

## BOOK REVIEWS

Jean Vigreux (Preface by Serge Wolikow). *La vigne du maréchal Pétain ou un faire-valoir bourguignon de la Révolution nationale*. Dijon: Editions Universitaires de Dijon, 2005. 106 pp. Stitched. €16,00. ISBN 2915552126. Reviewed by Joseph Bohling, University of California, Berkeley.

In this short, intriguing book, Jean Vigreux takes us back to the world of wine under the Vichy regime (1940-44). From the celebrated vineyards of Beaune in Burgundy, we learn that wine was not an innocent product during the German Occupation. Since the end of World War Two, monographs and tour guides have concealed Beaune's dirtiest little secret: in the spring of 1942, Beaune officials gave a vineyard to Marshal Philippe Pétain. Beaune Les Theurons was renamed Clos du maréchal Pétain. Until now, this story has been lost to local amnesia.

Vigreux sets out to show that Beaune collaborated with the Vichy regime; its wine helped fuel Pétain's morally-uplifting National Revolution. In Vichy's vision, winegrowing symbolized hard work, the countryside, and traditional values that the Third Republic (1870-1940) had reputedly destroyed. Beaune quickly accepted the National Revolution, and continued to promote it after Pétain's popularity began to wane in 1942-43. Vigreux seeks to offer, by way of Pétain's vineyard, "a total history of Vichy on a Burgundian scale" (p. 21).

To accomplish his task, Vigreux mines municipal, departmental, national, and private archives, as well as regional newspapers. Although he focuses on the written word, he also interviews survivors. In each section of the book, he analyzes the rituals of vineyard life and the politics that helped shape vineyard and Vichy culture. The author includes images of the vines and the wine that Beaune dedicated to Pétain.

Vigreux deftly demonstrates how notables orchestrated the National Revolution at the local level. Perhaps more than other groups, they preached the words of the National Revolution. Local notables, who Pétain considered the true elites of a natural social order, served to cleanse France of its republican past. In May 1942, Robert Grimaud, the departmental prefect, and Charles Donati, the regional prefect, offered one of the vineyards of the Hospices de Beaune to Pétain as a gift. Roger Duchet, the mayor of Beaune, eagerly supported the prefects. Local officials created the ceremonies of Pétain's vineyard—from the boundary

making (*bornage*), to the harvest, to the labeling of the bottles—in order to help revive the National Revolution.

This book offers a new chronology to the National Revolution. Historians have traditionally held that in 1942, when Pierre Laval returned to the Vichy government and the Nazis occupied France's southern zone, Pétain's moral crusade came to a close; but Vigreux maintains that the attempts by local notables to involve Beaune in the National Revolution persisted into 1943. While the national revolution in morals died out at the Vichy center, it staggered on at the periphery.

Vigreux fails to discuss Vichy's war against alcoholism. Wine might not fit as nicely into the National Revolution as the author would have us believe. Vichy leaders viewed alcoholism as the most potent sign of French decadence. In 1940 and 1941, in the sober atmosphere of defeat, Pétain clamped down on café life, fettered the freedoms long enjoyed by home distillers, and rationed and requisitioned wine. Pétain restricted French alcohol consumption.

While Pétain outwardly praised wine, he may have inwardly condemned it for setting France down the relentless road to degeneracy. The wine industry suffered less during World War Two than during World War One, even though Vichy was the first wartime government to ration wine (Warner, 158). Pétain's anti-alcoholism may have motivated the rationing and requisitioning of wine. Furthermore, although the French had always ignored the dangerous side of wine, by the Second World War, French doctors finally began to implicate it in the problem of alcoholism. By 1940, some conservative circles blamed the excessive consumption of wine for France's decline.

Most ordinary people probably linked wine and alcohol with republicanism. Not only had Vichy deprived them of drink, but the Third Republic had faith in individual discretion. Resistance newspapers continuously connected wine with republican values, and tried to arouse anger among the population by claiming that the Vichy and Nazi governments plundered people of their wine. In their book on French wine during World War Two, Don and Petie Kladstrup have shown that some winegrowers in Burgundy resisted the Vichy and Nazi regimes by circumventing wine requisitions (Kladstrup and Klandstrup, 91-107). Winegrowers oftentimes participated in a culture of hiding their wine from the authorities. Though Vigreux provides a top-down study, he rightly reasons that the association of wine with the National Revolution did not mobilize renewed support for the authoritarian regime.

Vigreux's book casts light upon a new dimension of the Vichy regime and stands as evidence that more research needs to be conducted on the history of twentieth-century French alcohol production and consumption. His book is a welcome addition to both alcohol and Vichy studies. He not only nicely details the intricacies of local political life; he also shows how wine became deeply involved in local and national politics. His investigation of wine under Vichy

proves that rays of light continue to break through the dense fog of France's darkest years.

