



# "Rethinking Alcohol and Drugs: Global Transformations /Local Practices in History"

Alcohol and Drugs History Society (ADHS), Conferencia bi-anual  
Mexico City, June 15 -17 2022



ABSTRACTS  
(alphabetical order)

June 15-17, 2022

Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales,  
Mario de La Cueva, C.U., 04510  
Ciudad de México, CDMX, Mexico

# AD HS

## Keynote Bios

**Paul Gootenberg** is SUNY Distinguished Professor of History and Sociology at Stony Brook University in New York. He is a global commodity and drug historian trained as a Latin Americanist at the University of Chicago and St. Antony's College, Oxford. His works include *Andean Cocaine: The Making of a Global Drug* (UNC, 2008), *Cocaine: Global Histories* (Routledge, 1999) and with Liliana M. Dávalos, *The Origins of Cocaine: Peasant Colonization and Failed Development in the Amazon Andes* (Routledge, 2018). From 2011-14 he chaired the Drugs, Security and Democracy fellowship (DSD) of the Open Society Foundations and Social Science Research Council. Gootenberg is General Editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Global Drug History* (Oxford 2022) and 2021-23 President of the Alcohol and Drugs History Society (ADHS).

**Beatriz Caiuby Labate** (Bia Labate) is a queer Brazilian anthropologist based in San Francisco. She has a Ph.D. in social anthropology from the State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Brazil. Her main areas of interest are the study of plant medicines, drug policy, shamanism, ritual, religion, and social justice. She is Executive Director of the Chacruna Institute for Psychedelic Plant Medicines (<http://chacruna.net>, <https://chacruna-iri.org>, <https://chacruna-la.org>) and serves as Public Education and Culture Specialist at the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies (MAPS). She is also Adjunct Faculty at the East-West Psychology Program at the California Institute of Integral Studies (CIIS) and Visiting Scholar at Naropa University's Center for Psychedelic Studies. Additionally, she is member of the Oregon Psilocybin Advisory Board's Research Subcommittee, and Advisor at the Synthesis Institute and at InnerTrek. Dr. Labate is a co-founder of the Interdisciplinary Group for Psychoactive Studies (NEIP) in Brazil and editor of its site since. She is author, co-author, and co-editor of twenty-four books, two special-edition journals, and several peer-reviewed articles (<https://bialabate.net>).

**Lisa Sanchez** es Maestra en Gestión Pública y Gobernanza por la London School of Economics, maestra en Ciencia Política por la Universidad Sorbona y licenciada en Relaciones Internacionales por el Tecnológico de Monterrey y el Instituto de Estudios Políticos de París. Es Directora General de México Unido Contra la Delincuencia, organización de la sociedad civil con más de 20 años de experiencia en materia de seguridad ciudadana, justicia y política de drogas e innumerables proyectos de empoderamiento comunitario, prevención de la violencia y la delincuencia y auditoría social del sistema de justicia penal. Anteriormente, Lisa trabajó para la Comisión Interamericana para el Control del Abuso de Drogas de la Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA) y se ha desempeñado como asesora para distintos gobiernos como México, Colombia y Uruguay, así como para la Sociedad Internacional del SIDA, con sede en Ginebra, Suiza. Dentro de la administración pública, colaboró con diversas dependencias, entre ellas la Secretaría de Educación Pública, el Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud y el Consulado General de México en París. Desde la sociedad civil, ha colaborado en distintas iniciativas en materia de drogas, equidad de género, salud pública, juventud y participación política. Es autora de diversas publicaciones, analista política en televisión nacional y colaboradora regular de distintos medios de comunicación. Es miembro del Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, COMEXI, y desde 2020 es parte de la lista de los 300 líderes más influyentes de México de la revista Líderes Mexicanos. **Contacto:** [lisa@muco.org.mx](mailto:lisa@muco.org.mx).

**MSc. Lisa Sánchez** is the Executive Director of Mexico United against Crime (MUCA), a Mexican NGO working on citizen security, justice and peace issues since 1998. Lisa holds a B.A. in International Relations

from Tecnológico de Monterrey in Mexico and Sciences Po Paris in France, a M.A. in Political Science from the University Paris I (Panthéon Sorbonne) and a M.Sc. in Public Management and Governance from the London School of Economics. From 2012 to 2018, she directed the Drug Policy Programme at MUCD, where she also collaborated with the UK-based think tank Transform Drug Policy Foundation. In previous years, she worked for the Inter American Drug Abuse Control Commission of the Organization of American States, the Federal Government of Mexico, the organization Espolea, the International AIDS Society, and the Mexican Consulate in Paris, France. As an external consultant, Lisa has collaborated with the Mexico City Institute against Addictions, the University of Zacatecas, the Mexican Youth Institute, and the OAS. Lisa is also the author of several publications on drug policy and she is a regular contributor to national and international media. Since 2016, she does political analysis for Milenio TV and Foro TV in Mexico and is member of the Mexican Council of International Affairs, COMEXI. [lisa@mucd.org.mx](mailto:lisa@mucd.org.mx).

