution also requires action[97] as Neocosmos (2016: 246) notes, “Emancipatory politics can only be thought in their doing; they are thought in action”. The desire to do this action can only come from a deep sense of love embedded in revolutionary action and thought.

Sadly, conceptualizing revolution as love and a fundamental dimension of development is far from an accepted practice. The revolutionary aspects of development, in this case for Cannabis, are instead marginalized. Environmental, green development and the traditions, set in place more forthrightly by the hippie movement of the 1960s, have however been emboldened in the contemporary development of the plant (See for instance, Patterson 2009: MA dissertation). Revolutionary history is not a recognizable part of contemporary development unless in a popularized form, such as is the picture of Che Guevara donning a beret. But when black revolutionary histories are connected to Cannabis development, they can avoid becoming a symbol (such as the image of Che Guevara) without meaning or context. Dyson (1995: 173) therefore rightly points out, that the best qualities of black revolutionary history remain ‘in the future’, which directly implies a vibrant connection between development and revolution that should be sustained, rather than lost.

[96] Which is the point of rupture in South Africa between the peoples call for a national democratic revolution and the African National Congress (ANC) during the transition period in the early 1990s, which continues in the contemporary period!

[97] Because revolutionary action from the end of WWII to the end of the cold war involved the call to arms, it is essential that contemporary revolution make clear how it intends to put its process in motion. This thesis therefore argues later that the contemporary action of revolution is to be found in developing a new methodology of labour for Cannabis that ensure black ownership, just jobs for the poor working class and the leadership of women. See also Kay, Jelsma & Bewey-Taylor (2020) for a discussion of contemporary Cannabis development and the need to include the most marginalized groups.

Cannabis development has everything to do with the revolutionary aspects connected to the plant. The resistances embedded in the story of Cannabis provides a unique method with which to decipher the ways in which development can work for the most marginalized. To be sure, in the revelations of black diasporic revolution, certain non-human objects such as Cannabis often became the only physical embodiment of their struggle that was tangible. Most prominently black people would for example hold on to spirituality, their various art forms, sexuality, food and liquor, or the balls of various sporting codes. Nina Simone so clearly articulated this further in her definitive song "Ain't got no, I got life".[98] The price paid by black people, over the course of 500 years of oppression, was a total exclusion from the world that existed; all revolutionaries had, she sang, were the parts of their body, their soul, but most of all, their life (Nina Simone, 'Ain't got no, I got life' *Nuff said*: 1968). Likewise, Cannabis became an object revolutionary actors embodied to incorporate into the world that they lived in and sought to create. The connections Cannabis has to black revolution are historic, cultural, artistic, spiritual and most especially a living experience.[99]

3.2.2 Connecting Cannabis to its black radical traditions

The history of black revolution illuminates much of the story of Cannabis when it is viewed from a Global South perspective.[100] Some of the people and ideas for example of such revolutionary activity that are expressed in the story of this plant of the last 200 years include:[101]

- Haiti and the first slave revolt led by Toussaint Louverture.
- The accounts of runaway slaves in both America's and the Caribbean – for example Fredrick Douglass and other maroons.

[98] Nina Simone, 'Ain't got no, I got life' *Nuff said*, RCA Victor: 1968.

[99] Nationalist governments could make use of the potentials Cannabis has for development which might also rekindle the way in which they approach development more generally.

[100] Indeed, I recognize that a genealogical account of the nature I would really like to make, about how black revolution illuminates much of the story of Cannabis, may require a thesis-length manuscript. Here then is just a brief outline of what could be considered such an expeditions key arguments.

[101] Note that this is far from an exhausted list. For example, Cannabis revolutionary history was also involved in expanding the religious experience of black people in the diaspora. The Christian formulation of revolutionary action in North America nonetheless often "oscillated between reformist and revolutionary models of racial transformation" (Dyson 1995: 37). However, like Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam, the "black spirituality" accompanying the revolutionary history of Cannabis rejected "…the belief that black people should redeem white people through black bloodshed, sacrifice and suffering" (Dyson 1995: 90). Hence, Peter Tosh, Bob Marley and Bunny Wailer would sing they were sick and tired of dying and "going to heaven inna Jesus name" (The Wailers, 'Get up stand up' *Burnin'*: 1973).

- W.E.B. Du Bois at the launch of black people's quest for education from the early 1900s (Morris, 2015).
- Marcus Garvey and the back to Africa movements.
- The nationalist struggles in Africa particularly that of Halie Selassie in Ethiopia and the successful defence of Ethiopian independence from Italian colonialism in the late 1930s.
- The Global Pan-African movement and the subsequent independence of African nations leading from Ghana in 1957.
- The rise of global black conscious and black power movements in the 1960s into the 1970s which is directly linked to the popularization of Cannabis by artists such as Bob Marley and the Rastafarian movement.
- The end of the cold war and the completion of the nationalist revolutionary project in Africa.
- And, the rising dissent of black people in the contemporary period against continued political, social and economic exploitation such as the 'fees must fall' movement or 'black lives matter'.

The story of Cannabis quite neatly shadows the pulse of black revolutionary history from Haiti to the present as laid out chronologically here.

1. The decline of Cannabis from the end of the 18th century occurs just as the journey of black revelation begins after slaves had set Haiti free.
2. The global ending of slavery through the second half of the 19th century is mirrored in Cannabis which was at the end of its reign as a major crop at about the same time. The expansionist efforts of Europe and the consolidation of North American hegemony began a new era of liberal democratic capitalism.
3. By the beginning of the 20th century hemp and other Cannabis uses were marginal actors on the world stage as were the now colonized areas of the Global South and ex-slave populations of the Atlantic.
4. In the early part the 20th century, Cannabis becomes prohibited worldwide in large part to the efforts of the South African governments requests to have Cannabis scheduled a dangerous drug internationally. Various forms of political, social and economic exclusion are also felt by black people who

began to organize under a Pan-African ideology to challenge imperial power.

5. After WWII and through to the early 1970s Cannabis is under strict national and international prohibitionist policy like the black revolutionary ideas of Pan Africanism, Black Consciousness and Nationalist movements throughout Africa and its diaspora.
6. From the 1970s onwards Cannabis begins to get some recognition by international and national governments, whether positively or negatively, as were the black revolutionary struggles that occurred at this time and into the late 1980s. For example, in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.
7. From the 1990s onwards, Cannabis like the leaders of the nationalist struggle throughout the world begin to be recognized as constituting a place in humanities future. The legalization of Cannabis begins to rapidly expand.
8. From 2000, Cannabis like former revolutionary activists and their ideas become more and more a part of the changing political geography of the world. The medicalization of Cannabis becomes a central feature of the plant's development.
9. From 2010 to the present the legalization era of Cannabis is in full swing. However, social activists have begun to question if real change has occurred. The massacre at Marikanna, the 'Fees must Fall' and 'Black Lives Matter' campaigns, have all brought back the conversation to the continued existence of race, class and gendered oppression and the need to eradicate it.[102] Cannabis development is in a similar position: To participate in the liberal democratic capital system being set up for the plant, or, make use of a more radical alternative to how to develop the plants future and to whom those benefits will accrue.[103]

[102] More recent activism focused on women's justice include the Me Too Movement that publicly exposes allegations of sex crimes, sexual harassment, abuse and rape of women (Me Too Movement, Accessed 12 August 2021). There are also those that have formed in the wake of the continued police brutality faced by young black people such as The Black lives Matter. This organizations "mission is to eradicate white supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes" (Black Lives Matter, Accessed 12 August 2021. The rise of such activism shows that the plight of black people, the poor working class and women is unresolved and requires urgent attention.

[103] See for example Kay et.al. (2020).

This study therefore argues that rather than discarding the black revolution that is historically and practically embedded in the story of Cannabis, the development of the plant, particularly in the Global South, need to use this aspect of the plants politics to stay in touch with the realities of unemployment, poverty and women's oppression.

A conceptualization of the plant's political history, (which is predominantly, but not solely, related to the Rastafarian movement) will improve the development potential that the plant has.[104] However, the opportunities arising since the legalization era, to use such history to develop Cannabis, are restricted because of the negative associations the idea of black revolution has for mainstream development. Therefore, the contemporary development of the plant Cannabis remains unequal and continues to marginalize black people, the poor working class and women who have historically endured the most of racial and capitalist oppression. However, Neocosmos (2016: 436) warns that, even such understandable categories such as race, class and gender are limiting for marginalized people. He argues, "For a politics of excess to develop beyond interest, beyond identity, it would need to develop against identity and therefore attempt to sustain its excessive subjectivity over the social division of labour and hierarchy. So long as politics remain locked within identity – even progressive popular identities – it becomes difficult to sustain a process towards emancipatory political thought" (Neocosmos 2016: 436).

Politics however is associated with identity in the Cannabis industry in South Africa. To transcend identity talk 'beyond interest' therefore still requires a frank discussion about how emancipation is possible for humanity that has been shackled in this way of thinking, living and being for so long. Moreover, to be conscious is to understand those things that keep people from realizing their self-worth. What this means for revolutionary Cannabis action, if it is trying to advocate for an industry based on the oneness of humanity, means precisely advancing the interests of, particular groups who might still define themselves within an identity politics. Such a politics is necessary until the 'pedagogy of the oppressed' humanity, is fully realized. Thus, Freire (1970[2005]: 51) argues, "… transforming that [social – in this case also identity

[104] This study focuses on the Rastafarian influences for the politicization of Cannabis. Cannabis discourse often overlooks these issues, but which, for most poor working-class Global South citizens, is a dominant position of understanding about the plant. Many of the informal and formal interviews I have conducted also focus on a Rastafarian way of thinking about the plant. Patterson's (2009) work did touch on this link between Cannabis, resistance and Rastafarianism; however, more detail could have been added.

politics] reality [that oppresses] is an historical task, a task for humanity." The proposal for the existence of identity is better illuminated in the formulations of women's justice.

Thus, although Neocosmos (2016; 487) is critical of identity politics he concedes that feminism came closest to being able to straddle "both rights discourse and the discourse of tradition".[105] James (1984: 262) agrees, asserting that even "Marx pointed out many years ago that women were more exploited than the proletariat". Women's oppression is nonetheless directly related to the exploitation of the poor working class and black people and might be considered as a form of identity politics whose ultimate goal is humanity for all people.

The conceptualization of women's' revolutionary history as applied in this thesis is however similar to the indifference Hooks, (1989, in Okpara and Lee eds., 1995: 329) expresses about Western feminist movements insistence that the fight against oppression is singularly about ending the exploitation of women:

> Ideologically, thinking in this direction enables Western women, especially privileged white women, to suggest that racism and class exploitation are merely the offspring of the parent system: patriarchy. Within feminist movement in the West, this has led to the assumption that resisting patriarchal domination is a more legitimate feminist action than resisting racism and other forms of domination. Such thinking prevails despite radical critiques made by black women and other women of colour who question this proposition.

The theoretical suppositions of this thesis therefore require it to adopt a nuanced explanation of revolutionary history that is equally concerned with women, as it is with the oppression and exploitation of black people and the poor working class.

Furthermore, by arguing that there is a lack of revolutionary history incorporated into the constructs of development also requires a philosophical framework of understanding. Gordon (2008: 8) points out that "Philosophy emerges where problems that stimulate critical reflection come to the fore. By critical reflection, I mean subjecting

[105] Rather than gender or sex this thesis pays homage to women following on from the influential framing by Angela Davis in her book "*Women, race and class*". It is at every turn women who face the daily onslaught of patriarchy rather than any gender or sexuality. And it is poor working-class black women who face the highest incidences of this oppression rather than white women. She states in this regard (Davis 1987, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 298-299) "Creating a revolutionary women's movement will not be simple. For decades, white women activists have repeated the complaint that women of colour frequently fail to respond to their appeals … The process cannot be initiated merely by intensified efforts to attract Latina or Afro-American or Asian or Native American women into the existing organizations dominated by white women of the more privileged economic strata. The particular concerns of women of colour must be included in the agenda." Ultimately, "The consequence of Western inventions, in other words, is not only Western normativity, but also its accompanying baggage of white and male normativity as manifested in the production of gender" (Gordon 2008: 210).

each assumption to conditions of evidence, rational assessment, or reason. But simply thinking about one's assumptions and prejudices while a necessary aspect of philosophical work, is insufficient to make such thought itself philosophical." The debate about Cannabis can also be advanced from a position of critical decolonial reflection (see Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013; 2015; 2016). Unfortunately, many public (governments, conservative organizations and individuals) assumptions about the plant are still prejudicial and not based on scientific evidence. According to Gordon's definition, therefore, they are not philosophical but ideological.

It is therefore essential that this conceptual and theoretical framework for the study of Cannabis is enriched by scientific rigour rather than ideological outlook.[106] According to Gordan (2008: 8) to enrich Africana philosophy there are three tasks an African academic philosopher has to do;

> The first is translation, where the task is to articulate the tenants of traditional African cultures in Western academic terms…The second task is to formulate theories, interpretations, and criticisms of their own. The third is to articulate and offer viable responses to the political situation that plagues much of contemporary Africa.

This analysis of Cannabis has prudently tried to ensure its theoretical suppositions hold up to these standards of excellence. Firstly, it has shown that the literature of Cannabis is largely produced in the West (See, Chapkis & Webb 2008; Decorte et.al. 2011; Fijnaut & De Ruyver 2015; Herer 1985 [2010]; London 2009; Rubin 1975) and do not forthrightly 'articulate the tenants of traditional African cultures' that enlighten how the plant is understood in the Global South. Second, and the point of this specific chapter, is to formulate a theoretical framework that interprets for the South African experience. At the end of this thesis, I hope to provide a critique of development based on empirical evidence but grounded on a sound theoretical framework. Lastly, the thesis enriches Africana philosophy by offering a political geography of Cannabis in South Africa that tries to 'offer viable responses to the political situation that plagues much of contemporary Africa'.

[106] To be sure, this does not mean simply bringing a European enlightenment logic to African thought. European philosophy claimed to be scientific but in fact tried to prove the existence of flawed, prejudicial and ideological views. Morris (2015) shows that scientific racism had a major impact on the creation of modern sociology. Zondi (2018) also exposes the inverted and hypocritical 'science' behind the study and practice of international relations.

One possible way in which to re-centre marginalized discourses, such as black revolutionary history embedded in Cannabis, is to make use of the interesting concept Morris (2015: 188) terms 'liberation capital';

> Liberation capital is a form of capital used by oppressed and resource-starved scholars to initiate and sustain the research program of a non-hegemonic scientific school… The providers of liberation capital, most often members of the oppressed group, work together to formulate new research methodologies that facilitate the collection and analysis of critical evidence leading to new theoretical perspectives on the social conditions faced by the oppressed group…

Morris (2015: 187-188), made use of the term to describe the form of capital that W.E.B Du Bois used to sustain his intellectual enterprises that were at every turn being blocked by the eugenicist academic institution at the turn of the 20th century and into its first decades. Morris (2015) argues in *The scholar denied: W.E.B. DuBois and the birth of modern sociology*, that early 20th century scholars relied on 'liberation capital' because the institutes of higher education were dominated by scientific explorations that did not adequately deal with the issues of oppressed parts of society. In order to interpret the realities of their experiences and communities these scholars were forced to formulate 'new theoretical perspectives'. Certainly, relying on the formulations of black historical frameworks, that have well over one hundred years of use since the first generation of internationally recognized black intellectuals, such as W.E.B Du Bois, began perfecting in academic institutions, is now, not new.[107] In fact, the deconial school of thought strength lies exactly in this ability to use the total history of colonial oppression, including the Atlantic slave period, in a manner that reflects the "Coloniality of power in development studies and the impact of global imperial designs on Africa" to use Ndlovu- Gatsheni's (2012) title and important contributions to such analysis.

I therefore submit that to ensure that the whole history of Cannabis is adequately located within the contemporary development of the plant, reliance on a similar form of capital and decoloniality might be useful. The formulation of a 'new theoretical perspective(s)' may well be uncovered by making use of the 'liberation capital' (i.e., black revolutionary history or 'emancipatory politics' if you like) that is

[107] Zondi (2018) shows however, that the institution of higher learning remains largely controlled by Western academic thinking. Therefore, as influential as W.E.B. Du Bois or other black scholars are they are still not central to mainstream (mostly white male) academia.

infused into the story of Cannabis. Although Morris (2015) used 'liberation capital' in reference to scholarly activity at the start of the 20th century, it is possible to adopt it to understand the forms of capital the development of Cannabis in South Africa can use to "facilitate the collection and analysis of critical evidence leading to new theoretical perspectives [of Cannabis]" (Morris 2015: 188). Even so, the incorporation of this history into the development of Cannabis must also be vigilant because "Black scholars as well need to worry about how racist assumptions enter their work because racially biased scholarship that all scholars draw upon has permeated academia historically and has not been eradicated from the modern academy" (Morris 2015: 221). For example, the controversy caused by the eminent scholar Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s documentary film *Wonders of the African World* in 2000 which some argued drew on unsubstantiated assumptions.

Henry Louis Gates Jr. drew criticism from eminent scholars such as Ali Mazrui (2000) who responded saying it was a type of 'Black orientalism' or, Molefe Kete Asante's (2000) response that the film amounted to a 'Eurocentric enterprise'. Gates especially floundered for insinuating that without the aid of black Africans the Atlantic slave system would not have been possible.[108] The lesson that can be learnt from this impasse is that this thesis must be cognisant and confident enough to show where there are shortfalls in the way in which the use of a black radical theoretical frameworks can be employed.

Nevertheless, theoretical enterprise that makes use of 'liberation capital' is necessary because as Neocosmos (2016: 481) argues, "One reason for the hegemonic dominance of an African nationalist essentialism is, arguably, the absence of a sufficiently robust theoretico-political alternative, which would have as its object the elucidation of excessive subjectivities among the people". The history of the resistances embedded in a non-human object such as Cannabis bring to the fore such a 'theoretico-political alternative' to 'African nationalist essentialism'. The use of such capital raises important dimensions of race, class and gender that adds new dimensions to the analysis of the plant and broader South African geo-politics. Including black revolutionary history and its resistances into the development of Cannabis post-prohibition can encourage a more fertile future for the plant to flourish.

[108] Other critiques included Agozino (2000), Jeyifo (2000) or Mikell (2000).

3.3 The theoretical framework

3.3.1 The side-lining of black revolutionary history in development strategies

Although the ending of prohibition is a positive step in South Africa, mainstream global Cannabis development continues to side-line the revolutionary history of the plant and the benefits this might have in formulating its development goals. Disregarding black revolutionary thought is not new to Western development systems (See Zondi 2018). Okpara & Lee eds., (1995: 2) state in this regard "…it is crucial to note that black philosophy is not the only black intellectual tradition that has been dismissed by the dominant European culture", black literature and black theatre have also been overlooked.[109]

Black revolutionary history is often negated because it is perceived to have an undesirable impact on the direction of global development.[110] This however is not true; black revolution has had a major part to play in reconstructing relations of power that continue to enable a more equitable world. Black revolution has heavily influenced far-reaching events of world history as showcased in the *Black Jacobins*, C.L.R. James' (1938 [1980]) seminal analysis of the Haitian revolution. James' (1938 [1980]) illustrates how democracy and freedom, through human struggle for right over wrong, was as much a product of the black diaspora as it was of the enlightened Western world. Thus, Gordon (2008: 182) surmises, as does this chapter, "… what happens when reason no longer runs out the door when the black walks in the room?" By including black revolutionary history into how global development proceeds is to take black philosophical underpinnings seriously. To engage with it rather than simply dismiss its entire premise is essential to the production of new knowledge. This has occurred for example in the treatment by Western civilization of the Haitian revolution.

Haiti, the site of the first successful black revolution of the Atlantic slave period, is not celebrated as a major source of inspiration to global politics. However, the revolution of Haiti "… are of fundamental universal significance, for they affirmed the truth of a universal humanity for the first time during the modern period, something which the French and American revolutions did not do" (Neocosmos 2016: 62). Even so, it is the democratic movements and revolutions of France, Britain or America that

[109] Black music must be added here as well.

[110] The negativity stems from a stereotype about violence and revolution. See for example the definition of revolution by Cambridge Dictionary online (Accessed 08 November 2019).

are awarded the accolade of having formulated the universal ideas of freedom, liberty, equality, and fraternity. Stoler and Cooper, (1997: 2) comment further, "But the pioneer of free labour, Great Britain, the victor of a war for independence, the United States, and the country of the Rights of Man, France, did not hail the emergent nation of Haiti, with its newly freed peasantry, as the vanguard of liberation. Instead, their architects turned it into a symbol of backwardness and danger – not unlike what it remains today." The immense struggles the people of Haiti went through to free themselves from slavery are therefore obscured in the canon of world history.[111] Instead, the history of Western democracy is celebrated as the guiding light of all humanity, and its revolutions are required referencing for academics (see also Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013; 2015; Zondi 2018). The example of Haiti demonstrates why it is important to reveal the history of black revolution and its context to the world.

Likewise, when the side-lined black revolution accompanying Cannabis is added to its development a fuller view of the plant is provided. The black revolutionary history of Cannabis connects the plants development more clearly too political and socio-economic issues of poverty, inequality caused by entrenched economic hierarchies and unemployment, all of which are vital to the concerns of the Global South. What's more, an account of Cannabis that includes its radical traditions is better able to explain why the multiple and complex sets of Cannabis political geography that interact and persistently establish the realities of development for the plant are fundamentally flawed.

To be fair, such an analysis must recognize that black revolution history should not occupy a more dominant position than other world history. Neither should it submit that Cannabis is the foremost symbol of revolution. Rather, it ought to argue that the black revolutionary history of Cannabis must be written into the story of the plants development because it enlightens so much of its past, present and future. This history is a key ingredient to producing a successful post-prohibition development plan for Cannabis, particularly in the Global South. Kay et.al. (2020) for example have realised

[111] Neocosmos (2016: 83) argues that ultimately, "The fact that it took a successful struggle against slavery to instill in thought the truth of the universality of humanity with no exception whatsoever constitutes a major gift by Africans to humanity, which should be the object of celebration. Unfortunately, this has not been the case." See also Neocosmos (2016: 72-85) for further discussion of the centrality of the Haitian revolution to understanding emancipatory politics in the contemporary period. As well as, obviously, the pivotal work of James (1938 [1980]).

that the contemporary development of the plant will leave many groups out and hence argue for more fair-trade practices to be followed that might include these people.

Cannabis development as it is currently being formulated is suited to the circumstances of the Global North. Ultimately this means that black people, the poor working class, as well as women, who have historically found employment with Cannabis when it was prohibited, particularly in the Global South, will likely become unequal partners in the legal Cannabis industry.[112] Moreover, their ownership of Cannabis interests will be made more difficult, if not almost impossible, in a legalized market. Thus Kay et.al. (2020: 27) state unwaveringly,

> If the construction of the global cannabis prohibition regime was an historic mistake, then a transition towards a legally regulated market that concentrates profits in a handful of Big Pharma, Tobacco and Cannabis companies, while locking out small-scale farmers in the Global South, only serves to further this damaging legacy.

It is precisely such a damaging report that forces this thesis to seek an alternative framework within which to house the development of Cannabis.

The revolutionary history that connects to Cannabis consequently rejects many of the principles of colonial development and its 'series of hegemonic projects' (Cooper, in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 409). Development theories habitually update themselves along conventional Western paths of progress rather than submitting when revolutionary ideals have better strategies for the humanity of the world (Escobar 1995: 42).[113] While Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013: 345) offers that "This 'repetition without change' is in fact a crisis of agency and imagination." This conscious practice of side-lining the benefits that revolutionary historiography can have in formulating innovative development goals is therefore unimaginative in the new millennium.

While admittedly the goal of much development has been of a philanthropic nature, it remains only partially aligned to the concerns raised by black history. In the main, development has been supportive of measures that alleviate poverty, promote environmental causes or, that create employment and infrastructure to ease the economic and social burdens of people (See, Escobar 1995; Willis 2005), but rarely do they try to foster the development of political consciousness. Revolutionary

[112] Legget (2002) highlights some of the ways in which post-apartheid development has stimulated underground and often illegal economies to grow. See also Kay et.al. (2020) analysis.

[113] These stages of development or growth were formulated for instance by Rostow (1960) as an 'Anti-communist Manifesto' against those of Karl Marx.

consciousness is essential to development because it influences positive thinking for individuals and people about themselves, in relation to their communities and global development.[114] By connecting Cannabis to a revolutionary consciousness can possibly ground its development into one that is fully functioning, sustainable and a unique practice for the Global South.

Patterson (MA thesis, 2009) has made an important contribution to the Cannabis debate in South Africa by showing that the plant, and those involved with it, have historically also been a part of anti-apartheid resistances and the development of revolutionary consciousness. Patterson (2009) provided evidence which showed that during the apartheid era, the ANC[115] was likely trafficking Cannabis as a means of providing extra funding for liberation activities. However, Patterson (2009) does not pursue if Cannabis was being trafficked because it was understood by freedom fighters as a product that was part of the struggle for emancipation. His points of view also tended to highlight the resistance offered by the anti-establishment counterculture of the hippie movement. While this is an important aspect of the resistance offered through Cannabis, it is incomplete. It offers only a limited acknowledgement of the contribution of Rastafarianism, reggae music and the black diaspora more generally to Cannabis history.[116] Secondly, Patterson (2009) only offers a cursory discussion of why 'race matters' which is essential to any study set in South Africa.

The story of Cannabis also provides a remarkable example of how class and capital can subsume the power and knowledge of formerly prohibited goods by replacing their illegal operational forces with legitimized legal capitalist systems (see

[114] Excerpts from Steve Biko's address at a black theology seminar in Pietermaritzburg, 28 August 1971 articulate this clearly, "[Revolutionary consciousness] Black Consciousness is in essence the realization by the Black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression - the blackness of their skin and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the normal which is white. It is a manifestation of a new realization that by seeking to run away from themselves and to emulate the white man, blacks are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black. Black consciousness therefore takes cognizance of the deliberateness of God's plan in creating black people black. It seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life" (Saso newsletter, September 1971, Source SA History online, Accessed 11 August 2021).

[115] It is unclear if this was official ANC policy or not, but it seems clear ANC cadre were trafficking Cannabis as a way of generating much needed income.

[116] Although the music of Rastafarianism, reggae, is highlighted here, the Blues, Jazz, Rock n Roll, as well as Hip Hop cultures have numerous songs about Cannabis. For example, respectively, (Muddy Waters, 'Champagne and reefer' *King Bee:* Blue Sky Records 1980; Cab Calloway, 'Reefer man' appeared in 1933 film *International house*: 1932; Neil Young, 'Roll another number (for the road) *Tonight's the night*: Reprise Records 1975; Cypress Hill, 'Hits from the bong' *Black Sunday*: Ruffhouse & Columbia Records 1993).

Polson and Bodwitch 2021). Kay, Jelsma & Bewey-Taylor (2020: 28) must be quoted in full in this regard.

> Nonetheless, there are also growing reservations regarding unfolding market dynamics. Among these is concern over the many **for-profit cannabis companies from Global North that are aggressively competing to capture the licit spaces** now rapidly opening in what may be a multi-billion-dollar global market. This threatens to push small-scale and marginalized traditional farmers from countries like Colombia, Mexico, Jamaica, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Morocco, South Africa, Afghanistan, Lebanon, India, Nepal or Thailand out of the emerging market. This is despite the fact that they have supplied the illicit market for decades, often under extremely precarious and conflict-prone conditions, in which cannabis forms part of a broader survival economy (emphasis in original).

What is more, ever since the changing global climate for Cannabis the resistances and survival that Cannabis symbolized for the hippie and Rastafarian movement, as well as ordinary people, are being diluted by liberal political machinery. Capitalism therefore can control how Cannabis will operate in the free market, which London (2009) argued is occurring through the plants contemporary medicalization. The ability of capital to take control over how goods are organized (i.e., the means of production and distribution) is essential to the maintenance of their hegemony. Limiting this advent in the post-prohibition development of Cannabis in South Africa is particularly important to movements that continue to espouse an historical indifference to participation in mainstream liberal capitalism. If the 'ownership' of and therefore access to employment opportunities in the legal Cannabis industry are controlled by free market capitalism the most marginalized will not be able to compete fairly. Instead, their place in the Cannabis industry will be decided by their ability to contest for limited and 'alienated labour' positions.[117]

The legalization of Cannabis in South Africa provides an example of how liberal capitalist systems disproportionally affect and marginalize already marginalized races, classes and gender groups. This sustained side-lining was appropriately characterized "dispossession of the already dispossessed" by a contributor to the study who clearly was quite interested in Cannabis and the idea that the plant offered more than its

[117] However, the large-scale, still illegal growing of Cannabis has continued throughout Southern Africa and people are not reliant on participation in the legal industry. For example people in Pondoland in the Eastern Cape Province, have been growing Cannabis long before it was legalized and therefore argue that they should have direct access to the commercial commodification of the plant now that it is legal (Cannabis in Pondoland, Accessed 16 October 2019; Kay et.al. 2020: 28).

popular narratives lead people to believe.[118] He felt strongly that the development model which is plying Cannabis into the free market will benefit only a few rather than the majority. And, likely, those who will benefit the most will be people who already have access to the markets provided for by capitalism.[119] Though this contributor's view sounds decidedly anti-legalization I don't think that was his thought process. I think what he was expressing was a distrust of neoliberal development and the need to critique it radically to find better and more just solutions for the majority. The liberal democratic system therefore has inherent flaws that deny people access to equal economic opportunity that are still based mostly on illegitimate racial, class and gender categorizations. Thus, Fanon (1956, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 177) stressed that "The habit of considering racism [and I submit capitalism and discrimination against women as well] as a mental quirk, as a psychological flaw, must be abandoned." If the intended goal of (Cannabis) development is to offer the opportunity to the marginalized to participate within and outside of the economic system of the world, then the inclusion of black revolutionary history is necessary because it has always canvassed for the needs of the dispossessed. To do this requires an appreciation of the histories of black revolution that Cannabis has rooted within its traditions that are regrettably side-lined aspects of the plant's contemporary development.

3.3.2 Appreciating the black revolutionary history of Cannabis

Certainly, the black revolutionary history of Cannabis should be an appreciated aspect of the plant's contemporary development. Those parts of the black African diaspora's long history of revolution, which have a direct connection to Cannabis and the people supporting it, cannot be ignored in how, and who is to be involved in the post-prohibition processes of the plants development.[120] Black people, the poor working class and women have made use of Cannabis to add to their incomes, add spiritual

[118] Informal conversation (Pretoria, 09 December 2019). When the contributor stated this point he was clear to say that I could quote it. Possibly it was something he had been thinking about prior to our informal discussion. We clearly seemed to have agreed that a legal Cannabis industry would benefit those able to participate in a fully capitalized market rather than those who were most marginalized.

[119] In an informal talk with a small illegal grower in Eswatini (formerly known as Swaziland) he said outright that he did not want Cannabis made legal because it would mean competing with big farmers which in his mind would mean his business would lose out (Informal conversation, May 2019, outside Matsapha, Eswatini).

[120] To reiterate, this would include the slave revolts and first victory in Haiti, Marcus Garvey and the rise of Pan-Africanism, Hailie Selassie and the incorporation of Ethiopianism into political social and religious movements such as Rastafarianism, the nationalist struggles throughout the world, Bob Marley and the influence of reggae music, black consciousness movements and contemporary struggles in the 'post colony'.

and political value to their lives, or, quite simply, for its recreational, medicinal and industrial uses (Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021; Kay et.al. 2020: 28; Legget 2002; Manning 2007; Patterson 2009; Rubin 1975).

The contemporary legalizations of Cannabis stem largely from an analysis of the right of individuals to use the plant privately. This problematic tendency to link politics to rights discourse is noted by Neocosmos (2016: 191), who argues that "Today the key concept in understanding emancipatory politics in hegemonic discourse is the liberal notion of 'civil society'; along with the idea of 'citizenship rights', this category is the hub around which the thought of popular politics turns." For Gareth Prince[121], the link being made between Cannabis and privacy is a Western concept that has allowed the South African Constitutional Court to avoid dealing with "bigger issues" related to Cannabis (Gareth Prince, Cannabis Convention, Orlando East, Soweto, 22 February 2019). Although Gareth Prince failed to provide exact details about what these "bigger issues" were, the one discussed in this thesis, and that is often insinuated at the various Cannabis conventions I have attended, is a form of activist history embedded in the history of Cannabis (Gareth Prince, Cannabis Convention, Orlando East, Soweto, 22 February 2019).[122]

Ironically, it is exactly the angle of privacy that Gareth Prince first took in his attempt to convince a Cape Town court that it was his right as a Rastafarian to use the plant (Mia 2020). However, Gareth Prince's interpretation of privacy is different to the judgement of the courts, in his failed bid to the Constitutional Court in 2002, to have the right to use Cannabis for religious reasons. Most importantly for Gareth Prince, privacy was not limited to himself as an individual. For Prince, privacy also included the right of Rasta's and others who wanted to use the plant (Gareth Prince, Cannabis Convention, Orlando East, Soweto, 22 February 2019). Prince and other activists in

[121] The journey of Gareth Prince began in 1989 when he was arrested for Cannabis possession while a law student in Cape Town. This made him decide to fight discrimination of people like himself who used Cannabis. After Prince was refused to be admitted to the Cape Law Society because of his prior conviction for Cannabis use he was forced in 1998 to begin his legal challenge to the South African courts. (Mail and Guardian, 21 September 2018, Accessed 16 August 2021). His bid in 2002 to the constitutional court of South Africa "to argue that possession and use of the herb was a religious right" failed (Mail and Guardian, 21 September 2018, Accessed 16 August 2021). He was however vindicated with the judgement of the same constitutional court that effectively decriminalized the use of Cannabis on 18 September 2018 in South Africa.

[122] An overarching, yet subtle call, to more activist approaches to Cannabis development in South Africa does makes its presence felt at the Cannabis conferences I have attended. The discussion of black revolutionary ideals is also a theme of the conversations I have had with contributors and in informal discussions (Field notes, 2019, 2020, and 2021).

the Cannabis movement therefore regard the legalization of Cannabis as a public interest rather than a private issue. If prohibition regarded it in the public interest to make Cannabis illegal, as it also did to revolutionary activity in the same period (twentieth century), its legalization therefore must reinstate its public use and not just its private consumption.[123]

Legalizing Cannabis around a conception of the right to privacy also provides the consent to individuals and corporations to monopolize control over the legal Cannabis industry.[124] Conversely, when Cannabis is defended as a public good its legal industry is forced to ensure – when true democratic conventions are applied – the participation of the most marginalized.[125] Neocosmos therefore (2016: 452) openly criticizes development centred on human rights discourse:

> The supposed liberatory potential of human rights discourse must be vigorously contested, for it is fundamentally moral rather than political, conservative rather than transformative, legal rather than political. For it is the same conception of human rights that provides the justification for the intervention of power on behalf of victims; victims who, because of their lack of agency, must be politically represented by local or international NGOs, states or transnational institutions, and finally by empire itself.

Furthermore, the problematic about privacy goes against many of the ideas for which the Cannabis movement have historically stood for, most notably economic, social and political justice and its attainment for all humanity everywhere, particularly the most marginalized.

The association of Cannabis to the struggles and resistances of the most marginalized, in this study, is accredited to Rasta and the popularization of reggae music. Chawane (2008: 155) notes that "Rastafarian identity is thus understood as evolving out of cultural resistance — the lack of political freedom and opposition to an imposed slave identity." The notion that black history and revolution occupy a central place in Rasta is further noted by Kebede, et al., (2006: 2 in Chawane 2008: 207) who proposes that "The significance of Rastafarianism is that it is one of the movements

[123] It is this broader reading of Cannabis in the contemporary period that can be learnt from Archille Mbembe's idea of the 'post-colony' and the new ways of understanding the interaction and performance between the governed and the government (see Mbembe 1992; 2005).

[124] Because ordinary users will not be able to sell Cannabis products unless they have the required licenses etc., which only certain individuals and corporations will be able to afford.

[125] See James (1984) articulation of democracy and his references to the ancient Greek polity and its forms of democratic practice.

that have chosen to use past memories of black oppression (instead of suppressing those memories) to fight contemporary battles". Another key aspect of the ideals promoted by Rasta include conceptions about the unfair nature of the capitalist economic system. Thus, for Rasta, like Marx, understanding humanities struggles, requires a serious consideration of the materialist aspects of history (Rodney 1973: 176). Rodney (1973: 446) further argues that revolution or "conscious activity", essentially is about sorting out the history of economic deprivation and the social relations formed out of the common bonds of poverty. Thus, revolution, economics and history are deeply entangled which requires development to be cognizant of this predicament and include them into the strategies they put into action. However, the tangible use of the broader black political geographies of Cannabis are rare. Contemporary Cannabis development has instead internalized many mainstream liberal capital democratic development practices. As such, the contemporary development of the plant can be problematized politically for two reasons.

Firstly, the legacies of prohibition narratives still plague the contemporary development of Cannabis and need to be dealt with. Moreover, many people still believe the narratives prohibition inscribed onto the plant.[126] One contributor to the study was very clear that his negative view of Cannabis stemmed from its association to harmful drugs (Informal conversation, Oom, Noordgesig Soweto, 28 June 2019). Oom, who is now a pensioner, argued along the same lines as prohibitionists that Cannabis was a 'gateway' or steppingstone for people to begin their journey into abusing and addiction to harmful drugs and therefore thought restricting Cannabis use was overall a positive thing (Anthony 2012; Kandel 1975; Kandel & Faust 1975; Informal conversation, Oom, Noordgesig Soweto, 28 June 2019). Oom agreed with prohibitionist accounts because of his experience of seeing the effects of drug abuse around him, which is fair. What Oom misunderstood is that prohibitionists were not simply misguiding policy for economic gain but also undermining the Cannabis plants political connections to black and Latina history (Bouloc et.al. 2013; Fijnaut & De Ruyver 2015; Warf 2014). Oom therefore did not understand that his framing of Cannabis sustains the negative genealogical discourse of the plant that was created through an unsubstantiated prohibition (Interview, Oom, Noordgesig Soweto, 28 June

[126] Again, Mbembe's (1992; 2005) view that we need to look deeper into the performance of states and citizens in order to contextualise phenomena in the 'post colony' rather than rely on binary conceptions to interpret them is an important critique of this chapter's conceptualization of black revolutionary history.

2019). To be sure, the 'gateway theory' is easily debunked because it singles out Cannabis, while dangerous legal substances, that are also often used by harmful drug users, such as cigarettes and alcohol, receive no part of the blame. The contemporary development of Cannabis can be problematized politically because it has situated the plant as a recreational substance like alcohol and tobacco without adequately addressing why its profounder connections to agricultural and manufacturing are not leading these other two goods.

Secondly, this relationship to tobacco and alcohol must be scrutinized, considering that food security remains agriculture's principal purpose and remains, alongside access to clean water and land, a highly contentious agrarian political issue in the Global South.[127] This is what I think confused Oom, and which I question myself, because we are both small urban farmers whose primary concern is food production. In other words, although we (speaking as small farmers) agree to the importance of Cannabis, in the scheme of international affairs, it still does not trump the fact that food is more important to poor working class communities and subsistence farmers.[128] Undoubtedly then, the bridge with recreational crops, such as Cannabis, but also alcohol and tobacco, is not harmful drugs as prohibitionists have made people, governments and lawmakers to believe, but rather, the simple yet disturbed agrarian place of food and the attainment of food security.

Another contributor to this study, also concerned about food security, went so far as to even advocate for the 'de-commodification' of food (Informal conversation, Pro, Orlando Soweto, 2019). Pro, has been an urban farmer in the past, but currently works as a soccer coach for various age groups of boys. He also is Chairperson of the School Governing Body at the local school in his community (Informal conversation, Pro, Orlando Soweto, 2019). Pro argued that food is imperative to societal growth and more particularly ending underdevelopment for black people (Informal conversation, Pro, Orlando Soweto, 2019). Therefore, the ability to get food is more than just a human right but also about designing, owning and leading national development. Thus, like Pro this thesis suggests that thinking about food, and non-food crops such

[127] Carlisle (2014) as well as Jacobs (2012) frame the agrarian in South Africa as principally one about land, labour and agriculture.

[128] A lot of the literature of the agrarian focuses on food crops such as cereals, fruits, vegetables and livestock, (See for example Greenberg 2015; McMichael 2013). Subsistence farmers do however farm cash crops such as cotton, coffee, tea, cocoa, and rubber for instance, mostly the preserve of big agriculture, if that will make them earn a living too.

as Cannabis should be regarded in terms that seek fundamental rather than reformatory change. This ultimately means thinking about food and non-food crops such as Cannabis, as instruments of 'emancipatory politics' and not simply as commodities (See Neocosmos 2016).

Rodney (1969: 51) therefore contends, quite rightly, that history should be used as a weapon to reflect upon the past, but also, as a form of action, which has best been exemplified in the examples provided through revolution. The vantage points of revolutionary world history, embedded and exposed in the story of Cannabis, can enable a more practical perspective of Global South development. Unfortunately, to write black history is to use the "generative or normative grammar" of whiteness which functions, not forthrightly but nevertheless clearly enough, as an evaluator and the source of knowledge itself, "the result of which is a moribund assessment of the black condition" (Gordon 2008: 138). Nevertheless, writing the script of the black revolutionary history embedded in Cannabis remains a fundamental requirement for redressing and filling the limitations of current discourses about the plant.

Black revolutionary histories are underappreciated because they entail development plans that are often programs of action leading to alternative forms of progress that challenge mainstream development ideals. Povinelli (2011: 76) adds that forms of 'other' development are highly constrained and "Until a specific political struggle for recognition is resolved, alternative social projects must hide in plain or not so plain sight, and states must be ready to discipline them."[129] Thus, the ending of prohibition means the most marginalized actors in the Cannabis movement will only be able to participate in the legal market when they 'hide in plain or not so plain sight' (Kay et.al. 2020). To come out of hiding, as Povinelli (2011: 76) argues, and as suggested here, is through a recognition of alternative political models with the potential to craft sustainable alternative development.

[129] Similarly, Mbembe (1992: 13) provides an example of a teacher in Kenya who was 'disciplined' by the *commandement* for not having a clean-shaven beard. This simple act was part of the duty of fulfilling the spectacle as expected by the rules of engagement of the 'post colony'.

3.3.3 The advantages of black revolutionary history for contemporary Cannabis development

It stands to follow that revolutionary history can be advantageous for contemporary Cannabis development. So far this has not been widely pursued because it means likewise, accepting the historical development of black people as a 'world system' of note. And when radical ideas are incorporated into mainstream development they tend to be diluted of their content. They in effect become impotent members of neoliberal development practices.[130] Black governments in Africa are not innocent in this matter.

African governments have become 'gatekeepers' of many negative facets of the capitalist world system (Cooper 2002). Fukuyama's (1989) prediction that the neo-liberal design would be adopted globally at the end of the cold war has been an unlikely and uncomfortable 'half-truth' for African statehood post-liberation. Therefore, for many, "It is arguable that the era of revolution is over, or perceived as over, in the postmodern West" and even in the Global South (Harris 1993, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 377). Yet, even for those who undermine fundamental change, the unquestioning acceptance of a global neo-liberal paradigm since the early 1990s has had disastrous consequences for social, economic and political growth that requires urgent attention (Harris 1993, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 377; Schneider 2003).

Modernity's conceptions of development have however long been challenged by emancipatory politics. For example, it has challenged the utopian dream of liberals and environmentalist's because they pay little attention to historical legacies of race, class and gender. Harris (1993, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 379) quite rightly warns that, "Concepts of utopia have more than once lost their appeal in the face of new social conditions." It is for this reason that sustainability, in the political sense, has become

[130] The most pertinent example in South Africa are the "conservative policies of economic liberalization – chiefly the 1996 Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy" (Barchiesi 2008: 120). The case of former American President Barack Obama is perhaps another case in point. While Barack Obama did become the embodiment of the 'dream' that black people would 'one day' be free, becoming the first black President of the most powerful country in the world did not mean he could implement tangible results on the ground (Rev Martin Luther King Jr 'I have a dream…' *Speech made during march on Washington,* 1963). To clarify the difference between emancipatory politics and the politics of neoliberalism Cornell West has even stated that Barack Obama "…has always been a neo-liberal politician. He was a black face of the American empire…" (Essa A, *16 July 2018, Aljazeera News* 'Cornel West: 'Obama was never the revolutionary Mandela was', Accessed 23 August 2021).

such a key component of development, as well as revolutionary futures, rather than the imperfect models of utopia.[131]

Regrettably, the majority of African governments in the 'post colony' struggle to implement autonomous and realistic development plans. This is in part due to their non-ownership of the contours of their own development. Moreover, the development plans they could implement did not include radical theory forthrightly, nor could they, owing to Western hegemony over development ideals and how labour would exist, as well as the enactment prescribed of subjects by the state (Barchiesi 2008; Mbembe 1992, 2005).[132] Although political control was in the hands of former struggle stalwarts, social spheres[133], but more especially economic development, were still largely the preserve of Western and largely white interests. Black people, the poor working class and women therefore offered a non-viable alternative to newly established nationalist governments and as such were required to fit into its enactment as the presiding *commandement* (Mbembe 1992). Any complaints by the citizens of the state therefore could be easily disclaimed (by Western hegemonies as well) owing to former revolutionary governments claimed entitlement to leadership and legitimacy "in the form of a *fetish*" (emphasis in original) (Mbembe 1992: 4). Rather than fashioning a development that becomes a process to enable the marginalized, the 'post colony' fell into the vicious traps of corruption, nepotism and tribalism. What is interesting and should be highlighted is that it is black diasporic governments struggle and revolutionary credentials, rather than any other part of their history, which legitimized their actions. This implies therefore, that not only is there a relationship between revolution and development, but that revolution can enhance the development of the state and citizens.

[131] Such an environmental and utopian models have been proposed fictitiously by Redfield (1994) or more realistically by Weston (2012).

[132] There have been many positives of African government development also which did include revolutionary thought and action. However, these began to slow down once the neoliberal paradigm of the late 1970s became a global reality from the end of the cold war. For example, Ghana's independence entrée that set the tone for the rest of Africa; Lumumba's short-lived ideals in the Congo; Nyerere's *Ujamaa* principles in Tanzania; Sankara's exemplary presidency in Burkino Faso; the economic gains in Mauritius; Botswana's control over its diamond production; Rwanda's turn around after genocide. There are more of course – the critical tone here is not to be read as pessimistic but a truthful account of the gains of government action in the black diaspora from Haiti to the presidency of Obama in the United States of America and all future party politics of black people.