## REFERENCES

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Eric Tagliacozzo. *Secret Trades, Porous Borders: Smuggling and States Along a Southeast Asian Frontier, 1865-1915*. Yale University Press, 2005. 454 pp. Cloth. \$55.00. ISBN 0300089686. Reviewed by Anne L. Foster, Indiana State University.

For historians of the twentieth century, the words "drugs" and "smuggling" seem to go together naturally. For most of the century just past, many drugs have been illegal or heavily regulated, and private citizens have had reason to smuggle them across all kinds of borders. Scholars who have explored drug smuggling have primarily been interested either in the types of crime it prompts across society more broadly, or how new modes of consumption and new types of consumers have developed in response to an illegal market. Eric Tagliacozzo wants us to think about smuggling in a different way. He even uses different phrases, "secret trade" or "undertrade" to describe illicit trading across borders. And he is interested not merely, indeed not principally, in illicit trading of drugs. Rather, he wants to understand the relationship of these secret trades to the growing power of the imperial state in insular Southeast Asia and to the limitations on that power. His book argues that the persistence of undertrading demonstrates forcefully that European colonial states were often quite weak, and that European insistence on recognition of borders often flew in the face of ages-old trade and cultural patterns.

The first half of the book explores the ways in which Europeans, sojourning Asians, and indigenous peoples in insular Southeast Asia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries imagined and contested the boundaries increasingly drawn around modern political entities known as colonies. Europeans created the nation states which now make up Southeast Asia out of diverse and sometimes indistinct political bodies during the nineteenth century. Drawing boundaries, and then regulating and taxing trade across those boundaries was a key project of European imperial states. Smuggling of various types, including of people, commodities, weapons, and even ideas, challenged the abil-

ity of imperial states to collect taxes and pay their way, but also challenged the imperial project in more fundamental ways, calling into question the notions of national identity, loyalty, and power that motivated many colonial officials. Tagliacozzo's extensive and impressive research in British and especially Dutch colonial and foreign ministry records provides persuasive evidence of a world of contested power, realistic European fears about a variety of threats, and a geography of rivers, ports, islands, and dense vegetation in insular Southeast Asia which aided those engaged in secret trading to the detriment of those attempting to control it.

The second half of the book explores these issues as they played out in the undertrading of four commodities (opium, counterfeit money, people, and weapons) and in the experience of one ship, the *Kim Ban An* in the world of secret trading and subsequently in the Dutch legal system after being apprehended in a blockade. The research in these chapters is even more impressive, since research into smuggling is notoriously difficult, and even more so in a nineteenth-century colonial region where climate and insect conditions have often led to the destruction of paper records. For anyone interested in smuggling in general, these chapters are all worthwhile. Tagliacozzo paints a fascinating picture of the traders who have been labeled as smugglers, but who were as likely to engage in licit as illicit trade, both from voyage to voyage and even with mixed cargoes on a single voyage. He reminds us as well that not all smuggling was of illegal commodities; smuggling was often for the purpose of evading taxes and increasing profit margins.

The one chapter devoted solely to opium contains many fascinating stories of smugglers and smuggling. In one, American smugglers of opium into the Dutch-controlled Indies told local inhabitants they were Russians to keep Dutch police off their trail. It worked until the locals described the stars-and-stripes covered ship to the police (195). In the years and areas that Tagliacozzo explores, opium was legal and under various forms of state monopoly. In these circumstances, the most prolific and successful smugglers were those who had legal access to opium in quantity, meaning those charged with administering the monopoly. The sources tend to suggest a greater involvement of ethnic Chinese (who usually retailed the opium) than of Europeans (who were involved in import and distribution to retailers). It is probable, however, that ethnic Chinese were simply more likely to be caught. Additionally, Tagliacozzo suggests that the medicinal and addictive nature of opium contributed to its status as probably the most smuggled, and most profitably smuggled, commodity.

This chapter, like the book as a whole, seems designed to appeal to those who are not specialists in Southeast Asia. Tagliacozzo makes arguments potentially applicable to other regions and other commodities, especially to other addictive substances. The breadth of Tagliacozzo's analysis, extending as it does to all kinds of cross-border resistance to state authority, however, necessarily means

he has to deal quickly with topics that non-specialists may find puzzling. In the narcotics chapter, for instance, the relationship between the changing nature of the state monopolies over opium in the late nineteenth and twentieth century and the efforts of imperial states to extend their power is left nearly unexplained. The full importance of his argument is therefore difficult for non-specialists to appreciate.