**Edward Slingerland** is Distinguished University Scholar and Professor of Philosophy at the University of British Columbia, where he also holds appointments in the Departments of Psychology and Asian Studies. Dr. Slingerland is an expert on early Chinese thought, comparative religion and cognitive science of religion, big data approaches to cultural analysis, cognitive linguistics, digital humanities and humanities-science integration. His first trade book, *Trying Not to Try: Ancient China, Modern Science and the Power of Spontaneity* (Crown 2014), ties together insights from early Chinese thought and modern psychological research. His second, *Drunk: How We Sipped, Danced and Stumbled Our Way to Civilization* (Little, Brown Spark June 2021), targets the standard scientific view of our taste for intoxicants as an evolutionary accident, arguing instead that alcohol and other drugs have played a crucial role in helping humans to be more creative, trusting and prosocial, thereby easing the transition from small-scale to large-scale societies.

Rethinking Alcohol and Drugs,  
ADHS Conference, Mexico City, June 2022

Individual Abstracts (in alphabetical order)

**Eron Ackerman**, Albion College

The Jamaican Ganja Diaspora: Migration, Prohibition, and the Social Geography of Cannabis, 1900-1940

Ganja (*Cannabis indica*) came to the Caribbean with the migration of indentured workers from India in the decades after the abolition of slavery. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, increasing steam commerce and labor migration around the Caribbean basin sowed the seeds of a secondary “ganja diaspora.” As Jamaicans moved to Panama, Costa Rica, Cuba, and New York, they brought ganja with them and incorporated it into local botanical folkways and overseas markets. At the same time, laws banning marijuana proliferated at the colonial, state, national, and international level. Rather than effectively suppressing cannabis, however, prohibition opened lucrative opportunities for illicit trade. This presentation examines how local practices of ganja cultivation, consumption, and trade adapted to these momentous geopolitical transformations. I argue that networks of enterprising Caribbean scofflaws parlayed the changing geopolitical landscape to their own purposes, using commercial steamships to traffic cannabis around the Caribbean and into North America to meet the growing demand for the prohibited intoxicant during the Jazz Age. Encounters with racial discrimination and exploitation in the Caribbean migratory sphere also gave rise to new forms of Black internationalist consciousness—most notably, Garveyism and Rastafarianism—which imbued cannabis with new political and spiritual meanings. For lower-class Jamaicans struggling to make ends meet during the economically depressed and racially tense 1920s and 30s, ganja became not only an important source of income but also an intoxicating tool of countercultural resistance.

**Óscar Aguilar**, Universidad Nacional de Quilmes; **María Cecilia Díaz**, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba and **Lucía Romero**, Universidad de Buenos Aires

## Experticias y saberes ciudadanos por la regulación terapéutica de la marihuana en Argentina

Experticias y saberes ciudadanos por la regulación terapéutica de la marihuana en Argentina Óscar Aguilar<sup>1</sup>, María Cecilia Díaz<sup>2</sup>, Lucía Romero<sup>3</sup> La presente ponencia se desarrolla a partir de un artículo en revisión en el que exploramos la noción de ciencia ciudadana en tanto una modalidad de involucramiento de públicos en cuestiones tecnocientíficas. Nuestra propuesta analiza los sentidos que asume la ciencia ciudadana por la regulación del cannabis para usos terapéuticos y medicinales en Argentina, considerando las experiencias de movilización pública en tres municipios de la provincia de Buenos Aires. A partir de herramientas conceptuales del campo de los Estudios Sociales de la Ciencia (STS) y de técnicas como el análisis documental de proyectos legislativos (resoluciones y ordenanzas), la observación participante y la realización de entrevistas en profundidad, se analiza: el rol de la proximidad vivenciada localmente en el desarrollo de iniciativas municipales en torno al cannabis; la hibridación de experticias (técnicas, científicas, médicas, legales, experienciales); y los procesos de resignificación y cambio de identidades sociales. La investigación muestra que las regulaciones municipales del cannabis se desarrollan a partir de una base social heterogénea que, bajo la forma de una ciencia ciudadana, produce, utiliza y transmite diversas experticias alrededor de los usos terapéuticos de la planta y sus derivados. Asimismo, revela que los procesos de construcción de políticas gubernamentales locales promueven revalorizaciones sociales en torno a la identidad de ciertos grupos (cultivadores solidarios, médicos, niños usuarios) que influyen en el modo de configuración del cannabis terapéutico como problema público.

1 Ingeniero agrónomo de la Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia; Magíster en Política y Gestión de la Ciencia y la Tecnología de la Universidad de Buenos Aires y doctorando en Ciencias Sociales de la misma universidad. Ha investigado en las relaciones de utilidad de los conocimientos tecnocientíficos en entornos productivos y en la interacción de conocimientos expertos y ciudadanos en la regulación del cannabis medicinal.