[133] It is in social systems that the marginalized have had the most room to move. For instance, in sporting codes, religion, the art world, the education system and most importantly, the workplace.

Neocosmos (2016: 405) offers a truthful assessment of what African governments did once gaining power, as well as a powerful critique of the state as the sole means of political action:

> A new oligarchy is formed (or the old one is reconstituted) precisely as a result of the depoliticisation of the masses of the people and their political exclusion, so that the authoritarianism against which the people had rebelled in the first place is re-created, although now within the context of a somewhat different mode of rule and different forms of political exclusion … The inevitable conclusion is that there can be no alternative to the politics of the state.

In this way the majority of Africans are excluded from participating in politics which remains something of an 'elite consensus' meant for nationalists whether left or right leaning (Neocosmos 2016: 462). For Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013: 342) "What was at play was the display of a colonized imagination and constrained agency". In the end Neocosmos (2016: 534) suggests, "Emancipation cannot be thought through these three ideologies [nationalism, socialism or neo-liberalism] and their categories, not so much because they are wrong but because they are redundant. The state cannot liberate anyone." Politics outside of the state and its form, this thesis argues, is the site where true revolution exists and can be delivered from. Barchiesi (2008) adds that this emancipatory politics can exist only when labour is conceived differently. While Blesnowski (2012: 341) therefore contends "In other words, political action begins where the subject invalidates earlier distinctions (time, space, work, etc.) and makes its presence as a new element, one which transcends the existing configuration of political positivity which no longer fits."

Such a politics is inescapably centred on a form of humanism that is a pivotal component of all African philosophy (Gordon 2008: 186). The long and protracted fight for black people to free themselves from slavery, colonialism and other forms of economic, social and political subjugation has been, and continues to be, one also dependent on salvaging a global morality. For example, the notion of the 'rainbow nation', as prescribed by Nelson Mandela and the ANC government that led the negotiations for independence, was only agreeable as the context for having a democratic South Africa because it offed a morality that was universally undeniable, even to racists or Western economic development.[134] Moreover, it fitted into the white

[134] See for instance Ndlovu-Gatsheni's (2016) explanation.

liberal design where race is considered invisible even if this is a misreading of black peoples realities.[135]

Mamdani (2015), notes that there is a fine but definite line between compromise, such as race invisibility, and morally guided action. Moreover, Gordon (2008: 161) argues, that "modern guilt is broad in scope", so broad in fact, one must point out, that in South Africa, both black and white were charged with guilt crimes at the end of apartheid. Mamdani (2015) highlights that where South African post-apartheid constructions strayed to that of compromise was in the adoption of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) ideological stance, rather than that of Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)[136]. As such the 'guilty conscious' which should have been a consideration of all racists, became a conception that even black people had to participate in.[137] Mamdani (2015) points out that CODESA rightfully proposed a democratic solution for all South Africans without succumbing, as the TRC did, to an unsustainable concession that equalized the oppression of the apartheid state with the tactics of anti-apartheid activities. Accepting political control while conceding to the continuation of a largely white dominated liberal economic system has come back to haunt South African developments futures.[138]

To be sure, classic economic development, nevertheless, is even more impartial to black radical traditions – for example the Haitian revolution – than black diasporic governments. Classic economic theory informs much of Western civilization and have historically been designed to benefit the citizens of these nations and continents (Gordan 2008; Rodney 1973).[139] Western economic development was further empowered through a concerted and conscious effort to prove that scientific

[135] Gordon (2008: 149) argues, "The demand for the invisibility of race is what the call for colour-blindness is about". This denial of race suits the white liberal system who use it to deny the historical record of racism and the benefits it accrued to many white people.

[136] "The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was set up by the Government of National Unity to help deal with what happened under apartheid. The conflict during this period resulted in violence and human rights abuses from all sides. No section of society escaped these abuses." South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Accessed 26 August 2021. CODESA on the other hand was set up "On October 25 1991, [by] ninety-two organisations that were united in their opposition to apartheid gathered in Durban to form the Patriotic Front. The Front deliberated over the negotiation process. During the two days of discussion the mechanism and technicalities of transition and a changeover of political leadership were clarified. At the end of the conference, all organisations agreed that an interim government was required to manage the transition." SA History online, 'Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)', Accessed 26 August 2021.

[137] Bob Marley 'Guiltiness' *Exodus*, Island Records: 1977

[138] Perhaps it is these economic ghosts that Ramphele (2008) was also discussing in her book *Laying Ghosts to rest: Dilemmas of the transformation in South Africa*?

[139] Theorists such as Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus and David Ricardo are the chief representatives of classic economic theory.

racism existed, even though superior scholarship proved that race was socially constructed (Morris 2015).[140] Racial categories, while unscientific, are what have informed the large majority of Western development paradigms and global modernity.

Critiques of liberal capital development have therefore often tended to come from the varied groups marginalized by its advancement, who have in the main held onto Marxist schools of thought (for example Rodney (1969 [1996], 1973) and James (1938 [1980], 1984). However, this has not meant that black revolutionaries agreed with everything to the left. For example, C.L.R. James, who remained a dedicated revolutionary throughout his lifetime, nonetheless parted ways with the Trotskyist left; while George Padmore, another committed revolutionary and one-time Communist party representative, quit his support for the party after a dispute with its leadership (James, 4 January 1971 [1984]: 205).[141] What is important here is not that people have had disagreements with 'the left' but that even after their fallouts with it continued being dedicated revolutionaries regardless.[142]

The Marxist left therefore was not, and is not, the only source of revolutionary thought and action. Black radical scholarship have been equally influential in directing societal change.[143] Black scholarship is directly empowered by black revolutionaries from the Caribbean, the American and European diasporas, the Middle-East, Asia and Africa. Nonetheless, Marxist schools of thought are significant to world revolution and their contribution to the making of sustainable development models must be acknowledged. These include structuralism, dependency theorists, the various Marxist theories, many feminist ideas and most recently decolonial theory (Willis 2005; Zondi 2018). The idea and need for "decolonising knowledge and power" in order to develop society is therefore not a novel one (Zondi 2018: 16-17).

[140] W.E.B Du Bois most notably, but Fanon, Malcolm X and Steve Biko offered invaluable inputs regarding race, racists and racism.

[141] The famous writer Richard Wright also quit his absolute support for 'the left' (Wright 1945 [2005]). See also (Kelley 2002; Morris 2015) for more about the dialectic between Marxist schools of thought and black revolutionary history as well as the black intellectual exodus from leftist traditions that it once had so much dedication too during the cold war.

[142] One of South Africa's most important academics, Archie Mafeje, was very critical of the largely white South African left which dominated the scholarship being produced by the country throughout apartheid and even in the transition period of the early 1990s (Nyoko, 2019). Because of this dominance it is no surprise that the 'sunset clause' that enabled South Africa's transition out of a 'stalemate', was largely the design of the longtime member of the South African Communist Party (SACP) Joe Slovo (Mamdani 2015).

[143] A minuscule list includes W.E.B Du bois, Fanon, Cheikh Anta Diop, Rodney, Paulo Freire, Angela Davis, Archie Mafeje, or Cornell West for instance.

Even so, in comparison to Western liberal approaches to development, radical alternatives have not had as much influence over popular mainstream development discourse and practice. Various forms of liberal planning (including neoliberal and 'late liberal') have been able to dominate most development since the end of World War II. Thus, Fukuyama (1989) so easily dismissed the challenges of critical and Marxist development and adamantly declared the 'end of history' at the close of the cold war. Even fewer aspects of black revolutionary history managed to make their way into development ideals during much of the cold war, and when they did were merely an addition or alternative to critical and largely Marxist schools of thought. Black revolutionary thought remained peripheral, or rather unaccounted for, in formulating any major plan of action over the various platforms of development.

However, neoliberalism, or as Povinelli (2011) has termed it, 'late liberalism', has also struggled to maintain the sustainability of its development agenda in the post-cold war era. As such Rutazibwa (2019: 65) "… questions the extent to which the (arguable) end of the liberal humanitarian order is something to be mourned." While neoliberalism continues to try and fix and stretch its parameters of inclusion it has inherently been doomed to failure because, as black Marxists would conjecture, it too often negated race, class and gender dynamics. The failure of 'late liberalism' to exclusively shape the contours of development into the new millennium is not only because of the disappointments of capitalism, but more so the failure to appreciate the possibility that 'other' epistemic traditions have equally viable contemporary development strategies (See Zondi 2018). This disappointment is also true of the nationalist governments of the black diaspora.

Black radical traditions can navigate the limitations of mainstream development. The contemporary development of Cannabis could prove to be an example of how black revolutionary history can prove to be an important aspect of the plant's past, but also its future. Ending Cannabis prohibition in South Africa therefore offers another resource to add to the rising demand for alternative development plans. Innovative thought and action must be at the forefront of shaping future development projects that feature Cannabis (See Dills et.al., 2021; Dillis, Biber, Bodwitch, Bustic, Carah, Parker-Shames, Polson, Grantham (2021); Reiman 2013 or Kay et.al. 2020). Making use of emancipatory history is being suggested in this thesis to be one of these ways.

3.3.4 Black revolutionary history as development

Revolutionary action is in many ways a developmental practice itself and therefore global development can benefit greatly from its prescriptions (see Tandon 2015). Black revolutionary history is a part of the development of Cannabis and other goods, ideals and services that have come out of a prohibitionist past. Using the example of Cannabis, and its connection to black revolutionary history, can encourage an understanding of political geography that recognizes radical alterity as an indispensable component of progressive movements and development itself.

There are other goods and services which could benefit from an appeal to black revolutionary history. For example, radical history could be engaged to bolster the creation of a food secure Africa, education skill sets particularly of higher education (see Morris 2015) and to secure a truly sustainable workforce who regard themselves as owners (employers) rather than complacent and precarious labourers (employees) (See Barchiesi 2008). Black emancipatory history and its practices can enable the creation of development programs that counter the failing, but dominant, narratives of Western economic development.

Liberal development is still coordinated around an inclusion into, or exclusion out of capitalism (Selwyn 2014: 1; Povinelli 2011). Contemporary Cannabis development likewise is being situated around such inclusion into and exclusion out of. By grounding Cannabis development in its revolutionary project can protect the industry from the hegemonic web of liberal capital economic development (that seeks to control by inclusion) and creates an original identity for the plant (that is excluded). The development and sustainability of formerly prohibited goods lies exactly in their ability to 'maintain the historical resistances embedded in their history' rather than accepting inclusion into or, exclusion out of free markets.[144] In this way black ownership, poor working-class decision-making power, and women's leadership remains a part of the plant's future.

The evaluation of struggle history, from the viewpoint of Cannabis, can observe how development dislodges historical resistances and processes to ensure the maintenance of liberal development discourse. Including radical history into

[144] The contemporary South African state is a good example of developmentalism that sought inclusion into neo-liberal frameworks, but which has backfired. The contemporary recklessness of the leading political party is an illustration of this form of development gone astray

development improves sustainability but also functions to ensure that systems of racial, class and gender hierarchy are dismantled. Without radical alterity the marginalised will likewise remain dispossessed and owners profit off the work of exploited and precariat labourers (Barchiesi 2008; Marx 1844 [2009]). Thus, there is a need for alternative methods of conceiving development projects that encourage and reassure that the long-term projections of the marginalized can be met.

Cannabis development and the policies that frame its future stand in a unique position to be at the forefront of how development is imagined because of its historic links to various forms of oppression and resistance. The black revolutionary history of Cannabis enables the plants development to;

1. Delink from prohibition geographies that continue to under develop the potential of Cannabis (Chapter 5)
2. Propose a geographic alternative to the limitations still inherent in the medicalization of Cannabis (Chapter 6)
3. Connect hemp Cannabis to the reality of its political geography as a non-food crop and lay the foundations for tangible ownership, employment and leadership positions in the industry (Chapter 7)

The inclusion of the revolutionary history of the Cannabis plant provides a richer texture to the analysis of hemp and enables a more critical dialogue about the plant's development. By writing world history from the viewpoint of Cannabis provides a unique historiographical appraisal of black liberation theories. The inclusion of the 'other' histories that are embedded into the story of Cannabis also makes for a more rounded account of this plant. Without the inclusion of this history all the good intentions of the Cannabis movement, that were so hard earned, become obsolete because they remain disconnected from the historical contexts of the Global South. Most importantly, by connecting black revolutionary history to development processes can limit the marginalization of black people, the poor working class as well as women. Such a theoretical understanding of Cannabis should still be able to translate its findings to the public and in that way influence policy. A theoretical text about Cannabis must also be cognizant that the proof of any development theory should directly inform practice.

3.4 Conclusion

The process of development can be enhanced when it makes use of revolutionary history. This chapter argued that without this inclusion, development falters. The conceptual framework has emphasised this point because it conjectures that this is the principal reason Cannabis is continuously framed in recreational and medicinal terms. As the development of Cannabis proceeds it discards the black revolutionary history embedded in the plant but maintains a discourse of the plant that is framed by liberal democratic capitalism that prohibited the plant in the first place. This contradiction leads to development ideals that are inherently weakened. It was for this reason that the black revolutionary history embedded in how the plant Cannabis is socially constructed is employed by this thesis as a theoretical lens.

'Blackness' is understood for this study as the history, political, social and economic conditions of development for all people of colour. It was also suggested that revolution is complex and stems from varied and multiple sources, blackness being but one of these. The black resistances embedded in the story of Cannabis affords a unique view of revolution often not highlighted in the understanding of the plant in the Global South.

Revolutionary history highlights the lived experiences of black people, the poor working class and women. These experiences have been an important stimulus for contemporary independent action in a still largely liberal democratic global economy. The various aspects of black revolutionary history that are a part of the Cannabis story defy many of the dominant paradigms operating in the world and the prescripts for how the plant should be defined. Most importantly, radical alternatives illuminate why ownership, just employment and leadership positions within the legal Cannabis market can benefit the overall development of the plant and enhance its contribution to the society and wider economy. The development of Cannabis in South Africa and the world requires the guidance of black revolutionary history if it is to be truly useful economically, socially and politically to the most marginalized members of societies. In fact, the rehabilitation of development is only possible through black revolution history.

Still, while this theoretical chapter can inform policy it is in the implementation of development that the strength of decision-making is tested. The litmus test remains that of practicality: Will the acceptance of revolutionary history as a viable form of

development be able to guarantee that the marginalized gain access to ownership and employment opportunities in the burgeoning Cannabis markets in South Africa, or, in other parts of the world where Cannabis is being legalized? As Nkrumah (1964, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 55) correctly correlated, “Practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty”. Academic thought is only as useful as its practical operation. The practice of Cannabis therefore relies on labour for its full potentials to be met.

CHAPTER 4

A methodology for the labour of Cannabis[145]

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is conscious of the need to rewrite and restructure the methods and methodologies of pedagogy. Setting out a practical pedagogy is therefore the first point of order for this chapter. That is, pedagogy must be practiced so that its link to theory is made effective (see Freire 1970 [2005]). Pedagogy, like labour, can only work when they are applied. The argument made therefore is that the methods used to add to knowledge production are interlinked with the practice of labour.[146] Secondly, after establishing the link of labour to methodology and pedagogy the chapter outlines the tools this thesis used to gather its empirical evidence. It explains that the thesis was largely an in-depth qualitative desktop analysis. Nonetheless, the thesis makes use of an overview of Cannabis conferences that occurred between 18 September 2018 and July 2021 to provide empirical data. Ethnography, specifically autoethnography, was also used alongside informal conversations to further support its arguments. Lastly, the chapter presents a way towards a sustainable Cannabis industry in South Africa. It argues that because black people, the poor working class and women still face an uphill battle, if they seek ownership, employment and leadership positions within the new industry, there is recourse to equity and reparations. However, this remedy must rely on the ability to generate continued and inspired labour rather than reliance on an economic pay out which has proved disastrous in the past as it surely will in the future – and as such is unsustainable. Only original (decolonial in Zondi's (2018) framing) method and methodology can provide appropriate solutions for such contexts which is what this chapter attempts to highlight.

[145] Cannabis labour is understood here as any work related to Cannabis. This is the entire value chain of Cannabis production from farming, manufacturing and product sales. It could also include businesses that support or are dependent on the production of Cannabis goods.

[146] Western constructs tend to make the link of methodology to ethics instead.

4.2 Setting out the premise of the debate

Black revolutionary history has no major influence over mainstream contemporary economic development but neither is "… the promise of social emancipation that wage labour had come to embody throughout past black working-class struggles" (Barchiesi 2008: 120) as viable an alternative anymore. Barchiesi (2008: 120) therefore asks the important question "Is an emancipatory politics centred on wage labour still possible in South Africa?" While Barchiesi (2008) argues that wage labour can no longer emancipate people (which I would agree with) he is not saying labour itself can no longer be emancipatory. An alternative labour space however needs the ideological backing of emancipatory history. Therefore, another way of perhaps phrasing Steve Biko's famous quote for the concerns of this chapter could be '"The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the [labour] of the oppressed".[147]

As such, the subject of work should not mean the nullification of revolution, in fact, it is an indispensable part of emancipation that seeks full spectrum change.[148] For instance, C.L.R James (1969, [1984]) set the cause of the revolutionary worker as a central feature of his revolutionary theory throughout his substantial career. Work therefore is an immediate component in the analysis of the black revolutionary history more generally, as well as for an alternative articulation of Cannabis.

Thus, even though black diasporic development can be observed effectively from a revolutionary lens, the methodology this chapter employs suggests that there are other ways of viewing black diasporic development. One of those methods is to regard the work of the black diaspora (See Gilroy 1993). Accordingly, as much as revolution is a component of development, the labour, employment and work of the black diaspora which, must not be forgotten, was at the forefront of enabling modernity's progress, must be equally acknowledged (Gilroy 1993; James 1938 [1980], 1984). Without slavery, colonialism and racism (and in South Africa apartheid), which all centred, to varying extents, on the control over work and workers, the

[147] Steve Biko's famous quote from his work, *I write what I like* stated defiantly, "The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (Biko 1978).

[148] A full spectrum revolution includes the ending of poverty, universal employment and of course complete freedom in the revolutionary sense. Of course, Karl Marx was most famous for arguing that the workers would eventually revolt against the capitalist system (see Marx 1844 [2009] for a basic understanding of his vast ideas).

Western empire would not exist as it does now.[149] Hence Ramphele (2008) argued that apartheid – or racism in the main – was one of the most successful affirmative action programs ever created.[150] Because of the legacies of racialized labour practices it was not possible to use simple methodological procedures to unravel how these limitations affect Cannabis development in South Africa.[151]

Classic Western epistemic traditions also defended many racist assumptions which means not only is their pedagogy flawed but their methodology itself is inherently unreliable for the most part (see Morris 2015).[152] Zondi (2018: 18) hence argues that method and methodology themselves must be 'detoxed' because they suffer from the same epistemic colonialism that is 'contaminated' and an 'ideological import' that is insufficient to understand and solve the problems of the Global South. Zondi (2018: 18) goes on:

> The options open should not be just on choosing a suitable method, but also questioning, rebelling against, disrupting and challenging method as understood in the mainstream. Methods are not holy cows therefore; neither are they automatically ethical routes to finding or processing pure knowledge. But they are constructed in situations that are marked by power relations, ideological agendas, class motivations, patriarchal considerations, imperial designs and other ethical challenges.

4.3 Linking pedagogical methodology to labour

The methodologies used in this thesis were employed to better understand how 'Cannabis labour' exists for the most marginal members of South African society. The practical development of pedagogy used here is therefore concerned with the interaction between power and wealth, but more especially the impacts of these on the labour and lives of ordinary people. Specifically, the methodologies employed sought to highlight the roles the marginalized will occupy in contemporary Cannabis

[149] See James (1938 [1980]) study of the Haitian revolution that shows the dynamic labour and political relationships between black, mulatto and white people both during and immediately after slavery. These dynamics are quite useful for understanding the South African case, past and present.

[150] Racialized legacies of labour have not completely been disbanded and are also being carried over into contemporary Cannabis development (See for instance 420 Intel, Accessed 28 April 2021).

[151] The theoretical argument preceded this methodology chapter precisely because of the complexity of factors that have combined past and present to determine Cannabis development. Presenting the theoretical argument first thus laid the foundation from which a development practice (a methodology of labour) could build upon.

[152] Hence scientific racism could claim legitimacy even it had no scientific basis methodologically or pedagogically.

development. Such a positioning therefore is indifferent to Western epistemology that assumes that a full proof blueprint already exists for how methodology is to attain its empirical data – even for studies concerned with the Global South.[153] Zondi (2018: 19) spells out the disquiet decolonial scholars face in fighting for their epistemic position.

> This is not to preach to anyone, but it is to speak authentically from a position just declared rather than taken for granted Eurocentrism's illusion of a zero-point of enunciation or the scientific position that is a façade.

The Global South's experience of reality is therefore always considered a subject of study through Eurocentric traditions rather than their own.

Zondi (2018: 19) therefore offers radically,

> Decolonial meditations necessary for the decolonial turn imply disobedience against the mainstream's fixation with conventions that hide more than reveal, that complicate rather than simplify, deceive rather than explain, and that create formulae rather than ways of liberating our ability to understand phenomena deeply and broadly.

The objective of being critical of existing methodology, as the great novelist Zora Hurston (1937 [2006]: 201) so painstakingly indicated for all forms of writing by and large, "…celebrates rather moralizes; it shows rather than tells …" and in this way hopes to liberate 'our ability to understand phenomena [Cannabis] deeply and broadly'. Nevertheless, such methodological change realizes that "… translation is a process, never a completed accomplishment, and it may (as in the empirical case considered [Cannabis]) fail" (Callon 1976: 1). I might, possibly fail to influence the foundations of theory and methodology or gain access to employment in the Cannabis industry through this study. But as Callon (1986: 109) explains, "Translation is a process before it is a result." This thesis is therefore not concerned with ensuring that it directs a policy framework of hemp Cannabis development in South Africa, but rather how relations, processes, ideas, concepts, articulations, understandings and experience intertwine and/or divide, form and/or disband, support and/or oppose.

[153] Moreover, once in the field, whatever methods a researcher chooses are subject to the realities of that being studied. For example, this thesis had intended to do fieldwork at a hemp farming site but realized that there are more important dimensions to be found in advancing the theoretical and methodological grounding to the study of Cannabis rather than fully immersing myself as a participant observer (which admittedly would have been a more popular and less difficult route to follow).

More specifically, for this chapter, how these processes exist in the work, employment and labour of Cannabis.

The debate about the work of black people is however also a painful history lesson that reach back to 'the days of slavery'.[154] This culminated in a heated debate between Booker T Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, the well-respected black leaders of early 20th century American politics (see Morris 2015). Booker T Washington, who had lived as a slave in his formative years, advocated the need for recently freed black people to contribute to society through advancing the labour regime to improve and expand their skill sets. Washington (1895, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 244) stated;

> Our [black's] greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life … No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem.

W.E.B Du Bois disagreed and over the years his heated interchange with Booker T Washington's' position on black development, insisted that black people needed to move forward through the creation of active radical scholarship able to change the very foundations upon which oppression was built, as well as through organized group action (Du Bois 1933, in Okpara and Lee 1995: 253; Morris 2015). This debate is important to this thesis, more particularly this chapter, because it brings to the fore the long-standing conversation about how black people's oppressions can best be resolved: In other words, should black people's emancipation ground itself in class struggle or deal directly with resolving the race question once and for all? That is, should black people try to better their skills to participate at higher positions within the labour regime and in this way improve their lot, as Washington posited? Or, should black people's emancipation come about through active organization, dealing with race and 'the problem of a colour line' and the pursuit of higher education, as Du Bois argued?[155]

Whichever way is pursued, formal work remains unfortunately, for the most part, an alienating experience, hierarchical and unequal, but an everyday part of poor

[154] Burning Spear 'slavery days' *Marcus Garvey,* Island Records: 1975.

[155] Rather than choosing sides, this chapter conceives this debate as a healthy competition between three important components that are intricately related. This thesis therefore distinguishes no hierarchy between work, poor people's agency and revolution because they all are useful interchangeable tools for development.

working-class life. For example, Can Themba (2015: 35), who chronicled the story of Johannesburg's infamous Sophiatown township until its removal by Group Areas Acts in the 1950s, narrates the story of a man who, after having just physically beat his female partner shows more concern about getting to work than the abuse and upheaval he has caused his partner: "You do anything, but you go to work. The police arrest you by mistake; you do your all to get out, because you got to go to work. You pay Admission of Guilt. You admit anything, anything! So long as you go to work." Employment for a wage more than anything else determined this man's understanding of his existence.[156]

Marx (1844 [2009]) came closest to understanding how the new labour arrangements, that were happening during his lifetime (1800s), would change ordinary people forever. These eventually bred such total dependence on the culture of work everywhere, as Themba (2015: 35) narrates so thoroughly for South Africa. It must be remembered that the 19th century also saw the ending of the global slave empire which meant the demise of a free labour arrangement. This meant that there was a need to create a new system of employment which liberal democratic capitalism soon became. Its money driven brand of industrialization and racialized labour practices remained mostly unchecked, until the rise of the East could contest Western economic control at the end of the cold war.[157]

The mechanization and comprehensive commodification of production from the 1800s onwards not only realigned employer to employee relations but also how the numerous owners of capitalist production would be connected to political power. These new labour relations led to a mass movement of black people and other people of colour to the cities in America and Europe after the ending of slavery (Morris 2015). In South Africa this happened during and just after the interwar years (1920 – 1950's) when the rural 'tribal native' idea was discarded once black labour was a requirement in the city, one which Can Themba (2015: 62) documented so clearly in his stories about the urban experiences of the black underclass.

It is from this black underclass that Cannabis began to be understood as more than just symbolic of black oppression but also a way out of it (see Rodney 1969

[156] See also Barchiesi (2008).

[157] Communist countries did participate in creating a world system but never had the same impact over global development that Western democratic countries have had.

[1996].[158] Although overt racism was still something that would have to be fought against throughout the latter half of the 20th century, it was evident to the most marginalized that new methods would have to be found to translate underground findings to what was becoming a more receptive public.[159] However, because of the continued scarcity of resources, blacks would end up in an unhealthy competition with not only more equipped opponents, but also, one another; even though "they aren't the source of one another's primary pains" (Dyson 1995: 154). So, although black people had the urge, at the end of the 20th century, to transcend their oppressed past through active engagement in a 'best man wins' scenario the odds were stacked against them.

The methodology used in this thesis is thus an attempt to understand the forms of contemporary social-economic and even political marginalization's that continue to force people to act at the periphery of mainstream labour development. The intention of this pedagogical approach is to highlight the constraints and possibilities that are placed on ordinary people who want to gain access to the hemp Cannabis industry. The idea of work therefore forms a large part of this thesis concerns. This was highlighted through a review of Cannabis conferences from September 2018 to July 2021 and autoethnography the ability of black people, the poor working class and women, as well as myself, to gain access to ownership, employment and leadership positions in the Cannabis industry.

4.4 Understanding the methods used in the thesis

To understand how hemp Cannabis is farmed and then produced into manufactured goods the study had initially intended to be an ethnography of an actual hemp farm and production site. However, the study became a desktop analysis because the onset of the Covid 19 pandemic and other financial difficulties placed such heavy constraints

[158] Most particularly for Rastafarians but also the hippie movements of the 1960's.

[159] This occurred in South Africa after the June 16 1976 uprisings which spurned the start of informal closed negotiations between the apartheid government, white business interests, the Western world and the ANC (see SA History online 'Negotiations and the transition', Accessed 02 September 2021). Bob Marley and the Wailers ('running away' *Kaya*: 1978) would express this need to escape because poor people were trying to protect the life they live. But in doing so there should be no compromise, therefor the song adds "it's better to live on the housetop, than to live in a house full of confusion, so, I made my decision and I left ya, now you come to tell me that I'm running away" (Bob Marley and the Wailers 'running away' *Kaya*: 1978)." What Bob Marley and the Wailers might be expressing was that oppressed people had to 'run away' from the new arrangements being made (from the late 1970s) that would compromise their beliefs if they were going to live the life they wanted, the way they wanted.

on the ability to gather such ethnographic evidence. Nevertheless, the research project was conducted in South Africa and made use of an extensive literature as well as the views of relevant stakeholders, Cannabis activists, government officials, medical practitioners and academics who spoke at various conferences and webinars concerning Cannabis between 2018 and 2021. The studies qualitative framework however still does have an autoethnographic account of the researchers attempt to gain access into the Cannabis industry in a professional capacity, the best result being to find employment within the hemp industry.

The thesis also had intended to make use of formal interviews with ordinary people interested in Cannabis that might not be regarded as typical stakeholders in the traditional sense. But during the initial field test, I noted that people were not very comfortable with recording their accounts therefore I abandoned this approach. Instead, long unforced and multiple discussions with people about Cannabis that were not structured became the method I used to gather their views. These informal discussions also occurred with various people whenever the topic of Cannabis came up. Even though this approach was different it developed much more of a lasting relationship with the contributors that suits autoethnography. Ellis, Adams & Bochner (2011: 281) add that “Autoethnographers often maintain and value interpersonal ties with their participants, thus making relational ethics more complicated. Participants often begin as or become friends through the research process. We do not normally regard them as impersonal "subjects" only to be mined for data.” The people I spoke with therefore were not ‘informants’ but ‘contributors’ as a fellow PhD candidate correctly pointed out. The thesis is therefore in agreement with Gordon (2008: 220) who argues, “For it is the case that the natives have transcended the status of informants and now offer an opportunity to co-invent a new relationship beyond African studies as white hegemony the achievement of which would be, at least in part, a genuinely new world.” This notion of co-inventing was in fact something I had perceived when I attended the court case of the Dagga Couple at the Pretoria High Court (Field Notes, August 2017) but had not, at that time, taken seriously. But it must be acknowledged that in the process of ‘co-inventing’ control over what was or was not to be included into the thesis remained with the researcher. Nevertheless, over the course of the thesis the essence of ‘co-inventing’ became central to not only the autoethnographic component but also the way I interpreted the various Cannabis conferences and webinars as well as how I approached the desktop analysis. The

study also kept abreast with the coverage of Cannabis on media platforms. Online platforms pertaining to Cannabis became quite useful to understand the contemporary positions in South Africa and the rest of the world. And, with the onset of the Covid 19 pandemic all online media such as Cannabis webinars became a normal part of the work world.

4.4.1 Cannabis conferences and webinars

By attending local Cannabis conferences and webinars provided the study with insight into the growing interest that the plants legality is generating amongst ordinary South Africans. The first work on the use of the internet as a research source began in 1990s which had, by the 2000s quite drastically expanded (Hewson 2014: 423 in Leavy 2014). The use of cannabis conferences thus fits into online observational research which has been defined by Hewson (2007: 416 in Hewson 2014: 435) as

> That which uses logs of interactions (typically verbal exchanges) between participants, as opposed to document analysis which makes use of static records constructed specifically for the purpose of dissemination via the internet, and whose primary purpose is not to facilitate an ongoing dialogue-type communication between individuals.

These conferences allowed the researcher to interact and network amongst people, like myself, who are interested in participating in the Cannabis industry. They offered invaluable ways of observing the interlinkages between the various members of the Cannabis movement; from the publicly recognizable movement leaders, government officials, business entrepreneur, to less public figures such as farmers turning to Cannabis, Rastafarians and people who just wanted to learn more about Cannabis in South Africa (Wendell Moore, Observations, Cannabis Conference and webinars 2018- 2021).[160] Kassandra Frederique of Drug Policy Alliance notes the merit of Cannabis webinars and conferences but states also that if what is learnt there is not put into action, "… then we can keep doing these webinars right, and we can keep publishing these reports" but in effect they will mean nothing.

[160] According to Barratt et.al. (2015: 238) "Internet-mediated research methods are increasingly used to access hidden populations."

> I think that we have enough conferences as a movement that we see each enough, that we should use them as working spaces. How do we take advantage of the fact that people are going to the different drug policy conferences and not just use them as a way for us to build the brand of our organizations and exchange information, but actually use them as an organizing space. These marijuana companies are meeting monthly. There is a conference all the time. The regulators are meeting regularly. The movement needs to actively be accountable to the things that we say the world deserves. We created the space for industry, so we must take responsibility for the space that our advocacy has created. And that means we need to actively address it … to be in continuous active conversation within ourselves as a movement about what we are putting out. And then with other movements about what the things we're doing how it impacts them … where technology gives us the opportunity to sit together, sit together and actually organize and to plan (Kassandra Frederique of Drug Policy Alliance speaking at Transform Drug Policy Foundation webinar, 5 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021).

Table 2 lists the 33 online webinar conferences and news media that were watched totalling 31 hours and 15 min that include the following, chronologically,[161] the website used and basic title of webinar or news media piece. Included as well are the full day or days of conferences[162]:

Table 2: List of Cannabis webinars and conferences attended and drawn on for this research and thesis

#	Date	Title of webinar or conference
1	22 Feb 2014	Dagga couple, Dr Mario Ambrosini (IFP) in conversation with the Dagga Couple
2	29 Nov 2018	Schindlers Attorneys, Cannabis Seminar
3	22 Feb 2019	Cannabis Convention, YMCA, Orlando East, Soweto (physical conference)
4	29 May 2019	Gordon Institute for Business Science in Johannesburg and University of Pretoria, Grow South Africa with Cannabis
5	10 Aug 2019	Cannabis Conference, Sandton Johannesburg (physical conference)
6	24 Oct 2019	Newzroom Afrika, South Africa is the 3rd largest Cannabis producer in the world
7	13 Nov 2019	Fields of green for all, Dr Mohamed Irhuma, Cape Town Cannabis Conference

[161] That is, from the date it was posted on the internet. See bibliography for full reference.

[162] The 3 physical conferences I attended, one of which was a 2-day event, were not included in the calculations for the total amount of hours of webinars and conferences watched for this study because this would drastically inflate the number of hours watched (if calculated at approximately 6 hours for a full day of conferencing).

8	04 Mar 2020	Vukani communications, Cannabis Conference in East London, South Africa: Dr Simon Howell
9	05 Mar 2020	United Nations Office at Vienna, Social norms and rituals. Individual and collective self-regulation strategies in cannabis use
10	05 Jun 2020	Transform Drug Policy Foundation, Social justice must be at the forefront of cannabis law reform
11	05 Jun 2020	The COBRA Initiative, Cannanomics with guest speaker G.G. Alcock
12	16 Jun 2020	Transform Drug Policy Foundation and México Unido Contra la Delincuencia (MUCD), Lessons from Canada's legal cannabis market
13	03 Jul 2020	DSTV Channel 403, Cannabis activist killed
14	10 Jul 2020	Paul Michael Keichel Open Communication to Minister Lamola on Killing of Cannabis Activist Jules Stobbs
15	13 Aug 2020	Cannabis Conversations, Zoom meeting hosted by Prof. Katerere
16	27 Aug 2020	The Business Day Cannabis Economy LIVE in partnership with Afriplex, The role of Cannabis in rebuilding South Africa's economy
17	03 Sep 2020	Cheeba Africa Webinar
18	08 Sep 2020	Global Go Connect, The Africa Cannabis Journey
19	10 – 11 Sep 2020	Cannabis Webinar Conference, hosted by Vukani Communications (physical conference)
20	14 Sep 2020	Cheeba Cannabis Academy, Understanding Cannabis Genetics Webinar
21	14 Nov 2020	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), Cannabis: Opportunities for research, product development and job creation
22	11 Mar 2021	Craft Cannabis Summit
23	11 Mar 2021	Craft Cannabis Summit
24	11 Mar 2021	Craft Cannabis Summit
25	11 Mar 2021	Craft Cannabis Summit
26	11 Mar 2021	Craft Cannabis Summit, Music and Cannabis
27	15 Mar 2021	Craft Cannabis Summit
28	15 Apr 2021	Cheeba Cannabis academy, An Introduction to Cannabis Webinar - South Africa
29	17 Apr 2021	Hempire Agric Ghana, is hemp farming the future of Ghana?
30	22 Apr 2021	Wesgro webinar, cannabis regulatory update with SAHPRA and DALRRD
31	21 Jun 2021	The Cannabis Myth Busting Q & A session
32	24 Jun 2021	Gibs Business School, Flash Forum and Cheeba Cannabis Academy, in association with the Cannabis Organisation of the University of Pretoria (COUP)
33	29 Jun 2021	University of Zimbabwe in association with the Cheeba Cannabis academy, Cannabis Creating an African Union webinar
34	20 Jul 2021	Cheeba Africa, Canna News Africa

35	23 Jul 2021	Cheeba Cannabis TV, Exploring South Africa's Hemp Opportunity
36	21 Sep 2021	Cannabis Trade Association and Cheeba Cannabis TV, The South African Cannabis Legislation Crisis

Source: Authors own

The conferences I participated in or watched online begin after 18 September 2018 when Cannabis was effectively legalized, up until July 2021 when South Africa experienced unprecedented looting in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal provinces.[163] The start date is easier to explain: Firstly, this is a study of contemporary Cannabis development and concerned with this occurrence post-prohibition in 2018. Secondly, the conferences highlighted and proved how quickly Cannabis has become a commodity of high interest even though it is still not fully legislated. That is, it gives a sense of the excitement or buzz that is being generated by the plant's legalization. Lastly, the conferences and webinars were a lens to view the ways in which Cannabis labour and development was, is and will be conceived by people (Wendell Moore, Observation/field notes, Cannabis Conferences and webinars 2018- 2021).

The end date for this studies use of conferences and webinars about Cannabis is more difficult to explain. However, the primary reason for this end date is that it provides over two and half years of material to analyse. This is enough empirical evidence to attain what in qualitative research is termed saturation (Saunders, Sim, Kingstone, Baker, Waterfield, Bartlam, Burroughs & Jinks 2018: 1893). Secondly, the 'burnin' and looting'[164] that occurred in July 2021 showed that the creators of South African society (black people, the poor working class and women) when totally disregarded, can also destroy. This end date acts then like a starting place for a critique of development that affirms people's political agency (Neocosmos 2016), new labour and 'other' possibilities (Barchiesi 2008; Povinelli 2011) and the existence and need for a black African consciousness (James 1984; Rodney 1969 [1996], 1973).

Admittedly, the Cannabis conferences and webinars provided an important counter critique to the general line of assessment I use throughout this thesis; that the contemporary development of Cannabis in South Africa will leave behind a good

[163] Only the interview with former Inkatha Freedom party MP Dr Mario Ambrosini on 22 February 2014 is before the constitutional ruling. Dr. Mario Ambrosini's passionate plea to government to legalize Cannabis for medical treatment was an important part of the conversation about the plant reaching the highest parts of South African government. Furthermore, three webinars were included that were conducted after the looting in July because they were very pertinent to the conversation this thesis is engaged with.

[164] Bob Marley and the Wailers 'Burnin' and lootin'' *Burnin'*: Tuff Gong & Island Records, 1973.

number of black people, the poor working class and women. The conferences and webinars showed that people are overall optimistic about Cannabis development in South Africa post-prohibition. But at the same time most people were also aware that there is still more work that needs to be done to ensure that the plant is developed fairly for the most marginalized members of South Africa's society (Wendell Moore, Observations, Cannabis Conferences and webinars 2018 - 2021). Thus, the tone of this thesis is not negative but rather seriously regarding this difficult work (Cannabis labour) that still needs to be completed. It does so though without being apologetic, or 'Unnecessary begging' as Fela Kuti suggests is often the case when new government and economic (as in the contemporary case of Cannabis) 'arrangements' are being promoted.[165] Notwithstanding, these conferences have been of great benefit to the studies primary source material considering the difficulties all people faced in 2020 at the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic. These types of conferences and webinars did nonetheless have their pros as well as cons.

The benefits included the fact that I was able to get a far more diverse group of participant views than I had originally anticipated. The general diversity of the participants of these conferences must be applauded. Even though I pose in this thesis, some questions regarding race and racisms continuation, the truth is that the conferences showed the international nature of the Cannabis plant and those who participate or want to participate in its industry. There was a wide representation of all race groups at all the conferences I attended. There was also a good representation from women as well, both as participants and as speakers (Wendell Moore, Observations, Cannabis Conference and webinars 2018 - 2021). Moreover, this large percentage of women participants solved an earlier problem of gender diversity that the study had struggled with.[166] The views of women highlighted their concerns of participating in Cannabis development in South Africa quite effectively (Wendell Moore, Observations, Cannabis Conference and webinars 2018 - 2021). The motivation or benefit of, using the information provided from webinars and

[165] Fela Kuti 'Unnecessary begging', *Unnecessary begging*: Makossa 1976. For Fela Kuti, post-colonial African governments were to be critiqued directly until they delivered on their liberation promises. Sithole (2012: 1) explains better, "The excess of power which plagues the postcolonial Africa was subject to Fela Kuti's politically engaged lyrical content, which is direct, confrontational and antagonistic." See also the brief description of what the song Unnecessary begging means (Bandcamp, Accessed 07 September 202).

[166] Originally, I expected to gather fewer ideas from women, and this was making the study very biased towards the views of men which was very problematic.

conferences, is that they gave a greater range of people's voices. Certainly, one gets views from a lot of people whose opinions one will not find in the rather elite spaces of academic journal articles and books.

The biggest disadvantage of online webinars however was that it was less easy to get questions answered specifically pertaining to my thesis questions. Unlike a face-to-face interview, webinar conferences limit the number of questions one can pose to the respondent. Nonetheless, the vast array of material covered in these conferences combined with secondary sources did allow me to construct answers to the research questions. Secondly, there were problems with internet connectivity during conferences which forced one conference to be cancelled completely; transcripts of which were only made available after its recording which meant participants were not able to ask any questions to speakers.[167] Thirdly, only those with access to the internet and adequate data plans were able to attend. As a full-time PhD student, I was likewise burdened by this and only got a data plan from my bursar at the end of July 2020. This partially explains the gap in my attendance at conferences in the first half of 2020, as well as the quick succession of conferences attended from August to September of 2020 once I did gain accessibility. Fourthly, because anonymity was part of the ethical requirements for the thesis it was not possible in online observational research. Barratt et.al. (2015: 238) note thus importantly in their work in conducting trans-national Internet-mediated participatory research with hidden populations of cannabis cultivators "We also found that although perceived anonymity is routinely assumed to be a benefit of using digital research methodologies, there are significant limits to research participant anonymity in the current era of mass digital surveillance, especially when the target group is particularly concerned about evading law enforcement." Lastly, some conferences and webinars also required a fee to be paid, (which even I struggled with attaining particularly in the harshest parts of the lockdown in 2020) which meant that only people with such resources were able to attend (for example Cannabis Conference, 10 August, 2019, Sandton Johannesburg; Cannabis Webinar Conference, 10 – 11 September, 2020, hosted by Vukani Communications).

Thus, although race and gender was not a big factor for participation at conferences and webinars, class was. Those with access to more resources were able to participate in the ongoing discussion about Cannabis development much more

[167] Cheeba Africa Webinar, 03 September 2020, 56 min 37 sec, Accessed 06 September 2020.

easily than those without. This is an aspect this thesis delves into quite earnestly because such limitations speak to broader issues of socio-economic development for the black poor working class majority and women. Since a main contribution of this thesis is to critique development means entering a discussion about who will and will not benefit from the legal Cannabis era.

The conferences showed the public's enthusiasm for Cannabis but also highlight how this plants regulation is becoming arguably, just another attempt at implementing failing and failed development logics! It is for this reason that the majority of conferences and webinars stressed the need to increase black ownership, access to permanent employment opportunities for the poor working class and ensure women occupy real leadership positions in the development of the contemporary South African Cannabis industry (Wendell Moore, Observations, Cannabis Conference and webinars 2018-2021).[168] These conferences also showed that development, including that of Cannabis, relies on prohibitionist designs (Scheibe, Shelly & Versfeld in Buxton et.al. 2020) that affects ordinary people's access to the industry.[169] To understand these effects, I placed myself directly as a participant in the study rather than an observer to the development of hemp Cannabis in South Africa. In other words, I actively pursued and tested, as part of the ethnographic study, how it is possible to gain access too, or employment in, the Cannabis industry.[170]

4.4.2 Ethnography

Ethnography was used in this study because it can produce a specific account of the way in which a system works for the human and non-human performance it is concerned with (Potts 2016).[171] This thesis adapted its ethnographic approach to make use of autoethnography because it can provide a personal account of researchers'

[168] Correcting these inequalities remains the development challenge South Africa must face up to in all spheres of life, not only for Cannabis.

[169] A good example being the proposed Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill, (2020) which recommends stiff fines or jail terms of up to 15 years for marijuana transgressions even when Cannabis is technically legal.

[170] I consider myself an ordinary person, I am black, not married but live with the mother of my two children. I have a small house in Noordgesig, Soweto and own a van. I am currently not employed full time although I have some income through part-time jobs at universities. Thus, at times I do struggle to pay the bills, although I would not say I am poor, nor was I born poor. As a family, including my parents and siblings we do not own any large amount of private capital. I would therefore regard myself as a member of the everyday working-class people.

[171] Recall that the original intention of the study was to complete a 3-month ethnography of a hemp Cannabis farm and production plant precisely because this would allow me to understand the various labour chains operating in an existing Cannabis industry.

work in that system. This was a necessity since learning from a working hemp Cannabis farm (as originally intended) was not possible.

Ellis, Adams & Bochner (2011: 277) elaborate about autoethnography; “When researchers write autoethnographies, they seek to produce aesthetic and evocative thick descriptions of personal and interpersonal experience. They accomplish this by first discerning patterns of cultural experience evidenced by field notes, interviews, and/or artefacts, and then describing these patterns using facets of storytelling (e.g., character and plot development), showing and telling, and alterations of authorial voice.” The subject matter (or, ‘cultural experience’) this thesis describes, through personal reflection, is the ability of ordinary people to gain access to the legal Cannabis industry.

Thus, my interpretation of Cannabis development and its movement is intertwined with that of the community and not separate to it. As Chang (2008: 10, 26) sums up, there is a dilemma of including the personal into academic writing but it is possible when the self is regarded as an extension of the community rather than “… an independent, self-sufficient being…” “Consequently, autoethnography is one of the approaches that acknowledges and accommodates subjectivity, emotionality, and the researcher's influence on research, rather than hiding from these matters or assuming they don't exist” (Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011: 274). This research therefore advocates for the cultural place of Cannabis that is represented by black people, the poor working class and women that are opposite to established forms of writing that are “… a White, masculine, heterosexual, middle/upper classed, Christian, able-bodied perspective” (Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011: 275).