*Secret Trades* provides new, persuasive ways to think about the meanings and purposes of smuggling. Reconceptualizing the boundary between illicit and licit commodities, since both are smuggled, prompts historians of drugs to situate themselves in the historiography of commodities. Tagliacozzo's argument that smuggling was both a form of resistance to imperial power, and an impetus to the strengthening of that power, connects what appears to be mere criminal activity to the state-formation project. His work encourages scholars in these areas to think more broadly about issues of power, resistance, consumption, and exchange.

Richard W. Thatcher, *Fighting Firewater Fictions: Moving Beyond the Disease Model of Alcoholism in First Nations*. Toronto. University of Toronto Press, 2004. 358 pp. Paper. \$35.00. ISBN 0802086470. Reviewed by Greg Marquis, University of New Brunswick, Saint John.

Richard Thatcher is a clinical sociologist who is an experienced health and social policy advisor and researcher for Canada's First Nations communities and has been involved in community health surveys of dozens of reserves. These are largely isolated, rural and poor communities inhabited by "status" Indians who live in official "bands" recognized by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. By the mid 1990s, Canada had roughly 500,000 "registered" Indians living on more than 2,000 reserves. In recent years these communities have been experiencing a transition to self government, notably in education and social services, but they remain heavily dependent on federal transfer funds, and the social, economic and health indicators for reserve dwellers are more problematic than those of off-reserve aboriginals.

*Fighting Firewater Fictions* is a complex and ambitious work that attempts to explain the genesis and continued resiliency of the "firewater complex," a set of beliefs about alcohol consumption in aboriginal communities. It also argues that the traditional disease concept of alcoholism, government policies and the power structure of reserves help perpetuate social and medical problems related to excessive drinking. According to Thatcher, things will not improve simply by increased self governance. The simplistic disease concept of alcoholism, based on abstinence as the only response, has to be re-evaluated, as do the real causal factors behind disruptive and unhealthy drinking. Reforms will only take place when the current passive model of reserve government, dominated by chiefs,

band councils and influential families, is replaced by community-based approaches and genuine economic development. Until then, reserve populations will continue to suffer from risk-taking behaviours such as drinking, drug taking and gambling.

Reserve communities are associated with higher than average rates of family violence, child abuse and neglect, suicide, arrest and incarceration. Despite official assumptions, most problem drinkers on reserves are not alcoholics and the rate of abstinence among First Canadians is higher than the Canadian average. The incidence of high-risk drinking is linked to gender, education and employment: women, those with more schooling and those in the workforce are less likely to be affected. The most visible form of problem drinking, group or binge drinking, meets with two responses: tolerance, due to the forgiving nature of reserve communities, or disease concept treatment (DCT) programs based on abstinence, referral to Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) and a standardized rehabilitation regime. Although DCT programs have adopted some culturally-appropriate aspects, such as sweat lodges, sweet grass ceremonies and the involvement of elders, Thatcher views these as “politically correct” add-ons to a flawed model.

The book is a good barometer of the state of the debate on alcoholism and its treatment in North America. It discusses recent criticisms of “therapy” and the tendency of research and service delivery to pathologize the poor and minorities. Although the author is open to recent neurobiological evidence on addiction, he is less comfortable with psychological or psychiatric explanations and is troubled by the non-scientific influence of AA and fatalistic attitudes on reserves that tend to blame all major problems on outside forces beyond personal or community control. These include the decline or loss of shamanism, the need for social cohesion in the face of colonialism, and dysfunctional personal and family relationships caused by the residential schooling of native children prior to the 1970s and child welfare interventions that resulted in large numbers of children placed in foster care or adopted by non-native families.

The author offers a number of factors to explain how alcohol developed into such a problem on reserves. These include the fact that drinking brings short-term pleasure, that “out-of-control” drinking is learned behaviour and not the result of genetic factors, and that group drinking reflects traditional aboriginal ethics such as sharing scarce resources. He attributes First Nations’ tendency to forget or excuse excessive drinking, or seek leniency in terms of legal sanction, to the power of the disease theory, which views alcoholism as a sickness, not a weakness or moral failing. The problem is exacerbated by the historic influence of externally-imposed “total institutions,” the loss of traditional social controls and periods of official prohibition that reinforced binge drinking practices. He also attributes much out-of-control drinking behaviour and violence to male status anxiety. The most important factor of all, however, was “the displace-

ment of the adult male economic role.” (161) These conditions were all created by historic and outside forces, but the situation is reinforced by reserve band governance, federal agencies, the culture of dependency and a crude reliance on DCT models.