2 Licenciada en Historia por la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Magíster y Doctora en Antropología Social por la Universidad Federal de Río de Janeiro. Se desempeña como becaria de posdoctorado de CONICET y como profesora del Departamento de Antropología, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades (UNC). Ha investigado sobre historia cultural de los activismos cannábicos y antiprohibicionistas, y tradiciones de conocimiento y experiencia sobre cannabis en Argentina.

3 Socióloga de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, Magíster en Ciencia, Tecnología y Sociedad de la Universidad Nacional de Quilmes y Doctora en Ciencias Sociales de FLACSO, es investigadora adjunta del CONICET y docente de la UBA. Ha investigado sobre la conformación de tradiciones de investigación clínica en la Argentina, las relaciones entre la universidad y sus entornos y las interacciones entre experticias científicas y ciudadanas en la regulación del cannabis para uso medicinal y terapéutico.

**Héctor Joel Anaya Segura**, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Unidad Cuajimalpa

Hacia una genealogía del narcomenudeo en la Ciudad de México: Una aproximación des de la historia social 2000-2006

Los últimos veinte años en consecuencia de la reconfiguración del poder político en México o gobierno dividido, como lo llama Luis Astorga y como resultado del incremento en la inseguridad, el crimen organizado y la violencia, se orientó una fuerte estrategia de seguridad para reducir y controlar el comercio de drogas a pequeña escala, intentando orientar los esfuerzos en dos polos: el jurídico y el de salud.

Por lo que, aunado a las reformas jurídicas y judiciales del año 2009 configuraron y robustecieron aparatos de seguridad local y nacional para controlar o combatir el narcomenudeo. La vigilancia armada y policial así como el control y combate del narcomenudeo se empata con la internacionalización o americanización de las políticas de drogas en concordancia con una agenda internacional de securitización, facilitando con ello la instauración local de regímenes que oscilan entre el control policial armado, militarizado, semi militarizado y de cero tolerancia en la fase contemporánea de la implementación del régimen internacional de prohibición de drogas.

De acuerdo con esto, se ha formado un dispositivo de control utilizado para la instauración de vigilancia sobre todo en zonas urbanas, siendo el narcomenudeo un fenómeno criminal de alto impacto, reportado y perseguido al margen de la doctrina del crimen organizado, así como un recurso de retórica utilizado dentro de la prensa y la política como un enemigo interno de seguridad pública y de seguridad internacional.

De modo que, el objetivo de esta ponencia será elaborar una genealogía del narcomenudeo en la Ciudad de México des de la perspectiva de la historia social de Eric Hobsbawm entendida como la historia de la sociedad en su conjunto.

**Elizabeth Aristizábal Gómez**, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

De la culpa a la toma de responsabilidad: cómo el problema de las Drogas ilegales transformó el mito antioqueño en la década de los ochenta y noventa

A partir del estudio de las caricaturas políticas publicadas por el periódico local, El Colombiano, durante los años de disputa entre la agrupación autodenominada “Los Extraditables” y el gobierno nacional colombiano, se identifican las narrativas visuales que reacomodaron el discurso del mito antioqueño para que las personas y grupos sociales que se identificaban con dicha identidad cultural pudieran darle sentido a una realidad social que confrontaba su autopercepción como Sociedad trabajadora, honesta y solidaria. Para el desarrollo de esta investigación se exploraron las caricaturas políticas sobre el mercado de drogas ilegales que el periódico antioqueño publicó entre abril de 1984, cuando es asesinado el Ministro de Justicia Rodrigo Lara Bonilla, y diciembre de 1993, cuando se da el homicidio de Pablo Escobar Gaviria por parte de la fuerza pública colombiana. Dicho estudio permitió visualizar tres momentos en la cobertura periodística del periódico: confusión, crisis y toma de consciencia. Teóricamente, se retoman premisas del neoinstitucionalismo discursivo de Frank Fischer y el enfoque crítico de la Sociedad de Pierre Bourdieu bajo el marco epistemológico constructivista. Y, metodológicamente, se plantea el análisis de contenido visual de las caricaturas a través de técnicas que triangulan las narrativas de las imágenes humorísticas desde el estudio de sus historias causales de Deborah Stone, encuadres periodísticos de Robert Entman y significados iconológicos de Irving Panofsky.

**Adam Aronovich**, Chacruna Institute for Psychedelic Plant Medicines

Narcissus drowns in his own reflection: Indigenous ontologies or western spiritual fantasies?

Psychedelics and plant medicines do not exist in a cultural and ideological vacuum; the unfolding of experiences and their outcomes are thoroughly shaped by individual and cultural expectations and the underlying narratives —the stories that we tell about them, what they are and what they are for. Plant medicines such as ayahuasca or peyote, used by traditional and indigenous people, have been historically enveloped by the eco-social narratives of their mythologies, ontologies and epistemologies, which structure and support the healthy integration of those experiences within a tightly-woven communal and relational setting. In indigenous settings, the relational dimension is primary, as maintaining harmonious and balanced relationships between in human communities and between human people and non-human people is of paramount importance. The epistemic and ontological background of many Western “seekers” is often an ad-hoc collage made of cherry-picked aspects of indigenous ontologies, New Age spiritual tropes and cliches, selectively commodified and re-packaged bits of eastern spirituality, esotericism or quantum theory all pieced together by the markets of spiritual consumerism and subservient to the hyper-individualistic ethos of modern neoliberal spiritual subjectivities and their glorification of the self. In order to decolonize ayahuasca spaces, it is important for individuals and for organizations who either commodify or support the commodification of indigenous ontologies and resources to adopt self-reflective approaches to avoid reducing complex and rich indigenous worlds into caricaturesque projections of our own spiritual fantasies, reflecting —rather than healing— the alienation of our self-absorbed western subjectivities.