Nonetheless the personal perspective in academic writing must be certain to provide evidence to prove that it is a factual account. According to Mitch Allen (Authors personal interview, May 4, 2006 in Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011: 276) an ‘autoethnographer must look at experience analytically’:

> Otherwise [you're] telling [your] story - and that's nice - but people do that on Oprah [a U.S.-based talk show and television program] every day. Why is your story more valid than anyone else's? What makes your story more valid is that you are a researcher. You have a set of theoretical and methodological tools and a research literature to use. That's your advantage. If you can't frame it around these tools and literature and just frame it as 'my story,' then why or how should I privilege your story over anyone else's I see 25 times a day on TV?

Theoretically, this thesis argues that when black revolutionary history remains embedded in the way Cannabis development proceeds black people, the poor working class and women will be less marginalized. Methodologically the thesis revolves around creating a methodology for understanding the labour of Cannabis. A thorough desktop analysis, that has made use of relevant literature, as well as an ethnographic account of my journey in the Cannabis movement for more than 20 years, back up these tools. Writing such an ethnography also highlighted how the relationship between human and non-human actors exists (in this case, hemp Cannabis) (Latour 1996). Ethnography therefore strengthens, rather than weakens, analysis centered on non-human actors such as Cannabis. It also allowed the thesis to view the Cannabis plant from the vantage point of its agrarian and agricultural roots, i.e., in its 'cultural place'.

Fetterman (2010 in Potts 2016) therefore states,

> Ethnography is about *telling* a credible, rigorous, and authentic *story***.** Ethnography gives voice to people in their own local context, typically relying on verbatim quotations and "thick description" of events. The story is told *through the eyes* of local people as they pursue their daily lives in their own communities. The ethnographer adopts a cultural lens *to interpret observed behaviour*, ensuring that the behaviours are placed in a culturally relevant and meaningful *context***.** The ethnographer is focused on the predictable, daily *patterns* of human thought and behaviour. Ethnography is both a research method and a product, *typically a written text*. (Potts emphasis)

Ethnography enabled me to '*tell* the *story' o*f my 20 years of thinking about hemp Cannabis but as an outsider to its movement proper.[172] It allowed me to tell the story '*through the eyes'* of Noordgesig and Soweto in Johannesburg where I live. Ethnography allowed me to also tell the story of the broader 'cultural place' of Cannabis in South Africa. Because I live(d) the story of Cannabis, it enabled me '*to interpret observed behaviour'* of that place in the '*context'* in which it is being framed in local, regional, national and even international communities. By mapping the '*patterns'* of Cannabis out from my community to the city, province and country produced an account of Cannabis that endeavoured to air the views of ordinary people. The final product of which is '*typically a written text'*, in this case, a PhD thesis.

[172] This thesis has also afforded me the opportunity to finally '*tell* the *story*' of Cannabis as an insider because of the significant place Doctorate degrees have to the production of social capital.

Ethnography is further categorized as emic (the insiders account) or etic ('an outsiders interpretation') (Potts 2016). This study can be categorized as part of the emic tradition. It is an insider's and personal account of the way in which black people, the poor working class and women[173] will become a part of contemporary Cannabis development. Weisner (1996: 316) adds that because all researchers have a 'cultural place' from which their work emanates all studies have some form of ethnographic component. For ethnographers it is impossible to be completely neutral, hence, rather than run away from this, ethnographers embrace it. The deeper ethnographers went in becoming part of the 'cultural place' the more they realized they are in many ways what they are studying. This birthed the notion of autoethnography; "Autoethnographers recognize the innumerable ways personal experience influences the research process" (Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011: 274). Autoethnography combines both autobiography and ethnography to research and write about the personal experience of the cultural place. "This approach challenges canonical ways of doing research and representing others and treats research as a political, socially-just and socially-conscious act… Thus, as a method, autoethnography is both process and product" (Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011: Abstract, 273, 275; see also Zondi 2018).

This research was not intended to confront 'canonical ways of doing research and representing others'. But, in analysing the political geographies of Cannabis and producing a critique of development more generally, this confrontation did occur. The insistence on representing the marginalized views of the Cannabis movement presents a somewhat bluer view of Cannabis development in South Africa than the rosier vision of many of the Cannabis conferences and webinars (Wendell Moore, Observations, Cannabis Conference and webinars 2018-2021). However, this generalizability about black people, the poor working class and women's marginalization in contemporary Cannabis development is not performed in autoethnograhy in the traditional sense. "In autoethnography, the focus of generalizability moves from respondents to readers, and is always being tested by readers as they determine if a story speaks to them about their experience or about the lives of others they know…" (Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011: 283). The

[173] There is some contradiction to being an insider of women's perspectives of Cannabis as a black, working-class man. This is admittedly a weakness of this thesis. While I attempt to make up for it in grouping the conceptualization of the thesis around black people, the poor working class and women I know this does not excuse the lack of a more thorough analysis of women and issues of gender more forthrightly in Cannabis.

autoetnographers job then is to present a story that is as much their own as it is the story of ‘others’. Thus, this thesis, as most autoethnograpy, is in confrontation with traditional research methods and because of this is harshly criticized:

> … autoethnography is dismissed for social scientific standards as being insufficiently rigorous, theoretical, and analytical, and too aesthetic, emotional, and therapeutic… Autoethnographers are criticized for doing too little fieldwork, for observing too few cultural members, for not spending enough time with (different) others… Furthermore, in using personal experience, autoethnographers are thought to not only use supposedly biased data… but are also navel-gazers… self-absorbed narcissists who don't fulfil scholarly obligations of hypothesizing, analysing, and theorizing. As part autobiography, autoethnography is dismissed for autobiographical writing standards, as being insufficiently aesthetic and literary and not artful enough. Autoethnographers are viewed as catering to the sociological, scientific imagination and trying to achieve legitimacy as scientists. Consequently, critics say that autoethnographers disregard the literary, artistic imagination and the need to be talented artists… Moro (2006), for example, believes it takes a "darn good" writer to write autoethnography (Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011: 283).

It is pertinent to point this critique out now so that it is clear to the reader at the onset that I am aware of the shortcomings of autoethnography. However, if a novel critique of development is to be produced through an analysis of the political geography of hemp Cannabis in South Africa autoethnography is required. Autoethnography allows researchers to reinterpret terms associated with ‘canonical’ scientific method such as reliability, validity and generalizability. Ellis, Adams & Bochner (2011: 282) elaborate further.

> Consequently, when terms such as reliability, validity, and generalizability are applied to autoethnography, the context, meaning and utility of these terms are altered. For an autoethnographer, questions of reliability refer to the narrator's credibility. Could the narrator have had the experiences described, given available "factual evidence?... Has the narrator taken "literary license" to the point that the story is better viewed as fiction than a truthful account? Closely related to reliability are issues of validity. For autoethnographers, validity means that a work seeks verisimilitude; it evokes in readers a feeling that the experience described is lifelike, believable, and possible, a feeling that what has been represented could be true”

The ultimate test of autoethnography is in its ability to be ‘credible’, a ‘truthful account’ and ‘lifelike’ experience of the masses. This is how it can be assured to be reliable, valid and generable.

This thesis has tried to make the experiences I share here as academic as possible but over its course, chapters, particularly the last chapter, began to illuminate my personal experiences that played a central part of what was included in the study. Even with the strengths and certain weaknesses of autoethnography, Weisner (in Jessor, Colby & Shweder 1996: 307) warn that “It is not plausible that any important question in developmental studies can be answered with a single method. Ethnography can and should be complementary with other methods.” This study has therefore also made use of informal interviews to provide ordinary people’s views about Cannabis.

4.4.3 Informal conversations

Originally the thesis had intended to rely on formal interviews with a wide-ranging group of people involved in the contemporary Cannabis industry of South Africa. I had thought to do interviews with ordinary people, those in the Cannabis industry, people in the medical industry, government officials, as well as paper and textile manufacturers. But as I progressed into my PhD I realized that my theoretical concerns were posing black radical traditions that were quite rare in Cannabis literature. This is how the thesis became a desktop analysis that made use of other methodological methods to better answer the research question I posed. In this way the direction of the thesis became much more theoretical than originally intended. Combined with studying conferences and webinars, autoethnography, informal conversations and drawing on the idea of non-human actors from actor network theory allowed me to better explore the political geography of hemp Cannabis in South Africa.

Unavoidably then, the dialogue process I had originally conceived failed to transpire. Interviewing became an intrusive method of engaging people. When I did approach people for interviews, it always felt uncomfortable to me and to them, I thought (Pro, informal conversations, Orlando, Soweto 2019; Jake informal conversations, Noordgesig Soweto 2019, 2020, 2021; Born informal conversations, Noordgesig, Soweto 2019, 2020, 2021). For instance, the conversations I had with Pro (Orlando, 2019) who I had met through the snowballing method, ended up being one that never focused on Cannabis directly. Instead, the talks worked around the Cannabis plant – which for me is still political nonetheless! But, they never quite dealt with the plant itself. Also, the run-in exchanges I had with Jake (Noordgesig, 2019,

2020, 2021) who is quite deeply invested in the art of ganja horticulture, while very insightful could not be considered interviews. Whenever I approached him for any formal interview, he almost always avoided me. It was as though Jake and the other potential contributors did not want to be confined to a formal process at all regarding Cannabis. Lastly, with the conversations with Born (Noordgesig, 2019, 2020, 2021) a Rasta in my neighbourhood Noordgesig, whom I had approached many times for an interview, became a *tête-à-tête* about 'livity'[174] more generally than concern with what the PhD was trying to examine. People therefore definitely did not respond the way I thought they would in discussing Cannabis. And so, the thesis made use of these informal conversations that occurred naturally rather than try to script them in any way as interviews proper.

These people, like myself, have long had the intention of participating in the Cannabis industry, with different degrees of success or continuity (See for instance Pro informal conversations, Orlando, Soweto 2019; Born informal conversations, Noordgesig, Soweto 2019, 2020, 2021; Jake, informal conversations, Noordgesig, 2019, 2020, 2021).[175] The only two conversations which could pass as interviews were with a small urban farmer I used to work alongside in Noordgesig, Soweto (Oom, Noordgesig Soweto, 28 June 2019) and a former colleague who was interested in growing Cannabis at home (Yu, interview, Braamfontein Johannesburg, 2019). These contributors have known of Cannabis but have not actively tried to enter it industry because they still consider it a drug (Oom, Noordgesig Soweto, 28 June 2019) or for Yu (interview, Braamfontein Johannesburg, 2019) because of religious reasons.

In total, only 7 contributions came from very informal discussions with people (2 unplanned dialogs, 3 informal conversations and 2 informal conversations but these did present the position of outsiders to the Cannabis movement proper. It must be noted that these informal conversations happened over a course of two years on

[174] Speaking about 'Livity', in common Rasta pidgin, amounts to the term 'talking shop' in English proper. Discussing livity in this sense would mean conversing about 'The groundings with my brothers' as Rodney (1969 [1996]) so wonderfully termed his radical conversations with the persecuted counterculture that the Rasta communities in Jamaica were in the 1960s.

[175] Pro (informal conversations, Orlando, Soweto 2019) is a former small farmer, but currently is more involved with a boys' soccer club which he runs and chairing the student governing body of a school in Orlando. Therefore, he has no near future plans to enter the Cannabis industry. Born (informal conversations, Noordgesig, Soweto 2019, 2020, 2021) is a Rasta and I think he prefers to participate with ganja in this way. Jake (informal conversations, Noordgesig, 2019, 2020, 2021) has however entered the spaces opening since the legalization of Cannabis in 2018. He currently grows the legal amount at his home in the hopes that in the future he can use his horticultural expertise to make a better living off the plant.

average and were not once off conversations. They involved several discussions with the same research contributor over time. It is this fact that made rich contributions to the study. They showed how this crop is influenced and influences multiple local South African spaces of interaction. Most importantly they showed that there could be a form of labour derived from Cannabis that could be tapped into by every willing South African if the right circumstances existed.

Because I used informal conversations/interviews they were largely unstructured and unplanned conversations. In this way I was able to gather a more rounded view of people's views about Cannabis. This was informative to ascertaining the shifting narratives of Cannabis in South Africa. Of course, pseudonyms were also used to ensure the complete safety of the contributors. However, my expectation of coupling the informal interviews with formal interviews never did materialize. I found that, while in the field, that the informal conversations seemed to work better to capture the essence of what small Cannabis enthusiasts feel about development and the plant. As such I abandoned doing formal interviews with prominent member of the Cannabis movement in South Africa such as Gareth Prince, Myrtle Clark or Thandeka Kunene for instance. What I decided instead was to make use of online interviews and or conferences where these people participated at to get their views about Cannabis. Identifying the conferences and online interviews then became in a manner of speaking a snowballing effort. One conference presented new participants to google and search so that I could present a well-rounded account of Cannabis in South Africa. This online source of information also represented a far broader age, gender, class and race range for this discussion than I think formal interviews might have produced

4.4.4 Other methodologies considered in the thesis

Still, the intention of the thesis was to make Cannabis the focal point of the analysis, hence Actor Network Theory was considered.[176] The way this theory incorporates non-human worlds was of particularly interest to this study. Actor network theory is useful at unpacking the relationship of this plant to broader political geographic relationships because it regards all actors in processes as equal regardless of their humanity or non-humanity (Latour 1996). The centrality that non-

[176] To be clear, this is only a cursory look at actor network theory and the thesis itself only uses the idea that non-human actors need to be considered just as important as human actors

human actors can play in actor network theory allowed components such as race, class and gender to be added equally and without bias to the dynamics surrounding the plant.

While actor network theory is a theory it certainly can be used as a methodology. Moreover, the unstructured and non-linear format it suggests for attaining knowledge was very informative to how the informal conversation process occurred in this research (Latour 1996). Rather than consciously building networks that are linked solely through human action the contributor's links to this study was in their interaction with a non-human act – in this case Cannabis. Thus, the informal conversations the thesis used tried to establish how Cannabis networks function rather than focusing solely on where human actors influence this network.

Human actors are nonetheless not ignored in this study and are a central feature of the critique the thesis makes, that: The discourse of hemp Cannabis, and hence the development of the plant, provide fewer critical perspectives of the Global South (see Kay et.al. 2020 also Duvall 2019). Povinelli (2011: 130) argues that it is only critical theorists that can highlight the "severe systematic oppression and ordinary callous disregard" mainstream Western pedagogy has for such expressions. A 'practical pedagogy', suitable for the concerns of the Global South, can only be produced if key dimensions such as race, class and women are included in its methodologies. If these are not at the forefront of the development of Cannabis in South Africa access to this new market, in terms of ownership, access to employment and leadership positions will remain dominated by white men and middle-class elite.

Ultimately this thesis suggests a new methodological position is required when theory needs to be formulated to include categories that are unaccounted for. In this case, there is a lack of a clear analysis of race, class and gender in how we understand Cannabis. Gordan (2008: 85) speaking about Fanon's concept of "epistemological colonization at the methodological level" further affirms that "If methods have been colonized, then the outcomes of inquiry could become affirmations of colonialism." Likewise, the discourse of Cannabis in the contemporary era can become an affirmation of liberal democratic capital development models. Therefore, the history of Cannabis for the Global South uses sets of historical pasts, presents and futures that need to be accounted for methodologically and in a decolonial context (see Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013; 2015).

Consequently, there are limitations to focusing on non-human actors especially when there are serious concerns that marginalized human actors are not being accounted for in mainstream development processes. Moreover, it is a very liberal, Western and eco-centric conception to leave humanity out of conversations about the non-human world when both have a direct impact upon one another (Cone 2000). Hence, while this thesis does agree that the focus of its methodology should concentrate on how best to understand the plant Cannabis, it did not ignore the pedagogical concerns of ensuring marginalized actors become major constituents of the development process. Pursuing a methodological approach that seriously thinks through black history, class and gender was why these other methodologies offered a way of fulfilling the critique of development that this thesis makes.

4.5 Conclusion

The chapter complemented the theoretical discussion of the black revolution embedded in Cannabis culture. It did so by arguing that the socio-economic and political implications of historic oppression also influence the ability of ordinary people to gain access to employment opportunities. Yet even amidst all these constraints facing the marginalized a sustainable labour centred Cannabis industry is certainly possible. The development of Cannabis however can perpetuate "the dispossession of the already dispossessed" [177] if its focus is economic instead of labour centred. As such the chapter argued that there is a need to provide new methodological direction to mainstream pedagogies inadequate theorising of how Cannabis labour will exist outside of prohibition.

After making the pedagogical link that Cannabis has to labour the chapter established that the study was largely a qualitative desktop analysis although it did gather useful empirical data. Using an overview of Cannabis conferences and webinars, ethnography (specifically autoethnography) and informal conversations provides the thesis the tools to explore the multiple and complex sets of Cannabis political geography that interact and persistently establish the realities of development for the plant. The recognition of actor network theory ensures the study remains focused on the non-actor networks produced by the Cannabis plant. Still human action

[177] Informal conversation Pretoria, 09 December 2019.

is important especially because black people, the poor working class and women remain marginalized in contemporary Cannabis development.

Cannabis must be conceived of as more than simply a new commodity to be added to capital markets but also a source of labour opportunity. Moreover, the forms of equity or reparations that will be put in place, the chapter argued, should be labour centred to ensure they are long-term and sustainable. But because of the long historical record of prohibition the plant remains mired in terms that continue to define the predominant public discourse of the plant away from labour concerns. It is with this in mind that it is useful to revisit Walter Rodney's (1973) noteworthy contribution to the notion of "underdevelopment", more particularly the idea of delinking Cannabis from its singular association to recreational use.

CHAPTER 5

Delinking from the prohibition geographies of Cannabis: Revisiting underdevelopment

"Prohibition… goes beyond the bounds of reason in that it attempts to control a man's appetite by legislation and makes a crime out of things that are not crimes…A prohibition law strikes a blow at the very principles upon which our government was founded" (Abraham Lincoln December 1840).

"For instance, the slaveholders not only like to see the slave drink of his own accord, but will adopt various plans to make him drunk…thus, when the slave asks for virtuous freedom, the cunning slaveholder, knowing his ignorance, cheats him with a dose of vicious dissipation, artfully labelled with the name of liberty. The most of us used to drink it down, and the result was just what might be supposed: many of us were led to think that there was little to choose between liberty and slavery. We felt, and very properly too, that we had almost as well be slaves to man as to rum" (Douglass 1845 [1993]: 81. Frederick Douglass explaining how alcohol was used by the slaving system to ensure slave's submission).

"The idea of certain drugs as bad, dangerous and requiring prohibition by law is a relatively recent social phenomenon, with the first international laws prohibiting drugs only appearing at the start of the twentieth century" (Dr Koram, 20 April 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021).

5.1 Introduction

As noted earlier, a majority of the literature about Cannabis is produced in the West and tends to focus on recreational and medicinal Cannabis.[178] The more limited Cannabis literature from a social science perspective describes the history of the plant and explains how liberal democratic capitalism made Cannabis illegal as part of its modernity project. However, there is a significant change and addition to this in recent literature that is showing the essential role South Africa and colonial methods of Cannabis regulation had on influencing the League of Nations in the 1920s to reschedule Cannabis as a 'dangerous drug' that would later become the global prohibition of the plant (Chattopadhyaya 2019; Duvall 2016; 2019; Nkosi, Devey & Waetjen 2020, Waetjen 2022). Regardless of these new insights the history of prohibition as well as the propaganda narratives about the plant, mostly that it is a

[178] There is a lot of literature also about the industrial applications of Cannabis, but these tend to be more scientific and focused on biological, chemical and industrial applications. There tends to be less analysis of Cannabis or hemp from a pro-poor, social, or political perspective (Gerwel 2018).

'gateway' to drug use and a criminal enterprise, remain the common understanding for all aspects of the plant. Thus, it is imperative, to recite a different narrative to the popular version that people have been made to believe in order to delink Cannabis from its prohibition history.[179]

This chapter begins by arguing that recreational narratives therefore continue to dominate the discourse of hemp Cannabis regardless of if these are the most useful ways in which to conceive of the plant's future. Secondly, the chapter argues that the recreational uses of Cannabis should not be the dominant discourse about the plant because that aspect alone is not actually the reality of the entire species. Third, the analysis of prohibition is expanded to find new spaces within which to invent and innovate the geographies of Cannabis. Lastly, the chapter highlights how exclusion or prohibition remains a method liberal democratic capitalism uses to control the contours of global progress, which the Global South must delink from theoretically and practically.

Prohibition is the narrative most problematic to Cannabis development so it is imperative to debunk it first. Prohibition created the narrative that recreational Cannabis is a drug and form of crime. For example Pierre van der Hoven, who has been since 2016 focused on Cannabis and currently is the joint CEO of SilverLeaf Investments, a Cannabis investment firm in South Africa, argues that one of the biggest challenges facing investors are the large amounts of misinformation about the plant that abound and deter investors (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 March 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). Travis Scadron who did a master's thesis on marketing Cannabis in South Africa at the University of Cape Town and who currently works as the Vice President of Business Development at Surfside a US based company, where he is focused on developing data partnerships and helping Cannabis and CBD businesses understand, retain and acquire new customers agrees; misconceptions about the plant are still problematic, thus it is important, he suggests, to 'tell the story' of Cannabis in a positive and new light (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 March 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021).

[179] Since the post-cold war relaxation of marijuana's illegality in many parts of the world recreational Cannabis is being repositioned alongside the lesser victims of 20th century prohibition, most notably alcohol, but also tobacco. Tobacco prohibitions are in the minority, but the longest lasting American trade embargo against Cuban exports directly affects one of the islands greatest revenue earners, Cuban cigars (Wikipedia, United States embargo against Cuba, Accessed 09 November 2021). Cannabis is also widely being repositioned as a medical good.

Nonetheless, Reid (2020: 1) emphasizes, “While stigmas surrounding cannabis appear to have diminished, there is little evidence that such stigmas have entirely disappeared.” If the negative discourses about Cannabis are to be fundamentally changed revisiting the historical prohibition of Cannabis is necessary. Distancing Cannabis thoroughly from the negative association’s prohibition inscribed onto it can remove it from its supposed links to drugs and hence the drug world and necessarily therefore, criminal deviance, to which it is completely unrelated.[180] Ried (2020: 3) adds, “This negative evaluation goes beyond individual sentiments and is a form of shared cultural knowledge, often making the stigmatized targets of socially acceptable prejudice and discrimination.” However, this stigmatization is decreasing globally.

The reinsertion of Cannabis into contemporary economic development is precisely because the prohibition drug narratives surrounding the plant have failed. However, such inclusion still does not do enough to delink the plant from the systemic argument’s prohibition history inscribed onto the plant. For example, Nana K. Agyemang, President of Hempire Ghana, and a leader of the Hemp Association of Ghana as well as an advocate, states that in present day Ghanaian culture Cannabis is still viewed in the same demonised version that it adopted from the West (Hempire Agric Ghana, 17 April 2021, Accessed 23 September 2021). Even though there has been increasing acceptance of the medicinal use of Cannabis in both Ghana and South Africa this has not been able to stifle the negative narratives that frame the plant. Hence, Cannabis continues to be subject to regulated and unregulated economic, social and political control because finding an appropriate site for its legal development remain problematical (see also London 2009).

Throughout this thesis, the assertion is that Cannabis is a non-food crop that operates within and throughout agrarian space. Prohibition unsuccessfully attempted to remove the plant from this space for various social, economic and political reasons (Croucamp 1997; Warf 2014). Thus, by continuing, in the post-prohibition era, with a conception of Cannabis that revolves, in the main, around its recreational usages miscues its development and I will argue, only reinforces the plants underdevelopment.

[180] The global legalization and/or decriminalization of the plant has not removed this stigma. It is for this reason that the proposed South African Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill (2020) can still suggest sentences of a maximum of up to 15 years for offences related to recreational Cannabis even though the plant has technically been legalized (Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill, August 2020, p.7).

Using Walter Rodney's (1973) and other dependency theorist's suggestion to delink from systems that historically do more harm than good is therefore useful in the context of contemporary Cannabis discourse. This chapter will make use of a historic and geo-political analysis framework similar to the one that Rodney (1973) used to explain '*How Europe underdeveloped Africa*'. The attempt is to highlight the ways in which Cannabis discourse was underdeveloped through 20th century prohibition. In so doing, strategize a more positive place for the role Cannabis can play in the global future as part of a larger movement towards alternative economic, social and political development. Thus, Suresh Patel an entrepreneur who credits the formidable team of Myrtle Clarke and Julian Stobbs,[181] better known as the 'Dagga couple', for shaping the way he thinks about Cannabis in more sustainable and humane ways elaborated about the bigger project of Cannabis in South Africa:

> Now tonight's not about the benefits of legalization of all the billions flowing into this industry. And we won't be talking about how to get a license either. This forum is essentially unpacking how and why the current way of thinking about cannabis legalization is incorrect and illogical and that there are far greater opportunities by allowing free market with the informal sector leading the charge. Now cannabis legalization is here to stay whether you support it or not there is no turning back. Now that's the scary part because at the rate that we are moving if the wrong cannabis Bill is set in place a few privileged will benefit and the vast majority of South Africans are going to be excluded (Gordon Institute for Business Science in Johannesburg and University of Pretoria 29 May 2019, Accessed 29 September 2021).

As the revolutionary group Dead Prez famously stated about hip hop applies to Cannabis; 'it's bigger than Cannabis'.[182]

5.2 Underdevelopment and delinking in contemporary Cannabis discourse

The idea of underdevelopment, that Walter Rodney advanced further, was originally introduced by Anténor Firmin (1850-1911) an academic and politician from Haiti (Gordan 2008: 62). Through a historic analysis, like that of Rodney (1973), Firmin showed that Europe actually degraded African development and that Africans had a far more glorious history prior to European involvement on the continent (Gordan

[181] Julian Stobbs was sadly shot and killed at his Lanseria home in Johannesburg in the early hours of Friday 3 July, 2020. Julian Stobbs was a frontline leader in the fight to get Cannabis legalized in South Africa.
[182] Dead Prez, 'Hip-Hop' *Let's Get Free*: Loud Records, 1999.

2008: 62). To combat this underdevelopment Firmin proposed "The concept of regeneration [to] [suggest]s that the past was not one of any human race being inferior to another but that historical forces came into play to subordinate, by force, some groups of human beings over others" (Gordan 2008: 63). The subordination of Cannabis is likewise due to historical forces that changed the focus of the plant from being an influential agricultural crop to one that is closely related to drugs to advance more favourable development (Bouloc et.al 2013; Decorte et.al. 2011; Herer 1985 [2010]). As such, the 'regeneration' of Cannabis becomes possible when a critical approach is taken.

Militant dependency theorists such as Walter Rodney therefore suggested in the 1960s that it was better for Africa and other parts of the Global South to delink from the system that perpetuated its underdevelopment (Emeh 2013; Willis 2005). Rodney, like Frantz Fanon, believed that their academic training and nationalist goals needed practical implementation rather than exist in a vacuum in academia. Rodney thus ended up going back to his home country Guyana in 1974 to contest in the party politics there with a radical and revolutionary plan of action. The 38-year-old revolutionary and academic was prematurely assassinated in a car bomb on 13 June 1980 in Guyana.

The exemplary revolutionary from Trinidad, C.L.R. James, had groomed Walter Rodney through a West Indian study group formed in 1962 that met at the elder's (C.L.R James) apartment in Northwest London on Friday nights, (Worcester 1996: 200). Nonetheless, in a speech C.L.R James gave on January 30, 1981 after the death of Walter Rodney titled "Walter Rodney and the question of power" he reasoned that "Walter had not studied taking of power" and this ultimately led to his assassination by those willing to use extreme forms of coercion (C.L.R James, Accessed 07 March 2019). James argued, using a left analysis of Marx and Lenin's teachings, that to take revolutionary power, "Firstly, there must be a clash, a revolutionary upsurge of people. Then, secondly, there must be a turning point, when the activity of the advanced ranks is at its height; and thirdly, the enemy must be vacillation" (C.L.R James, Accessed 07 March 2019).[183]

[183] These conditions can be noticed to exist to some extent globally but are even clearer in South Africa and the rest of Africa. First, there has been an upsurge of people noted in the Marikanna massacre, the 'Fees must fall movement' and protest culture of the South African population more generally. Second, the ANC and other nationalist governments more generally are no longer seen as the only legitimate revolutionary force in African countries. Third, the monopoly capitalism of the West is being challenged everywhere and those who control

Walter Rodney was a victim of structures that sustained global political economy up to the end of the 20th century who were not averse to using physical violence to protect liberal democratic capitalism. To be clear, the methods used to contain alternative worlds remain intact in the contemporary period as well, although, admittedly less obvious. Nonetheless, there is violence as Povinelli (2011: 94) points out; "In other words, the productive forces of state discipline are supplemented by its repressive forces, and, when they are, governmental interests in life give way to spectacular acts of killing or barely perceptible acts of letting die." Black people, the poor working class and women face these extremities every day in attempting to live. Thus, the Drug Policy Alliance an American national non-profit organization works to end the war on drugs because of the disproportionate harm it has caused Black, Latinx, Indigenous, immigrant, and LGBTQ communities (Drug Policy Alliance, Accessed 10 November 2021). Kassandra Frederique, the executive director of the Drug Policy Alliance, therefore, situates herself as a black women in the US amidst the killings of black people by the police. The social justice she says that is needed is linked to the removal of racial terror. In other words it's a bigger issue than Cannabis and licenses but the need to remove all types of terror, Cannabis illegality being just one of these (Transform Drug Policy Foundation webinar, 5 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021).

With such violence to contend with, other theorists such as Immanuel Wallerstein were understandably less militant than Walter Rodney and suggested instead that the terms of agreement which perpetuated Global South underdevelopment needed to be rearranged. According to Willis (2005: 72-73) Wallerstein's notion that the global economy had three spheres of interaction (core, semi-periphery, periphery – which the Global South occupied) explained economic development but is more of an analysis, or, perspective than a theory proper. Another criticism of Wallerstein's 'world systems theory' is that it focused on state and interstate levels without clearly contextualizing the local nor "the wider contexts within which development occurred" (Willis 2005: 72, 75).

World systems however can be analyzed by local communities as well. For example, Oom (Interview, Noordgesig Soweto, 28 June 2019) was concerned that

economic capability in South Africa must seriously consider new ways of how wealth can be made more sustainable. In Africa, the end of Gadhafi's rule in Libya, Mugabe's in Zimbabwe, and the current turmoil in Eswatini or Sudan point to the existence of such conditions as well.

Cannabis was still essentially used to advance drug use in coloured townships. Although Oom (Interview, Noordgesig Soweto, 28 June 2019) knows (I had told him about the industrial aspects of the plant, but he had known about the medicinal benefits) that Cannabis can be used for medicine and other industrial usages his views are based on his understanding of the prohibition narrative of the plant. In other examples Yu (Interview, Braamfontein, Johannesburg, 2019) provided a view of Cannabis from the perspective of a Muslim; while Born (Informal conversation, Noordgesig, Soweto 2019, 2020, 2021) provided a Rastafarian outlook regarding Cannabis; and Pro (informal conversations, Orlando, Soweto 2019) argued that food certainly must remain at the forefront of the drive to a better society regardless of the importance of Cannabis. All these examples show that local communities can interpret the connections broader mechanisms of political geography and development have on their lives.

However, Wallerstein's geopolitical analysis is useful for understanding the networks that are at play in global economic development. This is important to the theoretical framework of this thesis that is attentive to the ability of black people, the poor working class and women to gain access to the Cannabis industry. Contemporary Cannabis development however disproportionately privileges those with access to capital in the legalization era. A wide range of speakers at the Cannabis conferences and webinars locally and internationally echoed this sentiment. Gareth Prince, a notable leader of the Cannabis movement in South Africa, argues that the idea of social justice and equity therefore must be built into the legislation of Cannabis because big business puts profits over people and they (the Cannabis movement) seek "people over profits" (Cannabis Trade Association and Cheeba Cannabis TV, 21 Sept 2021, Accessed 22 September 2021). It is for this reason that Rodney (1973) and other dependency theorists proposed delinking from systems that cause the underdevelopment of the marginalized.

Nevertheless, delinking has often been criticized for wanting to remove the development of the marginalized from accessing popular forms of development (Willis 2005). Even Thandeka Kunene, the first lady of Cannabis in South Africa, speaking about getting the first license to grow Cannabis in South Africa offers that she "… was very proud to see that the system works in South Africa it takes time but I think the officials are not as corrupt and inefficient. I think they are overburdened you know but if you go through the A to Z you get there" (Newzroom Afrika, 24 Oct 2019, Accessed

27 September 2021). Thandeka Kunene is showing that it is possible to access mainstream forms of development as the marginalized while remaining relevant to the original causes of the Cannabis movement.

While Dependency theory did have historical significance in South America in the 1970s "… the conclusions that capitalist-style development was impossible for peripheral countries within the existing system was challenged by the economic success of the newly-industrializing countries of Asia during the 1970's" (Willis 2005: 72). Rodney's (1973) conscious effort to ensure that development reached the most marginalized therefore never quite materialized in his lifetime. From the 1980s, and throughout the 1990s, South America and most of the Global South increasingly began to adopt Western led development programs. Thus, "While dependency theorists had, unlike the modernization theorists, taken a historical view of development by considering *when* processes were taking place, they did not consider the wider contexts within which development occurred" (Willis 2005: 72).

Although the idea of delinking is, of course, a radical solution to the failures of liberal democratic capitalism (and therefore development as it currently exists) it does not mean opposed views cannot function together.[184] By making a disagreement between local groups functional "the wider contexts within which development occurred[s]" can begin to be rearranged. Oppositional views therefore can, as oppositional parties in parliamentary politics do, function with different points of view. Regrettably, black development has always been conceived of as oppositional and therefore a separate part to global development rather than an integral part of it (Gilroy 1993; James 1938 [1980]).[185] Reading historical development in this manner leads to a centrism that is not useful. What is useful are arguments that seek to achieve a better society for all humanity (Mamdani 2015). What methods (for example Cannabis for this thesis) are used to achieve this same end goal will likely differ, but this should not matter.

[184] A courtroom scene from the film *Biko* about black conscious leader Steve Biko, played by Denzel Washington, aptly captures such oppositional politics. Steve Biko is being questioned about his opposition and the method of "direct confrontation" the Black Consciousness movement uses against Apartheid, and reasons, "Well, we [Biko and the lawyer posing the question] are now in direct confrontation, but I see no violence." Quite simply, what is being pointed out is the simple idiom that people can ''agree to disagree'' without it necessarily leading to violence or hatred.

[185] Reading black history as a part of global revolutionary history was the way in which C.L.R James approached the Haitian revolution in his seminal book *The Black Jocobins* published as far back as (1938).

If it can be assumed that the end goal of global development is equal and just access to all then a fundamental change to the operational system of liberal democratic capitalism needs to occur because it is historically unequal and inherently unjust. Gareth Prince therefore adds, "It cannot simply be business as usual in relation to Cannabis. It's not just simply another product that can be slotted into the economic system as it currently exists. Because the status quo is unjust and it is unequal" (Cannabis Trade Association and Cheeba Cannabis TV, 21 Sept 2021, Accessed 22 September 2021). As such the transformation required is not simply the ability to use Cannabis but to affect a greater form of societal change. But it is also in the simplicity of ensuring that the person who sells the match box of dagga on the street will still be able to sell that match box legally after regulation. If this does not occur, then for Myrtle Clark, legalization has not occurred and the end goal of the Cannabis movement and development around this plant has failed (Myrtle Clark, Gordon Institute for Business Science in Johannesburg and University of Pretoria 29 May 2019, Accessed 29 September 2021).

Ultimately, the multiple and complex sets of interactions that Cannabis has are not vertical (that it is a drug), or horizontal (that it should be situated alongside alcohol and cigarettes). When the plant is located wider and outside of these associations the nexus and unsettling connections of Cannabis to power and money, politics and capitalism is better clarified. It is these complexities that Dread (2000: 144) was unable to make complete sense of when he opinions negatively about his experiences of Cannabis and having left dagga behind:

> "Welcome to the land of the African tranquillizer alias dope, dagga, marijuana, ganja, da herb, zol DP, grass bhang, ntsjango etc. etc. Welcome to my nightmare. Welcome to my pleasure. Welcome to my indecision. Welcome to my leisure … Welcome to me having held myself back by the power of the herb… Welcome. The romantics romanticize on it, the critics criticize, the dispossessed become possessive of it and all become entangled in its web of deceit. That is my opinion."

What Dread (2000) is in conflict with, this thesis contends, is not the plant Cannabis but how it is understood; its discourse in everyday people's and individuals' imagination.[186] The plant itself has not created the "web of deceit". Rather it is

[186] The 18 September 2018 Constitutional Court judgement is only the first step in changing how we imagine Cannabis. Although Cannabis has been acquitted legally it still is a crime in the conscious of most people.

prohibition narratives that have created these false perceptions of the plant that influence society's negative attitude towards Cannabis. The genealogy (in a Foucauldian sense) of Cannabis has been bombarded by a barrage of misinformation for almost 100 years and this has become inscribed into what society believes about the plant. It is these narratives and discourses that have to be delinked from so that a positive development of Cannabis ensues.

The negative social and historical construction of Cannabis has many similarities to the racist euphemisms given to identify blackness. It is precisely for this reason that black consciousness movements reasoned that claiming back the subjectivities and identities of blackness was essential to restore black pride amongst black people (Dyson 1995; Gordan 2008; James 1969 [1984]; Malcolm X 1964, in Okpara and Lee 1995; Okpara and Lee 1995; Rodney, 1969 [1996]; SASO Newsletter, May/June 1975). This effort, they argued, would subvert the negative images about black people that oppression relied on and that black people had been forced to internalize. The same type of consciousness can be used to restore the largely negative view of Cannabis that prohibition fashioned for society that Oom (Interview, Noordgesig Soweto, 28 June 2019) or Dread (2000) so clearly have embodied.

To do this means delinking from prohibition narratives – becoming conscious about your blackness for black conscious movements – that forced negative recreational terms to dominate how the plant is understood. This also means opposing forthrightly the connection Cannabis has been made to have to drugs which is largely responsible for this negativity. For example, when questioned about why he had a negative view of Cannabis considering all the other usages the plant, Oom (Interview, Noordgesig Soweto, 28 June 2019) conceded that it was not so much the plant that he was against but the fact that people mixed Cannabis with whatever drug they were smoking that made him feel negatively about the plant. Thus, the plant Cannabis is being blamed even when it is not the root cause of the fault.

One poignant solution to understanding recreational Cannabis, and an important form of delinking from its negative associations, was provided by Pro (Field notes, 2019) who is passionate about food security through his extensive work as an urban farmer in Soweto. Pro (Field notes, 2019) argued that food should remain at the

Cannabis must be positively integrated back into society's imagination if its transition from prohibited good to a useful agricultural, medicinal and industrial product is to be successful.

forefront of all movements concerned with black people, the poor working class or women because it is what ensures humanity can live. Being a small urban farmer myself, with 10 years of experience, I have also formed the opinion that food without doubt is more fundamental for the most marginalized than the recreational goods used by humanity such as tobacco, alcohol and even Cannabis. Gerwel (2015: 3) offers further that "No country has been able to sustain a rapid transition out of poverty without raising productivity in its agricultural sector". This means development requires major resources to be directed towards attaining a food secure country. Therefore, in agreement with Pro (Field notes 2019) and somewhat unorthodox for a thesis concerning Cannabis, is that the culture of food and its agriculture is promoted here as the vanguard agrarian sector most legitimately connected to recreational crops and goods.

Therefore, the stakes associated with advancing Cannabis production as opposed to food production need to be resolved. This means making a development decision that can ease the tensions between the use of land for food or for non-food crops such as Cannabis.[187] A better understanding of the ways in which resources are accessed for both Cannabis and food production, and the extent to which production of one occludes the other, would help illuminate the trade-offs associated with the advancement of Cannabis as a method for alternative forms of development. One way to do this is to choose based on the spiritual and cultural offerings that food or Cannabis provide.[188]

Food and its etiquettes are considered fundamental to spiritual well-being (Michopoulou & Jauniškis 2020) while alcohol and tobacco for Rastafarians, and alcohol and marijuana for Muslims, are considered '*haram*'.[189] Certain foods however are prohibited in both Rastafarianism and Islam such as meat for staunch Rastafarians and Pork and web-footed birds, such as ducks, for all practicing Muslims. Food, therefore, is an important aspect of Muslim and Rastafarian ideals about the metaphysical realm. Hence practicing Rasta's are vegetarian or vegan, although, it

[187] My experience of being a small food farmer since 2012 has definitely led me to begin to understand this tension but I do feel such a discussion cannot fit into the problem being looked into by this thesis.

[188] The spiritual and cultural aspects of cannabis have not been included directly in this thesis which is a weakness. But they together could have formed an entire thesis length discussion and so were occluded from this analysis that focused on the recreational, medicinal and industrial aspects of Cannabis in relation to development.

[189] "Actions that are *haram* result in harm one way or another and are therefore considered a sin if carried out by a Muslim" (Wikipedia, Haram, Accessed 24 January 2021).

seems there is room for local interpretation of Rasta traditions. For example, Born, (Informal conversation, Noordgesig, June 2020) a dreadlock wearing dread, talked freely about eating meat without it being anti-Rasta in any way.[190] The centrality and connections of food to spirituality therefore exists in most religions of the world (see Michopoulou & Jauniškis 2020).

The point is that food, rather than alcohol, tobacco or marijuana, are focal points of the metaphysical world. It follows then that, the spiritual connection at least, of agrarian production, should likewise center upon food rather than recreational psychedelic or intoxicating substances. However, as Rastafarianism has shown with Cannabis (Chawane 2008: 171, 175) and the Christian churches use of wine (Wikipedia, 'Sacramental wine', Accessed 26 October 2021), there is a place for the link to be made between the production of recreational non-food goods and spirituality.[191] What should be made abundantly clear however, is that food rather than tobacco, alcohol or marijuana is also the focal point not only of agrarian production but the sustainability of pro-poor human development (see Gerwel 2015). So far, post-prohibition development efforts tend to follow how Cannabis has always been used in South Africa; that is, as recreational and medicinal goods that are also often integrated with other traditional herbs and plants. And when the government does look at hemp it regards it is a salvation and way out of the problems associated with recreational Cannabis rather than thinking of the plant as one whole with three different usages (Brett Hilton-Barber from Cannabiz Africa, Cheeba Africa Canna News Africa - July 2021, Accessed 23 September 2021). Therefore, the development of hemp and Cannabis in South Africa will depend on its ability to delink from prohibition and post-legalization narratives that make use of divisive rather than unified recreational and medicinal marijuana conceptions.

[190] Chawane (2008: 186) noted that the Rastafarian tradition aims to share information with one another rather than force people to believe any one way, making such local interpretation possible.

[191] Something I have observed in thinking about the connections between alcohol and recreational marijuana is that the conversation tends to always minimise the role played by tobacco products. For Muslims "The general consensus concerning the Islamic ruling was that smoking is either completely prohibited or abhorrent to such a degree as to be prohibited" Khayat (2000: Abstract). It is interesting to note also that the smoking of tobacco products is considered the leading cause of death of 1 in 5 deaths in the U.S.A (American Cancer Society, Accessed 22 February 2020). And in South Africa over 6 million of its adult population is a smoker (The Tobacco Atlas, Accessed 22 February 2020).

5.3 Facing the prohibition problem: Dealing with the dominant recreational storyline

In contemporary South Africa two Acts essentially still control and regulate Cannabis in South Africa:

1. The Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992 (Administered by Department of Justice)
2. The Medicines and Related Substances Act [previously Drugs Control Act] No. 101 of 1965 (Administered by the Department of Health)

According to Thabo Ramashala, Directorate of plant production at the Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development (DALRRD), the delay in regulating Cannabis, since the Constitutional Court ruling in September 2018, has to do with the delay in updating the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act. Therefore, Ramashala says his department is waiting for the Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill to be passed into law which they expect will open up spaces for freer Cannabis use in South Africa (Wesgro webinar/ cannabis regulatory update with SAHPRA and DALRRD 22 April 2021, Accessed 27 September 2021).

Interestingly, in the hundred years or so of South African prohibition history that is directly related to Cannabis there have been approximately one hundred Acts and Amendments that have been used to regulate what can and cannot be used by citizens.[192] The sheer number of these laws speak to the problems that occur in trying to prohibit and then regulate the personal habits of people. The effort to ensure prohibited goods did not enter society also meant the various value chains of the prohibited good had to be completely blocked off to ensure the legitimacy of the embargo. This was most problematic for prohibiting Cannabis because the plants multiple usages could not be contained to the negative stereotypes of its recreational uses, which was what it's banning tried to do.

In the first instance, it is fascinating to note that many of these Acts and Amendments were directed at regulating agricultural production which highlights the

[192] Cannabis is the most widely used 'drug' in world and its production exists in almost every country. It remains difficult to calculate the levels of its production because it is mostly cultivated locally and feeds into several unaccounted-for local markets (World Drug Report 2013: xi, 24).

connection of Cannabis to agrarian production.[193] Connecting Cannabis to agricultural production moreover were far more common in the Acts drawn up in interwar years but this connection was very seldom made after WWII. Many of these laws were also to do with regulating the use of alcoholic beverages which have also had a long and complicated place in the prohibition history of South Africa and elsewhere (see Riley & Marshall 1999: 135-136).[194] The biggest number of prohibition Acts had to do with medicinal control, again with which Cannabis is directly related.[195]

It must be noted that, in South Africa at least, the first Act to deal directly with drugs (illicit) was the Drugs Control Act of 1965.[196] But it must be remembered that in 1928 Cannabis legislation was passed to the first national Medical, Dental, and Pharmacy Act (Nkosi et.al., 2020: 62). Amendments in 1955 to the 1928 Act increased fines and recommended prison sentences for Cannabis offenses of up to 12 months ((Nkosi et.al. 2020: 63). Nonetheless and quite interestingly, is that before 1965 the term 'drug' had only been used once in official legislation, while after 1965 the term was used more than ten times in various Acts and Amendments. Moreover, after 1965 these Acts and Amendments using the term drugs was linked directly to illicit and harmful use of chemical man-made substances.[197] Therefore, there is a dire need for

[193] For example, the, Agricultural Produce Export Act, 1917, Dairy Industry Act 1918, Wheat Conservation Act 1918, Agricultural Products Grading Act 1922, Agricultural Industries Advancement Act 1925, Mealie Control Act 1931, Tobacco Control Act 1932, Tobacco and Wine Research Accounts Act 1960, Tobacco Products Control Amendment Act 1999.