The second part of the book offers a series of strategies for reorienting alcohol prevention strategies in First Nations communities. The first necessary step is developing a holistic approach to the problem that includes meaningful economic development, community participation and expertise and individual responsibility. Thatcher argues that because of the lack of normal career/life cycle trajectories for most aboriginals, many literally do not outgrow risk-taking behaviour such as binge drinking. Band governance itself, with its emphasis on consuming resources and creating parallel institutions, will have to be reformed. Programs should be measured for their effectiveness. Intensive, community-based intervention programs for children are specifically highlighted.

This reviewer can find few faults with the book, although as an historian I would have liked to have seen more attention to how and when problem drinking became an actual, as opposed to an imaginary, problem on reserves. The suggestion that prohibition, either under the federal *Indian Act* and provincial liquor legislation or band policy, exacerbated the problem is not backed up with research references in a book that otherwise is extremely well documented. Finally, despite the logic of Thatcher’s reform suggestions, and recent acknowledgements by native leaders that people should take greater responsibility for their problem drinking, it is unlikely that either reserve governments or the federal government will, in the short run, enact radical reforms in areas such as self government, service delivery and economic development.

Sarah W. Tracy. *Alcoholism in America: From Reconstruction to Prohibition*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005. xxiii, 357 pp. Cloth. \$48.00. ISBN 0801881196. Reviewed by Thomas R. Pegram, Loyola College.

Historians of alcohol are well aware of the influential disease concept of alcoholism that came to dominate the social analysis, medical diagnoses, and treatment options for problem drinkers in the United States in the mid-twentieth century. Recent scholarship, such as John W. Crowley and William L. White’s *Drunkard’s Refuge: The Lessons of the New York State Inebriate Asylum* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), however, has documented a late nineteenth-century drive to promote the disease concept and medicalize the treatment of habitual drunkenness in state-sponsored inebriate asylums. This once neglected episode in the history of alcoholism has now received thorough and sophisticated treatment by Sarah W. Tracy in *Alcoholism in America*. Tracy’s central thesis is straightforward. Beginning in 1870 with the formation of the American Association for the Cure of Inebriates, a dedicated body of profes-

sionals struggled to establish the treatment of habitual drunkenness as a medical specialty. Slowly persuading the public and government officials alike that alcoholism was primarily a medical problem that required skilled care, disease advocates prompted state governments to separate alcoholics from the insane and build state hospitals specifically devoted to the treatment of inebriates. Yet neither doctors, legislators, nor the public had divorced their understanding of alcoholism from moral constructs. A medico-moral approach to treating alcoholism and restoring manhood and citizenship to inebriates instead prevailed in both private and public treatment facilities. Public interest in medical treatment for inebriates waxed when local prohibition laws and sentiment waned. The passage of the Volstead Act and commencement of national prohibition led to the dismantling of state inebriate hospitals and the eclipse of professional aspirations for the early disease concept advocates. The modern alcoholism movement revived these themes without acknowledging the efforts and experiences of these pioneers.

Yet the medical and institutional focus suggested by this summary understates the depth—and the difficulty—of Tracy’s analysis. She strives to portray the cultural, political, and social complex that influenced the development of the disease concept of alcoholism. Rather than accepting a structural model of professional authority dominating the discourse on problem drinking, Tracy stresses the negotiated, layered nature of the process. Not only doctors (who disagreed among themselves), but also judges, politicians, temperance activists, families of inebriates, and the patients themselves influenced the definitions and treatment of habitual drunkenness. The disease concept operated in institutions alongside competing penal or custodial approaches (Iowa’s Board of Control suggested that mining coal would be a suitable occupational therapy for inebriates and Massachusetts officials committed chronic, untreatable drunkards to the Foxborough hospital against the wishes of the staff); anxious families and penurious legislators often demanded short-term care over doctors who endorsed long-term rehabilitation; the budding profession of psychiatry initially welcomed the opportunity to treat “curable” inebriates, but the presence of inebriates in insane asylums proved disruptive, as drunks, once sober, sought to escape or contact attorneys.

Tracy is most effective at analyzing the late nineteenth-century cultural, class, and gender underpinnings of the dual medical/moral outlook embedded in the disease concept of alcoholism. She presents a highly instructive history of the shifting terminology of habitual drunkenness between 1870 and 1920. *Intemperance* was the initial, morally-charged designation that emphasized the drinker’s failure of will as much as susceptibility to disease. *Dipsomania* suggested that habitual drunkenness was a form of insanity, a step toward a disease orientation of drunkenness. But dipsomania also had a class dimension. Doctors considered it a middle-class affliction that could be reversed through skilled intervention.