**Cecilia Autrique**, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

American Moral Reformers and Their Influence on the Transformation of Drug Practices Around the World. The case of Mexico.

The paper will focus on the historical origins of global drug prohibition in the first decades of the Twentieth Century and its effects on countries such as Mexico. After the Great War the United States emerged as a world power facilitating the advancement of moral reformers' ideology on drugs at the international level. Thus, the American government and religious activists played a key role in the construction of the drug prohibition regime, through the organization of the Opium Conventions of 1909 and 1912, and later in the League of Nations.

One of the main players in this campaign against drugs was Richmond Hobson, who presided over the International Narcotic Association, and whose goal was to promote and educate Americans and the World on the dangers of drug consumption and addiction.

At the national and state level anti-drug campaigns were subject to debate in the United States among politicians, medical doctors, pharmacists and their professional associations. But at both the national and international levels Protestant activists and their allies prevailed, establishing the punitive global drug regulation.

In Mexico the new drug system also led to discussions in medical and political circles, particularly during the government of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940). At this time doctor Leopoldo Salazar Viniegra was director of Mexico's Campaign Against Alcoholism and Other Drug Addictions. He proposed alternative mechanisms to deal with drug abuse, without success. Instead, drug prohibition had disastrous consequences by making the illicit drug markets profitable, which today continue to be an obstacle to the rule of law and to the development of democratic institutions.

The study of the historical and ideological origins of the world drug prohibition regime allows for a better understanding of how to regulate drugs worldwide, by considering how the global context influences local problems and practices.

**Ian A. Baker**, University of Strathclyde

**‘Lee’s Elixir’: The historic quest for a psychoactive panacea in the jungles of Sumatra**

In the time before comprehensive prohibition, drug experimentation took adventurous forms and remains an under-researched aspect of British colonial life in Asia. This paper explores the remarkable account of a Yorkshire mining engineer named James S. Lee who, beginning in 1895, developed an appetite for mind-expanding experiences and became a connoisseur of psychoactive substances, including opium, morphine, and cocaine, that he used ‘scientifically’ during his residency in Assam, Shanghai, and Sumatra. This paper specifically examines Lee’s claim to have discovered a plant in the jungles of Sumatra from which he derived an extract that he referred to as the ‘Elixir of Life’ for its avowed conferral of ‘absolute perfection of mental and bodily health’. As importantly, Lee reported that the seed extract also had the remarkable quality of antidoting negative effects from the over consumption of cocaine, hashish, and opiates, while restoring his system to peak condition. Lee’s tantalizing autobiography, *Underworld of the East*, provides a unique contribution to the social history of drugs, while holding out the promise of a psychoactive plant that, were it to be rediscovered, would mitigate experiences of addiction by antidoting the effects of ‘dangerous drugs’ while potentially transforming the pharmaceutical industry. Nearly a century after Lee’s account, two expeditions were mounted to Sumatra in search of Lee’s Elixir. Although seeds of the purported plant were brought to England in 2016, and matched Lee’s claims when prepared and ingested by two expedition members, no further trial was conducted until 2022. This paper thus reviews the results of the so-called ‘Elixir of Life’ trial, in which I personally took part. In so doing, it draws on the work of a largely overlooked historical actor in rethinking both the past and future of responsible drug use for achieving, in Lee’s provocative words, a ‘feeling of perfect happiness and content’ at radical variance with prevailing medical and religious dogma.

**Jaime Banks**, University of Leicester

**“See Locks, Think Rasta, Blame Ganja?”: Cannabis, race, and mental illness in Britain, 1970–1990**

This paper examines how contemporary attitudes towards race and cannabis shaped the diagnosis of mental illness amongst Afro-Caribbean communities in modern Britain. Focusing on the specific case of ‘cannabis psychosis,’ and its subsequent controversies, this paper stresses the need to contextualise this nominally medical diagnosis as the product of much broader cultural assumptions about Afro-Caribbean drug use. The paper first explores discussions of cannabis-related mental illness in psychiatric and addiction-studies publications between 1970 and 1984, illustrating the lack of discussions about a discrete form of cannabis-related mental illness. The paper then explores how this changed dramatically following the publication of several influential studies in the 1980s, as ‘cannabis psychosis’ was increasingly used to diagnose mental illness amongst young, black men. Finally, this paper seeks to explain why these dramatic changes occurred, using the hypotheses offered by these contemporary publications to explore the social antecedents which underpinned ‘cannabis psychosis.’ Contesting suggestions that ‘cannabis psychosis’ was the product of disparate rates of cannabis use, or the emergence of Rastafari, the paper instead traces its prevalence to both the misdiagnosis of mental illness amongst Afro-Caribbean communities, as well as disparate rates of compulsory detention. In sum, this paper argues that an in-depth examination of psychiatric discourses about ‘cannabis psychosis’ helps to illustrate the fundamental need to better understand the social histories of cannabis use, and mental illness, amongst young black people in modern Britain.