[194] For example the, Wine, Spirits and Vinegar Act, 1913, Cape Liquor Licensing Courts (Constitution) Amendment Act 1914, Transvaal Liquor Licensing Ordinance Amendment (Sale of Liquor) Act, 1916, Restriction on the Importation of Wine and Spirits Act 1921, Wine and Spirits Control Act 1924, Wine and Spirits Control Amendment Act 1946, Liquor Law Amendment Act 1951, Liquor Amendment Act 1961, Bantu Beer Act, 1962, Sorghum Beer Act 1962, Wine, other Fermented Beverages and Spirits Amendment Act 1972, Liquor Amendment Act 1977, Liquor Products Act 1989, Liquor Products Amendment Act 1993. The USA's prohibition between 1920 and 1933 is the most famous.

[195] For example the, Natal Public Health Acts (Re-enactment and Amendment) Act 1914, Medical Practitioners and Dentists Registration Amendment Act 1919, Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Act 1928, Public Health Act Amendment Act 1942, Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Amendment Act 1951, Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Amendment Act 1961, Public Health Amendment Act 1963, Drugs Control Act 1965, Medical Schemes Act 1967, South African Medical Research Council Act 1969, Prescription Act 1969, Pharmacy Act 1974, Health Law\s Amendment Act 1977, Medicines and Related Substances Control Amendment Act 1981, Health Amendment Act 1981, Medicines and Related Substances Control Amendment Act 1991, Pharmacy Amendment Act 1995, Medicines and Related Substances Control Amendment Act 1997, Pharmacy Amendment Act 2000, Medicines and Related Substances Control Amendment Act 2002, Medicines and Related Substances Amendment Act 2015.

[196] Although the Food, Drugs and Disinfectants Act, 1929 does use the word 'drug' its references is to medicinal drugs as opposed to illicit harmful drugs as the 1965 Act refers to.

[197] This thesis is concerned with the overall uses of Cannabis, especially hemp, so does not directly engage with the entanglement of Cannabis with the world of illicit chemical drugs. In this way the thesis can remain faithful

a different approach to how the Cannabis industry will be developed in this era of legalization, if it is to detach itself from almost a century of association to drugs and criminality that various laws in South Africa and the world have put on it.

Even older Cannabis regulatory regimes, such as the Netherlands, have had complications over the years with criminal syndicates infiltrating into the Cannabis markets which highlights the need for different approaches to developing the Cannabis industry (Fijnaut 2015). However, Fijnaut (2015) fails to consider if access to Cannabis by criminals in the Netherlands has anything to do with its industry being reliant on recreational usages that have been part of criminal networks precisely because they were illegal. Additionally, the development of Cannabis policy in the Netherlands did not emphasize the revolutionary history embedded in how the plant can be understood, nor why these forms of emancipatory politics must be incorporated into the development of a successful Cannabis industry at once removed from prohibition accounts. From a governmental perspective, Thabo Ramashala from DALRRD adds about Cannabis and crime, "…we can't create an industry if the industry is already flooded with illegal products…" (Wesgro webinar/ cannabis regulatory update with SAHPRA and DALRRD 22 April 2021, Accessed 27 September 2021). What the government fails to see is that if Cannabis already has a market (illegal or not) then they will not be creating the industry per se but only legalizing what already exists.

The existing industry is therefore not the governments to create and belongs to the people who have made and continue to make a living from Cannabis. However, government does have an important role to play in the legislation of Cannabis. But because neoliberal development continues to play a leading part in South African economic development the government needs to adopt "… a pedagogy which must be forged with, not for, the oppressed (whether individuals or peoples) in the incessant struggle to regain their humanity" (Friere 1970[2005]: 48). In addition, because the "… single most influential force shaping the development field: [is] the discourse of development economics" (Escobar 1995:18) governments have also been more preoccupied with the formal labour sector. But the informal sector, in the case of Cannabis the formally illegal production of it, does offer another avenue for government to pursue development in. But to do this requires recognition 'with', not

to the consciousness embedded in Cannabis that are concerned with the political, social and economic conditions of black people, the poor working class and women. See nonetheless, Klantschnig et al 2014; Legget 2002; or Manning 2007 for a minor overview of illicit drugs in Africa that for the most part include Cannabis.

for, the informal Cannabis producers (Friere 1970[2005])) about what they have new to offer to the legal development of the plant from their 'illegal' experience that governments can fail to acknowledge (See Polson and Bodwitch 2021).

In fact, GG Alcock, author and public speaker, argues quite innovatively that the informal sector can and will disrupt the formal sector. The Cannabis industry, he argues, is a very good example of this trend. Alcock adds that South Africa needs to drive an inclusive economy that can create economic equality. This he adds is especially important for those who had previously been in the Cannabis industry, which he argues is similar to those who fought against apartheid being included into the creation of democratic South Africa. Alcock expects that what will happen in South Africa is that it will have a legal industry on one side and the continuation of illegal industries on the other (Gordon Institute for Business Science and University of Pretoria, 29 May 2019, Accessed 29 September 2021). Thus, Alcock's arguments show that Cannabis prohibition failed dismally to restrict the agency of people to find ways out from underdevelopment and that what was learnt then is still useful today.

There are consequently important lessons and practices to be gleaned from the prohibition of Cannabis. Firstly, the recreational and medicinal use of Cannabis are soft targets for continued prohibition campaigns and criminal elements that seek the maintenance of the status quo. The plant is an easy scapegoat because of its already existing association to drugs and criminality. Secondly, it highlights how academic discourses, such as the 'gateway thesis', are so easily believed and propagated when the political and economic establishment is able to use its conclusions to its advantages.[198] The term 'gateway drug' became popular in the early 1980s but its main ideas were developed in the 1970s (Kandel 2002: 3). What was argued is that adolescents seem likely to first experiment with legal drugs such as cigarettes and alcohol before moving on to illegal substances such as Cannabis and eventually to harder drug use (Kandel 1975; Kandel & Faust 1975; Kandel 2002: 3). This narrative, (rather than thesis) remains one of the most contentious of all the effects of prohibition. Lastly, prohibition history illuminates the power and economy that is involved in producing chemical medicinal substances for human consumption. Both legitimized companies of the enormous medical industrial complex and the illegitimate,

[198] The key authors of the 'gateway thesis' are Kandel (1975) and Kandel & Faust (1975). This argument became a staple for how proponents of prohibition would defend their reasons for maintaining Cannabis illegality.

nonetheless, global structures that produce and deal cocaine, heroin, rock, mandrax or ecstasy for example have such authority and wealth. The lesson that needs to be learned here is that prohibition's sweeping generalizations about recreational Cannabis has breathed life into an existence that will not just go away even when the plant is legalized. This means ultimately that prohibition has made it a complicated procedure to advance new methods with which to conceive the plant.

Recreational (and more recently medicinal marijuana) narratives therefore continue to dictate the discourse of contemporary Cannabis regardless of their usefulness to the plant's overall future development. For example, Yu (Interview, Braamfontein, Johannesburg, 2019) acknowledged that although even the medicinal use of Cannabis is subject to an Imams decision in Islam, he implied nonetheless that Cannabis might be more useful to society if conceived outside of its recreational usages which are strictly not permissible to Muslims.[199] Conceptualizing Cannabis outside of prohibitionist terms therefore might offer opportunities to groups who previously considered marijuana a 'high risk' good.

However, imagining Cannabis outside of its recreational boundaries requires a form of 'emancipatory politics' able to stand up to the political and moral economy that has designed its boxes, even if this is not popular at first (Neocosmos 2016). Writing a new development path for Cannabis based on revolutionary action might likewise not be easily accepted but would ensure a long-term quality grounded industry. In a lecture given in 1958 at Queens College the ever-thorough C.L.R James (1984: 86) adds expectantly and somewhat nonchalantly in this regard, "But what is treason in one period is often respectable twenty years afterwards".

To use a more distant example to show how an emancipatory politics of a successful Cannabis development program would look like if pursued further, the politics of Malcolm X might suffice. Malcolm X was considered too much of a black radical for the liberal democratic capitalism of the United States and as such his ideas were overlooked in favour of Dr. Martin Luther King Jnr's more widely held civil rights movement (Dyson 1995: 45). The politics of Malcolm X, symbolized in his statement, "By whatever means necessary",[200] are now widely recognized throughout the word

[199] See Alzeer's, et.al (2020) discussion of the 'permissibility' of Cannabis in Islam. Their discussion agrees with Yu (Interview, University of the Witwatersrand, 2019) that Cannabis is *Haram,* and its 'permissibility' is up to interpretation that only higher standing Muslim Imams can make.

[200] This is the most popularized quote of Malcolm X.

and deeply embodied in the black and Rasta revolutionary aspects of the Cannabis movement. An emancipatory based development plan of action for Cannabis might at first be considered too radical but will reap better results in the long term, just like the contemporary admiration for the politics of Malcom X. Ultimately, the ability of Cannabis development to delink from the singular prohibition decision that connected the plant to its psychedelic effects will also highlight the long term social, economic and political characteristics of the people that surround the plant, which at first might not be popular but will eventually prove irreplaceable.

This contrasts with the short-term monetary strategies that are currently on the rise in the Cannabis industry that are based on growing Cannabis visibility through increased output which can compromise on longevity and effectual social justice. Thus, it is apt here to quote at length the Drug Policy Alliance's Kassandra Frederique's potent critique of what Cannabis means at a principled level when she shared a heartfelt discussion at a webinar discussing why 'Social justice must be at the forefront of cannabis law reform'[201]:

> And so when we have the conversation about regulation it's how do we expand the frame about what that actually means. And that we must actually disentangle regulation from commercialization. Because commercialization is a violent violent act that is not only creating the opportunities for people like Eric Garner[202] to be killed … And so when we have conversations about this particular moment, regulation must not leave room for criminalization, in any way. Be it through housing, be it through access to health care, be it through whatever industry that we put forward. That the conversation around regulation is as steeped in racial justice and economic justice as it is in autonomy. And that the autonomy is not about people having the rights to have access to be able to ingest the substance. But the autonomy is that people are able to walk down the street without having people call the cops on them … or in the ways that people can be on tape with their knee on your neck for nine minutes and us not have the confidence that they will be held accountable and fired from their post. And so when we have this conversation about cannabis regulation, it's about cannabis and it's not about cannabis (Transform Drug Policy Foundation, 5 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021).

[201] This was the title of the webinar.

[202] "On July 17, 2014, Eric Garner was killed in the New York City borough of Staten Island after a ... New York City Police Department (NYPD) officer put him in a prohibited chokehold while arresting him" (Wikipedia, 'Killing of Eric Garner', Accessed 17 November 2021).

5.3.1 Problematizing the contemporary recreational categorizations of Cannabis

The plants history as a symbol of independent agrarian resistance (Rasta movement) that stood indifferent to mainstream development (hippie movement) will be discarded without the realization that the story of Cannabis encompasses more than just Cannabis. When the plant is placed alongside alcohol and tobacco it becomes fetishized and converted into another object capitalism can manage (see Robbins 2005: 454-456). The access Cannabis is being given to mainstream commodification should not be borne at the expense of losing its historical culture, so must be problematized.

To be sure, there is quite a big non-mainstream support from people who are enthusiastic about participating in the still infant Cannabis industry in South Africa that I have noted at the Cannabis conferences and webinars I have attended. It is uplifting to see the large numbers of young black people who are interested in participating as future Cannabis entrepreneurs and industry owners (Field Note Observations, 2018 - 2021). Unfortunately, the opportunity of owning a Cannabis industry is better suited to those with access to capital who can afford the astronomical costs of setting up a medicinal cannabis production site that can meet the minimum licensing requirement at present. For example, according to the governments own Draft National Cannabis Masterplan for South Africa (2021) setting up a facility that meets all the standards can be as high as 6 million Rand. The application fee alone is R24,000 and a person cannot get a license if they have a criminal record. For the majority of black people, the poor working class and especially women accessing this amount of capital is almost impossible.

Scott Bernstein therefore argues that developing the Cannabis industry must move from a system of prohibition to one of 'fairness' (Transform Drug Policy Foundation and México Unido Contra la Delincuencia (MUCD), 16 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021).[203] The fact is, most employment opportunities in the legal Cannabis industry for young black people, the poor working class or women in South Africa will likely be as employees rather than employers. Thus, Vish Sharma who was born and raised in Botswana and works as the COO/Director of Southern

[203] See also Kay S, Jelsma & Bewey-Taylor (2020) for more about Cannabis and fair trade or, Martins, Segura, Levy, Mauro P, Mauro C, Philbin & Hasin (2021: 11) for more about ensuring "… cannabis laws truly contributes to greater racial and ethnic equity and adheres to antiracist policies …"

African Natural Medicines (SANM) argues that we have to think of the Cannabis industry in its automation rather than just as manual labour driven (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). In this way escape the design that leads to being employees rather than employers. Independent wealth creation through ownership of the development process is essential and without doubt an aspect of development this thesis directs much of its critique.

Cannabis is best understood outside the contemporary popular categorizations of recreational marijuana for the simple reason that the commodification of contemporary recreational Cannabis is being awkwardly marketed in the same manner as alcohol and tobacco goods.[204] Medically speaking, there are fewer health risks recreational Cannabis poses when compared to these other two products. According to Dr Shiksha Gallow of the Cannabis Clinicians Board and Director of the Society of Cannabis, the addiction rates for alcohol is 20% and cigarettes 30%, while for Cannabis it is 9% which is closer to coffee's 7% addiction rate level. Hence Dr Gallow argues there is room to bring change sooner rather than later about the general public's understanding of Cannabis and its relation to alcohol and tobacco (Cannabis Trade Association and Cheeba Cannabis TV, 21 Sept 2021, Accessed 22 September 2021). Bronwyn Williams an economist, trend analyst and futurist at Flux Trends, adds also that there is a market for women and Cannabis who seek alternative ways of relaxing without the health concerns and risks associated with alcohol (The Business Day Cannabis Economy in partnership with Afriplex, 27 Aug 2020, Accessed 27 September 2021).

Cannabis is therefore being problematically added into the mass consumer culture liberal democratic capitalism has already made of tobacco and alcohol. Hence, Scott Bernstein of the Canadian Drug Policy Coalition points out that it's better not to have a model of Cannabis based on alcohol and tobacco which were never health-based regulations. He adds further that corporate actors dominate alcohol and tobacco industries which is not what the Cannabis industry needs (Transform Drug Policy Foundation and México Unido Contra la Delincuencia (MUCD), 16 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021).

[204] Nonetheless, the link of Cannabis to alcohol and tobacco, outside of its health risks and domination by big cooperation's, this thesis argues, is in itself not problematic. In fact, is a far more useful, although incomplete, categorization than associating Cannabis to hard drugs like that of the prohibition era.

Development that seeks to cement the place of Cannabis alongside alcohol and tobacco and more conservative approaches that still regard it as a hard drug, takes away from the overall usefulness of the plant. The establishment of a formal relationship between Cannabis, alcohol and tobacco must therefore be reviewed. For example, the recreational aspects of Cannabis can also be linked more closely to natural intoxicants that have been used by shamans, traditional healers and ordinary people for millennia (see Rubin 1975).[205] Unfortunately post-prohibition geographies still envision a separate category specially designed for recreational crops such as tobacco, crops used to make alcohol and recreational marijuana. Opening up Cannabis to the agrarian (which prohibition failed to totally remove it from) is however infused into the heated and contested discussion over land in contemporary South Africa and therefore readily stifled.[206] Finding new spaces within which to invent and innovate is of vital importance to the creation of a self-sustainable Global South and Cannabis development.

5.4 Expanding the notion of prohibition geographies beyond Cannabis

The analysis of prohibition can also be expanded to take account of the political banning's and other means of curtailing freedom. These were the standard reaction of liberal democratic capitalism from the interwar years, slowing down from the late 1970s and their technical end at the close of the Cold War. South Africa presents a good case study in this regard because its racist history and the apartheid government's coercive means of maintaining it quite neatly fit the chronology of global Cannabis prohibition. The rise of Afrikaner nationalism in the inter war years, the subsequent turn to apartheid after WW2, as well as the decision to reform and relax parts of its racist policies from the late 1970s onwards while negotiating the ending of

[205] Although the thesis is concerned with the recreational, medicinal and industrial uses, there is also the metaphysical realm to which Cannabis exists (see Chawane 2008, Rubin 1975). The metaphysical realm links many of the spiritual notions of Rastafarianism to Cannabis and other herbal plants endorsed by traditional healers throughout the world. This thesis does not engage with this metaphysical aspect of the plant Cannabis because it is out of the focus of what it seeks to discuss. Still, it would be very interesting to see a study that discusses Cannabis in its metaphysical space that is able to engage with the deep philosophical, theological and religious concerns these will raise.

[206] This thesis does not directly engage with this important aspect of the agrarian. Land in South Africa is an extremely complex topic that deserves more than this thesis could offer within the scope of a research problem focused around how recreational and medicinal categorizations limit the development of hemp and Cannabis more generally.

Apartheid in the early 1990s, is a periodization that correlates with the various parts of Cannabis illegality. What is more, the delay to end Cannabis prohibition, after apartheid, is germane to the discussion of the ways in which liberal democratic capitalism was able to continue uninhibited – throughout the world – well into the first two decades of the new millennium.[207]

Povinelli (2011: 72) notes however, that no matter how hard 'late liberalism' has tried, it has failed to contain people from speaking truth to power; "It is vital however to remember that although it can police the potential eruptions of political events, the politics of cultural recognition in late liberalism cannot saturate social worlds in such a way that no potentiality remains within the actual world." Disassociating from liberal democratic capitalism's world system is then becoming a more attractive option for fulfilling humanitarian, political, social, economic and cultural objectives. Cannabis development can continue this trend if it frees itself from the discourses of prohibition that continue to inhibit just opportunities for the most marginalized (Jelsma et.al. 2021; Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021).

As a result, an expanded notion of prohibition illuminates other forms of negative global development; the prohibition of Cannabis being just one of many types of underdevelopment. Dr Koram of Birkbeck College, at the University of London adds that in the post-prohibition era, "We also need to make sure that it's not just a drug policy, kind of insular conversation; but it's one that's connected to community groups. And you know to kind of anti-racist organization, you know, the kind of organizations that are leading the solidarity responses to the racialized violence that's going on in the United States at the moment" (Transform drug policy foundation, 5 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021). Cannabis therefore does not exist as a singular project but is intensely intertwined with the politics of justice. Povinelli's counsels further, (2011: 191) "Negative dialectics insists that we must rigorously demonstrate the non-correspondence between what is claimed and what is, and the techniques of power that allow the claimed world to appear not merely as the actual world but the best of all actual worlds". That is, how is it that there is a non-correspondence between the claims of prohibition and how Cannabis existed(s), and the forms of power that have made negative Cannabis narratives not only legitimate but widely accepted as

[207] The eventual double impeachment of former President Donald Trump of the United States of America in 2021 shows that the legitimacy of overt white power is failing. But it also highlights how deep-seated racial capitalism is, regardless of its inherent flaws that still have major influence over the direction of development in the world.

true? Cannabis prohibition has created an account that assumes it was in the past, as it is in the present, still the “best of all actual worlds.” The historical inheritances of prohibition remain in existence and therefore will continue to underdevelop the Cannabis industry unless they are actively discredited. Similarly, in an expanded notion, the unchecked historical legacies of banning 20th century radical politics will likely continue to underdevelop the expansion of freedom in the 21st century!

An expanded notion of Cannabis prohibition therefore regards the forms of exclusions put in place to limit the growth of ‘other’ development that challenge(d) liberal democratic capitalism’s hegemony. Kassandra Frederique (Transform drug policy foundation, 5 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021) of the Drug Policy Alliance again offers a unique opinion on this issue:

> And so when we have conversations about social justice we also must not cheapen what we mean. Legalizing cannabis will not legalize people of color. It will certainly not legalize black people. And when we talk about reparations do not insult people by creating this idea that giving people [Cannabis] licenses is reparations. What we are doing is reparative justice. We are offering additional things forward for people when we talk about reparation. That is, it’s symbolic in nature, but let's not cheapen the work that we've seen. The war on drugs is an armed conflict against people that are poor, people that are trans, people (*sic*), against women, people that are black, people that are LatinX, people that are indigenous, in so many ways. Be it through the lack of access to health care or housing, or be it through racial trauma, through law enforcement.

The prohibition of Cannabis is therefore deeply intertwined with the restrictions placed on certain races, classes, or women (see Chattopadhyaya 2019; Nkosi et.al. 2020: 73). Provocative ideas and actions that were not in the immediate interest of 20th century Western development efforts were summarily banned. Prohibition could be sustained as long as those ideas and actions that were banned remained useless to the development plans of liberal democratic capitalism. However, Cannabis, like blackness, the poor working class, or women, became, by the 1970s, aspects of global development that could not be snubbed any longer. What must be made certain is that Cannabis and its movement, like race, class and women have fundamentally disagreed with many of the core issues of liberal democratic capitalism. Their insertion into contemporary Western dominated development plans therefore must be viewed with caution, at the very least. Walter Rodney’s (1973) theory of underdevelopment and dependency theories conclusion that the best possible way for the Global South

to develop was to delink from capitalism and 'core' countries offers a way of exercising this prudence. Furthermore, the act of delinking is a critique of the materialist nature of Cannabis development in the contemporary era that continues to frame the plants future.

5.4.1 Delinking from the viability of prohibition

Historical and geographical materialism and its accumulation by a few over the majority is of utmost importance to the contemporary debate about Cannabis development (Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021; Jelsma et.al. 2021; Koram, 20 April 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021). The economic, political and moral factors that combined, in the form of prohibition, to marginalize Cannabis development ensured such accumulation was possible. There are therefore several reasons why prohibition became a viable option for those with power and wealth.

In the first instance, prohibition ensured liberal democratic capitalism controlled most forms of development and therefore the survival of its modernity projects through exclusion. Mehta (in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 59) explain clearly "…the period of liberal history is unmistakably marked by the systematic and sustained political exclusion of various groups and 'types' of people." Consequently, through the practice of exclusion or prohibition, liberal capital democratic accumulation was made a worthwhile option.

Second, prohibition's exclusions created an entire legal framework to defend its use of coercion over Cannabis as well as race, class and women to ensure its economic and political accumulation would continue. The use of legal institutional power was a common feature of all types of prohibition. And, even though prohibition was put in place in Africa throughout the colonial empire, many of their practices were sustained after decolonization as well, such as the prohibition of marijuana. Cooper (in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 427) consequently argue that "The failings of decolonization, it might seem, lie in the way colonial regimes, even as their sense of command failed, determined the institutional and discursive parameters of future social policy". And this situation still exists as Schindler's Attorneys (29 Nov 2018, Accessed 28 September 2021) showed when discussing what the 2018 Constitutional Cannabis ruling in South Africa will mean for recreational Cannabis users. They argue that the ruling allows individuals to smoke in private, but outside of this realm people

can and still do get arrested for Cannabis. Furthermore, the Constitutional Court has left it up to parliament to decide the parameters of how much 'personal use' exactly is – which means the police still decide these parameters when apprehending people. Most importantly, Schindler's Attorneys (29 Nov 2018, Accessed 28 September 2021) highlight that the Constitutional ruling keeps Cannabis out of the hands of a mass public (by stressing private use) because it prohibits the trade and sale of recreational Cannabis by individuals. This means "… the institutional and discursive parameters of future social policy" for Cannabis are, as Cooper (in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 427) noted, still bound in colonial prohibition discourse and post-colonial legality. However, Maxence Majot the Technical Manager & Sales Representative for Royal Queen Seeds disagrees and argues that South Africa is doing a better job with Cannabis legislation than overseas where 'pharma people' and some regulators choose legislation without public consent. South Africa has instead allowed people the opportunity to say something to decide Cannabis policy, which is unique Maxence adds (Cheeba Cannabis Academy, 14 Sept 2020, Accessed 27 September 2021).

Nevertheless, Ras Gareth Prince is adamant that there still is a Cannabis legislation crisis in South Africa, regardless of the Constitutional ruling. The legislature, he argues, has no 'vision' or 'courage' and the proposed South African Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill (2020) do not speak to issues of concern to South Africans. Furthermore, Ras Gareth Prince says South Africans can't expect big business to become concerned with socio economic issues now when they have never done so before. Therefore, he argues that it is up to legislation to create the way forward that ensures these socio economic conditions are included into policy which could make South Africa a market leader in terms of Cannabis (Cannabis Trade Association and Cheeba Cannabis TV, 21 Sept 2021, Accessed 22 September 2021). In addition, the legal institutions that maintain prohibition in Africa are not only mandated by political, economic and social structures nationally but also through international governing bodies such as the UN (Bewley-Taylor et.al 2014). Therefore, Cannabis legalization in Africa is very much dependant on the ability of the judiciary to be independent of political, economic and social interference, both nationally and internationally.

Lastly, prohibitions viability depended on a social justification that was made possible by a well-orchestrated propaganda discourse that linked recreational marijuana to mental health issues often related to forms of schizophrenia (see for instance Klantschnig in Klantschnig et.al. 2014), hard drugs as well as crime. This

propaganda propped up the morality of the approaches liberal democratic capitalism used to ensure its wealth and power were sustained. Furthermore, the medical industrial complex favoured experimentation with one dimensional synthetic chemically based medicine rather than natural medicinal herbs, such as Cannabis that have complex chemical structures (Crowther et.al. 2010).[208]

It is for these reasons that delinking (in the radical sense Walter Rodney meant it) from prohibition geographies, and therefore, the liberal democratic capitalism it sustains, is a compulsory requirement if the development of Cannabis is going to be successful in Africa. Delinking in this sense is consequently related to the black conscious effort to implement programs of action to improve the living conditions of black people through raising the collective consciousness of black people. "Hence, black consciousness is thus an attitude of mind and way of life" (Langa, SASO Newsletter May/June 1975: 11). Black consciousness is of the proletariat, the working class and calls for self-reliance and so is critical of the black intellectual; "He [the black intellectual] must get off from the high black pedestal from which he addresses the community and get to work with and among the people …" (Black student leader, SASO Newsletter May/June 1975: 8). Thus, the South African Students Organization (SASO) sought to "… stimulate basic self-reliance in the black community and amongst students" through self-help projects (SASO Newsletter May/June 1975: 19).

This type of consciousness means dealing directly with the problems facing black people, the poor working class and women. Increasing ownership, employment opportunities and leadership positions in the ongoing development of Cannabis falls into this category of self-help. Delinking, therefore, is the acceptance that liberal democratic capitalism prohibits the use of black revolutionary history as a means of changing the way in which global Cannabis development can occur. Delinking, furthermore, is in line with the politics of the poor working class who see no possibilities of curbing the negative influences of liberal democratic capitalism by working within its system, hence continue to operate purposefully at its margins (Povinelli 2011). Delinking also means joining forces with women in their quest for justice in a system dominated by men. What delinking does not mean is giving up on achieving a more

[208] It is interesting to note that there has been a return to sustainable green and natural medicinal remedies which at least partially can be attributed to the medicalization of Cannabis (See Chapkis 2008). The appeal to healthy lifestyle choices has seen the growth of farming plants with known medicinal benefits such as moringa, rooibos tea, or Cannabis for instance.

equitable society for all regardless of race, class or gender. Though, it does mean trying to achieve this type of society by the means available to the oppressed, such as those that already exist in the informal (delinked) economy of Cannabis in South Africa. The incorrigible Myrtle Clark is blunter and offers that the South African Cannabis industry already exists; it is not underground, black market, informal or illegal. It is a thriving existing and working industry (Cannabis Trade Association and Cheeba Cannabis TV, 21 Sept 2021, Accessed 22 September 2021).

Delinking from the colonial discourses of prohibition also opens the means by which to develop new ways of thinking about Cannabis. Delinking from the prohibition geographies of Cannabis also means taking the chance to reinvent, the mostly Western formulated conceptions of Cannabis the contemporary development of the plant continues to use. Lastly, delinking Cannabis from the negative impositions of prohibition can be a format that other restricted races, classes and women can use to improve their conditions of development. Fortunately, South Africa has begun to realize that new methods of action are required if the country is truly to set itself out from Apartheid's legacies of development.

5.5 Finding South Africa's ('unique') position in the development of Cannabis in the Global South

South Africa is poised in a unique position to spearhead the development of Cannabis in the region and throughout the continent since the marquee decision made in September 2018 by the Constitutional Court to end the prohibition of this plant.[209] Owing first to its early and influential involvement in getting Cannabis prohibited from global development means South Africa occupies a recognized space few (if any) African countries have had in liberal democratic capital plans for Cannabis and

[209] The idea that South Africa is exceptional in any way to the rest of Africa or the Global South, is not what this section is claiming. What is being suggested instead, is that if South Africa plays its cards right it will find Cannabis offers to it a useful leverage tool in the Global South, but more especially in Africa. The African continent is more likely to listen to ideas about Cannabis than their proven unwillingness to acknowledge gay rights and the LGBTI movement more generally. According to a news report by Reuters "South Africa is the only African country where gay marriage is legal and where the constitution protects against discrimination based on sexual orientation … Same-sex relations are legal in only 22 of Africa's 54 countries and are punishable by death or lengthy prison terms in some nations … Africa accounts for nearly half of the countries worldwide where homosexuality is outlawed (Reuters, 'Legal hurdles faced by LGBT+ people in Africa', by Noor Zainab Hussain, 27 October 2020, Accessed 16 November 2021).

development more generally (Chattopadhyaya 2019; Nkosi 2019).[210] Second, South Africa's large and skilled labour force, as well as existing infrastructure are able to sustain a capital led Cannabis development plan, even if this is disproportionately skewed to advantage people with economic capability. Pierre van der Hoven (Gibs Business School, Cheeba Cannabis Academy and the Cannabis Organisation of the University of Pretoria (COUP), June 24 2021, Accessed 23 September 2021) quite rightly asserts then about the business prospects of Cannabis in the country; "Nobody in cannabis is not looking at South Africa". While Tim Harris the CEO of Wesgro speaking about positioning the Western Cape as the Medicinal Cannabis Hub of Africa states "The truth is South Africa still offers a reassurance and a credibility in terms of infrastructure and institutions that is unparalleled on the continent" (The Business Day Cannabis Economy in partnership with Afriplex, 27 Aug 2020, Accessed 27 September 2021). South Africa therefore has the capability to deliver a competitive Cannabis development to the world.

Thirdly, South Africa is unique in terms of Cannabis development because the countries growing unemployed and increasingly agitated youth force desperately seek 'other' ways of employment. They are challenging government to recognize that new forms of development catered to its citizens needs are a necessary part of its own sustainability (Cannabis being one such possibility) (see for instance Barchiesi 2008). And lastly, the Cannabis movement in contemporary South Africa has organized its efforts through the legal system as opposed to the liberal democratic capitalism of the overly corrupted government. This means there is a better chance of developing a Cannabis policy suited to the needs of black people, the poor working class and women (Ras Gareth Prince, Cannabis Trade Association and Cheeba Cannabis TV, 21 Sept 2021, Accessed 22 September 2021). Nevertheless, the continued focus of the illegal and legal Cannabis industry on recreational and medicinal marijuana, if not checked, can not only lead to a one-dimensional Cannabis industry (instead of three dimensional) but also the underdevelopment of hemp and a more inclusive Cannabis strategy.

Even though South Africa has a good chance of leading the Cannabis movement on the African continent this lead can easily be over run. Thus, models of

[210] Cannabis was prohibited in South Africa in 1922. It is no accident then that South Africa was at the forefront of regulating Cannabis internationally in the 1920s but also at the frontline of changing how the plant can be used to benefit the continent moving forward since the decision made in 2018.

Cannabis development from North America warn that it is "… clear that without focus and purpose and real commitments to the goal of achieving social justice cannabis law reform can quickly start to exclude the very communities that many advocates joined the reform movement precisely to defend" (Transform Drug Policy Foundation and México Unido Contra la Delincuencia (MUCD), 16 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021). Making a successful and sustainable Cannabis industry in South Africa must also be concerned with ownership and the invention of new Cannabis related industries, products, machinery, medical and chemical experts, agriculturalists, as well as social scientists. New educational skills are also required as Natie Ferreira who has 25 years of experience growing Cannabis notes. While in past no formal degree for growing was needed because it was all based on experience, growers now are being forced into educational facilities to get certification of their growing ability. But he argues experience still counts in Cannabis regardless of your certification (The Cannabis Myth Busting Q & A session, 21 Jun 2021, Accessed 28 September 2021).[211] The jobs being advertised in the recreational and medicinal sector, in one internet site dedicated to jobs in the Cannabis sector in Canada, require formal training and vary from store manager, Cannabis grower technicians, packager, processing assistant or supervisors, bud tender or trimming supervisor and other administrative positions related to security, sales and human resources for instance (Indeed.com, Accessed 09 March 2020). All these skills can be developed in South Africa's infant Cannabis industry and must be harnessed to help charter a successful Cannabis industry. In South Africa a new Cannabis school, Cheeba Cannabis Academy, has been established with the intention of ensuring South African people have the necessary Cannabis certification. While the Eastern Cape Provincial government has approved in early 2020, the construction of a Cannabis school in Lusikisiki dedicated to teaching the skills needed for creating a successful industry.[212] The acceptance of Cannabis at certain government levels therefore is an optimistic turn in the plants development in South Africa. By developing a new and proficient Cannabis workforce

[211] From my experience of cultivating recreational Cannabis have proved, the expertise that are specific to the recreational Cannabis sector seem largely horticulturalist (Wendell Moore, Field Notes observations, 2020). Legally the Constitutional Courts judgement of 2018 has made it possible for me to grow up to five flowering marijuana plants for my own personal consumption. Thus, my experiment with growing Cannabis has not digressed from the ethical boundaries of the study.

[212] Sokanyile A, 'SA's first Cannabis college on cards for Eastern Cape', Accessed 09 March 2020.

from within the South African Cannabis industry can ensure they do not become the preserve of foreign or state interests, civil societies or large private capital.

President Cyril Ramaphosa even reserved a special mention for Cannabis in his State of the Nation address on 13 February 2020. This was probably influenced in conversation with former Finance Minister Tito Mboweni, who has tweeted and spoken openly about legalizing Cannabis to make use of the economic opportunities the plant has to offer.[213] And again in Cyril Ramaphosa's State of the Nation address for 2022, the President said that "The hemp and cannabis sector has the potential to create more than 130,000 new jobs. We are therefore streamlining the regulatory processes so that the hemp and cannabis sector can thrive like it is in other countries such as Lesotho" (Eyewitness News, 10 February 2022, Accessed 07 March 2022). The ANC led government therefore is taking a keen interest in the development of Cannabis in South Africa even if sections of the police force are still arresting people for Cannabis violations A spokesperson for the legal issues of police admitted that Cannabis legalization in 2018 has created problems for police since it is unclear to police exactly what is permissible or not in terms of amounts of plants or cured Cannabis a person can possess (Newzroom Afrika, 24 Oct 2019, Accessed 27 September 2021). For example, one of the people who is participating with this research was (December 2019) accosted by the police and had to provide proof to the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA) that he no longer was using Cannabis in order to avoid jail time, even though the Constitutional Court has legalized the private consumption of recreational Cannabis (Born, informal conversation, Noordgesig, Soweto 2019).The plants legality in South Africa (as of November 2021) is therefore geared to big capital rather than small scale growers and traders.

Market led Cannabis development plans tend to rely on recreational and medicinal marijuana to lead how the plant should be understood in contemporary South Africa because they are the 'sexy' psychoactive sides of the plant unlike hemp (Clifford Giesenow, Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). Moreover, Cannabis development in this model is premised on product commodification and consumerization that marginalize small scale Cannabis producers. As such, Philasande Mahlakata, a community level Cannabis activist in

[213] See for instance about Mboweni's comments (Guy D, 'Sars would benefit if growing Cannabis is legalised, says Tito Mboweni', Accessed 09 March 2020; Singh K 'Arrest me! – Tito Mboweni taunts police in tweet about Cannabis growing on his farm', Accessed 09 March 2020).

Pondoland, says farmers and traditional growers will remain underground because everything from government excludes small farmers and seems not to talk to them (Cannabis Trade Association and Cheeba Cannabis TV, 21 Sept 2021, Accessed 22 September 2021). Establishing original Cannabis products is difficult enough; competing against big name brands only makes it more difficult for small producers to establish themselves and therefore is not worth the effort for some (Informal conversation, Pretoria, 09 December 2019). While the production of South African Cannabis goods is essential for the development of the infant industry this must be done in such a manner as to ensure black people, the poor working class and women receive the opportunity to compete at all levels. Thus "If overly marketised, there is a real danger now of a legal cannabis market [that] could bring new processes of exclusion and inequality from the systems produced by the War on Drugs but ones, that in the long term, are also greatly harmful" (Koram K, 20 April 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021). If the development of Cannabis is not carefully implemented it will reproduce prohibition in the same manner as colonialism became reproduced as neo-colonialism, at the end of the independence movements. Thus, Trenton Birch argues that 'Corporate capture' and 'colonization' of Cannabis are very real issues for the infant Cannabis industries in Africa (University of Zimbabwe and Cheeba Cannabis Academy, 29 Jun 2021, Accessed 23 September 2021).

Finding South Africa's 'unique' position in the development of Cannabis requires delinking from prohibition narratives and demands an account of the plant that clearly conceptualizes and articulates an explanation of the plant that suits the needs of the Global South. Unfortunately, the hippie and environmental traditions that currently dominate Cannabis development globally are largely white, middle class and male (Dobson 2007; Weston 2012).[214] Theoretically this means the views they express and the practices they implement do not necessarily deal with the problems faced by historically marginalized groups. However, a white, middle class male perspective is much easier to fathom for capitalist development than a black revolutionary history framework that is being employed in this studies analysis of Cannabis. Thus, Koram (20 April 2020, Cannabis and Capitalism: The Question of ownership within drug policy

[214] Situating Cannabis as a 'green' environmental concern therefore does not explain the problems the black, poor working class and women face in the environments in which they live in the Global South. These problems are economic, social and political as much as they are environmental (See Agyeman, Bullard & Evans 2002; Cone 2000).

reform, Accessed 30 September 2021) states that “It is not surprising that institutions committed to the spread of free-market ideas are excited by the prospect of cannabis legalisation. The creation of a legal regulated market for cannabis in North America has become big business in a very short time.” Furthermore, because party politics dominates the format of political thought and action (Neocosmos 2016), the embedded black revolutionary thought of Cannabis is not as widely regarded or used forthrightly in the development of the plant throughout the world.

A suitable narrative about Cannabis for the Global South, first promoted by the Rastafarian movement (Rodney 1969 [1996]), can be developed further by black people, the poor working class and women to expand the epistemic tradition of the plant. Rastafari also forces development to include into its current plans a more holistic, metaphysical and spiritual realm to its development plans. A Cannabis model that is more inclusive to these concepts can provide an economic development program that situates the plant more thoroughly as an agrarian good (rather than simply environmental) that is essential to the overall development of Africa. The creation of a suitable Cannabis narrative must also be aware that there are other substances that were once prohibited, such as alcohol, many of whose participants are also engineering new ways of thinking about recreational goods that challenge monopoly capitalisms control over these products production.[215] Legal Cannabis therefore would be competing with more dominant recreational cultures and can take this into account when formulating their narratives and policies. Furthermore, centering tobacco, alcohol, and Cannabis developmental paths on the fact that all three of these goods are agrarian non-food crops is a worthwhile effort. Because food, water, land, labour and agriculture are the major concern of agrarian studies these can form the bedrock of how Cannabis can become a fully-fledged part of development moving forward. By strategizing recreational, medicinal and industrial categorizations for Cannabis as equal members of the agrarian non-food crop sector, rather than any one part having dominance over another, can give way to a more fluid, dynamic and nuanced way of understanding the plant.[216] Finally, an agrarian alternative can only have resonance with communities if it displaces the existing recreational Cannabis discourse inherited from prohibition.

[215] For instance, the rise in micro-breweries is rekindling how small businesses can compete successfully in a market driven by big name brands; See for instance Garavaglia & Swinnen (2018).
[216] This stratification, it must be stressed, are completely nonbinding.

5.6 Unpacking a South African recreational discourse by providing an agrarian alternative.

From my own personal observations and lived experiences as a resident of Noordgesig, a coloured township in Soweto, Johannesburg, Cannabis and its usages is still understood and treated as a deviant, but tolerated activity (Field notes, Observations, 2018 - 2021). It is strange however that the plant is still widely used for its medicinal qualities in the township. It is common to get people requesting the plant so that they can boil and drink it to relief the symptoms of colds and flus (Field notes, Observations, 2018 - 2021). It seems prohibition accounts only impacted negatively on the smoking of Cannabis for recreational reasons there. The movement towards a regulated Cannabis market in South Africa seem not to have rearranged people's belief that dagga encourages the scourge of chemically based drugs that infest coloured communities. The carefully engineered prohibition narrative about recreational Cannabis is therefore still being followed by many residents of Noordgesig (Field notes, Observations, 2018 - 2021).

The localized impression that is given from this simple sketch is that the development of Cannabis in South African communities will depend on its ability to delink from prohibition narratives. People still understand Cannabis as predominantly a psychoactive substance prone to abuse and not as an equally important medicinal plant. Most people also only have rudimentary knowledge that Cannabis is also an industrial crop. Trenton Birch the CEO of Cheeba Africa adds in this regard that while South Africa is good at growing (largely recreational) Cannabis the value chain of the plant is bigger and when taken together with all the other uses of Cannabis has a vast array of industries it can support (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). These important linkages between the uses of Cannabis, when taken together, forces this thesis to agree with the trend towards the medicalization of Cannabis because at least another aspect of the plant is being brought forward to people. The other applications of the plant, such as hemp, that is a producer of paper, textiles, seed, building and interior design materials, industrial oils and bio composites are however being detached from the recreationally focused genealogy of global post-prohibition Cannabis development. This thesis has suggested that to shift the narrative of Cannabis away from the influence of prohibition accounts requires a focus on its

embedded revolutionary history that can share the influence of how black people, the poor working class and women reflect upon the plant. This means accessing Cannabis outside of the harmful existing prohibition frameworks that it is a drug or just another psychoactive substance humanity has condoned post-prohibition. An additional way to recreate a positive image of Cannabis is to regard the plant as one whole that has various applications in numerous sectors of agricultural and commodity production.[217]

Cannabis in this schema is fundamentally an agrarian good. The attempt to criminalize Cannabis through prohibition has meant the agrarian nature of the plant needs to be unpacked even further.[218] There are three main reasons why Cannabis must be distanced from illegality and placed closer to the agrarian. Firstly, the criminal narrative displaced Cannabis from being an accepted recreational non-food crop (that competes with alcoholic products and tobacco). Instead, it forced Cannabis to a location where drug narratives of chemically manipulated plant products (e.g., cocaine and opium used to make heroin) and synthetic chemical substances used as drugs (e.g., ecstasy, valium, amphetamines) dominate. An agrarian narrative of Cannabis allows the plant to be distanced from the perspective that it is a drug and places it rightfully in the recreational non-food category.[219] Once Cannabis is understood as a non-food crop the moral, prohibitionist, criminal, legal, religious and drug discourses surrounding the plant are silenced.

Secondly, once Cannabis is understood outside of criminality and closer to the agrarian highlights why the contemporary drive to medicalization is not foolproof (London 2009). In actual fact, the medicalization of Cannabis and various aspects of society more generally, can be argued to be an escape plan for the failures of liberal democratic capitalism prohibitions (See Conrad 1992; London 2009). Rather than admit failure and adopt an agrarian conceptualization of Cannabis, the plants medicalization only reinforces how development paths are designed to ensure the continuation of an unscathed and unperturbed liberal democratic capitalism. A

[217] Cannabis, unlike other non-food crops can produce goods in all three non-food crop sectors, including, recreational (which also includes tobacco and crops used to make alcohol – sorghum, hops, barley etc.); medicinal (which also includes moringa, Aloe Vera, ginseng, garlic and other herbal plants, trees, roots and flowers etc.); and industrial (which also includes cotton, bamboo, thatch or trees used for paper and furniture production etc. Of course, these lists are far from complete and are based on my 10 years of experience as a small urban farmer in Noordgesig, Soweto in Johannesburg where I farm food crops.

[218] The medicalization of Cannabis is another attempt to control the agrarian and how the plant should be understood and as such the development logic it employs.

[219] By distancing Cannabis form drugs also allows the spiritual and indigenous aspects of the plant to be rekindled.

medicalized view of Cannabis fails to complete the 'repossession of the agrarian' from its former criminal dispossession nor change how economics is performed. Hence, GG Alcock, an entrepreneur and author of *KasiNomics, Third World Child* and *KasiNomic Revolution* argues that like the muthi sector or traditional medicines in South Africa and the world Cannabis is mostly farmed locally but is still a very big market. What he is getting at is that the informal market is not to be underestimated and is in fact a viable market already, which speaks to another way of doing economics in a Covid world and failing world economic systems. In other words, Cannabis does not have to be business as usual but a new way to do economics altogether (The COBRA Initiative, 05 Jun 2020, Accessed 29 September 2021). A narrative that interlinks the recreational, medicinal and industrial aspects of non-food crops can positively change how Cannabis is associated to economic markets.

Lastly, grounding the prohibition geography of Cannabis in an agrarian framework can explore how narratives are historically created, legitimized and rearranged. Global capital control over agrarian political economies production of goods created the propaganda and negative narrative about Cannabis to institutionalize the process of prohibition.[220] But as the contemporary legalization of Cannabis illuminates, once the powers that prohibition used to have begin to wax and wane, new narratives (the medicalization of Cannabis) can be created that continue the tradition of underdevelopment. An agrarian narrative of Cannabis makes it possible to disrupt parts of the cycle of underdevelopment perpetuated by liberal democratic capitalism. By so doing, new perspectives about the political geography and direction of global development can also be included amongst the methods the Global South can employ, that were denied during prohibition. An agrarian understanding of Cannabis offers interesting ways of understanding the broad range of "otherness", for example the (black) race, (lower working) classes and (genders) women that have been stunted by political, economic and social prohibition.