Working-class drinkers were more likely to be regarded as incurable sots. *Inebriety* became the term of preference, but its contested meanings reflected the imprecise, negotiated state of the art in treatment between Reconstruction and Prohibition. Finally, by the early twentieth century, *alcoholism* emerged as the favored term for disease-concept advocates, separating alcohol-related afflictions from other forms of addiction. Gender as well as class was reflected in the tendency to regard alcoholism as both a vice and a disease. Practitioners assumed that inebriates were men. Treatment, even in the institutions staffed by disease-concept advocates, stressed restoring proper masculine qualities to inebriates. The recovered alcoholic was supposed to be physically robust, economically productive, attentive to his family obligations, and possessed of a manly willpower capable of resisting temptation. These characteristics also reflected the goals of legislators and regulatory boards that oversaw the inebriate hospitals and expected them to transform wards of the state into productive citizens. Even the most famous quack alternative to mainstream medical care, the Keeley Gold Cure franchises, built up the manhood of patients with masculine camaraderie and a formidable regimen of injections and emetics. Female inebriates endured the harsher consequences of gender assumptions. They were assumed to be profoundly diseased and were segregated from inebriate men. Even after men were treated in inebriate hospitals, drink-troubled women were consigned to insane asylums.

Adept as medical, cultural, and institutional history, *Alcoholism in America* is less surefooted as political and social history (signaled by the misspelled names of reformers Jacob Riis and Lincoln Steffens). The place of inebriate care in the late nineteenth-century expansion of state responsibility could be clearer. Tracy asserts that a large Irish population of drinkers prompted the construction of inebriate hospitals, but later remarks that inebriety was an “Anglo-American problem” in Massachusetts (189). Since few states funded Prohibition enforcement, perhaps the closing of inebriate hospitals at the outset of the dry era followed economic rather than reform logic. Indeed, one may suspect that the hostile relationship Tracy sketches between dries and alcoholism professionals was more complicated. Why, for instance, did the Anti-Saloon League name its international branch the World League Against Alcoholism? Tracy finds a remarkable source in letters between doctors and former patients of inebriate hospitals, but she uses the letters to determine if patients subscribed to the disease concept and to document the self-sustaining relationship between doctors and patients. The letters also reveal a remarkable (unexplored) pattern of former inebriates working as attendants in insane asylums. The patient profiles show more unmarried men than the family dynamics of alcohol problems would suggest. Still, Tracy has written the best book yet on alcoholism in the pre-prohibition period.

Martin Torgoff. *Can't Find My Way Home: America in the Great Stoned Age*. New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2004. 545 pp. Paper. \$16.00. ISBN 0743230116. Reviewed by Alexine Fleck, Department of English, University of Pennsylvania.

Martin Torgoff opens his cultural history, *Can't Find My Way Home: America in the Great Stoned Age, 1945-2000*, with a description of himself as a teenager, getting stoned with his friends. As they ponder their high, Torgoff's father arrives and, in frustration, challenges Torgoff: "Go ahead and tell me—what did any of it really mean?" (13). *Can't Find My Way Home* is Torgoff's expansive, ambitious and sometimes overwhelming answer to this challenge. He bookends this project with memoir, arguing that his drug use and even his addiction were necessary steps to figure out who he really is. The same is true, he argues, for America. Although he eventually quit taking drugs, Torgoff does not believe that all drug use leads to addiction, or that all drugs are evil siren songs of false consciousness. Rather than identifying ways that drug use brings people to their lowest points, Torgoff finds the moments where drug experimentation has inspired bursts of imagination, creative discovery, and idealistic leaps of faith.

According to Torgoff, America's Stoned Age began with jazz musicians, who took heroin hoping that it would help them create music like their hero, Charlie "Bird" Parker. Meanwhile, the Beats experimented with heroin and prose, "reaching in," according to Ken Kesey, "to wrench the language apart" (95). The creations of these two groups challenged form and convention, providing an early illustration of Torgoff's thesis about the relationship between drugs and creativity. Indeed, this project rests on the belief that drugs played a significant role in some of the gestalt switches in American popular culture. If we are to understand the moments when creative supernova burned brightly, if briefly, we need to understand the way a syringe of opiates, or line of cocaine, or even a fat joint acted on the right mind at the right place in the right time to produce music like "Lover Man" or "Purple Haze," literature like *Howl* or *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, or cultural-political movements like Woodstock or the Diggers. We also must understand how drug profits created the cynical, hyperviolent underground economy that eventually spread like kudzu through the Eden of early idealistic, drug-fuelled communities. Only then can we counteract the "cultural amnesia about drugs that has become so pervasive that we scarcely even notice it, let alone discuss it" (468).