**Ved Baruah**, Shanghai University

Precursor Chemicals Before Fentanyl: Histories of morphine and heroin in Asia, 1909-1961

During the heyday of British imperialism, raw opium from poppy grown in India was processed into a standardised commodity sold across the world that acted as the catalyst for the first global 'drug epidemic'. Although 19<sup>th</sup> century opium was a 'manufactured' product, it was vastly different from the industrially-manufactured laboratory opiates and opioids in contemporary circulation that trace their origins to heroin and morphine. Common chemical substance like lime and hydrochloric acid were central to the production of opium alkaloids like morphine and heroin that caused drug epidemics across the globe in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The paper highlights that while the role of fentanyl and other precursor chemicals in the context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century opioid epidemic is well known, scholars of drugs and drug policy have largely overlooked the histories of the original precursor chemicals. This paper traces the trajectories of the control of heroin and morphine in Asia under the international drugs regulatory framework to highlight the hidden histories of precursor chemicals in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the challenges inherent in regulating them. The aim is to appraise the overall successes and failures of these policy measures and regulatory mechanisms, and it is intended that these historical lessons would act as signposts for contemporary studies of illicit drugs and translational organised crime.

**Bob Beach**, State University of New York at Albany

“A Healthy Reactive Tendency”: Constructing cannabis users in the United States, 1930–1950

Starting in the nineteenth century, but accelerating in the period 1920-1950, the market for various forms of psychoactive drugs provided middle class consumers plenty of options for relief of a range of physiological aches, sufferings, and ailments through the use of legal and professionally sanctioned drugs. My study will contrast this with the experience of cannabis users in same period as they sought similar forms of relief from the increasingly illicit plant. My paper will examine claims from cannabis users about their health-seeking motivations for cultivating, selling, or using the plant and demonstrate how marginalized groups attempted to articulate their use in the face of legal, professional, and cultural barriers aligned against them.

Recent scholarship has examined the emergence of the anti-pot consensus dominated by the voices of imperial, medical, and government officials, and imperfectly carried to the masses by activist groups and media organizations, which culminated in the passage of the MTA in 1937.<sup>1</sup> The intense scrutiny that pot-users faced in the United States during this period, preserved in the Federal Bureau of Narcotics archives, reveal the voices of users in limited and haphazard, but useful ways. When given opportunities to explain motivations, both implicit and explicit examples of users seeking relief (physiological, physical, mental, psychological) with cannabis abound. My presentation will further complicate the boundaries between “medical” and “recreational” use, and the problematic assumptions about “self-medication” that continue to dominate discussions about drug use in the twenty-first century.

---

<sup>1</sup> Adam R Rathge, “Cannabis Cures: American Medicine, Mexican Marijuana, and the Origins of the War on Weed, 1840-1937” (Doctoral Dissertation, Boston College, 2017); Isaac Campos, *Home Grown: Marijuana and the Origins of Mexico’s War on Drugs* (University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Kathleen J. Frydl, *The Drug Wars in America, 1940-1973* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

**Sara Black**, Christopher Newport University

Self-Experimentation and the Science of Addiction: French opium research, 1870-1920

In the nineteenth century, with the gradual industrialization of pharmaceutical production French citizens had access to a wider variety of opiate medicines than ever before—from laudanum and morphine to a dizzying array of opium pills, powders, extracts, and salves. Doctors enthusiastically prescribed these medications to treat pain throughout the nineteenth century, unknowingly fostering addiction among their patients. However, in the late 1870s and early 1880s, medical research on opiate addiction began to emerge. While much of this research focused on clinical examples drawn from addicted patients in France’s public asylums, some medical researchers sought first-hand knowledge of the effects of opiate addiction on human physiology. This paper explores French medical researchers who engaged in self-experimentation with opium and morphine in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries at a moment when medical knowledge about addiction was beginning to coalesce. Emerging ideals of scientific objectivity called on the researcher to act as a rational observer who avoided imposing himself on the experiment. However, as a research methodology, self-experimentation exposed the messy boundaries between subjective experience and the pursuit of “objective” scientific knowledge. Opiate experiments pitted the free will of the medical researcher against the psychotropic power of the drugs they consumed. Researchers documented the struggle to remain conscious and in control as the morphine and opium in their bodies distorted their senses and dominated their minds. Over time, they began to feel the physiological pull of addiction. Self-experimentation with opium provided a uniquely privileged form of experiential knowledge which enhanced medical authority. However, it also exposed the limitations of doctors’ control over these substances, both within their own individual bodies and in society at large.