5.7 Conclusion

The plant Cannabis has not been thoroughly distanced from the narratives of prohibition that associated recreational marijuana to drugs and criminal deviance. This

[220] It is interesting to note that during the 21-day lockdown, caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, alcohol became one of the first things prohibited in South Africa. It shows the depth of prohibition narratives and their ability to be called upon when government needs an escape route from the challenges of real problems.

chapter suggested therefore that it is better to delink from prohibition geographies as Rodney's (1973) solution to underdevelopment in Africa suggested. Delinking from the colonial discourses of prohibition opens the means by which to develop new ways of thinking about Cannabis that are not solely about the recreational aspects of the plant. Delinking from the prohibition geographies of Cannabis also means taking the chance to reinvent the mostly Western formulated conceptions for the contemporary development of Cannabis. Lastly, delinking Cannabis from the negative impositions of prohibition offers interesting ways of understanding the broad range of "otherness". For example, the races, classes and women that have been stunted by political, economic and social prohibition, and a way in which to improve their conditions of development. The prohibition of Cannabis is but one of the restrictions, out of the countless forms of prohibition put in place to limit the growth of 'other' forms of development, which challenged the hegemony of liberal democratic capitalism. The idea of delinking therefore became a critique of liberal democratic capitalism and contemporary development However, prohibition accounts continue to be adapted to fit the legal era rather than being fundamentally changed.

The 'power over' Cannabis that recreational marijuana has, forced the chapter to show how prohibition geographies have affected the overall development of the entire usages of the plant Cannabis. What it revealed was that the legalization of Cannabis does not automatically change the negative perceptions people have of the plant. Thus, it is imperative to recite a different narrative to the popular version that people have been made to believe. The chapter therefore made use of Cannabis webinars and conferences as well as a few narratives of the experiences of people at the local community level (mostly from Noordgesig, a coloured township in Soweto, Johannesburg but also within the Johannesburg area). Cannabis and its usage as a recreational substance was still largely understood and treated as a deviant activity by most residents. Strangely enough the plant is still widely used and highly regarded for its medicinal qualities in the community.

To distance the plant from that narrative that it is a drug or a form of deviance, contemporary Cannabis development has begun to locate recreational marijuana closer to the policy environments used to regulate alcoholic and tobacco products. Even though recreational Cannabis is a non-food crop, as alcoholic and tobacco products are, this thesis argues that the culture of food and its agriculture is the agrarian sector most legitimately connected to the recreational aspects of Cannabis.

Food security is fundamentally more important to black people, the poor working class and women than recreational non-food crops. However, the popularization of former categorizations of Cannabis has blocked of new methods with which to conceive the plant away from the singular relation of Cannabis to smoking for recreational purposes. South Africa can spearhead such development in the region and on the continent. This can become possible when the focus of the illegal and legal Cannabis industry incorporates all the uses of the plant, recreational, medicinal and industrial. A three-dimensional Cannabis industry (instead of one-dimensional, i.e., recreational) is closer to the reality of the plants potential.

Nevertheless, contemporary Cannabis development is being led to the free market that is premised on product commodification and consumerization which will only marginalize small scale Cannabis producers. Moreover, if the development of Cannabis is not carefully implemented it will reproduce a form of 'neo- prohibition'. A development enterprise for Cannabis based on a broader analysis of the plant that is not singularly economic, but also social and political, would be able to offer invaluable methods for the region and the continent to learn from. The double effect of prohibition was the stigmatization of the plant as a drug and the removal of Cannabis from agricultural production. This leads directly to the next chapter that seeks to show that the current trend to medicalize Cannabis is neither a disagreement nor agreement with prohibition accounts of Cannabis but rather a strategic form of "gatekeeping" as Frederick Cooper (2002) posited.

CHAPTER 6

Beyond simply gatekeeping the medicalization of Cannabis: A geographic alternative

6.1 Introduction

The medicalization of Cannabis that began since the 1990s is a positive step for the plant's global development. Medicinal Cannabis products are as well fast becoming the leading driver of the plant's overall development (The Global Cannabis Report 2019). However, the relative ease with which the medicalization of the formerly prohibited agrarian good Cannabis are being accepted into mainstream development must be problematized. For instance, is the trend towards medicalization just an effort to safeguard a liberal democratic capitalist discourse of development? Are the struggles ordinary black people, the poor working class and women had to endure during prohibition, which influenced the decision for a global review of medical Cannabis to become a possible site of development in the first place, being recognized and an active part of the plant's contemporary development? Can the frameworks of medicalization ensure small Cannabis farmers[221] will compete fairly alongside large commercial Cannabis companies? These questions require answering because blind acceptance of a Western designed Cannabis medicalization model for the Global South is not an expedient development strategy. What's more, dissecting the framing of Cannabis as a medical good is necessary because the plant has equally vibrant recreational and industrial usages.[222] This chapter will attempt to show that the contemporary popularization of medicinal categorizations of Cannabis are valuable but nonetheless still unable to consolidate all the usages the plant has to offer. Thus,

[221] Including beginner small farmers who would like to enter the Cannabis space. Small farmers who grow and have grown Cannabis have had in important part to play in making Southern Africa one of the largest exporters of dagga during prohibition and to the present regardless of its legal status (The Global Cannabis Report 2019).

[222] Note that this thesis does not articulate the uses of Cannabis for spiritual or traditional healing practices. These two aspects of Cannabis offer interesting paths for future studies of the plant, particularly in the African context. Dr. Janice Vaughn Knox of American Cannabinoid Clinics Incorporated in the USA adds that indigenous nations of the world have used psychedelics for centuries. Therefore, the link between spirituality and traditional medicinal practices is an important issue the West can learn from (Craft Cannabis Summit 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September).

it is necessary to look beyond simply gatekeeping the medicalization of Cannabis to find suitable alternative for its shortcomings.

This chapter argues that the motive to medicalize Cannabis only ensures and maintains the control over how the development of the plant Cannabis will proceed in the current regulatory environment. As such, the discursive discourse of Cannabis will likely remain out of the hands of those who fought prohibition in the first place such as black people, the poor working class and women and remain under the development paradigms of liberal democratic capital. Thus, this section follows, but adds to London's (2009) Foucaultian analysis of Cannabis medicalization.

Hence, the chapter explores if the current trend to medicalize marijuana is in fact just an updated form of gatekeeping (see Cooper 2002). In asking this, the thesis is aware that 'gates' in Africa are no longer only about governments and their ability to access internal and external resources (Hönke 2018: 1). Likewise, the gatekeeping of Cannabis is no longer at the mercy of political decision makers, but also legal entities, the medical industrial complex, big business as well as agrarian industrial development. This chapter therefore illuminates how the medicalization of Cannabis operates (both consciously and unconsciously) as a form of gatekeeping that seeks to maintain the power over new agrarian consumer goods, more especially Cannabis. In this way the chapter challenges the validity of hollow Cannabis medicalization. As such, it suggests that the 'territory' of gates cannot be bound, even if by a fitting one, such that the medicalization of Cannabis is (Hönke 2018: 4). Allowing for the fluid development of the plant embodies the nature of the plant that produces recreational, medicinal and industrial goods (notwithstanding its use in traditional healing and spiritual practices). Put simply, the medicalization of Cannabis confines the fundamental and wide-ranging agrarian nature of Cannabis and the goods it can produce. Cannabis has all the qualities to become a much more significant piece of developments puzzle than simply another medicinal item. Cannabis is a horticultural plant (recreational), a medicinal herb (medical) and agricultural crop (industrial).

All the same, the medicalization of society and Cannabis could not have come at a better time considering the Covid 19 pandemic and the need to make use of all possible means to find a solution to this crisis. As Father Mark Van Der Merwe, a Catholic priest in Oudsthoorn and a Cannabis advocate and user humbly states, Cannabis is Gods plant. And God would not put it on earth if God did not want us to use it. Cannabis is part of Gods 'pharmacy on earth' he adds insightfully (Cannabis

Trade Association & Cheeba Cannabis TV 21 Sept 2021, Accessed 22 September 2021). Nevertheless, this does not mean ignoring the ulterior motifs the medicalization of Cannabis has for transnational medical companies. If gatekeeping has been able to escape the confines of being solely about capturing the state, freeing Cannabis from the limitations of medicalization might also allow it to exist outside of formal 'capital markets' that have now become the largest keeper of gates. Economic gatekeeping has helped make medicinal Cannabis the most exciting part of Cannabis development in recent times irrespective of the political environments that frame it.

6.2 How medicinal Cannabis become so important

Since the end of the 1960s, studies about the medicinal benefits of Cannabis, have become more frequent: But this was not always the case (Crowther et.al. 2010). The perspective of doctors who were directly involved in Cannabis studies over the course of its medicalization offer some interesting remarks explaining how this change began to occur. Crowther et.al. (2010: xix) explain the history better,

> The medical use of Cannabis has a very long history; it was used for thousands of years in Indian and other Asian medicine and was first introduced to the West in the mid-nineteenth century… Cannabis was taken up enthusiastically by physicians in Europe and the US and was widely used for almost a hundred years until it fell out of favour as new and more easily standardized medicines became available and government regulations were imposed.[223]

They continue,

> The 'Cannabis wars' [that occurred for most of the 20th century] have been fought between those who believe it to be harmless and medically useful, and those who see it as a danger to health and to society without any legitimate medical use. For many years the stigmatization of Cannabis had a negative influence on the availability of research funding and promoted reluctance on the part of doctors and pharmaceutical companies to be involved in research on the medical uses of Cannabis. This changed, at least temporarily, with the elucidation in 1973 by Raphael Mechoulam of the structure of THC as the principal active ingredient of Cannabis (Crowther et.al. 2010: xix).

After the discovery of THC, two Cannabis drugs, Nabilone and Marinol, were manufactured and licensed in the 1970s. However, they did not become very popular and relatively quickly became obsolete. However, interest was sparked in the scientific

[223] Cannabis also has a long medical use in Africa. See for instance Duvall 2019 excellent historical debate about Cannabis in Africa.

study of Cannabis (Crowther et.al. 2010: xx). Still, “This avalanche of new scientific information was not accompanied at first by any revival of interest in the medical uses of cannabinoids. This happened partly as an unexpected by-product of the rapid growth in the recreational use of Cannabis on both sides of the Atlantic during the 1980s and 1990s” (Crowther et.al. 2010: xx). By the mid to late 1990s, Cannabis as a medicinal plant had gained a little more respectability in Great Britain, while in the same period in the US the move to medicalization of Cannabis became a reality in certain American states (Crowther et.al. 2010: xx-xxi).

Various statements made by doctors, scientists, academics and patients taken from the transcript of a Witness seminar held by the Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at University College London, on 24 March 2009, highlight important points in the timeline of Cannabis medicalization. These seminars are held to bring together the leading experts of a medical field to provide the history of various medical goods, ideas, practices, methods and cures. In order to understand the history of Cannabis medicalization it is important to hear this through the voice of medical experts. Their views can also be considered primary source material since they were actual participants of various aspects in the medicalization of Cannabis. Still, it is regrettable that ‘evidence-based, health-focused drug policies’ for ways to improve the ‘health of the public and thus sustainable development’ is not attentively listened to (Csete p. 269 in Buxton et.al. 2020). Scientific knowledge often is only listened to when it makes political and economic sense to political parties or big business. Based on the scientific evidence presented here, it seems likely that had scientists had their way to construct the discourse of Cannabis, as opposed to only being able to influence it, the medicalization of Cannabis might have occurred far earlier than it did (see Crowther et.al 2010). In fact, the prohibition of the plant might never have occurred in the first place had scientists led, rather than been led, in designing the discourse of Cannabis!

> We began research on Cannabis [in the early 1960s] because it seemed strange that an illicit drug, widely used, was not as well-known as morphine and cocaine. It was 150 years behind its time (Professor Mechoulam in Crowther et.al. 2010: 8).

> Since the Second World War, and certainly since the 1960s, the Dunlop report and afterwards, medicines regulation pertained to single chemical entities. Nearly all the regulations in the last 25 years relate to those and, therefore, the methods of preparation, manufacture, testing,

quality control, consistency, in all the regulations, relates to single chemicals. So, the prospect of developing a medicine that contains something like 420 chemicals, in the regulatory environment of the late 1980s and mid-1990s was considered to be pretty nigh impossible (Dr Geoffrey Guy in Crowther et.al. 2010: 30).

…That was the challenge, the major challenge, to make a medicine from Cannabis. It wasn't the Cannabis aspect; it wasn't the clinical aspect or the safety aspect: the challenge was whether you could actually make a modern-day pharmaceutical from a plant (Dr Geoffrey Guy in Crowther et.al. 2010: 34).

I think that this is one of the great difficulties in working with Cannabis-based medicines that have this breadth of effect [i.e., Cannabis tends to have an effect on a broad range of symptoms not just one] which patients value, while in a clinical trial context the focus has to be on a single symptom in a way that reflects the profile of other drugs – synthetic drugs – in that particular area. The unique benefit when the drug is used naturalistically is because of a whole range of effects, but the intensity of a single effect on spasticity for an individual patient may not be incredibly great. That has been one problem with clinical trials of a plant material. I think another problem has been that the 'pariah status' of Cannabis convinced ethics committees and, I suppose, regulators that only if a patient had tried and failed every existing medicine that was available, could they go on to try the Cannabis-based medicine, which is an unfortunate thing because, of course, the risks involved in standard medicines are often very great and may even be life threatening (Dr Philip Robson in Crowther et.al. 2010: 40 – 41).

Over that time, we also gathered a large clinical experience using cannabinoids and one of the things that's been striking to me as a clinician using a range of other drugs is how safe these drugs are and how the side-effects are less unpleasant than those from morphine and tricyclic antidepressants (Dr William Notcutt in Crowther et.al. 2010: 55).

… it's certainly by no means just Cannabis that may be associated with the risk of developing psychotic illnesses. Stimulants and hallucinogens have been investigated in the past. There are many other recreational drugs which carry, I suspect, an equal or greater risk than Cannabis and, equally, in the medicinal context one shouldn't look at the risk of Cannabis in producing psychiatric or any other adverse event in a vacuum, it should be relative to the risks of other medicines that are currently licensed (Dr Philip Robson in Crowther et.al. 2010: 70).

In summary, the messages here are plentiful and all point to the fact that Cannabis clearly has medicinal values that have been studied since the 1960's but only properly acknowledged through regulation from the 1990s. Synthetic medicines focus on one chemical compound, whereas Cannabis and other natural medicines have what is termed 'full-spectrum' types of healing processes. Pierre van der Hoven

the CEO at Silverleaf Investments explains that isolate means a medicine that only has a single focus of healing, while broad spectrum is mid-way between full spectrum and isolate. Full spectrum on the other hand makes use of all the plant which also means the healing it provides is wider (Gibs Business School & Cheeba Cannabis Academy, in association with the Cannabis Organisation of the University of Pretoria (COUP), June 24 2021, Accessed 23 September 2021). Thus, the concern for medical experts was whether it was possible to make a medicine out of Cannabis with so many chemical components. However, the benefits of natural medicines that have this broad range of effects is something patients expressed to doctors as a positive aspect of Cannabis (Dr Geoffrey Guy in Crowther et.al. 2010: 55). There was also an increasingly understood need for more holistic approaches to health and healing. In addition, the side effects of Cannabis seem far less acute than what many approved synthetic chemical drugs induce.

The struggle then, to make use of Cannabis for medicinal purposes, was not merely about disassociating the plant from its recreational usages, it was more nuanced than this – and can be read politically. The move to medicalizing Cannabis coincided with rising opposition to the liberal democratic capitalist project from the 1960s to the end of the cold war.[224] Moreover, Cannabis and the movement it represented had always been a pariah to 20th century liberal democratic capitalist development. It is not surprising then that rescheduling this plant in national and international law, regardless of its medicinal worth, was met with apprehension from policy makers. However, because of the changes in how development was to be achieved post-cold war it became more *feasible* – as opposed to being a requirement – to include this once highly problematic plant into economic development.

By the 1990s most global economic development was being neatly tailored into spaces liberal democratic capitalism offered to it. Cannabis became one of those more problematic goods that began to be given this chance to join the formal market. This was the policy environment that the medicalization of Cannabis entered into in the 1990s. In addition, as this quick historical synopsis suggests, the medicalization of Cannabis did not simply occur because the misunderstanding about the merits of

[224] Examples of this dissent include the explosion of reggae music and its messages of Rastafarianism, Hippie movements of the world, the Black Panther Party, The Nation of Islam, Black Conscious Movement in South Africa, the oil crisis of 1973, African Socialism in Tanzania and the near completion [besides in Southern Africa] of formal colonial administration.

Cannabis were now understood. Instead, the medicalization of Cannabis occurs also because the liberal democratic project had learnt how it could contain even the most problematic of goods under the umbrella of its development discourse. Buxton (p. 34 in Buxton et.al. 2020) adds, "However, the integration of drugs and development comes at a time when the record of development is— like drug policy— coming under critical scrutiny." The war on drugs has failed miserably and development post-cold war continues to update itself along established but inadequate Westernized theory.[225] Thus, this chapter continues by agreeing to disagree with the medicalization of Cannabis.

6.3 Agreeing to disagree

This thesis agrees that Cannabis medicalization at least offers a disruption to Cannabis prohibition and the criminalization its movement has faced relentlessly since WWI.[226] It disagrees however, that the medicalization of the plant is the surest way for the total development of the plant to proceed. Consequently, this thesis agrees to disagree. Rather than fundamentally changing how development occurs for Cannabis, the medicalization of this plant is set on integrating into the very same political, economic and social system 'the plant' has fought against for the last 100 years (500 years if you include Atlantic slavery). Development built on such shaky ground can only further the dispossession of the already marginalized.

Previously it was suggested that it is necessary to delink from the geographies of prohibition because they continue to negatively impact the development of Cannabis and the marginalized people who are a part of its movement. It was argued that prohibition led to the 'underdevelopment' of a Cannabis, using Rodney's (1973) classic wording. However, when it comes to the medicinal Cannabis, non-participation, as delinking suggests, is not as useful a proposition. Even though the medicalization space being provided for by Cannabis development is still problematic, it does make medicinal Cannabis legally available to patients for the first time since the early 20th

[225] It is disheartening that even in this global era, that is pursuing the end of prohibition through medicalization of former categories of deviance, the discourses that are implemented to govern these new paradigms remain a distorted version of the alternative world the Cannabis movement proper had envisioned.

[226] There is a lot more historical political geography embedded in how Cannabis is understood that occurred prior to this prohibition era including "the days of slavery" that "ole Marcus Garvey" spoke so passionately to black people about (Burning Spear, 'Slavery days' *Marcus Garvey*: Island Records, 1975; Burning Spear, 'Marcus Garvey' *Marcus Garvey*: Island Records, 1975).

century (Chapkis 2008). Medical Cannabis creates a balance or homeostasis in the body that ensures the endocannabinoid system, that runs our body systems, is also balanced and running smoothly. This balance or homeostasis is more easily created when both CBD and THC cannabinoids as well as the Terpenes[227] of the plant function together (Dr Mohamed Irhuma, Fields of Green for All, 13 Nov 2019, Accessed 05 October 2021; Dr Carmen James, Cheeba Cannabis Academy, 15 Apr 2021, Accessed 23 September 2021). Consequently, Dr Mohamed Irhuma adds that the roadmap for Cannabis is not one way but a "multidisciplinary vision" (Dr Mohamed Irhuma, Fields of Green for All, 13 Nov 2019, Accessed 05 October 2021). As such, the medicalization of Cannabis is both a positive and negative stalemate: On the one hand it finally provides medicine to those who need it, on the other, it is still not the model that will produce a 'full-spectrum' Cannabis development effort.

This impasse between the positive and negative aspects of medicalization is illuminated in the proto-legalization of Cannabis in South Africa. The jubilation that was felt when 'the plant' was made available to citizens in September 2018 has been short lived. The proposed South African Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill (2020) highlights the political differences between what the Cannabis leaders, workers and followers envision and what government is proposing (The Dagga Party, Accessed 23 November 2021; Field Notes; Observation, 2018-2021).[228] Government representatives seem satisfied with the new Cannabis regulations and often presented themselves as quite informed Cannabis enthusiasts at the Cannabis conferences I have attended.[229] The most positive aspect of the proposed South African Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill (2020) is that previous Cannabis convictions will be

[227] "Terpenes are naturally occurring chemical compounds found in plants and some animals. They're responsible for the aromas, flavors, and even colors associated with various types of vegetation. In terms of cannabis, terpenes are what make certain strains smell or taste different from others" (Healthline, Accessed 01 March 2022).

[228] The third role player is big business whose positions seem to have been assured in the proposed South African Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill (2020).

[229] For example, Thabo Ramashala a Directorate at DALRRD argued that his departments and governments position about Cannabis is informed also by representatives of key departments such as the Department of Health (DoH), Department of Trade and Industry and Completion (DTIC), Department of Small Business Development (DSBD), Department of Justice (DoJ) and the Department of Science and Innovation (DSI). Representatives from the South African Police Services (SAPS), South African Health Products Regulatory Authority (SAHPRA), the Agricultural Research Council (ARC), Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), Industrial Development Cooperation of South Africa (IDC), South African Revenue Services (SARS) and some universities as well as State Owned Enterprises (SOE's) and other stakeholders who contributed towards developing South Africa's Cannabis Masterplan. The Cannabis Masterplan also used lessons from Canada, Portugal, Uruguay, Spain, USA, China, Netherlands and other international and continental nations (Wesgro/ Cannabis regulatory update with SAHPRA and DALRRD 22 April 2021, Accessed 27 September 2021).

expunged. But this is a piecemeal token that does not deal with the reality that its proposal and the medical Cannabis licensing process of the South African Health Products Regulatory Authority (SAHPRA) will largely benefit those who can afford to implement all the hefty requirements needed to enter the industry in South Africa. Moreover, Jeff Verlinden who is a biochemist in the pharmaceutical support division at Separations, who has worked with many pharmaceutical clients in South Africa and in Africa, argues that the pharmaceutical model is not the best for South Africa. Jeff Verlinden agrees that there still needs to be quality and consistency in the medicinal Cannabis products coming from the country but disagrees that South Africa needs to have pharmaceutical agencies regulate the Cannabis industry (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021).

The tension caused by the governments Cannabis proposal brings to the fore ideas of race and their connection to Cannabis development since a large share of South African economics is still held in white hands. Michelle Alexander's, keynote speech at Drug Policy Alliance's 2017, International drug policy conference clearly recognizes this aspect of Cannabis development and therefore states, "…we must be committed to placing race and racial justice at the very centre of the drug policy reform movement" (Transform Drug Policy Foundation, 5 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021). Such a revelation speaks to the divergent political and practical positions of current Cannabis thinking in South Africa. In a country where black people are the majority and where race has and continues to impact so much of South African society race talk must still be an important part of future thinking (Modiri 2012). Speaking about 'liberalization' as though it refers to a positive method for Cannabis development, is as well a problematic ideological position (see Koram 2020). Neo-liberalism has had mixed results at best (especially for black people) in South Africa's development since the early 1990s (Schneider 2003).

Asking for 'equal treatment' is also a slap in the face for those who have suffered through prohibition and remain on the margins of its development; mostly black people, the poor working class and women. It smacks of a plea to these marginalized groups to accept their fate even if this means exclusion into the Cannabis 'race' or finding themselves as ordinary workers for 'multinational whites' and the

Cannabis companies they will never own.[230] Thus, Afsahi (p. 198 in Buxton et.al. 2020) conjectures that "The cannabis market is moving towards an increasingly unequal exchange between industrialised countries, which have evolved in terms of their regulations, and the South, which remains at the margins of this development." The potential benefits of Cannabis legalization therefore are political and its inclusion into the discussion of this plant's development is a necessity. And since race and class issues are so deeply intertwined within the politics, economics and society of South Africa, these must not be ignored if the goal of Cannabis development is to ensure all segments of the country's society are to be included on an equal footing. Mdingi (2016: 109) sums it up best, "This colourlessness and racial blindness reveals in depth the ontological damage that is reoccurring to Blacks, because no one views, under the present Western culture, the importance of humanising the dehumanised."

Thus, what is permissible in the development project of Cannabis in South Africa cannot ignore discussions of race.[231] Race topics are seen as issues that should not be linked to Cannabis development while ssues of class are more tolerable. These perceptions are completely at odds with reggae music, the Pan-Africanism of Rastafarianism and the teachings of black consciousness all of which are a central part of Cannabis when read through its black revolutionary history. It is only when Cannabis development in South Africa, Africa or the Global South is read within of its own historical realities that the glaring issues that 'black lives matter', the institutionalization of poverty and the regular disregard for struggles of women of colour become issues we can attempt to solve. Accordingly, Thandeka Kunene (Cannabis Trade Association and Cheeba Cannabis TV, 21 Sept 2021, Accessed 22 September 2021) speaking about her inability to use the Cannabis licence she already has states irritably, "The reality is that we got the licence and we not able to move because we are not able to get the resources, because the resources are sitting with

[230] See Buxton, Chinery-Hesse & Tinasti eds. (2020), specifically the articles by Buxton J 'Drug control and development: a blind spot' p 13-42; Bewley-Taylor D, Jelsma M & Kay S 'Cannabis regulation and development: Fair(er) trade options for emerging legal markets' p. 106 – 126; Scheibe A, Shelly S & Versfeld A 'Prohibitionist drug policy in South Africa – Reasons and effects' p. 274 – 304, for a very informative discussion of this 'cooperate capture' of Cannabis and other 'drugs' occurring globally amidst the global climate of drug policy reform.

[231] I do not suggest this is a representation of the entire Cannabis movement in South Africa. In fact, many prominent leaders of the Cannabis movement in South Africa and internationally do make the link of the plant to race quite frequently. For example, Thandeka Kunene (South Africa), Dr Kojo Koram (Great Britain), Kassandra Frederique (USA) or Rebecca Jesseman (Canada). But to be fair, rather than race or class, the idea of social justice and economic equality are the ways in which the issue of race or class tended to be couched at the various conferences and webinars I have been a part of between 2018 – 2021.

white capital, and we are trying to push for a black owned company in a black country … as it is now the licence is geared towards those who have the resources." Subsequently when the development of Cannabis in South Africa is read from contexts of reality external to the conditions in the country, ideas such as 'liberalization' and 'equal treatment' become its goal. It is for such reasons that this section has agreed to disagree with certain aspects of the legalization drive to Cannabis development that is being fulfilled through the medicalization of the plant. As it stands, 'multinational whites' can claim, ownership, leadership and control over access to employment into the Cannabis industry in South Africa, Africa and the rest of the Global South. And this is happening in other Global South countries. For example Mexico's Cannabis Bill is also problematic according to Tania Ramirez of México Unido Contra la Delincuencia [Mexico United Against Crime] (MUCD) because it also allows for 'corporate capture' and is not really about decriminalizing or legalizing the plant for ordinary people to use the way they want (Transform Drug Policy Foundation and México Unido Contra la Delincuencia (MUCD), 16 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021).

Even still, there is a growing disjuncture between government and public opinion as well that Cannabis development speaks directly too. Clearly people are dismayed by the South African government and its blatant corrupt officials and tactics. This widening gap between the political culture of the voters and elected officials has been widening ever since the start of the democratic era. Neocosmos (2002: 13) explains, "Politics is said to take place 'over there' [the state] in a realm populated by professional politicians and bureaucrats and not 'over here' in daily life (see also Neocosmos 2016). Development in South Africa has therefore strayed from its intended beneficiaries being the most marginalized to one which ensures certain segments of South African society remain economically secured and powerful through a network of corrupt processes: 'So called' development. Hyslop (2005: 774) argues that corruption is a "question of representation and of moral economy" and "The existence of corruption can crucially affect whether or not there are antibiotics on the hospital shelf or food on the pensioner's table." People, quite rightly, must bemoan such poor ethical decision making of our elected leaders that is one cause of unemployment, poverty and poor 'service delivery'.[232] The politics of the governing

[232] The term 'service delivery' is commonly used in South Africa in public protests as well as by media houses. It refers most commonly to the ability of government to deliver services such as running water and electricity to the people it serves.

party and other political parties in South Africa are removed from the politics of black people, the poor working class and women. And it is this conscious politics that must not be misunderstood as siding with racialized party politics. James ('Party Politics in the West Indies', p.160 in Worcester 1996: 164) sheds a clearer light on this problem;

> [A]ny government that is not conscious of the power of the people is bound to be a bad government, that is to say, it will fool you, cheat you, and if need be reduce you to hewers of wood and drawers of water, and without mercy keep you in what it considers to be your place. That is the last hill which the people of the West Indies [South Africa] will have to climb. It is hardest of all. When you climb it you will have arrived at a height from which you will never fall.

In summary this section agrees that Cannabis has important medical uses which are becoming available through medicalization. It disagrees however with medicalization firstly because it frequently disregards issues of race, but as well as class and gender. Secondly, the medicalization of Cannabis disconnects the political aspects of the plant and tends to be state centric, which means corrupt governments and monopoly capitalists can still benefit from the wealth and power generated by gatekeeping the development of the plant. Consequently, the current trend to medicalize marijuana can be argued to be just another form of gatekeeping.

6.4 Gatekeeping medicalization

Access into and out of the contemporary development to medicalize Cannabis is not open. Development in this manner is contingent on a set of rules designed for one entity by another unit. The current trend to medicalize marijuana only partially engages with this weakness and that is a big area of concern for the plant's sustainable development. Blind acceptance of this development will enable the continuation of an unsustainable top-down type of practice. Therefore, new methods are required: For instance, Paul Michael Keichel of Greenhouse Project who suggests that the Cannabis movement is calling for Cannabis people to dictate how its development will proceed rather than the government deciding how it will exist. Or, G.G. Alcock who suggests developing tech solutions for Cannabis as well as 'co-operative' models of development (The COBRA Initiative, 05 Jun 2020, Accessed 29 September 2021). Both these suggestions point to the need for the direct participation and control of how Cannabis development will proceed by people in the Cannabis movement rather than state or elite systems.

London (2009) articulated a similar concern with the current trend to medicalization when he argued that the discourse of Cannabis is still uncomfortably organized by those who created prohibition in the first place. Unproblematized medicalization perpetuates a system intent on maintaining control over the ways the plant will be developed. Medicalizing the Cannabis plant without addressing these realities means that the discourse surrounding this effort will struggle to embrace the full will of the society it is intended for. Shaleen Title from the Massachusetts Cannabis Control Commission therefore argues that Black people don't want Bills that just pay them 'lip-service'; they want them to actually work for them. She adds that the regulators and the people practicing Cannabis or using it, are very far apart in the USA, which this thesis has shown is similar to the situation in South Africa as well (Transform Drug Policy Foundation, 5 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021). Packer's (2009: 8)[233] discussion of Foucault's critical inquiry and the social sciences is thus relevant to this discussion:

> His [Foucault's] point was that we shouldn't assume that things have changed simply because time has passed. Perhaps the human sciences have merely moved around the board of their truth games, occupying different positions but not creating anything new. To find out we need to study them carefully. Nor did he claim that the move from one episteme to another was progress.

Likewise, we should not just assume that the contemporary episteme governing Cannabis, (i.e., medicalization) has fundamentally changed the plants discourse or made its development sustainable. Although post-prohibition has changed the focus of the plant from recreational Cannabis to the medicinal uses of the plant, this does not automatically mean 'progress' has been achieved. Packer's (2009: 15) discussion of Foucault continues; "And this amounts to asking, by what right, on the basis of what conditions, does a science manage to *claim* (emphasis in original) to have 'unity' and 'coherence'?" Similarly, by what right does the medicalization of Cannabis claim to be the best fit for all Cannabis, as is currently being suggested, if it has not proved why it has this right in the first place? In South Africa this right to manage the process of

[233] The reference here is taken from Chapter 14 (in Packer M 2009 [2017] *The Science of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press doi:10.1017/9781108264907) entitled 'Archeology, Genealogy, Ethics' p. 342 – 377. However, the references used here are from a copy of this chapter which has different page numbers from the original, i.e., p. 1 – 40.

Cannabis development is housed in government, big business, as well as the legal fraternity. Members of the Cannabis movement, small farmers and Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) are unequal participants in this procedure. Dr. Marc Wegerif, a Lecturer in Development Studies at the University of Pretoria therefore adds that the small farmer [and entrepreneurs] needs to be brought into the new Cannabis industry so that we do not lose them in the process of regulation (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). If these groups are not built into Cannabis development, its process will have been instituted through a restrictive practice before even commencing.

Gatekeeping is not only maintained by states because private capital institutions as well as individuals can also keep gates (Beresford 2015; de Grassi 2018; Hönke 2018). Foucault (1982: 214 in Packer 2009: 21) adds further that the state should not be seen as being beyond individuals but is rather a 'sophisticated structure' where individuals can "… be shaped in a new form, and submitted to a set of very specific patterns". In essence the parameters of the 'social contract' agreed to by individuals living in a state can at times limit the choices available to people. Likewise, the state can begin to limit the choices available to people when it decides the parameters of Cannabis development are confined to its medicalization processes. The terms of the agreement and more especially the 'conditionality's' on signatories to medicalization are also in dispute. As Harvey Slade from Transform Drug Policy Foundation has learnt from Canada's legalization effort, Cannabis regulation should have social equity conditions written in right at the start so as to avoid the problems the Canadian model has found post-legalization (Transform Drug Policy Foundation and México Unido Contra la Delincuencia (MUCD), 16 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021).[234] Canada's pro-capitalist Cannabis programme has limited the choices people can have over the overall direction of the plant's development.

Lastly, Foucault's critical inquiry according to Packer (2009: 36) recognized that problems have a 'variety of forms' but that,

> The point of analysis is not to evaluate these, but to explore the conditions in which they were possible, the general form of problematization that made them possible. This approach unsettles our tendency to accept a problem as 'given,' and allows us to see it instead as arising

[234] Harvey Slade adds further that a big problem with the Canadian model is that it did not adequately deal with expunging previous convictions for Cannabis when it legalized the plant.

> from a specific cultural and historical configuration. In doing this we recast the problem, examining the situation in which it arose. Critical analysis is itself a practice of problematization and re-problematization.

It is precisely why even the worthwhile medicalization of Cannabis needs to be problematized so that it is clear what cultural and historical contexts frame it. It needs to be thought through so it can become clear how it was designed and how these designs impact on South Africans.

If we do not re-problematize problems as Foucault stressed, we can end up with a situation where people accept the circumstances they face without ever understanding why those circumstances have come to be and in so doing find a way of circumventing those challenges. Regrettably, such problematization has not really happened with the medicalization of Cannabis, hence, the discussion about Cannabis has become one that is closely connected to economic development and private economic gain (Bewley-Taylor, Jelsma & Kay in Buxton et.al. 2020; Buxton in Buxton et.al. 2020). The excitement of having Cannabis legal in South Africa is slowly waning as people begin to realize the implications of the regulations that might be put in place (see Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill, 2020).[235] Therefore, a close critique of the development of Cannabis in South Africa can 'recast the problem', as Foucault suggested of critical analysis, away from a Cannabis development only focused on economic benefits. The focus on financial gains possible in Cannabis has become the main gate that Cannabis medicalization is keeping. The monetization of society and the work people produce is an issue Karl Marx (1844 [2009]: 37) stood firm against as a radical voice focused instead on the historical 'contradiction between capital and labour'.

The contradiction being that money becomes the goal of Cannabis legalization, which it should not;

> Money is the alienated *ability of mankind*… That which I am unable to do as a *man*, and of which therefore all my individual essential powers are incapable, I am able to do by means of

[235] A good majority of conferences and webinars I attended spoke to this concern (Wendell Moore, Field Note Observations, 2018 - 2021). A small list from 2019 to 2021 includes (Gordon Institute for Business Science in Johannesburg and University of Pretoria, 29 May 2019, Accessed 29 September 2021; The Business Day Cannabis Economy & Afriplex, 27 Aug 2020, Accessed 27 September 2021; Cannabis Trade Association & Cheeba Cannabis TV, 21 Sept 2021, Accessed 22 September 2021).

> *money*. Money thus turns each of these powers into something which in itself it is not – turns it, that is, into its *contrary*" (emphasis in original) (Marx 1844 [2009]: 61).

And it is because of the monetization of society that the true work of humanity is changed from an endeavour of worth into one Marx called 'Estranged labor'. Similarly, the work of Cannabis that has represented so much more than economic materialism in the past becomes irrelevant, then estranged and eventually, forgotten:

> *Man's species-being*, both nature and his spiritual species-property, into a being *alien* to him, into a *means* of his *individual existence*. It estranges from man his own body, as well as external nature and his spiritual aspect, his *human* aspect. An immediate consequence of the fact that man is estranged from the product of his labor, from his life activity, from his species-being, is the *estrangement of man* from *man*. When man confronts himself, he confronts the *other* man. What applies to a man's relation to his work, to the product of his labor and to himself, also holds of a man's relation to the other man, and to the other man's labor and object of labor" (emphasis in original) (Marx 1844 [2009]: 32).

It is this estrangement of "man to man" because of their estrangement to their true labour that leads them to be "so unjust" to one another.[236] Furthermore, the estrangement to the product, by the people labouring to make that product is not a concern to capitalists. A worker in a Cannabis company therefore can completely be detached from the work they perform which seems at odds with the experiences of people who had farmed and produced the crop during prohibition. Bewley-Taylor, Jelsma & Kay (p. 117 in Buxton et.al. 2020) add in this regard,

> It would be a dramatic outcome, however, if the legally regulated medical and non- medical markets that are rising from the ashes of global drug prohibition ultimately lead to what prohibition intended, but never succeeded in achieving: The destruction of the remnants of traditional cannabis cultures that barely managed to survive, and the eradication of the illicit cannabis survival economies in the global South.

In other words, it is important not to lose what was learnt through prohibition (see Polson & Bodwitch 2021). Such a loss will only make capitalists power over labour even more pronounced.

> Capital is thus the governing power over labor and its products. The capitalist possesses this power, not on account of his personal or human qualities, but inasmuch as he is an owner of

[236] Bob Marley and the Wailers 'Who the cap fit', *Rastaman Vibrations,* Island Records: 1976.

> capital. His power is the purchasing power of his capital, which nothing can withstand" (Marx 1844 [2009]: 11).

In essence then "Capital is stored-up labor" (Marx 1844 [2009]: 11). The more capital a person possesses the more labour they can control. Marx therefore seemed to be questioning if capital, owing to the power it is afforded, has replaced humanity itself. Considering that Marx was writing when Atlantic slavery of African people was still ongoing, makes his understanding of how capital denies the humanity of others even more relevant.[237]

The discourse that is leading the medicalization of Cannabis is still the prerogative of a system that implemented prohibition (or slavery, colonialism, apartheid and racism for that matter) in the first place. This means that its founding tenants remain rooted in the logic that capital controls labour. And not the other way around; quite simply, that without labour there can be no capital. Marx (1844 [2009]: 3) was clear to warn that in a capitalist system "The capitalist can [will] live longer without the worker than can the worker without the capitalist." The worker depends on the capitalist system to live. This is an unfortunate inversion of logic, because, without workers the wealth of capitalists would not be possible (see Gilroy 1993). The worker therefore should be more significant than the creation of capital. And when work leads capital, black people, the poor working class and women are able to exist as humans.

The process of medicalization and the new Cannabis industries it is creating, therefore must become a space where workers are no longer merely labouring for capitalists. For Tebogo Tlhopane, Chairman of the Cannabis Trade Organization in South Africa, the concern is about unlocking the labour potential of Cannabis in South Africa through legislation that allows people that already perform Cannabis work to become part of the formal labour market (Cannabis Trade Association & Cheeba Cannabis TV, 21 Sept 2021, Accessed 22 September 2021). If the medicalization of Cannabis is to be successful independent workers must be made a central component of its development. Medicalization, as it stands, provides limited opportunities for such workers to lead its development, hence it acts as a gatekeeper of capitalist led development and labour designs.

[237] It has been almost 200 years since the ending of Atlantic slavery, yet the denial of black humanity remains ever present in the operating systems of the world. In response, movements such as Black Lives Matter or the stance against racism in international football leagues remain relevant.

The inclusion of Cannabis into medicalizations development plans, without first a fundamental change to the mechanics of how it operates, will mean it has not only won over how the labour discourse of Cannabis will be run, but also its economics. And this has already started to occur, hence Myrtle Clark was clear to point this contradiction out at all the conferences that I attended (Field Notes, Observations, 2018 - 2021). She was sick and tired of people talking about the economic benefits of Cannabis. Cannabis was not going to be an economic panacea she suggested. Treating Cannabis legalization as if it were a gold rush, she felt went against all she has stood for over her years of fighting for Cannabis (Field Notes, Observations, 2018 - 2021). This sentiment was strongly echoed by Gareth Prince, Thandeka Kunene, Tony Budden, traditional healers, small farmer cooperatives and others (Field Notes, Observations, 2018 - 2021). Thus, there is a resistance to a full-blown capitalist led development program for Cannabis in South Africa as well as globally. Buxton (p. 36 in Buxton et.al. 2020) therefore is spot on; "Rather than supporting policy alignment, the development community must be at the forefront of pressure for drug policy paradigm change, and as national policy experiments in the decriminalisation and legalisation of cannabis bring issues of fair trade, comparative advantage and global North hypocrisy to the fore."

South Africa's Cannabis industry and development need to take heed, so they do not perpetuate a system that safeguards capital that is controlled by a few over the larger majority that is the working class. If it does not, Cannabis development in South Africa can be considered 'gatekeeping' business practices and ethics that are based on sets of rules designed for one entity (local) by another (state, elite capital or foreign) unit. Moreover, these sets of rules will be dissimilar to what the Cannabis movement proper is advocating for.[238] And this is precisely why medicalization is problematic: It roots Cannabis into one space when the plants usages are more interlinked and cross-pollinating than this (see Bewley-Taylor, Jelsma & Kay p. 118 in Buxton et.al. 2020).

As such, it is suggested that the medicalization of Cannabis is a fair 'territory' (Hönke 2018: 4) for Cannabis to sprout from but is not enough to plant in. The 'territory' of Cannabis cannot be bound, even if by a fitting one, such that the medicalization of

[238] Therefore, it is essential for the academic community to enter the debate of Cannabis from a theoretical and political position. Development practitioners must also enter the debate from an employment positioning to counter the hegemonic discourse about the plant that is currently overpopulated by imperfect economic models.

Cannabis is. Even though the medicinal categorization of Cannabis fits neatly between its recreational and industrial usages its development from this site has been weighted down by labour and economic gatekeeping. Hence, the plant has been denied the freedom to move between its three main uses, which is an inherent part of Cannabis nature. A geographic alternative that allows for osmosis between recreational, medicinal and industrial non-food crop sectors better consolidates all the plants usages and is more useful to the Cannabis development. Such a geographic alternative is required if Cannabis is to completely exist as the entity it has imagined itself to be. That is, as a plant that is a leading part of the bigger movement towards the complete ending of black oppression, the cyclical poverty of working-class people and the final emancipation of women of colour especially.

The current development path for Cannabis in South Africa will only recreate conditions similar to prohibition. If this happens people will feel they cannot participate in the system and hence try to regulate it themselves by participating in it illegally (GG Alcock, Gordon Institute for Business Science in Johannesburg & University of Pretoria, 29 May 2019, Accessed 29 September 2021). In other words, the space offered by medicalization is limiting to a plant that generally refuses to be bound by any one agrarian sector. Allowing for the fluid development of the plant embodies the nature of the plant to produce recreational, medicinal and industrial goods (notwithstanding the traditional healing and spiritual practices it also fulfils). It is the wide-ranging agrarian nature of Cannabis that is the plants most unique attribute and the concern of the next section.

6.5 The widening reach of Cannabis: Corporate, government and Cannabis movement views

Adcock and Ingram is a well-established producer of medicinal products that is currently producing a range of Cannabis CBD products for South African consumers (see Pharmaceutical & Cosmetic Review, Accessed 22 November 2021; Field notes, Observation, 25 October 2020). The fact that this large company is putting resources into the creation of Cannabis medicines can be applauded. But at the same time, it brings to the fore the existence of very contradictory ideals between corporate, government and Cannabis movement actors. Government policies have enabled companies such as Adcock and Ingram to make use of Cannabis to make profits.

However, regulatory red tape, that has everything to do with being able to afford entry into the Cannabis market, binds smaller businesses from legally competing in it (see for instance Bewley-Taylor, Jelsma & Kay p. 117 in Buxton et.al. 2020). GG Alcock therefore argues that the biggest opportunity for the Cannabis industry in South Africa lays in how it will go about protecting small Cannabis producers. He states that the models South Africa is drawing from, such as the Canadian model, are geared towards the formal market and are already showing signs of failure. Therefore, South Africa needs to draw on the small farmer who grows Cannabis on small plots all over the country and this will be the strength of South African Cannabis policy moving forward (Gordon Institute for Business Science in Johannesburg and University of Pretoria, 29 May 2019, Accessed 29 September 2021). This section agrees that Cannabis development in South Africa should focus on small-scale production sites – that have traditionally been producing recreational Cannabis.

Technically, Cannabis has been legalized in South Africa, but the focus of the Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill (2020) and even the Draft National Cannabis Masterplan (2021) remains firmly concentrated on policing recreational Cannabis users and small growers. The Bill and the Cannabis Masterplan narrowly focus on allowing a very small space for certain private use, while still criminalizing most Cannabis production. Other African countries starting to create policy for Cannabis such as Lesotho Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Kenya and Ghana also have liberal development models for medicinal Cannabis or hemp but have been very strict regarding recreational decriminalization. Table 3 shows those African countries that have begun to change the legal status of Cannabis. It is clear from Table 3 that the models of development they are using are clearly geared towards getting foreign diret investment from Western companies. Moreover the table shows that it is within the medicinal and industrial spaces being opened up for Cannabis that African countries are participating with the plants development. Recreational Cannabis is still an option African countries are not willing to engage with.

Table 3: The legal status of Cannabis in African countries

Country	Legal ststatus
Uganda	Legalized solely for exports.
Rwanda	Legalized medical cannabis for export and medical use
Morocco	Prohibited for recreational use but legal for medical and industrial purposes (unofficial yet).
Malawi	Legalized officially for industrial use, medical use, growing, selling, and exporting of cannabis. Recreational use is prohibited.
Zambia	Legalized officially for export and medicinal purposes. Recreational use is prohibited.
South Africa	Medical and recreational use of cannabis are legal (officially).
Zimbabwe	Legalized officially for medical use and not recreational use.
Lesotho	Legalized officially for medical use, growing, selling, and exporting of cannabis. Recreational use is prohibited.
Ghana	Prohibited for recreational use but legal for medical and industrial purposes.