Moving from jazz and beat literature, Torgoff turns to the Harvard psychedelic movement, the Merry Pranksters, Acid-drenched Woodstock, and Andy Warhol's speed-fuelled Factory. Drug use helped propel the anti-war movement just as it soothed the frayed nerves of soldiers in Vietnam and helped derail the Black Power movement. The idealism of the 1960s gave way to the violent infil-

tration of people like Charlie Manson, the hippie doppelganger. Then the police arrived to break up the party. Torgoff even describes what he calls the “Age of Recovery,” the “only real revolution,” according to Ronnie Cutrone (375-76). A new generation discovers new drugs, new art, new revolutions. In his concluding return to memoir, Torgoff gazes into the eyes of one member of this new stoned generation and wishes him a good trip, even as he knows that he can no longer go along for the ride.

After a decade of research, Torgoff writes like he is telling a story he knows by heart and his prose, both passionate and playful, is a delight to read. He displays empathy for both the heroes and villains of the story, capturing their voices and the tenor of each period and each drug as effectively as he displays his early bravado about drug use: “The only time I ever turned down a drug was when I didn’t understand the question” (13). The larger question he is trying to answer, however, relies on – and thereby replicates – another sort of historical and cultural amnesia. By beginning his history at the conclusion of World War II, Torgoff neglects the first wave of drug use and addiction. More troubling is the absence of stories about users who were not making art or leading cultural or political movements. The absence of the inner life of street-level addicts, invisible if this history relies on creative artifacts, implies that the experiences of some are more equal than others and the interiority of the educated and articulate is more significant than – or simply representative of – the drug experiences of all. Echoing De Quincey [“If a man ‘whose talk is of oxen’, should become an opium-eater, the probability is, that (if he is not too dull to dream at all) – he will dream about oxen” (DeQuincey 1971, 33) ] Timothy Leary articulates the assumption directly: “It was wonderful for thin intellectuals like Aldous Huxley and me to get high and suddenly enjoy the pleasures of the body and aesthetics and sensuality and music . . . What I didn’t realize was that eighty percent of the people out there are *not* motivated, and . . . marijuana . . . could take away what little motivation they might have had” (416). Since this history is about drug use from the inside and because it relies so heavily on written or musical artifacts, it is easy to see how the street-level junkie or piper might not make it into the story, but I cannot help but wish they had gotten the same thorough, respectful and empathic treatment as the rest of the players in this otherwise thorough cultural history of American drug use.

Perhaps this is an impossible request. Nietzsche once asked, “Who will ever relate the whole history of narcotica? – It is almost the history of ‘culture,’ of our so called high culture” (Nietzsche 1971, §86). By choosing to limit his subject primarily to the interior life of the creative elite, the idealistic proto-environmentalists, the counter-cultural visionaries, Torgoff narrows his book into a barely-manageable 476 pages (not including notes). His history captures a significant portion of this high culture, describing how drugs helped expand the

creative consciousness of some people. Whatever he omitted only challenges the rest of us to fill in his gaps with similar devotion, respect and humor.

## REFERENCES

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Alfredo Molano. *Loyal Soldiers in the Cocaine Kingdom: Tales of Drugs, Mules, and Gunmen*. Translated by James Graham. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. ix, 158 pp. Paper. \$26.00. ISBN 0231129157. Reviewed by Daniel Weimer, Wheeling Jesuit University.

Anthropologist Michael Taussig remarked in his genre-blurring *My Cocaine Museum* (2004) that cocaine and gold are fetishes, “substances that seem to be a good deal more than mineral or vegetable matter” which “come across more like people than things” (Taussig 2004, jacket note). In the United States, national anti-drug policies confirm Taussig’s assertion since drugs are ascribed a magical power which can permanently alter brains and destroy people and communities. *Loyal Soldiers in the Cocaine Kingdom* extends this fetishization of drugs beyond governmental supply reduction to the individuals who transport cocaine and endow the drug with the power to transform their lives, whether the impetus for that transformation be born of poverty, greed, personal salvation, or the longing for adventure.

A journalist and sociologist who has written on drugs and civil war in Colombia, Molano fled from that country in 2000 after receiving death threats for criticizing the right-wing paramilitary groups connected to cocaine production and trafficking. This fact, along with the fetishistic power ascribed to cocaine by the book’s subjects, adds to the sense of mystery one experiences in reading *Loyal Soldiers in the Cocaine Kingdom*. Fittingly, the incommunicado author does not directly communicate with his readers. Rather, this collection of seven oral histories lets the storytellers relay the circumstances surrounding their decisions to transport small to large quantities of cocaine from Colombia to Spain and the United States. Though Molano does not directly address his readers, his book’s purpose is quite clear. These stories are meant to humanize the smugglers, to put an emotional face on the often unseen lives of the people who make cocaine consumption in North America and Western Europe possible and who endure the bulk of the drug war’s enforcement.