World War 2 placed numerous countries in an exceptional situation which disrupted established networks of actors and flows of drugs on a global scale. To satisfy their growing domestic needs, countries tried to negotiate and play with the norms regulating the legitimate actors and statuses in the international system of drugs control. Focusing on this exceptional moment of suspension of rules allows us to embrace a whole set of situations that would never have been tolerated in peacetime. In this talk, we will examine, through diplomatic archives, the case of Brazil, analysing two moments in which its diplomats attempted to renegotiate these international norms. On the one hand, while Brazil had been confined, until the war, as a mere consumer country, in order to circumvent difficulties of importation, it tried to become a country producing opium and processing alkaloids, with the implementation of a program based on an Hungarian method, the "Kabay Process". If this program eventually failed, the government issued in 1942 a decree authorizing individuals to cultivate and extract narcotic substances at a national level to face the problems related to the importation of narcotics in the country. On the other hand, war produced numerous dubious transactions, either for diplomatic reasons or because these transactions could not comply with all the rules provided for by international conventions. Brazil found itself at the core of these transactions, as a transit area for drugs with dubious status coming from Andean countries, and it had to negotiate the status of these drugs in circulation. We will illustrate this point analysing an affair in which Bolivia denounced the transit of 300 kg of cocaine transported in barrels of gasoline coming from Lima and bound for Germany, passing by Bolivia and Brazil. We will examine the interregional diplomatic debates concerning the qualification of these goods.

**Isaac Campos**, University of Cincinnati

## Orientalism and Cannabis Discourses in the United States and Mexico

Much has been written about the importance of anti-Mexican discourses in the development of prohibitionist ideas, and the prohibition of marijuana itself, in the United States in the early twentieth century. To examine these claims more deeply, I have been engaged in a project that examines the development of the discourse surrounding cannabis in the United States through a systematic mining and analysis of U.S. newspapers during the 1910s. Drawing from that research, this paper considers the broader influence of orientalism in the demonization of cannabis in the United States. Here orientalism refers both to the classic “orient” with which “hashish” was constantly associated in the American media, and to the more proximate “orient” of Mexico in stories about “marijuana.” This paper also compares these findings to discourses on both marijuana and hashish in Mexico from the same period.



**Zinnia Capó Valdivia**, Stony Brook University

Combatiendo los ‘Trastornos de Orden Intelectual y Moral’ desde la Educación (México, 1900–1915)

En los primeros quince años del siglo XX, políticos, legisladores, médicos y educadores, influenciados por el pensamiento liberal, positivista y nacionalista, consideraban que el consumo de vicios entre la población mexicana era una de las causas de los males de la nación. Creyendo que la educación formal y moral ayudaría a blindar al individuo y a la sociedad contra las tentaciones del alcohol, tabaco, drogas, juegos de azar y prostitución, se realizaron campañas educativas “anti-vicio” dentro y fuera del aula. Esta conferencia abordará porqué el Estado mexicano se adjudicó la responsabilidad de reducir el vicio entre la población y cómo se utilizó la educación oficial para perseguir ese fin. Analizo la inserción del tema vicios en clases de Moralidad, Civismo e Higiene, y daré ejemplos de las estrategias pedagógicas utilizadas, incluyendo pláticas informales, anécdotas, experimentos y libros de texto. Enfatizo cómo la educación que abordaba el tema de la “amenaza del vicio” transición de una basada en preceptos morales-religiosos a una asentada en la ciencia. Concluyo que el gobierno utilizó el sistema educativo para legitimar una postura en que se equiparaba ser un buen mexicano con evitar ciertos comportamientos que se asociaban con una moralidad y virtud débil; entre esos comportamientos está el consumo de sustancias. Demuestro que en México los mensajes gubernamentales que tratan el tema de las drogas tuvieron, desde el inicio, una base moral-religiosa.

**Clancy Cavnar**, Chacruna Institute for Psychedelic Plant Medicines  
Queer Aspects of Psychedelic Experience

This presentation will explore the dimension of gender-diverse people and sexual orientation in the context of psychedelics. Historically, psychedelics have been used by LGBTQA+ communities as a tool for self-therapy and a creative source among cultural outcasts. We will look at how queer people have used psychedelics to build community and explore identity. This presentation will also examine a dark period when psychedelics were used to treat homosexuality (“conversion therapy”) in clinics internationally, sometimes in aversive therapy scenarios. We will look at the ways psychedelic therapy can be made more accessible to gender- and sexually-diverse people, and the ways that queer people might be accommodated and treated with more understanding. The presentation will familiarize attendees with the particular needs of the queer population in regard to treatment, their continuing struggle to have aspects of gender and orientation respected in clinical contexts with psychedelics, and the ways psychedelics can help resolve some of the trauma of being queer in a homophobic society.