Source: Adebisi Y.A, Olaoye D.Q Medical Use of Cannabis in Africa: The Pharmacists' Perspective 2022, Vol. 13, No. 1, Article 8 *INNOVATIONS in pharmacy* DOI: https://doi.org/10.24926/iip.v13i1.4430

Another example from Africa includes Olawale Akinola, the Project Manager at Leafing with Cannabis, who says that in Nigeria there is a proposed Cannabis Bill doing its rounds in the legislative process that is focused on the medicinal aspects of the plant (and again recreational use is not being considered for legalization). He however is nervous about the capture of Cannabis by overseas companies because there is already a Paris based company who are interested in the Cannabis markets available in the country. Akinola warns that if Nigerians are not careful, they will lose out to these companies (University of Zimbabwe & Cheeba Cannabis Academy, 29 Jun 2021, Accessed 23 September 2021).

Povinelli (2011) argues that such discourse ('late liberalism') continues to control all aspects of economic development even if packaged without the direct coercive politics used for example in colonial Nigeria or apartheid South Africa. 'Late liberalism' enables a failing discourse of development that is so evident in the 'corporate capture' and 'colonization' of Cannabis development in Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Kenya and Ghana. The South African Governments Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill (2020) and the Draft National Cannabis Masterplan (2021) is also an example of such discourse (Trenton Birch, University of Zimbabwe & Cheeba Cannabis Academy, Accessed 23 September 2021). The proposed Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill (2020) is an attempt to capture the economic benefits of Cannabis without accepting or dealing appropriately with the moral issues prohibition inscribed onto the plant's recreational usages.

To provide proof of how liberal economic policy has impacted upon the Cannabis development in South Africa, a comparison between the Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill (2020) of the South African government and the total renunciation of it by Jeremy Acton, a leading member of the Cannabis movement, is useful. Jeremy Acton is one of the original plaintiffs in Case 4153/ 12 at Western Cape High Court in 2017, which Gareth Prince and others effectively won, that brought about the Constitutional Court Judgement Case 108/ 17 CCT in September 2018 that decriminalized Cannabis use in South Africa (The Dagga Party, Accessed 23 November 2021). He is also the leader of the Dagga Party, founded in 2009, that contests in South African elections on a platform that promotes all the social, economic and political aspects of Cannabis (The Dagga Party, Accessed 23 November 2021). Acton's responses to the Portfolio Committee on Justice and Correctional Services', at their public hearings on the Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill (2020), therefore not only reflects the position of the Cannabis movement but also the entire spectrum of the plant that includes recreational, medicinal, industrial, traditional and spiritual aspects of the plant. Jeremy Acton states authoritatively, "And I REJECT THE BILL IN ITS ENTIRETY. I VETO THIS BILL for my own rights and for the rights of people of the Cannabis Culture in South Africa" (emphasis in original) (The Dagga Party, Accessed 23 November 2021). In effect I will argue that Acton illuminates far more clearly the wide ranging and essentially agrarian nature of the plant than what the government has proposed.

The proposed Bill reads like a document intent on prosecuting people who infringe upon its 'new' scheduling – almost exclusively regarding recreational Cannabis. Given this context, the statement Scheibe, Shelly & Versfeld (p. 286 in Buxton et.al. 2020) make about chemical illicit drugs can read true for Cannabis as well; "Overall, prohibition-inspired approaches continue to dominate the local implementation landscape" in South Africa. Examples of this 'prohibition-inspired' approach in South Africa can be recognized in the fines and imprisonments the Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill (2020) has merited for people who break its regulations:

A person who is convicted of—

1. a Class A offence (for example, "Any person who deals[239] in Cannabis") is liable on conviction to a fine or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 15 years or to both a fine and such imprisonment (Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill, 2020, Ministry of Justice and Correctional Services, p. 9).
2. a Class B offence (for example, "An adult person who in a private place, cultivates a trafficable[240] quantity of Cannabis plants") is liable on conviction to a fine or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six years or to both a fine and such imprisonment (Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill, 2020, Ministry of Justice and Correctional Services, p. 7).
3. a Class C (for example: "Any person who consumes Cannabis in a vehicle on a public road") offence is liable on conviction to a fine or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding four years or to both a fine and such imprisonment (Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill, 2020, Ministry of Justice and Correctional Services, p. 10).

[239] "'deal in' means to provide for consideration, receive for consideration, sell, buy, offer for sale, offer to purchase, import, advertise for sale, have in possession for the purposes of sale, export and any other conduct to facilitate selling" (Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill, 2020, Ministry of Justice and Correctional Services, p 4).

[240] "'trafficable quantity' means for purposes of the quantity that exceeds—
(a) the quantity of any flowering Cannabis plant or its Cannabis plant equivalent (Six flowering Cannabis plants or Cannabis plant equivalent per adult person); or
(b) the quantity of any dried Cannabis or its Cannabis equivalent (800 grams dried Cannabis or Cannabis equivalent per adult)" (Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill, 2020, Ministry of Justice and Correctional Services, p 6, 17-18).

4. a Class D offence (for example, "Any person who smokes Cannabis in the immediate presence of any non-consenting adult person") is liable on conviction to a fine or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding two years or to both a fine and such imprisonment (Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill, 2020, Ministry of Justice and Correctional Services, p. 10).

Source: Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill, 2020, Ministry of Justice and Correctional Services, p 4-18.

Put mildly, the categorization of Cannabis, as proposed by the Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill (2020) is draconian in its punishment, for what constitutionally is a legal right. It, as well as the Draft National Cannabis Masterplan (2021) further confines the fundamental and wide-ranging agrarian nature of Cannabis and all the goods it can produce. This intent to subdivide Cannabis into good and bad parts is displayed in its definition of the "Cannabis plant". The "Cannabis plant" "…means a plant of the genus Cannabis, but excludes hemp, and for purposes of this Act, an immature Cannabis plant and a flowering Cannabis plant are classes of a Cannabis plant" (Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill, 2020, Ministry of Justice and Correctional Services, p. 4). While "hemp" is defined in the proposed Bill as "… a plant of the genus Cannabis which—(a) has a concentration of THC in the leaves and flowering heads that does not exceed the percentage as may be prescribed in terms of; and (b) is cultivated under authority of, a law that regulates its cultivation" (Cannabis for Private Purposes Bill, 2020, Ministry of Justice and Correctional Services, p. 5). Cannabis is understood as that part of the plant family that should be separated from its next of kin, i.e., industrial hemp. Cannabis is the deviant plant that is smoked for recreational reasons while hemp is understood as a useful industrial crop of varied usages that has negligible amounts of the drug THC.

What is also missing from the proposed Bill is a distinct place for the medicinal usages of Cannabis. The Draft National Cannabis Masterplan (2021) does have a discussion of the medicinal useages of Cannabis but its development model is still largely geared to suit the interests of big business and capital intensive investment. Placing the medical usages of Cannabis at the forefront of policy is something the West have done quite well which has effectively removed the plant from the moral debate about recreational usage. For example, Dr Geoffrey Guy (in Crowther et.al. 2010: 38-39) speaking about the medicalization efforts of Britain states "Therefore it was the government's position before I even got involved with them, because their

concern was that if there is a medicine here, it must be separated from the advocacy debate." He adds further that in the US this debate was very difficult to separate (Dr Geoffrey Guy in Crowther et.al 2010: 39). The Proposed Bill therefore seems to focus on maintaining a negative discourse of recreational Cannabis that separates rather than unifies the three different parts of the Cannabis plant.[241]

Acton, quite rightly, is therefore straight forward about his disagreement with the Proposed Bill which he rejects in its entirety for two reasons:

1. "The Bill is an UNREASONABLE, UNJUSTIFIED, IRRATIONAL and INTENTIONALLY MALICIOUS LIMITATION OF MY RIGHTS which arose from the judgement [i.e., the Constitutional Court judgement of 2018 that effectively legalized Cannabis in South Africa], and which I currently enjoy, and which I am not prepared to forfeit" (emphasis in original) (The Dagga Party, Accessed 23 November 2021).
2. "The Bill attempts to impose processes that are OUTSIDE THE AMBIT OF THE JUDGEMENT, and which are expressly forbidden by the judgement" (emphasis in original) (The Dagga Party, Accessed 23 November 2021).

Moreover, he states that the proposed bill was drafted by the

> … Constitutional Court to the very Defendant in the Original Constitutional Case who opposed the Actions. That is like asking the real criminals to become judges, or to act as wolves might do to decide for the rights of sheep. The present process in creating this Bill is therefore logically unacceptable from its very roots and this useless, anti-social, malicious, Drug War-oriented Bill is the clear result (emphasis in original) (The Dagga Party, Accessed 23 November 2021).

Ultimately the Department of Justice who drafted the proposed Bill, Acton argues, have always been prohibitionist in their stance regarding Cannabis which is clearly

[241] However, it is exactly in this trap of separation that assumes certain Cannabis parts have dominance over others that South Africa, America and Britain have all stepped into and stumbled. While this thesis is indeed about hemp Cannabis it is not assuming any part is deviant than any other. What it is suggesting however is that Cannabis itself cannot exist as any one part and that in order to discuss hemp Cannabis requires it to show its links, rather than differences, to the other uses of the plant. Moreover, even if the thesis is suggesting that the most suited place for Cannabis is in the non-food sector, does not mean that it is arguing for the dominance of hemp over other uses of the plant. What it does mean is that when housed as an agricultural non-food crop all the uses of the plant are allowed to thrive equally rather than independently. In this way all the usages of Cannabis can feed off each other, be they industrial, medicinal or recreational.

articulated in their proposed Bill (The Dagga Party, Accessed 23 November 2021; Scheibe, Shelly & Versfeld p. 286 in Buxton et.al. 2020).

Constraining Cannabis into a narrowed production point (currently being centred globally on its medicinal benefits) misses the plants wide ranging agricultural and industrial uses. The proposed Bill miscues this agrarian point fundamentally and instead has produced a document that maintains a development discourse of Cannabis based on out-dated prohibitionist logic (Scheibe, Shelly & Versfeld in Buxton et.al. 2020). In other words, it seeks to only include Cannabis for the economic potentials it can have for society (mainly its industrial usages and to a lesser extent its medicinal benefits). In this way the government has not acknowledged the Constitutional Court ruling in September 2018 that took away the moral and public authority it used to have over the plant. This idea that government should have authority over the plant is an inherited practice from apartheid and colonial prohibition. However, the full economic potentials of Cannabis are only possible when all three of the usages of Cannabis are equally recognized, not only its medicinal or industrial parts. Simply put, the economic potential of Cannabis includes recreational Cannabis that the Bill was blatantly indecisive about. Leaving this out of Cannabis development means taking away the rights of South African citizens, granted by the Constitutional Court ruling in September 2018. In effect a form of Cannabis prohibition is continued, albeit within a new regulatory framework (Scheibe, Shelly & Versfeld in Buxton et.al. 2020). The proposed Bill therefore acts as a gatekeeper of a development discourse and logic that seeks to maintain control over the goods and services of Cannabis. Such a proposal is unfavourable for black people, the poor working class and women and the human rights of every individual who want to make a living freely out of Cannabis.

The Proposed Bill therefore intrudes into the private realm of people's lives by assuming it has the best intentions for South African citizens who use Cannabis. For Jeremy Acton an individual's Section 14 privacy realm cannot be decided upon by the state (The Dagga Party, Accessed 23 November 2021). Acton places a lot of emphasis on this private realm, particularly the proposal that the government can decide how much Cannabis a person may possess, whether in dry flower or in growing plants. Accordingly, Cannabis has not been effectively removed from its association to crime and deviance because private use is still harshly delimited. This intrusion into the individual's private realm in the name of development is a course broader Western

‘late liberalism’ follows to maintain its power and economic hegemony over alternative development movements and models (Povinelli 2011).

Povinelli’s (2011: 72) comments about Indigenous social worlds and their place in the ‘late liberal’ world, are relevant here; “They are the part that has no part – the noise of the unsayable – found neither on one side nor on the other of the temporal division of social space, but in the space that cannot be contained by this division”. This statement resonates for Cannabis because it has also been “the noise of the unsayable” because it refuses to be contained. Povinelli’s (2011: 7) interest in ‘social projects’ “…that attempt to capacitate an alternative set of human and post human worlds” can easily be a comment about alternative post-prohibition Cannabis futures. Yet these new social worlds, which the Cannabis movement is trying to attain, are very difficult to achieve in the context of neoliberalism and an African politic that has internalized prohibitionist rhetoric (Bewley-Taylor, Jelsma & Kay in Buxton et.al. 2020; Buxton in Buxton et.al. 2020; Scheibe, Shelly & Versfeld in Buxton et.al. 2020).

The Cannabis movement in South Africa is therefore caught in a complex quandary between two dominant actors: state interests and private capital. Does it try to work with an obviously flawed Cannabis development programme for black people, the poor working class and women? Or, does it continue fighting to ensure that Cannabis development is implemented in way that is conceived precisely with marginalized people in mind, rather than as an afterthought. It is precisely this conundrum that forces this thesis to try to articulate exactly what this geographic alternative might be for Cannabis since it is evidently clear that the government’s position is not inclusive, nor, wide enough for a large majority of the Cannabis movement.

6.6 So what are the geographic alternatives for medicalization?

Like Racheal Carson’s warning to the world, in here influential book *Silent Spring* (1962), James Redfield’s (1994) *Celestine Prophecy* emphasizes that the human world cannot continue on its current path if its goal is to produce a society that is truly equitable. While both books are a warning sign (environmental and holistic respectively) that humanity needs to heed, they still do not adequately deal with the realities people in the Global South face. Moreover, they rarely discuss the ‘agency’ black people, the poor working class and women use to create their own destinies.

This drive is largely formed from 'concrete jungle' synergies of the ghetto environments of cities where an increasing majority of people reside (The World Bank, Accessed 23 November 2021).[242] Black people managed to survive and still continue to endure repeated economic, social and political subjugation which have had detrimental health, environmental, holistic, educational, spiritual and often violent consequences. This violence was exposed in the unnecessary murder of Julian Stobbs, partner of Myrtle Clark, on July 3, 2020. Such violence is symptomatic of deeper constraints in South African society that lead people to act out indiscriminately (DSTV CHANNEL 403, 3 July 2020, Accessed 29 September 2021). Paul Keichel explains better, "He [Julian Stobbs] died because unmitigated levels of hopelessness and desperation in this country rendered the picking up of a gun and robbing exposed people a more viable option than seeking respectable employment because the latter opportunity simply does not exist for so many in this country. The robbers came with anger in their hearts because nothing has changed for them in 26 years of democracy" Paul Keichel, 10 July 2020, Accessed 29 September 2021).

Marx succinctly predicted that these historical realities ('historical materialism') that limit the possibilities of the ordinary working-class people from ever achieving their life's work ('alienation') would lead to destruction. Marx argued that if workers' agitation was channelled through revolution it could have the force to upend the system that perpetuates this status quo. This status quo is not simple environmental and holistic ruin, it is much more than this. Thus, while geographic alternatives like *The Celestine Prophecy* are a welcome call to people to live a more spiritually awakened and guided life they do not clearly articulate how the historical realities that bind poor working class people into cyclical poverty can be overturned in South Africa or internationally.

Mdingi (2016) terms the awakening of the world to the reality of black people, the poor working class and women, in the 'longer development of Civilization', (Redfield 1994: 32) the still incomplete project of 'black revelation'. Mainstream academic history is therefore only recently beginning to accept black histories

[242] Bob Marley and the Wailers, 'Concrete jungle', *Catch a fire*, Island Records, 1973. In South Africa the rural population as a percentage of the total population has declined from a level of approximately 53% in 1960 to 33% in 2020. The world's rural population has also declined from approximately 66% in 1960 to 43% in 2020 (The World Bank, Accessed 23 November 2021). Thus, it is important to highlight how Global South citizens of towns, ghettos and cities manage to exist outside of the pristine environments imagined in *The Celestine Prophecy*. Moreover, urban dwellers often experience the impacts of political, economic and social decisions firsthand because of their proximity to places of power (see Cone 2000).

'pedagogy of the oppressed'.[243] Regrettably, it remains the very same marginalized people, which black literature has concentrated its efforts on, who remain furthest away from access to the lessons of black scholars. Therefore, black consciousness movements, Rastafarians and Pan Africanists have always stressed raising the collective consciousness of the oppressed poor because it 'extends our consciousness of historical time' (See SASO Newsletters 1970–1976, *JSTOR Primary Resources*; Redfield 1994: 32). Simply put, having a grasp of the historical reality of the marginalized is an important method for grappling with understanding present and future conditions. It also illuminates an inevitable geographic alternative that society, economics and politics seek to create for all generations – what is termed, sustainable development (see Willis 2005).

6.6.1 Alternative examples

With the oppressed: For Freire (1970 [2005]), the ultimate test of real revolutionary teaching and text is in its engagement 'with' the oppressed. This is very different to producing knowledge 'for' or 'about' the oppressed which has been developments practice historically. Thus, like Freire (1970 [2005]: 37) the Cannabis alternatives the thesis suggests is "Accordingly, this [a] admittedly tentative work … for radicals." If Cannabis development is to continue its revolution "The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption" (Freire 1970 [2005]: 54). The oppressed, in the case of Cannabis in South Africa, are black people, the poor working class and women who have and continue to work with the plant. And as Transform Drug Policy Foundation (2013: 14) articulates, "Early experiences of cannabis legalisation have brought the issues of social and racial justice to the fore." Dealing with these aspects is the first start at creating a workable Cannabis policy and development programme.

In the background with the Indigenous world: For Povinelli (2011) one alternative to 'late liberalism' lies with the way of living that the indigenous people or 'first people of the world have kept alive over the course of history. The indigenous

[243] Most notable is the 'decoloniality'' debates that are influencing South African universities and students throughout the world. There is of course a longer history of black academic discourse which 'decoloniality' draws upon such as (chronologically) Karl Marx, W.E.B. DuBois, Paulo Freire, Fanon, Archie Mafejee, James Cone, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Walter Mignolo, Walter Rodney, Angela Davies, Mamdani, Cornell West or Archille Mbembe for instance.

world operates as the ‘thick subjective background’ to the dominance of the liberal capital democratic projects. Indigenous worlds are marginal in most nation states but what they offer to a failing modernity are feasible, Accordingly, Povinelli (2011: 7-8) states “In any case, we have social worlds, social projects, and individuated projects, each of which conveys a slightly different aspect of human life …”. Learning from indigenous knowledge systems therefore can be a useful project, just as are the aims of the Protection, Promotion, Development and Management of Indigenous Knowledge Act 6 of 2019 in South Africa (Government Gazette of South Africa, vol.650 (No 1082), 19 August 2019). For Povinelli (2011: 6) “Projects are the thick subjective background effects of a life as it has been lived; and these thick subjectivities provide the context of moral and political calculation”. This thesis is indeed a project as defined by Povinelli because the experience of Cannabis for black people is lived through the history of Atlantic slavery, colonialism and racism that also operated in the ‘thick subjective background’ of global development.

‘With everyday people rather than nation state’: Thus, it is with ordinary people that alternative social, economic and political projects are housed. However, these geographic alternatives have become more frequently housed in the liberal capital democracies of the end of the cold war. The idea that the best solutions for nations states is only vested within of political parties and elite control limits the potential to find alternatives from other parts of the local, diaspora or international community (see Neocosmos 2016). C.L.R. James realized this problem already in 1958 and therefore noted about the nationalist movement and their inability to lead their nations forward, “They cannot solve their problems except in a global context” (James, *Facing Reality,* Detroit 1958 [1984]: 81). Cannabis has always been international in outlook. From its origins in Eastern Asia, to its movements through Europe the Middle East and Africa, the Caribbean and the ‘New World’ (Warf 2014). Hence the alternatives for Cannabis must keep aligned to global movements rather than boxed into pro-Western liberal democratic capital solutions.

The rainbow problematic: Nevertheless, a call to keeping an open mind to alternatives from throughout the world does not equate automatically to subscribing to some sort of multiculturalism. According to Chawane (2008: 58) “The problem with multiculturalism is that it generally operates from the position of a dominant culture, making concessions to ‘minority’ cultures”. Chawane is of the view that multiculturalism was the stance that the South African government took post 1994 to

accommodate all the various types of identities of the country! What he argues is that building a unified country using the 'rainbow nation' ideal has been problematic because it "… presupposes a stable relationship between diversity and unity" (Chawane 2008: 58). While I would argue that the intention was to build the 'rainbow nation' on an appeal to non-racism and humanism, rather than multiculturalism, it is important to note that the action of building on this foundation, whichever way it is viewed, has nevertheless had many serious consequences for geographic alternatives.

Blackness, Africa and reparations: It is for this reason that blackness remains a viable way of asserting the need for justice to be served to black people, the poor working class and women. Moreover, in South Africa this justice was not adequately addressed at the founding of South African democracy in 1994 (see Mamdani 2015). After 500 years of systematic black oppression, this call is long overdue. However, it is only recently that the 'black reparations movement' has begun to make some headway. According to Jorgensen (2018: Abstract) "This movement has demanded redress, compensation, acknowledgement and reconciliation after Trans-Atlantic slavery, post-emancipation oppression and subsequent socioeconomic repercussions." The appeal is made even more difficult because, "How does a group which has been brought into societies as "nonhumans" become recognized as fully human?" (Jorgensen 2018: 2). In addition, "Are formal declarations and legal definitions enough or does it require more radical measures to repair centuries of racial hatred, violence and oppression?" (Jorgensen 2018: 2). Nevertheless, reparations it must be remembered have been granted to communities in recent times including Japanese Americans following WWII, Jews for the Nazi Holocaust, or indigenous first nation peoples in Canada (Jorgensen 2018: 3). So, such a call from black people is not technically impossible, new, or unfounded. However, although Jorgensen (2018: 7) argues that "African claims requires focused studies in their own right" my argument is that the African claim is the black claim. The diaspora is directly a part of Africa, as Africa is a part of it. Thus, any call for reparations is a claim that extends into the continent just as it does throughout the diaspora and should not be disconnected. Ultimately, "… reparationists see redress as a means to achieve a higher level of justice in an unjust historical and political situation" (Jorgensen 2018: 11). Nonetheless, Thompson (2009 in Jorgensen 2018: 23) (my emphasis) "… argues for the possibility, or indeed the appropriateness of working towards *repairing* unjust acts

in the past as well as their continued after-effects". The question remains however if the creation of a geographic alternative can exist without such repairs?

This also assumes that it is possible to repair the past. Moreover, even if it is possible to repair the past, is it possible to repair a system that was clearly not designed to give any parts of its social, political or economic landscape to black people willingly and without conditionality's. Thus, while it is clear there is merit in demanding a legal avenue to pursue reparations for 'past, present and future' injustices the pursuit of a geographic alternative remains an option that must be regarded seriously.[244] And this is especially true for Cannabis which has embedded within its black revolutionary history a call to be independent and totally free of slave, colonial, racist and apartheid mentalities.

The disobedient alternative: Nonetheless, the geographic alternatives in these views do not mean 'delinking' although it must mean using 'epistemic disobedience'. "Epistemic disobedience takes us to a different place, to a different 'beginning' (not in Greece, but in the responses to the 'conquest and colonization' of America and the massive trade of enslaved Africans), to spatial sites of struggles and building rather than to a new temporality within the same space" (Mignolo 2011: 45 in Jorgensen 2018: 21). To operate new 'spatial sites of struggles and building' for the South African Cannabis development model while continuing to push its boundaries outward to the marginalized. Being 'disobedient' is to exist as an operational geographic alternative. A sense of this geographic alternative for black people, the poor working class and women was brought into being in the disobedient fields of Cannabis during prohibition.

Fields for green: Myrtle Clark however warns that even though the Cannabis industry in South Africa is in a 'very exciting place' it is still in a 'grey area'. She adds that people need to be careful not to 'oversell Cannabis' because the reality is that there is still a need to ensure everyone is included in industry. Therefore, the idea of 'green rush' is over idealistic because the Cannabis movement must be patient and 'be prepared to fail'. 'Paying attention to detail' will ensure the 'complicated' industry is developed correctly. She adds as well that the idea that hemp will save the world is not true (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021).

[244] Cooper & Stoler (1997) add that even the modern nation state is not enough to contain the political geography of the world from seeking alternatives.

Working with the formal Cannabis industry?: Even with all the problems of existing formal labour regimes there is merit of working with the growing and incoming industry to create new ways of doing Cannabis development. These new industries can also be laboured as spatial sites of 'struggles and building' rather than a 'new temporality with the same space'. The suggestion I am putting fourth, is not incorporation, rather it is that Cannabis has always existed and is embedded in revolutionary thought and action so labouring within its industries no matter how problematic can be useful. Cannabis is an alternative development plan and an 'epistemic disobedience' to global development no matter how it is repackaged. The tricky part with having the plant function with mainstream capital development is that revolutionary alternatives are always the first parts to be dismissed as development proceeds through time. Still, there is some value to working with the incoming Cannabis industries if you can qualify based on experience, education and eligibility. Nonetheless, remaining 'disobedient' to 'cooperate capture' and the 'colonization' of Cannabis will be made even more difficult. It means quite simply, there's still "a lot of work to be done in the Promised Land" (Mignolo 2011; Trenton Birch, University of Zimbabwe & Cheeba Cannabis Academy, Accessed 23 September 2021).[245]

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the medicalization of Cannabis in South Africa, while useful, is unable to consolidate all the political geographies of Cannabis. It agrees that the medicalization of Cannabis is a positive step but showed how this process enables the same system that prosecuted Cannabis during prohibition to decide how the plant will be developed. Thus, while it agrees with the intention of medicalization to free Cannabis from the negative perceptions formed during prohibition, the chapter has disagreed with the apolitical nature of this development plan. It is for this reason that the chapter argued that the medicalization of Cannabis in effect operates as a new form of gatekeeping. Thus, the historic prohibition of Cannabis becomes just a slip-up, an ordinary growing pain of the liberal democratic project, rather than those banning orders being considered a fundamental flaw that remains functional in its

[245] Nas & Damian Marley featuring Dennis Brown, 'land of promise' *Distant relatives,* Universal Republic & Def Jam: 2010.

contemporary methods of development. ‘Late liberalism’ continues therefore to advance a design for Cannabis development that is limiting to the most marginalized.

Cannabis occupies a far wider place than it is being allowed for by liberal capital development plans, many of which the South African government is awkwardly implementing. Thus, it is possible for the government agencies to recreate the same (if not worse, considering the plant has technically been legalized in 2018) sorts of prohibitions against the recreational parts of Cannabis. What’s more, the government is already facilitating through its legislations much easier access to established companies and individuals who have financial backing. Those within the Cannabis movement therefore strongly oppose such policy developments and have proposed their own alternatives to how Cannabis development should proceed. It was with this in mind, that the chapter concluded by showing some of the spaces and sites where such geographic alternatives could exist. The geographic alternative for Cannabis is a project of ‘alterity’. It also understands that there is still gatekeeping of the plant’s development by state and private cooperation’s. But in its ‘pursuit of happiness’[246] triumph is often only rewarded after completing the work for the plant, whether as an employee or employer.

Many people therefore know that there will be unequal access to Cannabis markets in South Africa for black people, the poor working class and women. Nevertheless, the possibility of working within the structures being proposed for Cannabis are real options for people who are willing to try make parts of their Cannabis dream a reality. What is uncertain is if such geographic alternatives are possible when liberal democratic capitalism holds power over the development and discourse of Cannabis. It for this reason the next chapter discusses how it might be possible to unite Cannabis usages so that they can challenge the hegemony that liberal democratic capital led development has over the plant’s current development. In this way, the development of Cannabis in South Africa can be more equally accessible for as it is for white people, the rich middle class and men. The political geography of the plant is therefore not limited exclusively to its revolutionary projects and includes ownership, leadership and employment demands that must be satisfied.

[246] ‘The pursuit of happyness’, Directed by Gabriele Muccino, Starring Will Smith. Columbia Pictures: 2006.

CHAPTER 7

The political geography of hemp Cannabis in South Africa:

An autoethnography of Cannabis opportunities

"Hemp will be bigger than Cannabis [recreational and medicinal] for Africa" (John Kagai, Keynote panellist from New Frontier Data, Cannabiz Africa: Cheeba Craft Cannabis Summit Summary, Accessed 26 February 2021).

"We could have been a world leader [in hemp] but fell behind because government have not moved quickly enough to put the right regulatory frameworks in place. We now have to look at the benefits of coming second and looking at first-mover advantage mistakes" (Tony Budden, Hemporium founder, Cannabiz Africa: Cheeba Craft Cannabis Summit Summary, Accessed 26 February 2021).

"The only way you are going to uplift this economy is to unleash the plant for everybody. Not hemp, not medicine, Dagga. All of it" (Jules Stobbs, East London, South Africa, February 2020, citied in Fields of Green For All manifesto, Dedication, 2021).

"But unless we're gonna actually take accountability for the ideas and the things we put out in the world and we're actually not, then this is actually an exercise. And we're not, I'm not interested in that as a black person that is literally governed by people's ideas of what is freedom … because the thing that is very clear is that we sold black, Latina, poor people, indigenous communities this idea that legalization was gonna be social justice. We sold that idea, very effectively. And it didn't fucking work. It didn't work in the way that we promised. It is not to the scale that we need. And unless we are willing to be honest about that, and be accountable to that, and do something different about the way that we build, then there will continue to be racial terror in the street. and people, police officers will feel like it is ok to put their knees on the necks of people all over, and look at people and say, the reason why their foot is on their neck is because they shouldn't use drugs" (Kassandra Frederique of Drug Policy Alliance speaking at Transform Drug Policy Foundation webinar, 5 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021).

7.1 Introduction

It is ironic and somewhat amusing that although I have been actively pursuing this idea of hemp Cannabis in South Africa for more than 20 years now, I do not own even one item of hemp anything. The fact is most of the people I know who promote Cannabis (mostly Cannabis smokers from different parts of the ghetto, suburb, city and farm areas I have travelled to in South Africa) have never owned any hemp

product. Likewise, right at the start of a Cannabis webinar Trenton Birch was hosting he asked if anyone on the panel owns any hemp products. The reply from everyone was a resounding no, except for Brett Hilton-Barber from Cannabiz Africa, who said he was given a hemp shirt from somebody (Cheeba Africa Canna News, July 20, 2021, Accessed 23 September 2021)

Why then continue to push the agenda of hemp Cannabis in South Africa when it seems the product itself is already removed from the reality of myself and the people I surround myself with and even movers in the industry? The answer quite simply is that I am not alone. Many people are desperately trying to position themselves to get into the regulated Cannabis industry because they still believe in its latent potential. This is despite the fact that South African Cannabis policy seems likely to be bent to suit the ideals of white men, the upper middleclass and crony politicians.

We (if I may talk for the Cannabis movement) envisioned hemp Cannabis (in all its utopian sense) as the crop that would lead us to becoming owners and leaders of new and innovative industries (See Herer 1985 [2010]). Myrtle Clark, using similar terminology, explains what 'we' means in the context of the Cannabis movement she represents: "When I speak of 'we' and 'our' I speak together with the spirit of The Dagga Couple, our amazing, dedicated Fields of Green for ALL TEAM and all our supporters gathered along this journey to free us from Dagga prohibition" (emphasis in original) (Clark in Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli 2021: Foreword). For Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021) 'we' represents the people who have been involved with Cannabis all along and whom they consider to be the real experts. Therefore, the 'we' I am referring to is the vision to see the Cannabis plant and all its products being used freely by all the people of the world who seek to use it. Unfortunately, the dominance of a disconnected agrarian discussion for hemp Cannabis and an apolitical recreational and medicinal Cannabis discourse is problematic to the development of the plant for all South Africans. These discourses are problematic because they are being designed to benefit those people who have the necessary resources and not those without access to these resources, who have been the majority of the prohibited Cannabis movement.

Coogan's (2016) therefore asks a pertinent question, if the hemp story in South Africa is a 'saviour crop' or just 'business as usual'? This chapter agrees that the economic aspects of hemp Cannabis need to be scrutinized much more thoroughly if it is to get close to its high expectations. Hemp was always conceived of by the

Cannabis movement, as indeed were all the plants usages, as more than just a product that would stimulate economic growth. It was implicitly understood as being more important than just a commodity (see Herer 1985 [2010]). The plant always also had social and political implications that were equally significant. Therefore, what needs to be added to Coogan's (2016) question of economic parity, is if the plants embedded political geography and labour offers the development of Cannabis a way to harness its potential at being a new method towards 'emancipatory sustainability'.[247]

So far, employment and development opportunities in the legal Cannabis industry in South Africa remain unequal and geared towards a minority of specialized Cannabis entrepreneurs rather than most ordinary masses (Field Note Observations, 2018 – 2021). Those with certain qualifications, financial capability, or government access can already get into the industry much more easily (see Buxton et.al. 2020; Riboulet-Zemouli et.al. 2019).[248] It has therefore become, by and large, an expert driven industry.[249] While a skilled industry is in and of itself good for industrial growth, indigenous knowledge, or, as Gramsci would call, 'organic intellectual' capability also needs to be granted free access into a regulated Cannabis market.

Thankfully, the inclusion of 'indigenous knowledge' in the development of Cannabis in South Africa is something most people in the local industry do regularly call for (Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli 2021). However, Thandeka Kunene notes that Cannabis licence processes are difficult in South Africa and Indigenous knowledge holders will not be able to bypass this aspect of regulation. But she adds they are doable (Cannabis Trade Association & Cheeba Cannabis TV, 21 Sept 2021, Accessed 22 September 2021). The fact that the Cannabis movement grasps that economic development needs to be more inclusive, provides recognition to the existence of an alternative politics that it draws from. The movement therefore already draws from 'Indigenous knowledge' which Povinelli (2011) has illuminated, is embedded with a form of existence that operates outside of mainstream politics, social and economic ideals. Unfortunately, the use of such knowledge is marginal in mainstream Cannabis

[247] This means a type of sustainability rooted in a social labour perspective that can work to free people from what Marx called the 'alienated labour' force and hence economic control and possibly then political subjugation. I have borrowed this from Neocosmos' (2016) terminology 'emancipatory politics'.

[248] My educational qualifications mean my chances of accessing the formal Cannabis industry are already higher than the majority of black, working class and most women. However, like this majority, I do not yet have the financial capability or government support.

[249] See later discussion that expands on this idea.

development, so discriminate levels of accessibility and an unequal knowledge base persists.

This meant that the chapter concerned itself with the constraints and opportunities for work and ownership becoming available in the legal Cannabis industry in South Africa. This did not necessarily mean interrogating how a person can get a job in the Cannabis industry per se. But rather, to write an autoethnography of the constraints and opportunities more generally, faced by ordinary people wanting to gain access to this industry. And though there is a policy framework that can be deduced from this section of the study, the overall intention was to provide a critical discussion of the geography of hemp development in South Africa rather than inform policy.[250] Unexpectantly and inadvertently, this autoethnography also became an ongoing quest at my entrance to the agrarian sector.[251] On top of that, it has become far more political than I had thought it would be when I first conceived of this thesis in the mid-1990s.[252]

After finally registering for a PhD in 2017 with hemp Cannabis as the topic, I imagined that if I complete, I would be able to finally own an independent marijuana industry or at least secure work as a specialized consultant within the private sector. I imagined such work opportunities from overseas private companies or from academic, government or Non-Governmental Organizations in Africa that are trying to tap into the Cannabis industry. However, what I have found is that even with my current qualifications I still might need to attain formal Cannabis certification courses to apply for a job within an increasingly regulated industry. On top of this, a leader in global Cannabis news, 420 Intel, Accessed 28 April 2021) states, “But while the Cannabis world continues to expand, the industry remains overwhelmingly white and difficult to break into for people of color and LGBTQ individuals. A 2017 survey from Marijuana Business Daily found that 81% of Cannabis business owners and founders were white [in America]. The proportion of Hispanic/Latino owners and founders was 5.7%, while 4.3% were Black, and just 2.4% were Asian.” Becoming an owner or leader of my own

[250] For an excellent and alternative policy proposal for Cannabis in South Africa see The Fields of Green Cannabis Manifesto by Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli (2021). The original plan for this chapter was to make use of an ethnography of a working hemp farm, processing and manufacturing plant to gather a deeper understanding of the industrial usages of Cannabis.

[251] For a fuller discussion of the agrarian spaces see (Akram-Lodhi & Kay 2010; Bernstein 1996; Fairbairn et.al, 2014; Greenberg 2015; Hebinck & Cousins 2013; McMichael 2013; Rutherford 2017).

[252] While I have not been in any type of leadership position in the Cannabis movement it has remained part of my ‘livity’ ever since I came across hemp Cannabis in the mid-1990s.

Cannabis industry (unless of course I work my way up the ladder of corporatism) seems increasingly less plausible and given these statistics, highly ambitious. The fact that I am far more qualified than most people because I own a master's degree, I have about 10 years farming experience, I have been an active participant in arts and sports over the last 20 years, and I am currently researching hemp Cannabis in South Africa at PhD level, does not count for as much as I thought it would. I live a life I would consider, that represents what the Cannabis movement in South Africa stands for, black people, the poor working class and woman's justice, yet still, I am faced with only two realistic options or combinations of these:

1. To complete the PhD and work within academia, perhaps writing more about Cannabis and participating as a scholarly expert, but more likely moving on to new fields of study as time progresses.

2. To join the corporate Cannabis sector, preferably here in South Africa or the continent, but more likely overseas, and work my way up the food chain. And after saving enough money invest into my own venture.

The third option, my preferred one, of owning a Cannabis industry immediately after completing this PhD seems highly improbable, even with the skill sets I do have. How much worse is it then for people with less than my skill set? And while this thesis does not intend to offer any direct policy recommendation, its position is that: The creation of a successful and just Cannabis industry, is where hemp leads the development of the non-food crop sector in South Africa, trusting that the entire spectrum of the plants political geography that includes recreational and medicinal usages are united as equal partners. Such unity consolidates the power of the agrarian sector which has long been a pawn of capital liberal democracy. The unity of all Cannabis usages is also essential if the plant is to play a fundamental role in the development of an independent and powerful agrarian non-food crop sector. Once this is secured the equitable and sustainable development of other key agrarian sectors such as food, water, land and labour can be further advanced. It follows then that the development of an 'emancipatory sustainable' Cannabis industry must be committed to more just and equitable outcomes.

7.2 The implications of a non-food crop sector led by hemp (Cannabis): Hints at policy

There were social, economic and political reasons that Cannabis was removed from agrarian production that this thesis has already stressed.[253] The return of Cannabis to agrarian production means that there likely will be implications accompanying this reintroduction. The fact that the plant has existed as an illegal crop for much of the 20th century, means that it was removed (at least historically and structurally) from mainstream development designs.[254] Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: v) therefore stress the important issue of creating adequate access in a regulated market for Cannabis; "Every citizen must be able to function within evidence-based regulations, without favour being granted to those who have the capital or infrastructure in place already, or at their disposal. Cannabis cannot be considered de jure legal in South Africa unless each adult citizen has access to the legal Cannabis economy should they wish, whilst complying with regulations." The development of just opportunities for black people, the poor working class and women in the South African Cannabis industry is therefore fundamental to the plants development.

Cannabis development is consequently without doubt political. The plants victimization, through politically charged divide and rule tactics, separated the three sectors of the non-food crop sector during prohibition for economic and social reasons.[255] The separation of parts of the whole is something liberal democratic capitalism has done throughout its hegemonic history of slavery, racism, colonialism, segregation, or apartheid. Hemp Cannabis was particularly delinked from its medicinal and recreational parts which disabled the plants overall development potential. Ayanda Bam the CEO and Co-Founder of BCubed Consulting & Co-founder of Friends of Hemp South Africa is therefore rightly pessimistic about stand-alone hemp

[253] Recall for instance (Bewley-Taylor, Blickman & Jelsma 2014; Decorate et.al. 2011; Fijnaut & De Ruyver, 2015; Herer, (1985) [2010]; Klantschnig et.al. 2014; London 2009; Riboulet-Zemouli (ed.) 2018).

[254] The thesis is aware that the historical alignments of Cannabis to Rasta, hippie, counterculture, indigenous knowledge systems and alternative development paradigms does not mean that the development path of contemporary Cannabis will strictly follow these designs. Former liberation movements are an interesting example of the ease with which other left, radical, revolutionary, black conscious or Pan-African ideas were disregarded in favour of democratic liberal capitalism, albeit in an African form. The shift of many former liberation movements to crony, corrupt and nepotistic party politics post-independence, must be a warning sign that alternative development designed for the most marginalized in society are often very difficult to implement (See Neocosmos 2002; 2016).

[255] Recall that Cannabis functions across the entirety of this sector at a highly competitive level.

development. Ayanda argues that hemp's definition in South Africa is still problematically insulated. This needs to change to make hemps development learn from other industries and ensure its production is viable in the country. He therefore argues that South Africa must follow 'whole plant' development of Cannabis to be successful (Ayanda Bam, Craft Cannabis Summit, 23 Jul 2021, Accessed 20 & 22 September 2021). It is for this reason that the thesis suggested earlier, delinking from ideas for Cannabis that separate, rather than unify, all the aspects of the plant.

For new epistemic traditions to flourish and unify despite the divisiveness of colonial academic discourse, Mignolo (2011), advanced the term 'academic disobedience'. By applying 'academic disobedience' through delinking also means creating something, as Lewis Gordan explains of Fanons philosophical outlook:

> The ideas, many of which will unfold through years of engaged political work, need not be perfect, for in the end, it will be the hard, creative work of the communities that take them on. That work is the concrete manifestation of political imagination.
>
> Fanon described this goal as setting afoot a new humanity. He knew how terrifying such an effort is, for we do live in times where such a radical break appears as no less than the end of the world. In the meantime, the task of building infrastructures for something new must be planned, and where there is some room, attempted, as we all no doubt already know, because given the sociogenic dimension of the problem, we have no other option but to build the options on which the future of our species rest (Lewis Gordon, "Fanon and Development. A Philosophical Look" 2004 cited in Mignolo 2011: 44).

The same creative spirit can be observed in the political underpinnings of Cannabis in South Africa, because frankly, 'we have no other option'. It is precisely, why Mdingi (2017, 2020: abstract) calls for "A kenotic model of leadership is [to] service … humanity and the world" to move towards, rather than away from, an 'emancipatory politics' (Neocosmos 2016). This exemplary guidance is evident in most of the leadership of the Cannabis movement In South Africa. They seem adamant not to create an industry where 'the rich can get richer' indiscriminately. Thus, Ayanda Bam (Craft Cannabis Summit, 23 Jul 2021, Accessed 20 & 22 September 2021) adds that South Africa must commercialize the industry in a way that works for all people to avoid some of the 'mistakes made in other areas' of South African economic development. What Ayanda Bam is referring to is the liberal economic design of post-apartheid South Africa that has led to the monetary gain of a few over the majority.

The development of Cannabis therefore must remain disobedient if it is to serve the marginalized humanities of the world.

My observations and trial over the course of this research to gain access into the Cannabis industry have confirmed that the opportunities to enter it are not the same for everyone. However, people have also argued that barriers to entry into the Cannabis industry, red tape and legislative concerns, are quite usual for infant industries (Craft Cannabis Summit, 26 February 2021, Accessed 26 February 2021). Nevertheless, I don't think I should, or any other person, consider the barriers to entry into the Cannabis industry as a normal part of a budding industry. Therefore, by commenting on the political geographies that survive regardless of these 'usual' barriers allows other less obvious sites of Cannabis development in South Africa to be revealed.

However, in the plants current repositioning in the world, these methods of survival (i.e., the revolutionary and labour arrangements of Cannabis history) are being glossed over in favour of focusing on economic potentials. The fact that Cannabis can make a lot of money is something liberal democratic capitalism is now willing to sustain. Hence Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: 98) protest:

> We become wary when analysts predict the massive potential of Cannabis, quoting billions in sales once this plant is legalised for commercial purposes. We need to stop overselling the potential of Cannabis as the saviour, as an entire economy cannot be based on a single industry. We do believe Cannabis cultivation, distribution and trade will help the economy. However, there is also untapped potential in the industries that support our Cannabis industry.

Moreover, even though hemp is a useful agricultural crop the idea that investment into Cannabis should go to the agricultural sector is a colonial mode as Kian McKenna from Druids Garden, a health & wellness company, also suggested (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). Sibusiso Xaba, Co-founder and CEO of ACA Group, a Cannabis consultancy firm, therefore echoed what many other panelists at various Cannabis conferences had said; South Africa needs to take over the entire investment chain of the Cannabis industry to be successful. This includes agriculture, but is not limited to it, because Cannabis is not just about growing the plant (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). In another example, John Kagai, the Managing director of New Frontier Data from the USA and Kenya who has incredible knowledge on Cannabis

models in developed and developing countries agreed. He added that the value-added products of Cannabis need to be created in Africa to create a market to serve Africans themselves and keep profits on the continent. He suggested also that the THC market is going to be big in Africa but says Hemp will be even bigger. Hemp he argued is uniquely positioned to be a key product of more sustainable development given the climate change era. Also, it is more easily regulated than THC Cannabis. John Kagai added lastly that it is imperative to do your homework and look beyond just cultivation of the plant to do well in the Cannabis industry (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). In other words, the agrarian sector encompasses more than just agricultural activities, so that limiting Cannabis to it corners the connections of the plant away from industries it could partner with such as Information Technology, education and logistics or even other parts of labour's diverse value chain (see Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli 2021: 15-16).

Nonetheless, hemp products do begin from agricultural agrarian spaces unlike medicinal and recreational marijuana that can be grown in horticultural spaces. Horticultural spaces are smaller such as garden spaces of homes, office parks or green houses and use more intensive farming methods. Agricultural spaces can be small (for example an urban farm such as my own), medium sized or large-scale commercial agricultural properties. I have no formal access to these larger spaces[256] nor can I afford the licence or permit to grow hemp Cannabis which can cost upward of a million rand (see Draft National Cannabis Masterplan 2021). Neither do I own a factory capable of manufacturing any one of the goods hemp can produce. Therefore, the most reasonable option I have to enter the spaces that hemp Cannabis is affiliated too, would be in my case, the construction industry.