In the author’s absence, the book’s translator, James Graham, situates the oral histories, which he places within the genre of “testimonial literature” and likens

to Studs Terkel's oral history of the Great Depression, *Hard Times*. Graham provides needed historical context to the "testimonials" through a concise post-war history of Colombia: the 1948-1957 civil war known as *la violencia*; the advent of a leftist insurgency in the 1960s that has persisted to the present; the subsequent weakening of the Colombian government; and the rise of the cocaine cartels since the 1970s. Civil war, cold war, and drug war combine over a forty year period; it is within this environment of political and economic instability that the book's subjects find themselves seeking refuge through the drug trade.

One group of narratives consists of mid-level transporters and dealers. We meet "Scuzzball," who first entered the drug world to escape poverty by working as a leaf scraper on a cocaine plantation. He soon learned some chemistry and eventually became renowned for producing high grade cocaine. Ultimately, he began shipping large quantities of cocaine around Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru before being arrested. Another chapter presents "Puppet," a natural adventurer, who came to cocaine trafficking after serving in a leftist guerrilla group and looking for a simple way to get ahead in Columbia. A brief review cannot go into all the sociological and emotional detail in these accounts but two strong themes emerge. Foremost is the degree to which the cocaine trade has penetrated all segments of Colombian society. Similarly, the many forms of official corruption are readily apparent, as is the coca growers' and smugglers' adaptation to Colombian and U.S. anti-drug policies—realities that limit the effectiveness of Plan Colombia, the multi-billion dollar anti-drug aid program inaugurated in 2000.

The book's other chapters focus on the lowest level of cocaine smuggling, the "mules" who ingest from thirty to fifty "cookies" (cocaine filled condoms) before flying from Bogotá to Madrid with a kilo inside them. "Mule Driver," a courier turned driver (the person who identifies and organizes mules, and escorts them across the Atlantic) provides a great amount of detail about the Colombians who opt to risk imprisonment and accidental death for the hope of \$2000 to \$3000. His comment, "if you carry it off, you've laid the first bricks that goes towards building a wall between you and poverty" (14) explains a good deal about why mules are not in short supply. The woman in "Eight Years, Three Months, One Day" exemplifies this fact as she explains that payment for one trip would cover the annual cost of living for her and her eight children. Her story's title relates to the standard sentence that Spanish law imposes on intercepted mules, a punishment that another of the book's subjects, a nun, received. "The Nun" is the unfortunate if questionable story of a naïve Redeemer Sister duped by a family acquaintance into carrying two suitcase of "carpet samples" from Colombia to Spain in exchange for \$2000, which she intended to use to travel to Africa in order to fulfill her lifelong dream of working with that continent's ill and poor.

In all, Molano has given us an engaging read that succeeds in humanizing its subjects. Columbia University Press should be commended for translating these interviews and presenting us with some hard to obtain primary sources—though these oral histories do not escape the pitfalls of the genre and the literary quality of the interviews makes one occasionally question their accuracy. *Loyal Soldiers* would best serve a general audience as what is revealed in the narratives should not surprise those who have studied drug trafficking or Latin American history. Still, “drug scholars” will see that *Loyal Soldiers* fits into what Paul Gootenberg (1999) termed the “third wave” of cocaine histories—a global and interdisciplinary examination of cocaine that places those at the bottom of the cocaine commodity chain into the larger context of Colombian history. Similarly, *Loyal Soldiers* gives credence to the cultural construction of drugs because each of the storytellers projects a personal meaning onto cocaine while negotiating official discourses about the drug. In the end, the book points towards issues future scholars face: the interplay between drugs, human trafficking, human rights, and globalization.

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Philip J. Hilts. *Protecting America’s Health: The FDA, Business, and One Hundred Years of Regulation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. 424 pp. Paper. \$19.95. ISBN 0807855820. Reviewed by Stephen Ceccoli, Rhodes College.

The U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has an enormous regulatory responsibility. It regulates products amounting to over one quarter of every dollar spent by Americans in industries ranging from foods to drugs to cosmetics to medical devices. In *Protecting America’s Health: The FDA, Business, and One Hundred Years of Regulation*, Philip Hilts effectively traces the history of American drug regulation. In doing so, he argues that the evolution of American drug regulation must be understood in the context of other parallel phenomena, including the emergence of American commerce, the rise of the pharmaceutical industry, and the birth of modern medical science.