**Patrick Chassé**, University of Saskatchewan

Uprooted: Psilocybin as synthetic trip or natural experience

As several jurisdictions consider changing regulations on psilocybin due to its therapeutic potential for treating a range of mental illnesses, companies like Cybin want to be first to market with synthetic alternatives that transform the psychoactive compound in mushrooms into measured, predictable dosages. The transposition of psychedelics from plants to pills involves a disconnection, an uprooting, that changes the origin of the trip from natural to synthetic. This has led to debate within the psychedelic community: does a different starting point lead mean that the trip will have a less transformative destination? To what extent does a natural trip—eating mushrooms—lead to a greater connection with nature? This paper juxtaposes the growing clinical and financial enthusiasm for synthetic psilocybin with alternative models for mushroom consumption and cultivation, using a case study from Lago Atitlán, Guatemala. The shores of this idyllic lake surrounded by towering volcanoes—what Aldous Huxley called “too much of a good thing”—have been transformed by tourism during the last century. This is especially true in San Marcos de la Laguna, where footpaths link ecological, yoga, and spiritual retreat centres. This is a natural refuge made otherworldly by residents who have consciously divorced themselves from local history and culture. The Fungi Academy, for example, advertises itself as a “alliance between humans and fungi” that sees mushrooms as a tool to help humans re-connect to the earth. Yet the Academy is part of a socio-ecological system that has displaced communities and damaged the environmental integrity of Lago Atitlán. Indigenous communities have been uprooted by capitalism, forced to abandon their access to the lake and live in precarious settlements above resorts and hotels. They are valued for their labour, but not their ecological knowledge or worldviews. This paper explores how modern wellness and medicine have uprooted mushrooms from indigenous knowledge systems and asks how reckoning with this history can enhance the trip.

**Peder Clark**, University of Strathclyde  
Dancing on drugs in post-war Britain

“Evil of Ecstasy: Danger drug that is sweeping discos and ruining lives.” When Ecstasy (MDMA) first arrived in the UK in the late 1980s, it appeared as an unprecedented phenomenon. The apparent novelty of the drug, as well as the huge ‘raves’ that impinged upon private property and public imagination alike, brought into focus a ‘new type’ of drug consumer that perplexed and sometimes shocked headline writers, social commentators and drugs workers. Pleasure-seeking, communal and sociable, the drug consumption of ravers was far removed from existing stereotypes of the drug user as lonely heroin or crack ‘addict’.

But as the 1990s wore on, historical analogues and parallels began to present themselves. The cultural trappings of rave – parties in fields, baggy clothing, psychedelic imagery, the omnipresent smiley – appropriated the most visible aspects of the ‘turn on, tune in, drop out’ counterculture of the 1960s and its association with LSD. The more esoteric exponents of the booming Ecstasy subculture meanwhile positioned their consumption of this novel synthetic drug in terms of orientalist ancient rituals and ‘tribal’ dancing. Less remarked upon was the more immediate history of amphetamine consumption at Northern Soul all-nighters, or cannabis smoking at illicit shebeens and blues parties sound-tracked by dub-reggae selectors. Ecstasy also presaged a wide variety of newer ‘club drugs’ that likewise both enticed curious consumers and excited moral panic, such as ketamine, mephedrone, 2-CB and GHB.

This paper therefore draws on this *longue durée* of intoxicated dancing in Britain to question the perceived exceptionality of Ecstasy, critically examine why and how drugs become publicly visible, and the meaning of dancing on drugs for different generations of young people. More broadly, it challenges historians of drugs and alcohol to think more deeply about the pleasures of intoxication, and the social uses and cultural framings of psychoactive substances.

**David T. Courtwright**, University of Florida

Outlier Nation: The Controlled Substances Act, the Closed System of Drug Control, the Prescription Opioid Addiction Crisis, and U.S. Opioid Litigation

When most people, including drug historians, think of the 1970 U.S. Controlled Substances Act (CSA) they think of prohibition. This impression is accurate, insofar as Schedule I drugs like cannabis, heroin, and LSD, are legally forbidden, except for limited use in research.

The prohibitionist label, however, obscures the innovative regulatory intentions of the drafters and advocates of the CSA. Their aim was to consolidate and reform the “closed system of narcotic control” that had evolved in the U.S. and internationally since the early twentieth century, while simultaneously expanding the system to bring other toxic psychoactive substances under tighter regulatory control.

Because the federal government could not police all licit pharmaceutical supply-chain transactions under the expanded closed system, CSA registrants were tasked with doing so. They were effectively deputized to prevent theft and diversion and, in the case of drug manufacturers and distributors, to monitor, report, and stop suspicious orders.

The failure of manufacturers, distributors, and pharmacy chains to discharge this monitoring and control responsibility during the opioid-analgesic boom of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries was one of the drivers of the prescription opioid addiction epidemic that began in the late 1990s. That epidemic helped restore the United States to its outlier status as a global leader in opioid consumption among industrialized nations and sparked complex litigation, whose relation to the CSA and the closed system this paper also surveys.