Because I own a van, I became, over the course of 2020 and 2021, reliant on this vehicle to make a living. Admittedly, this is also because of the constraints the Covid 19 pandemic put on my financial stability. While at first, I did not link this construction work I was getting to my PhD, it is directly related. Hemp is linked to the construction industry because of the products it produces (see Bouloc et.al. 2013; Decorte et.al. 2011; Herer 1985 [2010]; Salentijn et.al. 2015; Warf 2014). Moreover, hemp Cannabis, as is the construction industry, is also related to the motor car

[256] I do know some people with medium sized farms (+/- 15 hectares) and can get access to use space at these farms. However, until I complete this PhD such access is not something I can do as a full-time job.

industry. Henry Ford, it must be recalled, built his first Ford Model T prototype using a hemp interior and exterior "and could run off hemp fuel as well as vegetable oil" (Dutta D, Accessed 03 February 2022; see also Herer 1985 [2010]). Thus, when discussing hemp (Cannabis) you are directly engaging with the construction industry, as well as, but to a lesser extent the design materials used in the motor car industry. Clearly then, hemp Cannabis is much more connected to the production and establishment of manufacturing industries, than the other uses of the plant.

Nonetheless, Cornel van de Watt, who has been growing Cannabis for 28 years and who has set up five large scale Cannabis grow houses already, was defiantly adamant that the role of hemp in South Africa needs to be marginalized when compared to the relative advantage the country has in the recreational and medicinal areas of Cannabis production (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). Cornel van de Watt, also known as 'the white lion', argued that the research and development of hemp for South Africa was too expensive. For him hemp is not viable, requires large capital and is labour intensive. He was also very fearful of the Chinese position regarding hemp and their dominance over its development path. He argued that the Chinese control the market and have been doing hemp farming for thousands of years so are very experienced. Cornel therefore is more interested in farming high value recreational and medicinal Cannabis that have a longer history of cultivation in South Africa and keeping biomass for other purposes, rather than hemp which is lower value and relies on mass production (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021).[257]

Lastly, Cornel suggests hemp in South Africa should be grown far away from other Cannabis products so that it does not cross pollinate the female plants of recreational and medicinal marijuana (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021).[258] There are nevertheless ways of mitigating this problem with feminized seeds etc. to stop the cross contamination of hemp with other Cannabis products. Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: 81) agree with this and state "It is of grave concern to all producers of (Cannabis products with psychoactive

[257] It was further noted, at this webinar that the landrace strains of Cannabis in South Africa have very high CBD content which should be protected and not contaminated by foreign and hemp strains (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021).

[258] Recreational and medicinal marijuana are harvested from female plants, while hemp Cannabis is largely male plants. When male plants cross-pollinate female plants, they cause them to seed, effectively damaging the crops value.

properties) Cannabis that cross pollination from hemp can adversely affect crop quality. We do not have an immediate solution, but this matter needs to be addressed urgently." The contamination of female recreational and medicinal marijuana by male hemp Cannabis therefore is a serious concern for the development of the industrial applications of this pant.

A further worry is that large-scale farmers will enter the South African market and do hemp farming exactly in the same manner as any other industrial crop (see Buxton in Buxton et.al. 2020). They will mono crop and not care about the sustainability of smaller 'connoisseur' Cannabis growers of recreational and medicinal marijuana (see also Polson and Bodwitch 2021). As an experienced small farmer, I agree that such large commercial mono-crop farms are problematic. But it is also possible to have small farmers grow hemp in smaller organic lots, intercropped with other crops, to produce goods for local as opposed to international markets.

Furthermore, Philasande Mahlakata, a community activist advocating for rural Cannabis farmers, says that in the Eastern Cape farmers know of the plant for its recreational usages. Thus, Philasande argues that some farmers are unhappy about getting rid of their Cannabis to plant hemp. People would prefer to work with what they have Philasande added (Craft Cannabis Summit, 23 Jul 2021, Accessed 20 & 22 September 2021). But there are places in the Eastern Cape where things are looking up for small farmers wanting to enter the hemp industry. For instance, Thami Madliwa, a Hemp Pioneer Producer & Secretary of Eastern Cape Hemp Producers Association, says that while she was also anti-marijuana at first, the hemp opportunities she saw showed the other uses of marijuana. She argues that there is a demand for hemp and farmers are ready to grow 'today' however more friendly legislation for hemp goods needs to still happen (Craft Cannabis Summit, 23 Jul 2021, Accessed 20 & 22 September 2021). There also remain problems with government proposals that seek to exclude CBD from the hemp market which would be completely unfair for small local hemp farmers (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021).

There is thus a need for a holistic ecosystem to allow for small farmers to enter the Cannabis industry. Small farmers cannot get left out because 'the green wave has hit South Africa' (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). It might therefore be better to keep the hemp industry in South Africa closer to smaller farmers than large agricultural conglomerates. Malawi hemp pioneer Tanya Clarke of Invagro Malawi agrees and said there was 'overwhelming interest' by small-

holders in growing hemp and the Malawi government was finally responding (Cheeba Craft Cannabis Summit summary, Accessed 26 February 2021).

Thus, even though governments want and need regulation for Cannabis, overregulation can also be a problem and can even kill the market as it has in Canada according to Cornel van der Watt (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). For Daniel from the Cannabis Development Council of South Africa (CDCSA) of North West province, who has been involved with Cannabis since 2002, the South African government must consider how to regulate while keeping Cannabis pure to its spirit of sharing and inclusivity (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). Another inclusion this thesis seeks to propose is that Cannabis, including its industrial usages, might be better situated to craft business opportunities as opposed to large scale industrial and corporate forms of commercial production.[259] Although this is more difficult to implement for hemp because it is lower value and requires mass production to be economically viable, a craft business model could succeed in cooperative farming systems that pool resources together for agricultural and manufacturing purposes. Craft Cannabis connoisseurs are concerned with the spate of large companies entering the Cannabis market but realize that the craft market is equally viable and might even be more consumer friendly in a 'green' future than the products of big business.

A creative hemp policy will add more merit to the ways of initiating a legal Cannabis market in South Africa. This might be extended to Africa as well, that is already directing its attention to the medicinal and industrial uses of the plant rather than its recreational aspects. Nigeria, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Kenya, Ghana and all have Bills at various levels of administration that focus on Cannabis for either medicinal or industrial hemp, but not for recreational use (University of Zimbabwe & Cheeba Cannabis Academy, 29 June 2021, Accessed 23 September 2021). Adebisi & Olaoye (2022), as noted in Table 3, highlight the legal status of Cannabis in African countries and add also the current legislation status in Morocco, Rwanda and South Africa. While in Lesotho medical marijuana is legalized but is being produced for the international market leaving small producers to be largely disenfranchised by its development. Thus, Trenton Birch states that hemp is a softer entry point for Cannabis in Africa precisely because it is not psychoactive while Sibusiso Xaba calls it the 'low

[259] See later discussion in this chapter.

hanging fruit'. However, Trenton Birch adds that while easy to grow processing hemp can be difficult (University of Zimbabwe & Cheeba Cannabis Academy, 29 Jun 2021, Accessed 23 September 2021). Essentially, a Cannabis policy resting solely on the industrial applications of the plant fly in the face of the history of Cannabis use in South Africa and the continent which have overwhelmingly been in the recreational and medicinal arenas.

This presentation of hemp as a solution to inequitable forms of development therefore shows that it remains contested in Africa. In particular, how will a market be governed to ensure small producers obtain benefits from cultivation? The legalization of hemp in the United States has been dominated by those with substantial amounts of capital to produce at scale, in large part because the market price obtained for hemp cultivation is low. Dillis et.al., (2021: 1) argue for example that "The cannabis industry in California is attempting to transition from an international epicentre of unpermitted production to one of the world's largest legal markets. This formalization process will likely establish new centres of production outside the state's historical cannabis-producing regions, with implications for local communities and the environment." It is likely that even if informal sectors are formalized risks the removal of the economic benefits producers obtained from engaging with the risks associated with producing an illicit commodity. In other words, it would still be more worthwhile for small farmers to produce illegal and predominantly recreational marijuana rather than hemp because they do not have access to large capital and land. Polson and Bodwitch (2021) discuss these dynamics in a useful way for thinking through how a legalized industry that supports historically underrepresented groups might be developed in South Africa.

Nonetheless, the reasons I argue that Cannabis development should be spearheaded by the spaces hemp makes available rather than those recreational or medicinal marijuana are opening, are as follows:

First – Most importantly, spearheading the development of Cannabis from the spaces available in hemp arenas will not forsake the recreational and medicinal developments of the plant. In fact, it will showcase the importance of the plant as more than just a smokable substance. Furthermore, it will bring to the fore one of the many reasons people (myself included) considered the plant beneficial to the development of a better society for all. A plant that can produce, paper, fabric, light construction goods as well as medicinal and recreational goods was always what made the plant special in the

first place. Even if not a panacea for global development, Cannabis can act to alleviate poverty and create employment.

Second – By developing a hemp market in Africa, or a Cannabis market more generally, could set in motion a more vibrant agrarian economy. Such an economy would establish non-food crops as important members of African agriculture that is too reliant on commodity food crop productions. Colonial agricultural models never really introduced hemp to African agrarian markets because they preferred crops that benefitted their capitalist expansion (for example maize, sugar cane, wheat or cotton). This has meant that the hemp sector has been neglected even though it offers a wide variety of goods that could be used to foster sustainable development on the continent. Hemp also neatly links into the existing industrial plant manufacturers of paper, textiles, furniture, motor and building materials for example.

Third – The development of an agrarian centered Cannabis sector can be positively influenced by the introduction and significance of hemp to its plans. Without hemp, Cannabis development will remain obscured by its prohibition past that created a stereotype that all the plant produces are recreational marijuana. Hemp therefore gives the Cannabis industry a type of legitimacy that the plant has indeed got more than just a psychoactive purpose: The medicinal usages of Cannabis are also proving this. A Cannabis policy focused on hemp allows for the negative narratives of marijuana (especially recreational) to be minimized and industrial production to be maximized instead.

Fourth – A Cannabis policy focused on industry and the manufacturing of goods, such that hemp and medical marijuana enable, also increases the value chain of Cannabis. This gives small entrepreneurs and manufacturers new products with which to showcase their expertise. It also will direct people interested in participating in the Cannabis industry away from, the already quite flooded, cultivation of the plant. This will diversify the expectations of the market around Cannabis and likewise, brand Cannabis goods more widely than they currently are. This is particularly useful in Africa where the plant is still regarded fundamentally as a recreational good and hence it's continued, prohibition on the continent (albeit a very lax prohibition).

Fifth – Hemp provides a way for African development to prosper. Since Cannabis is fundamentally an agrarian good, and it is in the agrarian where African development

roots from, the development of Cannabis can bolster such development. The fact the plant can compete at the highest levels in three non-food crop sectors (recreational, medicinal and industrial) must be something African development must seriously consider. Including hemp to African development will also incorporate new industries, manufacturers and producers to its existing networks.

Sixth – Hemp has the potential to create a diverse employment base and bolster economic growth through agrarian industrial development, farming, manufacturing, industrial design, retail and entrepreneurship. Hemp's multiple applications can ignite the employment base and earn revenue for African countries still reliant on circumstances created through foreign direct investment or government initiatives. Once the general public can create their own employment and source its own wealth it becomes self-sufficient, and that is precisely the vision of the Cannabis movement.

Seven – A hemp focus fits neatly into the growth of other agrarian goods that have wide applications in industrial fields such as light construction goods, textile, paper or car product manufacturing. These include for instance, cotton, straw, bamboo and timber. Combining hemp with these raw materials can create a wider range of finished products for the market place. Hence, the possibility of hemp adding to these industries production base is immense.

Eight – Because hemp is fundamentally a commodity crop it can offer new solutions to how commercial agriculture can be instituted in South Africa without relying on capitalist modes of production. This is vital to agrarian development in South Africa. The creation of hemp development models that favour the enablement of small farmers is imperative to a sustainable future. Moreover, the fact that these farmers could produce a product that they can manufacture independently increases their chances at true sustainability.

Nine – Hemp and Cannabis offer a way that agriculture can enter the contemporary and highly volatile land debate. The embedded revolutionary history of Cannabis offers new insights into several issues pertaining to this important debate including, the invasion of capitalism, economic development, access to formally prohibited domains and the rights of people to own their means of production.

Ten – A focus on hemp is a way in which Cannabis policy in South Africa can evade pro-capitalist Western development currently being instituted into global Cannabis

policies in the world. This depends on how it is structured of course, because there already plenty of corporate investments and corporate industrial approach's to hemp. Nonetheless, by including, rather than marginalizing hemp that allows small farmers and manufactures the chance to access new markets that are increasingly becoming overpopulated by recreational and medicinal marijuana entrepreneurs will go a long way at enabling a different economic model.

Eleven – Lastly, the natural and human resource base of South Africa is suited to growing hemp and Cannabis. Our warm climate allows the crop to produce at least two sets of harvest if not three. Moreover, the existing Cannabis farmers, if regulated right, could be the base for an equitable hemp production sector. These farmers are already growing Cannabis so have the necessary experience and skills at growing the plant. Additional training would all that would be required to turn these farmers into successful hemp Cannabis producers and possibly hemp manufacturers if equitable cooperative models are put in place.

However, it must be stated that a pro-hemp policy is – and perhaps paradoxically – a step backwards to pre-colonial methods of regulating Cannabis. That is, as an agrarian good, rather than a substance associated to hard drugs. What is important about this, however, is that such policy existed prior to monopoly capitalisms destructive intrusion into the agrarian (Akram-Lodhi & Kay, 2010a, 2010b; Bernstein 1996) and the subsequent prohibition of Cannabis for various political economic reasons (Bewley-Taylor, Blickman & Jelsma 2014). Thus, rather than explicitly being a new way of legislating Cannabis, a focus on hemp reinstates Cannabis regulation focused on the agrarian applications of the plant as its first point of departure. As such it enables the industrial development of the plant while at the same time advancing, as opposed to stagnating, medicinal and recreational Cannabis developments.

Getting new Cannabis policy in South Africa right is an important test for capitalist prescriptions that continue to under develop the global South as well as for underperforming nationalist governments (see Rodney 1973).[260] A futuristic Cannabis policy must refuse to be bound by international policy, nor be content to reform and correct colonial prohibition efforts. A hemp focused policy can be revolutionary only if it combines with medicinal and recreational Cannabis development. This means also

[260] Fela Kuti's important stand for accountability from African national governments must be noted here (see Sithole 2012; also, Neocosmos 2016).

insisting that the new policy of Cannabis include the views and hard work of Rastafarianism and those that initiated its status as a symbol of the revolution (see Buxton in Buxton et.al. 2020; Rodney 1969 [1996]).

This is fundamental because policy that is first conceptualized by revolutionaries is often the first to be targeted by liberal minded compromises. The development of hemp Cannabis is especially prone to such market led incorporation. Thus, for Cannabis development policy, a no compromise approach should be taken to ensure that a person's social resource base cannot determine their accessibility into the Cannabis industry. In other words, the Cannabis industry must not promote the rich getting richer at the expense of the poor. If this goal is reached, the work and ownership opportunities becoming available in the legal Cannabis industry in South Africa will be dependent on experience and not the resources one has access to.

7.3 The modes of containment still prevalent in Cannabis development

Nevertheless, several factors still constrain the just development of Cannabis. Hemp Cannabis is particularly constrained by its disassociation to radical agrarian transformation while recreational and medicinal Cannabis suffer from an apolitical discourse. To be clear these constraints work both ways. In other words, the apolitical constraints that affect recreational and medicinal Cannabis also impact hemp, as does the reformatory agrarian discussion of hemp affect recreational and medicinal Cannabis. This section lays out the modes of containment still prevalent in Cannabis development to understand how they operate to constrain and contain the entire usages of the plant.

The first constraint is that the context of the plants full political geography must be included into the conversation about Cannabis development. This will better allow the plant to exist in the way in which the Cannabis movement intended it to. That is, as a plant that should be used for all its numerous purposes for the betterment of all societies. This means a conscious political geography of Cannabis must become a central part of the development motto for the plant. By ensuring the entire political geography of Cannabis is included into the plant's development can create a more sustainable hemp Cannabis program tuned into the real-life aspects of its agrarian nature. This is particularly useful because the legalistic (recreational), as well as

contemporary discourse that situates Cannabis within medical categorizations, fails to adequately discuss the political aspects of the plant's agrarian nature. It was the public discourse created through prohibition that made Cannabis into a substance and not an agrarian commodity. Therefore, Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: 79) suggest for hemp that it should be regulated as any other agricultural crop. An agrarian argument consequently firmly understands hemp Cannabis as an agricultural good and an essential part of the non-food crop family, but this should not imply that it seeks the separation of its parts[261] nor that this thesis necessarily agrees with this position.[262]

The second constraint of Cannabis development, therefore, is that the plant in its entirety is useful and therefore should be understood as such, rather than as subdivided parts; even if Cannabis usages are vastly different. Thus, to talk of hemp is to talk about Cannabis, as it is to talk about marijuana and vice versa. The reason for not separating hemp from the recreational and medicinal usages of Cannabis is clearly articulated by Riboulet-Zemouli et.al. (2019, Accessed 14 December 2021).

> Reaching the Goals of the 2030 [UN sustainable development] Agenda means adopting significantly different regulations to all aspects and activities linked to the uses of the Cannabis plant, moving away from the artificial separation between "hemp" and "marijuana". Scientists talk about Cannabis, farmers talk about hemp, politicians talk about marijuana, but none of them really get a clear picture of the ethnobotanical context of this plant. It is time for us all to get on the same page.

Cannabis is first and foremost an agrarian good and a leading member of the crops that make up non-food agricultural production. It is for this reason that Cannabis should be the designated label for this crop's placement as a leading non-food crop member, rather than 'hemp'. Riboulet-Zemouli et.al. (2019: 6) emphasis that "The dissociation of "hemp" from psychoactive Cannabis is purely artificial and terminological" and therefore not useful. Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: 79) elaborate about this problematic separatist terminology, "The concept of 'hemp' is hard

[261] The Cannabis movement generally does not support divisions of the plant because they tend to create semantic discussions about which part is the most important. This thesis is partially guilty of dividing chapters to focus on the specific uses of Cannabis. However, the thesis has also stressed throughout that it is impossible to understand hemp without discussing the other uses of Cannabis which is what its arguments have tried to insist. Nevertheless, Cannabis is now in the aftermath of prohibition which means dealing with how it will be structured in local, national, regional and international arenas, regardless of the negative narratives it has inherited (see Buxton in Buxton et.al. 2020; Clarke & Riboulet-Zemouli 2021; Riboulet-Zemouli et.al. 2019).

[262] Agricultural crops include non-food crops such as Cannabis. Therefore, separating hemp from its medicinal or recreational parts is still problematic. See later discussion of the second constraint in this section.

to apply to policy making, because it relies on popular designation rather than on an evidence-based one." To clarify, the term hemp refers to the industrial applications of Cannabis only. The term Cannabis is therefore more useful for naming purposes and all its produce are best understood as non-food crop productions regardless of if these are industrial, medicinal or recreational. They are all still Cannabis.

On the other hand, Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: 79) note,

> However, it is important to recognize the need for hemp cultivation to develop under a sui generis Cannabis regulation policy, contrary to the other uses of the plant (adult uses, medical uses). Experience has shown that hemp policies that look more like drug policies than like wheat cultivation rules, fail in all aspects.

Thus, they are arguing that hemp should be developed in a class by itself "… contrary to the other uses of the plant (adult uses, medical uses)". This thesis argues that a 'sui generis' approach for the industrial applications of Cannabis perpetuates the same system that prohibited the plant in first place.[263] What would be more useful for hemp Cannabis, as well as all the other uses of marijuana, is a development ideal focused on consolidating all its usages rather than separating them. Therefore, it is not to create a hemp policy that looks like 'wheat cultivation rules' but one that looks like it is focused on the entire Cannabis plant and all its usages. As an agrarian story, as a non-food crop member, Cannabis can find such a space.

Rewriting agrarian space is therefore an essential part of reinstating Cannabis back into the agricultural spaces of the world. Interestingly both Sibusiso Xaba Co-founder and CEO of ACA Group and Travis Scadron who helps Cannabis and CBD businesses, believe that in telling the story of Cannabis can help rewrite peoples view of the plant and hence consolidate its usages. For Sibusiso Xaba, the stories of Cannabis are dynamic because wherever the plant exists it has specific products to match that story. Therefore, it is about linking the product to the story to try to sell African Cannabis products. While for Travis Scadron to tell the story of Cannabis is to create (or recreate) the connection to the plant (Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021; Craft Cannabis Summit, 11 Mar 2021, Accessed 20 September 2021). Cannabis production during prohibition penned important stories

[263] Recall that the Marijuana Tax Act of 1937 in the USA effectively prohibited recreational and medicinal Cannabis by imposing unusually high taxes on hemp cultivation that made it uneconomical to grow any part of the plant eventually (Bouloc et.al. 2013: 22-23; Warf 2014: 430).

that rewrote how the plant can be understood. Transitioning Cannabis from its prohibition spaces back into its agrarian space therefore is fundamental to ensuring the development of a cohesive industrial (Cannabis), medicinal (Cannabis) and recreational (Cannabis) sector is rewritten.

The third mode of containment is in the transitioning of Cannabis from illegality to legal markets. Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: 53) clearly emphasize this aspect.

> To ensure inclusivity and soft transitioning from the unregulated market to a regulated industry, several principles should prevail:
> The ultimate aim of sustainable regulations should be to mitigate the need for anyone to operate outside the law. This is achieved by making regulations and training in best practice accessible to all, and by planning incentives for the poorest;
> Avoid licenses: the regulations implemented must not be structured around a licensing system where any individual, organization or government body has the right to grant or deny the said license.

In this transitioning, it is not so much the pace of it that is important, but the guarantee that the marginalized can also become a leading part of Cannabis legality as they were during its illegality (see also Polson & Bodwitch 2021). Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: 53) elaborate, “One of the core principles of the South African regulation model must be that nobody is left behind.” Making ‘inclusivity’ possible is however much easier in principle than it is in practice (see Dillis et.al., 2021). ‘Inclusivity’ therefore is not up to those with resources to give handouts to the marginalized. Rather black people, the poor working class and women must access their own agency to develop the South African Cannabis industry the way they see fit.

Still, it would be ignorant not to acknowledge the fact that South Africa’s economic plans for Cannabis are largely determined by foreign, liberal democratic capitalism and state ideals. Thus, there is a real threat of domination by foreign companies over the still emerging Cannabis industry. (Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli 2021: 93) clearly explain their policy suggestion in this regard,

> To avoid foreign investment jeopardising South African stakeholders and people involved in the current Cannabis economy, two elements are critical. Firstly, all companies involved in Cannabis-related activities must be at least 51% owned by national capital. Secondly, during the first five years of implementation of the reforms, a moratorium will restrict and redirect foreign investment to support industries, instead of direct cultivation and retail industries. The

> most needed areas, where foreign investment would be allowed during the moratorium, are; testing and product analysis; education and training; machinery and infrastructure; tech support and IT development.

Such an assertion is crucial to this thesis that is primarily concerned with showing where the discourses of hemp (Cannabis) in South Africa have come from, where they are presently situated and where they will go to in the future. How a formerly prohibited substance will be incorporated into a free market economy, considering South Africa's post-apartheid neoliberal experience, is a cause for concern. If caution is not heeded, the development of Cannabis will become another example of how capital can take control over goods it formally dismissed. The various aspects of liberation history that are embedded in Cannabis will also more likely be discontinued in a liberal democratic capital development. Riboulet-Zemouli et.al. (2019: 5) note this tendency also.

> The reformist trends in Cannabis policy globally is an ongoing movement unlikely to be stopped. A deficit of democratic monitoring of the generalization of legal Cannabis markets could represent a threat for affected populations and public health. Ethics are needed. A renewed interest and takeover of the topic Cannabis by all categories of the population are urgent.

The resistance that Cannabis symbolized for the hippie and Rastafarian movement has less place now in organizing how the plant is developed in contemporary South Africa, than it did during prohibition.[264] Cannabis is an example of how capital is able to dismiss the 'power and knowledge' the plant formally operated with during prohibitive circumstances (Dillis et.al., 2021; Polson & Bodwitch 2021). These are replaced with an accepted space in the capital system. However, these new spaces can be easily made into targets for capital liberal democratic development if they do not conform to the standards of market logic. Riboulet-Zemouli et.al. (2019: 67) thus title a whole section of their report "A post-prohibition rooted in human rights" to express their concern with continued capitalist exploitation. In their view the legalization of Cannabis must not equate to its incorporation into a capital system, still transitioning from its own legacies of scientific racism and hegemony. Therefore, the Cannabis movement is quite aware of these shortcomings but still believes it is

[264] This study focused on the Rastafarian influences of Cannabis because these are often overlooked in the plants discourse, but which for most working-class Global South citizens, forms a dominant position about the plant. Moreover, Patterson's (2009) work has already partially explored (although further detail could be added) the hippie movements and to a lesser extent Rastafarianism's links to resistance and Cannabis.

possible to do development differently. As Jack Herer states in the documentary "emperor of hemp", (2011, Accessed 05 March 2019) "I don't know if hemps [Cannabis] gonna save the world, but I'll tell you this, it's the only thing that can." Such assertions are what makes hemp interesting and the political geography of the plant Cannabis complex.

The last mode of containment facing Cannabis is that the plant is being likened to the commercial regulatory frameworks governing alcohol and tobacco. Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: 49) elaborate,

> Cannabis, being different to alcohol and tobacco on several points, means that regulation must be administered by a specific department – and not be lumped together with these more harmful substances, as it was previously with other controlled drugs.

I agree with Clark and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021) that Cannabis is different to alcohol and tobacco and new forms of regulation are needed, but disagree that the plant should be distanced from these types of crops through separated administration. Crops used to make alcoholic beverages, tobacco products and recreational Cannabis are, in the first instance, agricultural goods made from non-food crops and should be recognized as such. It is when tobacco and alcohol are linked to an equitable agrarian setting – and not a capitalist one – that they can be distanced from their negative association to harmful and illegal chemical drugs. Moreover, an agrarian understanding of tobacco and alcohol producing crops showcase the value of Cannabis as a recreational plant, but also as plant with important medicinal and industrial usages. Ultimately the contemporary agrarian agricultural space occupied to produce the crops for alcoholic beverages, tobacco products and recreational marijuana is not separate to, or more special than, any other agricultural production of non-food crops. Recreational agrarian spaces, medicinal agrarian spaces and industrial crop agrarian spaces are all just facets of the non-food crop sector. And the non-food crop sector is just one part of the total agrarian space. Thus, only when Cannabis space is openly agrarian, marketing it as a recreational good, akin to alcohol and tobacco production, can be beneficial to the overall development of all the uses of the plant. By openly agrarian I mean that farmers can farm Cannabis the way they see fit because primary production would not be regulated (similar to maize farmers for instance). Regulation would only occur in the processing, marketing and final use of Cannabis products. Thus, I would argue that what Clarke and Zemouli (2021: 49)

are in contention with is not tobacco and alcohol per se, but how their regulation remains a cornerstone of the remnants of the failed 'war on drugs'. Accordingly, Cannabis can be placed side by side with alcohol and tobacco, but only if the remaining structural deficiency of this failed policy is dismantled. In fact, it can even learn from these industries in fashioning its development path: Such as creating a craft Cannabis model for development similar to craft brewing and distilling models that have become popular in the last few years.

7.3.1 'Craft Cannabis': Quality over quantity

This idea of a craft Cannabis was something I learned after airing my concerns about the direction of Cannabis development in South Africa with Jake, one of the informal participants of this study (Informal conversation, Noordgesig Soweto, 2020). After I lamented to him about how big industry was going to take over the market and kill off small business he calmly said "no", let them do their big Cannabis projects, and he would stay doing craft – specialized, high-quality productions of Cannabis instead. At the time I had not thought this could be translated to the hemp industry, but in hindsight this worthwhile solution would allow small hemp farms to own and manufacture specific hemp products. Small farmers would be producing raw materials but also secondary and tertiary products. Controlling the value chain of production is essential for the growth of all the usages of Cannabis in South Africa. Small-scale industrial applications of the plant, as the central loci of future Cannabis legislation, might avoid some of the problems associated with mainstream Cannabis development.

For example, in South Africa hemp farms require fencing, and constant monitoring much of which is not user friendly for small farmers (see Draft National Cannabis Masterplan for South Africa 2021). Clara Norell, founder & construction engineer of Svensk Hampa Industri, who is in her third (now fourth) year of growing in Sweden, says there is no policing or fencing of hemp farming there because it is understood as a harmless agricultural crop. She added that South Africa's unique Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) for affordable housing could benefit from the use of locally produced hemp (Craft Cannabis Summit & Cheeba Cannabis TV, 23 Jul 2021, Accessed 20 & 22 September 2021). Hemp and other Cannabis industries in South Africa can therefore learn from other countries, but also related industries that depend on small scale productions. For instance, when the idea

of craft Cannabis being employed here is related to the craft beer industry interesting similarities and lessons can be gleaned.

Beer has been brewed globally for more than 8000 years and how it is brewed has not changed much over this time (Guido 2019: 1). The craft beer industry is in essence a "… call back to the roots of beer brewing before beer was homogenised and industrialised" (van der Merwe 2020: 7) by monopoly brewing companies in the late 19th and early 20th century, lasting till the late 1990s (Garavaglia & Swinnen 2017: 1; Garavaglia & Swinnen in Garavaglia & Swinnen (eds.) 2018: 20). And although the term craft is a relatively new concept, throughout the history of beer brewing it has been brewed in areas that serve the local community (van der Merwe 2020: 20). This is unlike the model monopoly brewing companies use.

South African Breweries (SAB) dominates the beer market in South Africa, controlling between 80% and 95% of the beer market share (van der Merwe 2020: 4). "However, the craft beer industry of South Africa is still in its infancy ['in terms of the supply chain and the maturity of the beer culture in South Africa' (van der Merwe 2020: 11)] with an estimated market share of around two per cent of the total beer market (van der Merwe 2020: i)." Nonetheless, craft beer breweries are not in direct competition with commercial breweries because they are focused on brewing high quality, unique beer for a new breed of beer drinkers (van der Merwe 2020: 4). Likewise, a proposal for craft Cannabis production is not about competing with large Cannabis companies. It is about creating a high-end product that stands out for itself, regardless of how big corporations popularize goods by quantifying their brands. Garavaglia & Swinnen (eds.) (2018: vii) further illuminate

> Craft brewers and their success have transformed global beer markets over the past two decades. They ended a century of consolidation of breweries, resulting in the domination of a few global multinationals and the homogenization of beer. A wave of small breweries entered the market offering a large variety of beers. Today, a few large multinational firms co-exist with a significant number of small craft beer producers.

Crafts can be understood as 'handicraft or artisanal products' (Makhitha 2016: 663). Still there is no universal definition of crafts owing to the 'diversified nature of the craft industry' (Garavaglia & Swinnen in Garavaglia & Swinnen (eds.) 2018: 4; Makhitha 2016: 663). The emergence of small, handcrafted and high-quality craft beer therefore offers interesting ways of understanding 'industrial change and economic

development' (Garavaglia & Swinnen (eds.) 2018: vii; Gatrell, Reid, & Steiger 2018: 363). Craft beer brewing was a 'counter-revolution' against monopoly beer companies 'uniform beer styles' and offered consumers a wider choice of specialized products to choose from (Garavaglia & Swinnen in Garavaglia & Swinnen (eds.) 2018: 3). It is therefore not a contradiction to relate Cannabis development with the rise in small, localized quality beer production.

The development of Cannabis must likewise provide an alternative development path to mainstream Cannabis development. If it does not it will suffer the same consequences of being dominated by a few very large companies producing standardized products (see Bewley-Taylor, Jelsma & Kay in Buxton et.al. 2020). And this has already begun to happen as Harvey Slade of Transform Drug Policy Foundation argued. Harvey Slade pointed out that since Cannabis legalization in Canada the industry has been led by a few big companies, which now have the resources to buy out small Cannabis companies anywhere in the world. Therefore, he warns that new markets need to protect against such takeovers (Transform Drug Policy Foundation and México Unido Contra la Delincuencia (MUCD), 16 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021). When large international companies do take over the production of goods they tend to focus on quantity rather than producing goods centered on quality that craft industries make their name from.

Still, efforts at making goods that fall into the category of craft can be problematic.

> One can then define *real craft* beers as TI (tradition/innovation) beers, brewed by a small and independently owned brewery. Many of those beers have since grown in market size and with that the breweries themselves have grown. This growth can occur as the brewery grows but stays independent. One could refer to this as *big craft* – although that is possibly a contradiction in terms. In quite a number of cases these breweries have been taken over by mass brewers. One could refer to this as *ex-craft*. Unavoidably, to some extent this will remain a subjective issue and open for interpretation. However, what is clear is that 'some craft /breweries are more craft than other craft beers/breweries' (Garavaglia & Swinnen in Garavaglia & Swinnen (eds.) 2018: 7).

Thus, the distinction between 'real craft', 'big craft' and 'ex-craft' beer can become murky as the small production of high-quality goods become more popular. Similarly, the development of Cannabis from former illegal, usually small scale 'real craft' production, can become 'ex-craft' or 'big craft' as time progresses. Still, this is

something that can be offset if the development of the good remains true to how it is produced and for whom it is being produced. This of course will be improved with a tax and regulatory environment that favours small-scale owner operated production, processing and retailing.

Changing consumer preferences and lifestyles led to a market for craft brewing from the kind of brewing practiced in homogenized global brewing companies (Garavaglia and Swinnen (eds.) 2017). Similarly, changing consumer preferences for Cannabis are occurring because people have a new taste and appreciation for a good that was for so long considered a deviant plant. It is interesting to note also that the consolidation of beer brewing by a few large companies coincided with the prohibition of Cannabis. Thus, the entire production of Cannabis, like the producers of 'moonshine' liquor during prohibition in the U.S.A, effectively became illegal producers. Yet in that space and time of illegality was agency and the continued production of craft styled Cannabis goods geared to suit its informal markets. Thus, GG Alcock stresses that it is in the informal sector that the future of not only Cannabis development occurs but alternative global economic development (Gordon Institute for Business Science & University of Pretoria, 29 May 2019, Accessed 29 September 2021). Effectively this means that it is more likely that the people who were producing Cannabis during prohibition have got a stronger sense to develop its markets based on craft notions than big business models. Moreover, consumers are more accustomed to this 'weed' than the Cannabis produced by large legal companies.

The drivers of growth for the craft beer industry include the following: 1) demand for variety; 2) a reaction to homogenization in beer markets; 3) increasing income of population; 4) consumer associations that pushed for craft beers growth; 5) technology and capital markets for small brewers; 6) inspiration from traditional brewers; 7) better regulation since craft brewing started (Garavaglia and Swinnen (eds.) 2017: 5). Many of these drivers of growth are as well applicable to the development of the Cannabis industry. Firstly, people are demanding more variety of Cannabis goods not only focused on its recreational applications. Secondly, the 'homogenization' that large companies bring to Cannabis and the production of any goods more generally, is something already being challenged by people in the Cannabis movement. For example Mark Diuga the Managing partner of the AfriCan Growth Fund, stated that it is better to create a group of good Cannabis companies rather than one or a few big company controlling Cannabis as has become the case in Canada (The Business Day

Cannabis Economy & Afriplex, 27 Aug 2020, Accessed 27 September 2021). Thirdly, there is a 'black middle class' (although quite heavily indebted) that is larger than it was during apartheid that are willing to try out new products, including Cannabis goods, could be a target market.[265] Fourth, the Cannabis movement is pushing for the inclusion of formerly illegal producers into the chain of Cannabis production so that small, localized producers can participate as craft producers. Fifth, more opportunities are becoming available for small Cannabis producers in capital markets that is enabled further by the rise of Information Technologies. Sixth, there is renewed interest in the role of indigenous knowledge systems to be incorporated into the development of Cannabis in South Africa (see Clark and Riboulet-Zemouli 2021). Lastly, the end of prohibition in 2018 has meant that Cannabis is on a path (albeit a somewhat shaky endeavour thus far) to be included as full member of the development apparatus of South Africa. Moreover, "In many respects, craft brewers embody values, such as creativity, tradition, and locale that serve to create niche, often community-based, markets" (Gatrell et.al. 2018: 361). This too is something the development of Cannabis in South Africa is embedded with. Therefore, when the development of Cannabis is led towards maintaining its sense of craft, can enable the production of high quality, creative, traditional and localized recreational, medicinal and industrial Cannabis goods.

Developing a style of Cannabis development that operates, as the craft beer industry does, under a 'neolocalism' tradition', that "… is multi-scalar (firm, neighbourhood, city, and region) in scope and serves to define consumer markets" (Gatrell et.al. 2018: 363) will be a challenge but is possible. For example, recreational Cannabis producers can potentially produce a high quality good for their neighbourhood first before expanding markets. The same however should apply to small scale medicinal Cannabis producers. While such a neolocalized development seems more suited to recreational goods it is possible for industrial hemp goods. Small scale farms producing and manufacturing high-quality hemp products that can be purchased by the neighbourhood, city and region is an option that must be investigated

[265] See for instance Chatterjee, Czajka & Gethin (2020) or World Inequality Lab (n.d). South Africa for more about the inequality increase in South Africa since the end of apartheid. Clearly inequality has increased but it could be argued, even from these statistics, that more black people have access to economic resources than during apartheid. Even if this distribution is nepotistic and very unequitable.

for effective and just Cannabis regulation.[266] Gatrell et.al. (2018: 363) add, “Yet, the success of neolocalism is inevitably defined by the authenticity of a place brand, regional identity, and shared definition of sustainability. If a firm (or craft beer) lacks authenticity and is unable to combine these three themes, success is an unlikely outcome.” Moreover, a craft centred Cannabis industry will no doubt become over time like the craft beer market that is dense and highly competitive (Gatrell et.al. 2018: 363). However, competition is good, rather than bad, for business. It is usually big companies and monopolies that see competition as bad because they are overly profit-driven. Their fault lies in their need to quantify production rather than on qualitative production that the neolocalism of craft beer has shown, can be successful.

Gatrell et.al. (2018: 367) argue further that “Local economic development and the competition for capital investment have long interested social scientists. The challenge facing practitioners though has long been the degree to which economic development creates a place or economic development extends from a place or region's identity and shared practices.” For Cannabis, the question is similar; is it the legalization of the plant that is creating its economic development or was there already an existing Cannabis industry in place even before the ending of prohibition that should be sustained in a regulated market. As has been shown, many conference panellists agreed that there was a culture of Cannabis work during prohibition that should be sustained into the legal era rather than disbanded (for instance Myrtle Clark, GG Alcock, or Thandeka Kunene). Because there is an existing Cannabis work ethic there is a functioning Cannabis industry. Then the use of a craft styled development post-prohibition becomes useful to unearth the ‘place or region’s identity and shared practices’. When the economic development of Cannabis is understood as emanating from the end of its prohibition disregards the agency people had to make the South African region a long-time leading dagga producer even while the plant was illegal (see Du Toit 1980; https://fieldsofgreenforall.org.za ; Legget 2002; The Global Cannabis Report 2019). Because of this fully functional, although illegal, Cannabis production prior to 2018 there has even been a call from within the Cannabis movement in South Africa to develop a Cannabis tourism route. Riboulet-Zemouli et.al. (2019: 51) argue further that “Cannabis has a long historical relationship with travels,

[266] This possibly is a new area of research for alternative directions for Cannabis development.

travellers, and tourism, and the plant magnifies the development of tourism, particularly in regions where its use or cultivation are traditional."

Cannabis tourism would be very useful for recreational Cannabis sites that exist in Southern Africa, from the Eastern Cape, Lesotho, Kwa-Zulu Natal and eSwatini. However, no such trade route would be possible for the medicinal and industrial applications of the plant in Southern Africa because these industries are new and have no historic tourist attraction. Craft routes link the local craft market to global markets.

> The trend is thus towards combining traditional cultural products with elements of 'living' or 'popular' culture. A parallel shift is from passive consumption to active participation as cultural tourists are offered opportunities to become an integral part of the cultural production process or to experience cultural production for (and from) themselves (Rogerson & Rogerson 2011: 11737-11738).

Becoming part of the 'cultural production' for tourists is why Sibusiso Xaba and Travis Scadron are so interesting in telling the story of Cannabis in Southern Africa to offer this atmosphere for foreign visitors. Like craft beer tours, Cannabis craft tours would mean participating in the unique experience of the plant as a recreational good in Southern Africa. Because people like a back story to the product, tapping into the history of Cannabis in spiritual practice, healing or, forms of resistance for instance would become this back story. Craft tourism is successful when it makes consumers feel they have a part to play in the enterprise as opposed to being treated like a mass-produced repetitive product that has no personal attachment. This personality can be provided for by these histories and back stories people can relate to and learn from.

The idea of uniqueness is directly linked to the production of quality goods and stands in contrast to a reliance on selling products through mass sales. van der Merwe (2020: 21, 25) therefore state that "In that lays one of the biggest challenges of craft beer breweries. How do craft beer breweries grow in a competitive market while maintaining an image of handmade and uniqueness?" Similarly, a craft Cannabis model must be aware that maintaining its 'image of handmade and uniqueness' is essential to its development, yet possibly a hindrance to larger economic success.

Notwithstanding, serious challenges face the development of any craft development model. Rogerson & Rogerson (2011: 11746) highlight for instance

> On the input side, support is required to promote innovation, creativity and skills. In terms of production, issues of micro-credit and technology to enhance production processes are of

> critical concern to build crafters to the point that they might enter/extend their participation in local and international markets.

Van der Merwe (2020: 26) adds five more challenges facing craft beer breweries in South Africa; 1) Supply chain management, both on the supply and the distribution; 2) Quality control; 3) Marketing; 4) Regulations and taxation; 5) Competition from mega breweries. Although these are the core challenges there are others such as capital funding, cost reduction, lack of skills, and the state of the economy. These challenges will also face small Cannabis producers in South Africa. This fact has led to a sharp increase in webinar and live conferences since the end of prohibition in 2018 that discuss various aspects of Cannabis and ways to participate in the industry (Wendell Moore, Field Note Observations 2018 – 2021). There has also been an increase in investment firms dedicating resources to Cannabis opportunities (for instance Sibusiso Xaba Co-founder and CEO of ACA Group; Travis Scadron who helps Cannabis and CBD businesses; Mark Diuga the Managing partner of the AfriCan Growth Fund; Bronwyn Williams, economist, trend analyst and futurist at Flux Trends; Pierre van der Hoven CEO at Silverleaf Investments).

Nevertheless, the legal commodification of Cannabis is inevitable and fast changing how South Africans engage with the plant. A craft Cannabis model is a method this thesis suggests can enable the just participation of small producers, who in South Africa are black people, the poor working class and women. Unfortunately, the commodification of Cannabis means big business will also influence the plants development. Ignoring this fact is not useful to an interrogation of Cannabis, particularly the industrial aspects of the plant. Thus, the challenge, for this thesis, is to finally show how it will be possible for the majority of South Africans to participate in the new Cannabis developments in South Africa. Chances are, that it will be in employment opportunities that become available in the Cannabis industry that the ‘large black mass’ will enter the sector. Owning or leading a Cannabis industry for most ordinary people seem likely to be more difficult to achieve.

7.4 'Chances are'[267]: In defense of a labour centered Cannabis industry in South Africa

"There is no more dramatic moment in the history of philosophy than that in which the young Hegel, after describing the disorder and torment inflicted on society by capitalist production, came face to face with the fact that only the proletariat could resolve it. Leaving the page forever unfinished, he turned to idealism. Marx completed it for him" **(**C.L.R James, *Facing reality,* Detroit 1958, p. 76 in James 1984).

The Cannabis industry is increasingly becoming expert driven. Positions in human resources, management, administration, Information Technology, accounting and finance, quality assurance, public relations, sales and marketing, chemists and other forms of skilled service are now sought after occupations in Cannabis companies (420 Intel, Accessed 28 April 2021; Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: 15-16). There are also employment opportunities for horticulturalists such as Cannabis growers, budtenders, post-harvest technicians, cultivators or extractors as well as general labourer positions. Many of these jobs, particularly those dealing with the business aspects of new Cannabis companies, are however suited to the skill sets of the so-called 'middle class'. Most Cannabis producers in Africa and South Africa, are poor working-class people and therefore have fewer skilled positions they could apply for.[268] Moreover, jobs suited mainly to 'middle class' skills is not useful for the development of Cannabis in Africa that is dominated by small producers.

The eminent scholar C.L.R James, speaking about the 'middle class' in the West Indies, highlighted the instability of categorizing black people, the poor working class and women within it.

> … and very strange people they are – very strange. They are horrified at being considered a part of that large black mass and they are excluded from being part of those who really master the economic and political life of the country. They're in-between there, not allowed to go in here, and scared to death of going there (James, A talk given to West Indian Students Association in Edinburgh, N.D, 1984: 153).

Certainly, the 'middle class' is not the 'large black mass' of poor working-class people. The black 'middle class' in the Global South is in an even bigger predicament than in

[267] The Wailers, 'Chances are', (*Single release)*, JAD Records: 1968.

[268] The term 'middle-class' is problematic however and "… reveals the inadequacy of imposing an English-language template (with all its 'difficulty') on a non-English setting, where people are likely to be framing their worldviews according to different standards and where a common term – 'middle class', for instance – may have different meanings" (Phadi & Manda p. 191 in Alexander, Ceruti, Motseke, Phadi and Wale 2013).

the West because it is categorically neither 'here' (supporting the marginalized), nor 'going there' (to liberal democratic capitalism). They are no longer the only representatives of 'respectability' and the black aspiration to become important, productive members of society for poor working-class people and women (see Crankshaw 2005).[269] Hence, their very existence is in doubt today (see Crankshaw 2005 or Alexander, Ceruti, Motseke, Phadi and Wale 2013). However, the black 'middle class' still face the same challenges (even if they think they are past these) that the most marginalized face. Although their strongest attribute is that they are employed in the formal job market, many still struggle to graduate from being an employee to owning and leading their own companies. To be sure, some members of the 'middle class' do not desire to achieve further because they are satisfied with their lot. Conserving this lifestyle makes the black 'middle class' as James (speech n.d, 1984: 153) argued "… horrified at being considered a part of that large black mass".

The 'large black mass' is nevertheless not the lumpenproletariat[270] Marx unfortunately incompletely theorized.[271] The 'large black mass' are the poor working class that has been trying to find a way to exist as a part of humanity from slavery, the reconstruction years after the end of slavery and into colonialism (James 1938 (1980), 1984; Morris 2015), from the struggles for independence to the end of the cold war (Rodney 1973; Wolpe 1980), and from the end of apartheid to the present (Mamdani 2015). Thus, many of the systemic constraints that face the poor working class also face the so called 'middle class'. Both their positions visibility, as well as viability,[272] is still mostly decided upon by the bourgeoisie. Hence, the title petit bourgeoisie, Marx gave to describe the 'middle class', is fitting because they operate as caretakers to continued bourgeoisie control, and for this reason fear the 'large black mass'. James

[269] See also the work of Can Themba (2006) for instance. During the mid-20th century, being a nurse, a teacher or a clerk were considered the leading 'middle class' professions for black people.