Hilts begins by introducing Harvey Washington Wiley, the nineteenth-century progressive who became, essentially, the forerunner to today’s FDA Commissioner. Hilts asserts that, “business had shown in the nineteenth cen-

tury that it could not well serve two masters—it could not seek profit with a single-minded energy and at the same time take care that citizens were protected from the injustices and injuries that its actions and practices might cause” (12-13). Wiley’s appointment came in an era when “corporation” was still a fledgling concept, government regulations were virtually non-existent, and the medical establishment had not reached its golden age of experimental science. Beginning with Wiley’s appointment, Hilts crafts the story of how business, science, and government regulation emerged simultaneously, each influential in shaping the other.

Interestingly, some of the very same issues facing government regulators in Wiley’s era—troubles with importing adulterated products, the effectiveness of agency leadership, product advertising, drug labeling and the marketing of dubious products just to name a few—remain important concerns to the FDA even today. For instance, the first serious attempt at food and drug regulation in the United States dates back to 1848 when adulterated food and medicines from abroad were banned from entering the U.S. Exploiting the absence of regulation and the American *laissez faire* mentality, European producers had found the American market profitable as a dumping ground for dubious food and drug products. Though a broader and troubling health problem existed, the politically expedient reaction was to “blame foreigners” for the problem and the 1848 law was enacted. As Congress currently considers legislation for regulating the importation of medicines from Canada, Mexico, and elsewhere, such concerns remain salient.

The history of the FDA is the history of the people who comprise the agency, and those who influence it from without: politicians, the medical community, and the pharmaceutical industry. Drawing on hundreds of interviews, Hilts offers compelling insights on numerous agency chiefs, including David Kessler. The controversial Kessler was one of the most effective commissioners in the agency’s history. Serving under both Republican and Democratic administrations, Kessler is perhaps most noted for his dogged efforts in challenging the tobacco industry during the early 1990s. Yet, it was Kessler who restored a sense of stability (and credibility) to the agency following the turbulent era of his predecessor and was instrumental in strengthening agency enforcement, improving product labels, and reducing drug review times. Since Kessler stepped down from the FDA, there has been a veritable revolving door to the commissioner’s office. In fact, the top job has remained vacant for a much longer period of time (including the present) than it has been occupied by a non-interim, Senate-confirmed commissioner.

As a veteran health and science journalist, Hilts’ contention that the media has also played a critical role in the evolution of food and drug law is not surprising. Interestingly, newspaper advertising contracts with drug makers in the early days were contingent on the avoidance of negative news coverage of medicines.

This opened the door for alternative forms of media such as magazines. As Hilts points out, “with the newspapers on the sidelines, the magazines were having a field day informing the public about the unsavory practices of the trade” (47). Ironically, dating back to 1997 regulatory changes, the pharmaceutical industry now directly advertises its products to consumers. Despite the fact that direct-to-consumer advertising has been so influential in driving consumer demand, Hilts misses an opportunity to link the past with the present in this regard.

One of the book’s strengths is its discussion of the deregulatory initiatives of the 1970s and 1980s and the conservative-led anti-regulatory campaigns of the 1990s. Three chapters, “Partisan Politics,” “Deregulation,” and “An Anti-Regulatory Campaign” are particularly illuminating for those interested in political pressures levied against the agency. Interestingly, Hilts provides a fairly compelling case for debunking the “drug lag” – the notion that since the 1960s the U.S. had fallen behind other countries in terms of approving new medicines. Hilts turns some of the conventional analysis upside down and concludes that the drug lag was a “corrosive myth” (192). In perhaps his most forceful commentary of the book, Hilts repudiates various initiatives from the New Right to profoundly curb the agency’s authority and at the same time offers a fundamental rationale for the agency. As he exclaims, “We know what happens when we leave the decisions about safety and effectiveness in the hands of industry. The simple fact is that the FDA is, at least for now, the best hope we have” (304).

Hilts is less persuasive in his critique of an agency device originally pushed by the Right: user fees. FDA user fees, initiated in 1992, allow the agency to charge the pharmaceutical industry a fee each time a new drug application is submitted, ostensibly to raise money to hire additional reviewers. This legislation is widely hailed as a win-win regulatory advance. Though Hilts laments that such fees will “eventually lead to serious problems” (280), readers would be better served with more argumentation to substantiate this claim.

*Protecting America’s Health* is an engagingly written history of a vital – though understudied – regulatory agency. The book would be valuable to the readers of this journal as well as for undergraduates and lay readers. As Americans continue to ingest quantities of medicines at a rate far surpassing that of other countries, FDA regulation touches virtually every American in some way. The same regulatory issues that emerged in the twentieth century will inevitably recur in one form or another. Finally, despite its storied history, much of the FDA’s work continues to exist without much public fanfare. As Hilts contends, “it is simply expected that food and medicine will be safe” (xviii).



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