[270] "Lumpenproletariat is a term, which was originally coined by Dr. Karl Marx to describe the layer of the working class [and those outside of it?], which is unlikely ever to achieve class consciousness and is, therefore, lost to socially useful production, of no use to the revolutionary struggle, and, perhaps, even an impediment to the realisation of a classless society" (Moufawad-Paul 'The slippery concept of 'lumpenproletariat', 17 November 2016, Accessed 18 May 2021).

[271] Moufawad-Paul (The slippery concept of 'lumpenproletariat', 17 November 2016, Accessed 18 May 2021) adds, "If the class categories that Marx and Engels spent a lot of time trying to establish scientifically (proletariat and bourgeois) have led to innumerable confusions and debates, often being reified into essential identities, then the categories they did not spend very much time theorizing, such as lumpenproletariat, are even more historically slippery. The term is often misapplied, or taken as a universal class category, just as often as it is clumsily reclaimed."

[272] The forced resignation of Musi Maimane from the Democratic Alliance party on 24 October 2019 is an example of the precariousness of black 'middle class' positions.

(1984: 140) in a lecture series given between 8 – 25 August 1960, at Trinidad public library, was blunt about their fear and confused by it; “Do they [the professional class] believe that the workers, having come to political power, will at once begin to hate doctors and dentists and lawyers.” Retribution has always been a fear of the bourgeoisie, but it is not a practice of black people, the poor working class and women.[273] Likewise, although the long years of Cannabis prohibition were unjust, retribution is not the intention of the contemporary Cannabis movement. However, acting content that the same system that prohibited Cannabis from agrarian production will now include the product unequivocally, must be sensibly scrutinized.

Buxton (p. 35 in Buxton et.al. 2020) argues that even though there has been some effort to change, “But the extent to which development and anti-poverty agendas represent any meaningful shift in politics, policy and practice is questioned.” Real change has not happened because market forces continue to control workers and their production.[274] Liberal democratic capitalism requires control over labour production to function optimally so cannot change. Orwell (1949: 194) therefore quite rightly asserts in his classic novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* “In so far as the war has a direct economic purpose, it is a war for labour power.” Essentially, while money is important to the war, the war is being fought for the control over labour rather than economy. Scheibe, Shelly & Versfeld (p. 286 in Buxton et.al. 2020) remind us further that “Cannabis prohibitions were tied to concerns that it was undermining the discipline and obedience of South African labour, and encouraging people of different races to interact through trade.” Thus, labour and fair trade, rather than capital markets, led South Africa’s call for Cannabis prohibition. Hence Orwell’s (1949: 194) assertion that the war is about labour power and not money is true. Capitalism therefore knows that the economic front can be led by the control over labour and not simply money. As such, it maintains its power over the production of goods, through labour control, particularly in the agrarian sector.[275] Connecting the geography of hemp, is therefore to do more than

[273] Perhaps the transition from apartheid to a democratic South Africa without retribution directed towards whites is a good example (see Mamdani 2015).

[274] The drive to Cannabis prohibition in the inter war years therefore can be viewed as another means of capital control over labour. In fact, it could be shown that the start of this drive to control development and the natural environment begins with the control over Cannabis! However, at the start of the 20th century, even before international prohibition, the commercial trade in drugs such as opium and the herb Cannabis was “incredibly profitable…” (Kojo Koram, Transform Drug Policy Foundation, 5 Jun 2020, Accessed 30 September 2021).

[275] This thesis has only hinted that the prohibition of Cannabis in fact consolidated the capture of the agrarian in the early 20th century. It is not within the scope of this thesis to enter this discussion further.

just point out how capital underdeveloped Cannabis. What it must also do is show how the nexus between wealth and power ensured labour would be coordinated by capitalist liberal development.

James (1984: 132) describes the power capital had over labour in the 20th century by using the example that Trinidad found itself in at the start of its independence: "Capital, I repeat, controls us. We do not control it … Capital controls man. Man does not control capital. And this has reached such a stage that the great masses of men live in fear and anxiety. The good life for a modern citizen is impossible." Capital is understood here as the control money and power have over the direction of work the workforce and most importantly the products of work. C.L.R James therefore remained adamant that "Only under a revolutionary democracy, where workers had secured control over the conditions and products of their labour, could the working class hope to achieve a real sense of actuality and authenticity and thereby determine or stabilize their collective relationship to the social world" (Worcester 1996: 185). Equally, the creation of a successful and just Cannabis industry in South Africa, is where Cannabis work, the Cannabis workforce and their Cannabis products are owned and led by the people working them. Thus, the political, economic and social landscape that Cannabis found find itself in at the start, throughout and after prohibition, mirrors that of the black diaspora's struggle with liberal capital development.

Even still, the argument being raised here is less interested in finding out how alternative worlds are bracketed but "… the justice or justification of moments of bracketing" (Povinelli 2011: 99). This thesis, like Povinelli (2001; 2011; 2018) is therefore more interested in how alternative worlds live in the bracket regardless of its fencing. "There [where] exhaustion rules the roost" and where life is real and lived (Povinelli 2011: 99). The concern is the living world of Cannabis much more than the one that regulators think they have created or plan to create for the plant. That part of the plant that has always reflected the black condition. The part of black productive power which by the end of the cold war in the late 1980s remained marginal but survived, as Cannabis production did.[276] However, what needs special mention is that the thrust of this legally permissible black productive power rested with the

[276] This includes surviving as an illegal activity, just as national liberation movements throughout Africa and other black conscious groups also had to do.

unacknowledged but ‘large black mass’ of poor working-class men and women. Regrettably, at the end of the cold war, neoliberalism further reinvented their governance of life and death, rather than deal with the painful legacies of racism and capital led development (see Fukuyama 1989).

Povinelli (2011: 22) then quite rightly asserts that at that critical world juncture, “Any form of life that could not produce values according to market logic would not merely be allowed to die, but, in situations in which the security of the market (and since the market was now the *raison d’etre* of the state, the state) seemed at stake, ferreted out and strangled.” In South Africa, by the early 1990s, the remnants of ideologies formed during the liberation struggle were consequently quickly forced to disband, or, face the consequences. Self-control over the discourse of development was also made near impossible through the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP’s) the World Bank, UN, and World Trade Organization (WTO) were advancing as a universal remedy for progress (see Willis 2005). However, such strategy meant leaving people behind right from the start. C.L.R. James (1984: 249) in an address to the First Congress of all African writers in Dakar Senegal, 8 January 1976 and at Federal City College on 19 October 1976 foresaw this dilemma. James (1984: 249) argued, “I don’t know anywhere, where any intellectual, any member of the intellectual elite, has taken upon himself the complete responsibility for what has happened to the people he has left behind him.” What James was pointing out, was that the taking of political party power always comes with forsaking the revolution and leaving people behind economically and socially. Hence, there is an urgent need to find new ways of doing development.

Likewise, mainstream labour regimes need an overhaul because they still breed ‘destruction’ and alienation that the poor working class has long comprehended. For Chawane (2008: 108) important lessons can be learnt from the poor working class and Rastafarians. Both dislike formal employment because “They believe in self-employment or in doing community work. This attitude stems from the belief that working for someone for wages perpetuates slavery, and that real work is what you do for yourself” (Chawane 2008: 107). And there is also a sense of “self-depreciation” that is internalized but is the “opinion [of] the oppressors” but over time the oppressed begin to believe they are incapable, lazy and unproductive that they soon “become convinced of their own unfitness” and therefore do not want to work (Freire 1970 [2005] 63).

Still while formal employment may not take a central position in the life worlds of Rastafarian and poor working-class people, they still regard work as a part of their daily engagements.[277] The logic of new work methods (such as illegal Cannabis production or informal employment) might even offer pragmatic solutions to dealing with unemployment in contemporary South Africa. These forms of employment are providing a living to its practitioners that could offer some answers to the dependence on formal employment opportunities that are currently in crisis in South Africa. Unfortunately, the labour question, either for formal or informal sectors, was never resolved when African countries began attaining independence from the 1950s. The thought that Nkrumah posited to 'seek ye first the political kingdom' overshadowed the important contribution of workers and the labour movement to the struggles for independence. Cooper (in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 426) elaborates;

> African labour movements, as their leaders became caught up in the quest for state power, also fell into an ideological trap. It became more difficult for them to assert that the metropolitan standard for wages and benefits should apply to all workers, or indeed to frame their political position around the notion that workers existed both within the nation and across the globe and that the condition of 'the worker' posed problems that required specific attention, both within and among nations. The tension between workers' claims as workers and Africans' assertions of political rights as Africans was, during the 1940s and early 1950s, a creative and empowering one. But when 'nation-building' became a state project and national identity was held to subsume all other forms of affiliation, that tension was pushed from the arena of politics.

New African states are guilty of minimalizing, and eventually marginalizing, the role played by workers in Africa. Hence, while speaking about Nkrumah and democracy, James (1984: 180) in the *Trinidad Daily Mirror* newspaper, on 24 February and 4 March 1966, stated that, Nkrumah knew a lot but he did not know "…that democracy is not a matter of the rights of an opposition, but in some way or other must involve the population. Africa will find that road or continue to crash from precipice to precipice". Since the largest part of any population is its workforce their involvement in building a nation is fundamental.

Another key factor in the creation of an alienated and apolitical workforce in Africa was the church and its protestant ethic. Thus, Comarof (in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 171) points out that "At a stroke, the alienating experience of wage labor became

[277] See also Barchiesi (2008).

the necessary cost of salvation, and inequality was made into a sacred instrument of moral sanction." Nonetheless, there is an agency that workers have that is overlooked by both the church and African governments. "… workers resisted, appropriated, and redefined the economic and social institutions and discursive frameworks through which colonial regimes tried to organize work, and the relationship of these processes to the denouncement of colonial power itself" (Cooper in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 408-409). What is more, workers continued to do this even after being weakened by aligning their politics to the national question once independence was achieved.

Not including the working masses to structure development's course is also directly connected to the liberal development of the world. Liberal democratic capitalism not only assumes capital's control over workers but also that there is credence to a minority (rich) controlling the majority (workers). The discussion then becomes about questioning the entire functioning of a system that seems already failing. Thus, Ngugi's (1986 [2005]: 95), thoughts about the internal row at the English department at the University of Nairobi in 1968 are useful; "It was questioning the underlying assumptions behind the entire system that we had inherited and had continued to run without basic questions about national perspective and relevance. The question is this: from what base do we look at the world." While Ngugi wa Thiong'o, would eventually turn to language to understand where his positionality stemmed from, this thesis contends that a more foundational base would be that of work, the workers and the products of their labour. Work and workers also provides a more universal way of looking at the world and living it, and of course has been an accepted paradigm of reference for academia since at least the industrial revolution.[278]

Nevertheless, the state, has become the more established way of looking at African problems and therefore the black condition in the 'post colony'.[279] Burbank & Cooper (2010: 3) however remind us that not only are nation states only recent compared to empires but their "…hold on the worlds political imagination may well prove partial or transitory." Unlike the nation state the ideas and work of the people everywhere transcends boundaries. To be sure, there were attempts to bring some Africans into European centred agricultural and political institutions during the colonial

[278] Marx of course set such analysis in motion in academia. However, former slave populations of the world had been sailing this course for humanity ever since they were put in chains.

[279] Hence Mbembe's (1992; 2005; 2016) call to look deeper at the intricacies of post-colonial statehood and citizenship.

era. “But the labor question struck in the most visible and vulnerable parts of empire, and forced officials to come to grips with the concrete realities of Africans acting in ways that transcended the old boundaries of control” (Cooper in Stoler and Cooper 1997: 416).

Work and workers have existed throughout historical time and have long been a thorn in the side of the elite because of the potential power they hold to transform society in a way that they cannot govern. Burbank & Cooper (2010: 459) therefore assert that “The challenge for the future is to imagine new politics that recognize widely held desires for political belonging, equality of opportunity, and mutual respect.” To do this must also mean party politicians must recognize the autonomy of work and workers. Similarly, economies must come to grips with the reality that work, workers and the products of their labour can and do exist outside of capitalist frameworks only. The South African state, like other African states, did not count on the rise of ‘other’ means ordinary people developed to ensure their survival in the complex post-cold war socio-political climate. Foremost of these is workers control over their own labour production. Equally important, are the goods workers will use to ensure they can control their own labour production. Cannabis is exactly such a good.

7.4.1 An ethnography of the ability to gain access to the Cannabis industry: ‘Chances are’ continued

The illegal production of Cannabis during prohibition is a prime example of an industry where the people doing the work had large amounts of control over their own labour production. It is also expected that as the legally regulated markets for Cannabis expand globally more employment will become available in the sector (Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli 2021: 87). However, the people performing the labour will more likely have less control over the terms of this employment than they had during prohibition. Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: 87) therefore advocate (as this thesis does) for just employment rather than simply equitable employment opportunities in the legal Cannabis era; i.e., quality employment over surplus jobs. “Therefore, the rights of workers need to be highlighted in a manner that will showcase Cannabis workers’ rights as a model that is both economically viable and revolutionary in terms of the rights afforded to workers, often left behind on the path to prosperity” (Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli 2021: 88). Employment that is both ‘viable and revolutionary’ in South Africa must concern itself with black people, the poor working class and women.

One example of a just Cannabis policy in South Africa has been written by Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021). Their 'Manifesto' is an extremely valuable, 'viable and revolutionary' source, even though it is still largely focused on recreational and medicinal Cannabis. It also illuminates the important place that work must play in the new Cannabis markets emerging in South Africa. Nonetheless, it is the opinion of this thesis that the 'Manifesto' could have placed more attention on ironing out the details of Cannabis employment. For example, Bewley-Taylor, Jelsma & Kay (p. 118 in Buxton et.al. 2020) note six additional points that must be considered when thinking about Cannabis and just employment. First, there must be a commitment to solidarity and social justice in the way employment is pursued. Second, Cannabis employment must look beyond profit and business if it seeks to integrate ethical concerns as foundational principles. Third, Cannabis producers as well as the community must be empowered through shared trade practices. Fourth, Cannabis producers must not just be seen as providers of raw materials but as value creators in their own right. Fifth, labour protection for worker safety, health, and satisfaction must be guaranteed. And lastly, democratic participation and decision-making systems must be implemented that allow workers to drive social responsibility. Nonetheless, Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli's 'Manifesto' does point towards creating a Cannabis industry that addresses the legacy that prohibition will have on new employment opportunities in the sector. Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: 88) argue that;

> Priority in employment should focus on legacy and/or skilled people previously involved in Cannabis-related activities under illegal settings. This is also a central element in the ethical principle of historical justice, remedy and reparations for victims of human-rights abuses overlapping in the name of Cannabis prohibition… All efforts must be made to utilise existing skilled labour as part of government's responsibility to assist and monitor the transition of populations previously involved in Cannabis cultivation.

Still, Clarke and Riboulet-Zemouli (2021: 99) admit that

> …far more research needs to be focused on the sociological impact of the changing Cannabis landscape. For example, laws and regulations in many parts of the world ignore the effects of 100 years of prohibition and the impact that this has had on marginalized communities and communities of colour. This is certainly something we have heard nothing about in Africa – research into the impact of prohibition that informs policy."

It is precisely by engaging with the less common black historical narratives about the plant, that this thesis has spoken to these legacies of prohibition. Therefore, the ethnography of seeking employment in the legal Cannabis sector in South Africa is at once political and not simply about applying for an equal opportunity to participate in the industry. It is about fundamentally challenging routine formal employment methods. Accordingly, asserting a new type of labour arrangement is a major prerogative of the Cannabis movement. Because Cannabis employment has existed for so long outside of formal employment, joining its ranks now seems almost a futile effort. Likewise, ethnography, "We've [Has] given up on traditional anthropology and sociology which, despite our prescient critiques, remain unresponsive to our entreaties. In our view, much of these disciplines have become tedious and boring, even incestuous" (Ethnography.com, Accessed 26 May 2021). It is 'tedious and boring, even incestuous' that the development of Cannabis in South Africa has already began to enable large companies to buy into it at will. These companies are making use of the once illegal Cannabis they previously feared, while not fundamentally changing how employment will operate when making use of such goods. A walk in any large pharmacy in the country displays, teas, soft-drinks, toothpastes, soaps and other cosmetic goods made predominantly by big companies that freely advertise the once illegal Cannabis emblem (Wendell Moore, Observations, 2020-2021).

For this reason, it is for the 'people' that this thesis is concerned, specifically those in the Cannabis movement rather than elites that control large companies now making use of Cannabis. This is especially relevant to this thesis because "Ethnography, etymologically, means 'writing about people'" through observation and interpretation (Potts, February 9, 2016, Accessed 26 May 2021; Sharma, February 11, 2016, Accessed 26 May 2021). Hence, the field, for this thesis, has been the endeavour of ordinary people to gain access into the Cannabis industry. Thus, the cultural place, that is central to ethnographic research, is the Cannabis movement of South Africa that has only formally existed as a legal entity since September 18, 2018. According to Weisner (1996: 306) ethnography ensures that these cultural places (the Cannabis movement for this study) are "incorporated into understanding development." This is important because it means that the development of Cannabis that does not include its cultural place will ultimately be a disservice to the movement.

Thus, the study is an account of the Cannabis movement from the perspective of a one-time university drop out (1990s), an aspirant artist (2000s) and mature student

(2010's to present). I came to my conclusions about Cannabis after having dropped out of university. In my life as an artist (which I still participate in) I lived as a Rasta and believed (and still do) that Cannabis has an answer for some of the development problems facing the country. Once I entered university again, I knew I would write about this Cannabis I had been thinking and living with for more than a decade. When I started my PhD the opportunity was presented to write about another field of inquiry (coloured identity in Johannesburg – a continuation of my MA) but I refused because I needed to express my ideas about this plant. When I began writing this thesis I had not expected that my participation with Cannabis would result in writing a theoretical framework for the plant that could explain how I (and some of the people I have surrounded myself with) had lived. But it has become about that. That is locating myself and others like me who have believed in the plant but who have no theoretical framework, and hence less practical space, with which to share and grow their experiences with the plant. Believing in an idea and implementing the ideals by which you live to a greater audience (which is what I think a PhD does as well) caused a great shock to the life I wanted to live. It was not so much the politics of doing a PhD that caused the shock but the fact that the reality to which I had belonged to was finally becoming real in a way in which I had not previously realized was possible. Before the PhD, Cannabis had always existed as a 'way out' the reality of crime that many black people, the poor working class and women were forced into because neoliberalism had no other option for existence outside of its framework. It is for that reason that the PhD became so much more an explanation of existence than I had ever imagined. Existence in the sense that it had to explain to what it is we stood for, as those who lived the idea of Cannabis, but were not a part of its organizing movement.[280] Freire (1970 [2005]: 61 thus argues "Conversion to the people requires a profound rebirth. Those who undergo it must take on a new form of existence; they can no longer remain as they were." We were the subaltern people who followed the truth of the plant while living in the reality that liberal capital democracy laid on us for not joining in on the new positions it had set aside for people of colour. It is that refusal, in our living as the 'other', that we subconsciously thought about Cannabis. Ellis, Adams & Bochner (2011: 280) explain, "As witnesses, autoethnographers not only work with others to

[280] This idea of existence is a very important one. One that I have only eluded to here but that I hope I will deal with more adequately in the future.

validate the meaning of their pain, but also allow participants and readers to feel validated and/or better able to cope with or want to change their circumstances." It is in that vain that this PhD was produced to validate the 'meaning' the 'pain' and make it possible to 'change [our] circumstances' for the better.

So the chances are high of this thesis being criticized for "… either being too artful and not scientific, or too scientific and not sufficiently artful" (Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011: 283). But art, specifically music, is not acknowledged for the centrality it holds to the science of Cannabis and its movement.[281] Nor is the importance of Cannabis to the scientific community recognized as being responsible for synthesizing environmentalism, agrarian studies and development. This thesis has focused on the political geography of this plant in order to provide this syncretisation another dimension. Therefore, art and science do speak to each other, rather than exist as polar opposites. Ellis, Adams & Bochner (2011: 283) elaborate,

> These criticisms erroneously position art and science at odds with each other, a condition that autoethnography seeks to correct. Autoethnography, as method, attempts to disrupt the binary of science and art. Autoethnographers believe research can be rigorous, theoretical, and analytical and emotional, therapeutic, and inclusive of personal and social phenomena.

Furthermore, "Unless we agree on a goal, we cannot agree on the terms by which we can judge how to achieve it. Simply put, autoethnographers take a different point of view toward the subject matter of social science" (Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011: 284). The goal of the Cannabis movement in the contemporary period is simple; to ensure that even the most marginalized have access to the possibilities becoming available in the plant's development. However, this is too idealistic for the subject matters of social science. Or, as this thesis has argued, such a possibility is outside of the Manchien thinking of Western academic discourse and hence inconceivable. Fortunately, "Autoethnographers view research and writing as socially-just acts; rather than a preoccupation with accuracy, the goal is to produce analytical, accessible texts that change us and the world we live in for the better (Denzin 2000; Holman Jones, 2005, p. 764 in Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011: 284).

[281] Reggae music most specifically. In fact, the thesis has not engaged with this idea itself because it is so broad a topic that would require more attention than I could offer here. I have though tried to use quotes and ideas from songs to show the importance of music's message with and for Cannabis.

So it is fitting to end with the words of Bob Marley and the music of the Wailers who epitomizes the cultural place of Cannabis and who, ‘chances are’, changed many of “…us and the world we live in for the better.”

Chances are we're gonna leave now
Sorry for the victim now
Though my days are filled with sorrow
I see years of bright tomorrow

Chances, chances are some might not hold out
Chances are, hang on right now
Though my days are filled with sorrow
I see years of bright tomorrow

Chances, chances are some might not hold out
Chances are, hang on right now
Chances are, oh chances, you're my chances
Chances are, hang on right now

Chances are, hang on right now

Deal with loneliness,
Heartaches and teardrops
Chances are we'll have to win
Chances are, hang on right now
Chances are, chances are...

(The Wailers, ‘Chances are’, *single release*, JAD Records: 1968).

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a framework for understanding the political geography of hemp Cannabis in South Africa. It proposed that the creation of a successful and just Cannabis industry, is where hemp leads the development of the non-food crop sector in South Africa, trusting that the entire spectrum of the plants political geography that includes recreational and medicinal usages are united as equal partners. As a result

the chapter shared recommendations for a better Cannabis development program for the country but avoided being a typical PhD recommendation section.

Essentially, it tried to illuminate that the employment and development opportunities in the legal Cannabis industry in South Africa remain unequal. It showed that discriminate levels of accessibility in Cannabis development will unduly affect black people, the poor working class and women. It follows then, that the development of a sustainable Cannabis industry must ensure it offers impartial opportunities to all who seek to enter it. This section was consequently concerned with how the development of leadership, employment and ownership opportunities for the most marginalized members of the South African Cannabis industry can become a reality. The plants current repositioning in the world is however more concerned with the economic potentials of Cannabis than impartiality.

The development of hemp Cannabis therefore has to be disobedient. It has to be disobedient if it is to serve the marginalized humanities of the world. Yet, it also has to be realistic because Cannabis development is fast becoming just another part of the mass production of goods. Therefore, it was argued that developing craft Cannabis products, perhaps along the same lines as the craft beer industry, can be useful. This of course is only if it can be replicated to become far more significant in the economy and the employment and ownership creation options it creates. Like the craft beer industry, the development of craft Cannabis can provide an alternative development path to mainstream development. A craft Cannabis model could also enable the just participation of South Africa's small producers.

The chapter therefore argued that Cannabis policy should be spearheaded by hemp because the agrarian applications of the plant, such as fulfilling the mandates of small producers, then become its first points of departure. This also enables the industrial development of the plant, while at the same time advancing, as opposed to stagnating, medicinal and recreational Cannabis developments. A futuristic Cannabis development must furthermore refuse being bound by international frameworks or colonial prohibition models. These tend to only correct and reform Cannabis policy, rather than revolutionizing its public, private and commercial practice. Most importantly, a hemp-focused policy can only be successful if it combines with medicinal and recreational Cannabis development.

However, numerous factors still constrain the development of Cannabis. Hemp is particularly constrained by its disassociation to agrarian transformation, while

recreational and medicinal Cannabis suffer from an apolitical discourse. However, to talk of hemp Cannabis is to talk about recreational Cannabis, and medicinal Cannabis. Thus, the thesis was primarily concerned with showing where the discourses of Cannabis in South Africa have come from, where they are presently situated and where they will go to in the future. One of these futures is in the creation of just employment.

Still, many of these jobs, particularly those dealing with the business aspects of new Cannabis companies, are created for the 'middle class' and not necessarily the poor working class who are the majority of Cannabis producers in the Global South. However, the structural constraints that face the poor working class also face the so-called 'middle class' – such as bourgeoisie control over the visibility and viability of their workspace. Consequently, this chapter's pursuit at connecting the geography of hemp, did more than just point out how capital underdeveloped Cannabis. What it also did was show how the nexus between wealth and power was able to ensure that labour would be coordinated by capital development. Capital was understood here as the control over money and power through the control over the workforce. As such, shedding light on the landscape that Cannabis found itself in at the start, throughout and after prohibition, shows that it mirrors that of the black diaspora's struggle. Essentially this chapter was concerned with the living world of Cannabis much more than the one that regulators think they have created for the plant and the black people dealing with it. In the fight for just labour, the relations of production have to be revolutionized if it is to include the masses of poor working-class people.

However, the colonial and post-colonial South African state, like other African states, did not expect ordinary people to formulate 'other' means of labour outside of the formal labour force. These labour practices made sure they survived the complex socio-political climate post-cold war. Foremost of these practices is workers control over their own labour production. Equally important are the goods workers use to ensure they can control their own labour production. Cannabis is exactly such a good. Rather than galvanize the new labour arrangements being discovered by workers themselves, liberal democratic capitalism and nationalist governments still sees these groups as nonessential participants of statehood. Therefore, the ethnography of seeking employment in the Cannabis sector in South Africa is at once political and not an application for an equal opportunity. It is about fundamentally challenging how

employment will operate and asserting a new type of labour arrangement in a legal Cannabis industry.

Such a labour arrangement would ensure black people, the poor working class and women represent the traditional cultural place of Cannabis in South Africa. Recognizing the black revolutionary history embedded in the way Cannabis development proceeds is a must for the sustainability of this groups cultural place. Through a desktop analysis and an ethnographic account of my 20-year journey in the Cannabis movement provided a personal but public view of the ways in which ordinary people synthesize into their existence the agrarian, labour as well as development. This thesis has focused on the political geography of Cannabis in order to provide this syncretisation another dimension. The chances of it being successful have to be tested in the actual implementation of a Cannabis development where black people, the poor working class and women lead, own and labour its production.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

'Points of departure': A critique of development

> A critic who in real life is impatient with all the talk about classes, class struggle, resistance to imperialism, racism and struggles against racism, of reactionary versus revolutionary violence, will be equally impatient when he or she finds the same themes dominant in a work of art (Ngugi 1986 [2005]: 105).

What has seemed to occur over the last 25 years of democracy in South Africa is that more radical approaches to economic development have been blocked from access to the mainstream market economy. This stems from the neoliberal project that at the end of the cold war was able to convince the world that it had produced a system better than any other in the world. Therefore, despite all its historic failures, liberal democratic capitalism was given the go ahead to continue to run global development. Any proposals post-cold war that used ideas formulated from a side other than liberal perspectives were deemed unworkable or required modification. Non-conformist ideas were effortlessly disqualified unless they agreed to remove the revolutionary angles their economic policy proposals had. Policies deemed too anti-capitalist, communist, socialist, nationalist, black, Muslim or radical were dismissed. This thesis therefore has openly critiqued the 'late liberal' development model the world still continues to use.

Nestled around an analysis of the political geography of hemp Cannabis in South Africa it explains how the plant offers scholarship a unique way of commenting on development more generally. It began by offering a brief overview of Cannabis with special attention provided to its industrial uses (hemp). Hemp is the part of Cannabis that is able to produce paper, light industrial goods, textiles, CBD products, interior and exterior design goods and nutritious seed for example. However, because of the prohibition of Cannabis through most of the 20th century, the entire discourse of the plant was linked to the recreational act of smoking. These political factors that forced Cannabis out of agrarian production are nevertheless often only peripheral to the more dominant economic discussions of the plant in the legalization era. Future studies of

Cannabis would do well to attend to these political aspects but also the insufficient academic engagement with the social aspects of the plant. Social issues such as race, class, labour, education or health are just as pertinent to the story of Cannabis development. Although such issues obviously featured in this thesis, a political lens was used to deliberate on them.

The thesis tried throughout **To explore the multiple and complex sets of Cannabis political geography that interact and persistently establish the realities of development for the plant, with a special focus on hemp Cannabis.** To do this it had certain objectives that were discussed in the three analysis chapters, which were:

Chapter 5; **To illuminate new ways of thinking through the relationship of Cannabis to the legacy's prohibition geographies inscribed onto the plant.**

Chapter 6; **To critically assess geographic alternatives to the contemporary medicalization of Cannabis.**

Chapter 7; **To document a political geography of hemp Cannabis in South Africa that can consolidate all the usages of Cannabis.**

Which finally led to this conclusion that **Proposes a critique of development that is concerned about the modes of containment still prevalent in ownership, access to employment and leadership in the Cannabis industry.**

Through this conceptualization the thesis showed it is black people, the poor working class and women whose ownership, access to permanent just employment and leadership in contemporary Cannabis development are threatened. But without their participation development in itself will fail. The thesis further argued that for Cannabis development to be successful requires that the plants revolutionary history be embedded into its future labour plans. It was further argued that a viable Cannabis industry in South Africa depends on its ability to unite and consolidate all the usages of plant into what this thesis has termed, the non-food crop sector.[282] The dominance of negative Cannabis narratives perpetuate many apolitical prohibition and

[282] That is, plants that do not produce food as the main source of its overall production capacities.

gatekeeping discourses that limit the importance of Cannabis to the total agrarian sector.

Clearly then the thesis was not a typical analysis of Cannabis. Firstly, it is focused more categorically on just one (hemp) aspect of the plants main three usages – even though it argues ultimately that the separation of the different uses of Cannabis is harmful for the plant's overall development. Secondly, the thesis provides a critique of capitalist development in South Africa, by using hemp Cannabis as a conduit through which to understand its contemporary nature. Lastly, through an in-depth desktop analysis that was provided empirical evidence from Cannabis webinars and live conferences as well as the use of autoethnography, a 'practical pedagogy' for understanding Cannabis in South Africa was developed. The other qualitative practices employed by this thesis included informal conversations and the use of relevant websites and music recordings. All these were used to extend the story of Cannabis and show its international sensibility.

However, the literature about Cannabis is framed principally around recreational, and more recently, medicinal narratives about the plant.[283] Whereas, the dominant academic literature about hemp is very technical and often only partly engaged from a social scientific perspective. This is surprising considering that the industrial uses of Cannabis (hemp) are amongst the oldest known uses of the plant and have been extensively employed throughout the world. More importantly, before the prohibition of Cannabis in the 20th century, hemp like recreational and medicinal Cannabis, were understood as any other agrarian good. It is therefore significant that the political and economic reasons for removing Cannabis from industrial production coincided with liberal democratic capitalism gaining control over free reigning agrarian space. This allowed their new industrial developments and commercial agriculture to take the lead in the agrarian sector without having to deal with an avid competitor in Cannabis and more particularly hemp.

Thus, the history of prohibition accounts for a large section of Cannabis and hemps current political geography. The discourse created during the 20th century, and through the direct influence of South Africa, remain central facets of how the plant is understood in the contemporary period. Nonetheless, this thesis was more focused on the period of Cannabis history and political geography formed from the 1970s onwards

[283] If 'Cannabis books' is googled, a long list of books shows this clearly.

when a new global political order began to reimagine the world. This is when the plant began to receive international attention principally because of the efforts of Rastafarianism (more especially reggae music) and the hippie movement. Cannabis became a political symbol as well as an icon of the ecological movement during this time. However, because this thesis was a political geography it was more interested in how environmentalism occurs and exists for black people, the poor working class and women. For these, largely marginalized members of society, the plant exists primarily as a tool they can use to make a living; being 'environmental' is the least of their concerns. Such dichotomy points to there being a politics to Cannabis that must be unearthed.

The politics behind marijuana's inclusion in the contemporary period, from a recent past of non-inclusion, is complex and multifaceted rather than linear. Cannabis politics is heavily reliant on a black revolutionary history that is embedded in Pan African, black conscious, and a poor working-class outlook. However, by the early 1990s, when Cannabis became something neoliberal democratic capital hegemony would call back into its fold of commodity production the evolution of these politics was fatally interrupted. Legalizing formally prohibited goods, ideas and people became a way of keeping former radical and leftist regimes in check and ensuring that neoliberal democratic capitalism prevailed as the 'end of history'. However, capitalist led development also had serious flaws and began to be critiqued for its continued marginalization of certain segments of society, which ultimately led to the formation of other and alternative development models. Cannabis is exactly such an unconventional model for development. The development of hemp is especially important in this regard because the underdevelopment (recreational) and gatekeeping (medicalization) models of development, that still dominate the plants contemporary place and near future, are flawed.

Hence, the thesis set out to create a theoretical paradigm that could accurately contextualize the political geography of hemp Cannabis in South Africa. It did so by arguing that development requires revolutionary thought and action if it is to succeed. Development over time has unfortunately continued to update itself along its own axis (i.e.by primarily using the history of liberal democratic capitalism) rather than include important facets of black revolution. The thesis thus contended that because development tends to discard revolution, global progress has largely failed to be truly sustainable. Black revolution was defined in its historical context and embodies the

Haitian revolution, the years after the ending of slavery to the start of the twentieth century, the move towards Pan-Africanism in the first third of the 20th century, the struggles for independence in Africa and other former colonial territories in the mid-century, or the ending of apartheid and formal racism at the end of the cold war. Revolution is essentially about seeking to achieve a better society for all humanity. Revolutionary methods are often critiqued because they differ to state led development that seek majority governments to reform the existing system. Revolution seeks complete change of the system.

Adjoined to revolution was blackness, which was understood for this thesis as the social, economic and political conditions of development for all people of colour. Together it means that the most marginalized, which in the majority include black people, the poor working class and women, must be regarded in their historical experience that exists outside of mainstream liberal democratic capitalism. The thesis argued that black revolution is embedded in the political geography of Cannabis and thus cannot be excluded from the plant's contemporary development.

Using a wealth of revolutionary thought and practice this thesis was able to show the ways in which Cannabis is embedded within of the ideals of black revolution. The ideas of Marcus Garvey, Rastafarianism, the Caribbean, Bob Marley, reggae music, Pan-Africanism, black consciousness and more, are a central part of how the plant is understood politically in the Global South. They must therefore form a central part of the reconceptualization of Cannabis in the legal era. Moreover, because the 'end of history' failed to capture how development would proceed for all of humanity at the end of the cold war, a resurgence of formerly prohibited revolutionary practices that form the basis of alternative development practices has been ignited.

Such demands are therefore not theoretical but essentially practical. Therefore, the thesis labeled them 'practical pedagogy'. They are practiced theory because theory and practice are two sides of the same coin. Theory informs practice as much as practice informs theory. To do the practical component of theory this study proposed using an autoethnography of my attempt to gain access to the Cannabis industry to highlight the plight faced by even more marginalized members of society than myself. It suggested that my personal account of the ability/inability to enter the growing Cannabis industry in South Africa could better highlight how liberal democratic capitalism continues to design how the development of the plant will proceed. Not only is this problematic to the development of Cannabis, but it is a constraint to

development more generally. Liberal democratic capitalism has failed to historically enable black people, the poor working class and women. In fact, it was never designed to develop this part of society; slavery, racism, colonialism and apartheid can attest to that! So if liberal democratic capitalism controls the means by which the development of Cannabis is to proceed that development will not/cannot ensure black ownership, management by the poor working class nor the leadership of women. Quite simply, because it has never been a part of creating such a development in the first place. It was black people, the poor working class and women that were responsible for black revolution and designing the discourse of its own development. It is for this reason that the thesis then suggested that only by delinking from the prohibition geographies of Cannabis will the underdevelopment of the plant at once be ended.

The prohibition geography of Cannabis is the main reason that the plant is continuously framed in negative recreational terms. Debunking Cannabis from being a one-dimensional discussion about its recreational usages is therefore a difficult but necessary task. Prohibition linked all the uses of Cannabis to hard drugs, illegality and deviance. These myths continue, even after the global restrictions facing Cannabis are slowly being undone. Thus, it is still possible for some people to blame Cannabis for their community's problems, rather than alcohol or tobacco abuse, or, even hard drugs for that matter! But these ideas are slowly changing and communities that have banned Cannabis are beginning to consider making use of those parts of the plant that do not contravene their laws, such as medicinal and industrial uses. Nevertheless, prohibition has clearly caused a situation in which a genealogical discourse was created that has taken root amongst the public. Breaking these means delinking from prohibition narratives in themselves. Even by moving the plant to form a relationship between other, although lesser, prohibited goods such as alcohol and tobacco still does not do enough to place the plant where it is most useful – as a non-food crop that can play a central role in the country's agriculture and agrarian transformation. The thesis therefore argued that it is in fact more useful for food security to take up the space that would be created by delinking Cannabis from its negative prohibitionist past. To be sure, ensuring food for all is more important than Cannabis.

Making recreational goods more central than food production is an example of why Walter Rodney would offer that Western development in fact caused the underdevelopment of Africa. This notion is especially useful for understanding how Cannabis ultimately became underdeveloped through prohibition. At the same time as

this underdevelopment occurred, liberal democratic capitalism matured. Liberal democratic capitalism was able to expand freely from the inter war years to the end of the cold war because it banned people, goods or ideas that challenged its authority, including the competitive force of Cannabis. However, the underdevelopment of Cannabis and other banned people, goods or ideas produced an original agency that managed to survive, even as illegal entities. In other words, prohibited goods, ideas and people were forced to inadvertently delink from liberal democratic capitalism because of prohibition. Even though Cannabis was underdeveloped it was able to survive because it was delinked from mainstream development ideals. Now that the plant is being legalized the embedded forms of agency it formed, while delinked from mainstream development during prohibition, are being discarded. Maintaining these embedded forms of knowledge, systems and practices is essential to the development future of Cannabis. Participation in a legal Cannabis era therefore must not mean control by discourses created by liberal democratic capitalism. The development of Cannabis has to use the political history and the production practices and skills created during prohibition to insure its future. This ultimately means remaining delinked from the cause of its underdevelopment to prosper in a just manner.

Nonetheless, the thesis agrees that the global trend towards Cannabis legalization is a positive move. The medicalization of Cannabis is useful, but what is also occurring in this process is the creation of a new form of gatekeeping. This is because the discourse of Cannabis is still controlled by a liberal development plan. As it stands, the same wolf who used to feast off the meekest lambs is now the shepherd of the sheep. Put simply, if the prohibition of Cannabis was implemented by liberal democratic capitalism, then its new role in the legalization era is dubious. It is highly unlikely their development plan will enable the most marginalized because it historically acted against their free will. This raises the concern; in whose interest is the medicalization of Cannabis anyway? While it is a useful and necessary step in the wholesale legalization of the plant occurring globally, it still falls short. So this thesis has agreed to disagree with the movement towards the medicalization of Cannabis. This means that while it agrees that medicalization does cover a major use of Cannabis, it disagrees that this is the site in which to develop the plant so that all its usages are consolidated. Moreover, the contemporary medicalization of societal deviances, such that Cannabis was before its legalization, must be scrutinized.

It is too often a misreading of history to judge development by its acts of reform. Reforming the place of Cannabis by medicalizing it will still lead to problems later because the foundation upon which it was built were not solid. Liberal democratic capitalism has always relied on reform to further its development plans. Therefore, it is fair to assume that the global turn to medicalization, being promoted by the global legalization efforts, is in fact just a form of gatekeeping. The gate that is being kept is the control over the discourse of Cannabis. Medicalizing Cannabis does not fundamentally change the plants course of development, it only reforms it.

Still, the question that confronts this thesis is if such reform is a worthwhile effort of the erstwhile Cannabis movement. What is occurring now is that most of the Cannabis movement has accepted the reform and gatekeeping of the plant's medicalization. A large majority of those in the Cannabis movement know of the medicinal values of Cannabis and thus have agreed to it. However, many of these people have not necessarily connected liberal democratic capitalisms continued control over the discourse of Cannabis or have consciously ignored it. It is fair to have missed the passing of power to a reformed medicalization effort, but it is quite another to consciously ignore it hoping that this a reform that will finally work. This is all the truer when there are geographic alternatives for Cannabis development that better consolidate all the usages of the plant that can be employed. These, unfortunately, are not housed in a medicalization effort still controlled by liberal democratic capital discourse. Such development is intent on saving face amidst growing recognition that alternative forms of development can offer more to goods such as Cannabis that have also been a part of struggle history. The political geography of Cannabis in South Africa requires a space to exist that is more fluid than its medical arena can provide, but that is also able to consolidate all the usages of the plant. That space this thesis contends can be found in an agrarian setting that have housed non-food crops such as Cannabis since the plant's usages were first discovered by people.

This study of hemp Cannabis therefore has provided a useful critique of capitalist development in South Africa and added to the more common analysis about the medicinal and recreational aspects of the plant. This fulfils the aim of the thesis to explore the various sets of Cannabis political geography that interact and persistently establish the realities of development for the plant. What it showed is that this has been caused by prohibition geographies that have encapsulated the plant in negative recreational terms that underdeveloped the plant. The thesis therefore suggested

delinking from such geographies. Secondly, the thesis showed that in a way, this underdevelopment is still being sustained through medicalization, although in a much-rehabilitated manner. The medicalization of Cannabis also unfortunately continues a trend to frame the plant in apolitical terms that tend towards gatekeeping liberal democratic capitalism and its forms of development. Thus, the thesis suggested that a geographic alternative must be found for Cannabis that exists outside of its medicalization. Lastly, the suggested space offered by this thesis for such an alternative is an agrarian site for non-food crops, wherein Cannabis first existed as an agricultural crop. In addition, the thesis warned and emphasized throughout that development is only possible when the most marginalized are justly incorporated into the world's futures. Without such efforts development itself will fail and likely destroy itself.

On the 12th of July 2021 the South African people proved their marginalization from development futures by looting and burning shopping malls across the country.[284] This was the first time in South Africa's post-apartheid protest history that major retail stores were openly destroyed. Looting was largely directed at white owned mega stores and chains.[285] Fortunately, it did not turn into stereotypical African 'xenophobic' violence. The destruction exposed deep-seated fault lines in marginalized township areas of the cities of South Africa. The goods these people looted only managed to fill that void for a few days. This gap therefore still exists. And this is the political geography of South Africa that this thesis has been concerned with. This is the reality that this study has tried to show exists everywhere that is the everyday life of most black people, the poor working class and women. And this has everything to do with gaining just access to the Cannabis industry in South Africa.

Only when access to ownership, just employment and leadership positions are written with ordinary peoples lived experiences can any rational order become reality. The government does not have the capability to provide this access alone. This is only possible with the help of the people themselves. It is when people are led by the workers, in an otherworldly manner, that the concerns and welfare of the most

[284] I understand that there were complicated politics behind these looting and that they only occurred in certain provinces. My point here is not to analyze this looting but show that what the thesis has been saying about black people, the poor working class and women's dissatisfaction, if not taken seriously, can lead to more looting or other events like this. Protests, poverty and desperation are of course widespread in South Africa and may involve looting. It is the explosion of it that I was trying to highlight here in using this example.

[285] Small and medium scaled businesses were also affected, a large share of which were black owned.

marginalized can be ensured. But people will need the right equipment to run their revolution with. Cannabis can become such a tool. Cannabis is just one example of a good that has been historically the preserve of the most marginalized. The plant however is fast becoming assimilated into mainstream liberal capital democratic development. Such development is problematic because it is not designed to improve those types of lives. It inherently is only meant to improve the livelihoods of white, middle-class men.

People therefore loot shops, because they are frustrated and feel alienated from the social, political and economic systems as well as labour production that they are denied access into. The marginalized have no reason to protect the goods of these businesses since they have no ownership, employment or leadership over them. Without products with which to challenge and back up an alternative form of development, alienation only worsens.

Hemp Cannabis, medicinal Cannabis and recreational Cannabis are far from a panacea but are products that marginalized people can and have used to pin new methods of development too. Cannabis has the potential to add a significant amount of new manufactured goods to South Africa's product market. Cannabis also has a deep enough black revolutionary past to partake in an independent movement towards its development future. Still, none of this guarantees that just access to its contemporary development markets will accrue to black people, the poor working class and women.

Even my thinking about Cannabis for more than 15 years, albeit on and off, has not guaranteed me access to this space. I thought however my years of experience would at least make this PhD about Cannabis a simple enough task. However, it was not; PhDs, I have learnt, are not easy. When you challenge the institute and refuse to accept its political, social and economic discourse the journey is made even worse for candidates. When the challenge you present includes a plant that historically is anti-establishment you are further ostracized. Furthermore, when you test the ways in which development itself proceeds and argue that the marginalized will continue to be sidelined given developments direction, your undesirable bracketing is made worse. This is the political geography of hemp Cannabis in South Africa that became visible in this thesis.

It is not just the story of a plant that is likened to drugs. It is not just the story of a plant that is slowly being swept into contemporary society's powerful and complex

sets of medicalization narratives. It is however the story of poverty, desperation, unemployment and dissatisfaction. It is the story of the marginalized. It is the story of black people, the poor working class and women. It is the story of revolution. It is the story of development. From the days of slavery, through Haiti, of colonialism, racism and apartheid. It is the story of people's attempts to control their own labour production. It is the story of self-ownership and self-led opportunity. It is the story of the rising mass of people disenfranchised and disheartened by mainstream politics and economics. It is also the story of how we can get through these extraordinary times. How a unified, consolidated South Africa can be created. How a better future for all is possible? Because we need it for the sake of all our children. We need it for this African future. And so, it is 'not yet uhuru'[286], for Cannabis development, but with the right work ethic, dedication and commitment it can be done.

[286] Letta Mbuli 'Not yet Uhuru' *Not yet Uhuru*: Columbia Records (1998)

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