**Daniel A. Delgado**, University of Southern California

Controlling Drug Distribution, Neutralizing Markets: Comparing Mexican and Peruvian state drug monopolies in the 20th Century

Intoxicant monopolies have a long history, going back (at least) to Russia's alcohol monopoly of the 17th century. They are meant to regulate the consumption of psychoactive substances. In Britain and France during the 19th century, drug monopolies were opposed by intellectuals who perceived them as anti-modern institutions that prevented free commerce. In Latin America, however, this method of state regulation obtained the support of intellectuals. During the 1930s, the Mexican and Peruvian governments would design and build state drug monopolies to regulate drug consumption and modernize. Both cases involved a complex interplay of economic, cultural, and social factors that a comparative and relational approach to their histories helps uncover. Understanding the history of experiments to establish state drug monopolies in Mexico and Peru promises to offer insights regarding drug policy in Latin America. Why did opium or coca/cocaine become targets of the monopoly strategy while alcohol, for example, did not? How does the history of a drug's licit existence and another's illicit status explain the role of modern science in state formation and the economy? Drawing from intellectual, social, and cultural history, this paper examines the role of "public scientists" and "academic statesmen" in national drug policy and in shaping cultural dispositions towards psychoactive intoxicants. In Mexico, figures like Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez and Leopoldo Salazar Viniegra, shaped public opinion and policy towards alcohol, cannabis, and opium. And in Peru, it was the intellectual and medical doctor, Carlos Enrique Paz Soldán, who proposed the creation of state institutions to sustain a monopoly of coca/cocaine through a highly regulated, modernized industry. Historicizing these processes in Mexico and Peru as temporally overlapping projects of drug control and nation-state making (1930s–1940s) thus harbors critical potential for studying diplomacy, power, intellectual influence, modern science, and drugs at the global level.

**Theo Di Castri**, University of Cambridge

The Society for Prevention Research and the Rise of the Risk-Factor Paradigm in Drug Abuse Research

The risk-factor paradigm in drug abuse research is arguably the dominant framework guiding global drug prevention policy and practice at present. Sociologists have offered compelling critiques of this paradigm's tendency to situate risk and responsibility for drug abuse at the level of individuals, families and neighbourhoods as opposed to larger, structural levels. Historians of drugs, however, have yet to offer an account of how and when this paradigm came to dominate drug abuse prevention research and practice. This paper takes a step toward such an account. To do so, it traces the history of the Society for Prevention Research (SPR), a US-based, multi-disciplinary professional organization that has been a driving force behind the standardization and dissemination of the risk-factor approach to drug abuse prevention and other so-called "behavioural health problems." Founded in 1991 by National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) officials Zili Sloboda and Bill Bukoski, the SPR has since developed an international membership of scientists, practitioners, advocates, administrators, and policy makers. By tracing the history of the SPR against a backdrop of shifting drug and health politics on both the federal and global stages, this paper advances two central claims: 1) that both NIDA and the SPR constitute two key institutional loci in the passage of actuarial, risk-oriented thinking from the field of cardiovascular health into that of drug abuse prevention; and, 2) that the SPR has been an important player in the globalization of the risk- and protective-factor approach to drug abuse prevention.

**María Cecilia Díaz**, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba

El cannabis como objeto de indagación e intervención en la Argentina contemporánea

Esta ponencia aborda las transformaciones del cannabis en la Argentina contemporánea, inscribiéndose en una pesquisa etnográfica que analizó la emergencia de demandas de acceso a la planta y sus derivados para usos terapéutico-medicinales y el proceso de movilización social que condujo a la sanción de la Ley de Cannabis Medicinal en 2017. En esta oportunidad, como parte del trabajo de posdoctorado iniciado en 2019, se describe la creación de proyectos de investigación y extensión universitarios; y de espacios curriculares y cursos de formación sobre cannabis, considerando la trama que articula a investigadores de las ciencias naturales y médicas, profesionales de la salud, cultivadores, usuaries y familiares de usuaries. Estos actores formaron redes, grupos y organizaciones de la sociedad civil, y colaboraron en acciones activistas orientadas a la investigación, la incidencia política y la divulgación de las propiedades terapéuticas del cannabis, movilizando conocimientos hasta entonces desarrollados en la clandestinidad. De ese contexto más amplio, se enfocan aquí las trayectorias de algunos investigadores y profesionales de la salud, relevando los modos de llegada a/del cannabis, los sentidos que construyen en torno a la planta, los desafíos y dificultades en investigación y el lugar del tema en sus carreras profesionales. A continuación, se profundiza en las dinámicas de un espacio de formación universitario, con énfasis en las formas de hablar sobre cannabis, las perspectivas de estudio y los tipos de experticia considerados, y las percepciones y valoraciones sobre la terapéutica cannábica. A partir de esos universos empíricos, este trabajo se plantea como una contribución a la exploración de las tradiciones de conocimiento científicas sobre cannabis en la actualidad.



**John Joseph Dieck**, University of Minnesota – Twin Cities

Tell Them They Now Sell to Us: The Installation of the tobacco and Kif monopoly in early protectorate Morocco

Previous historical research has explored (if only cursorily) the rise of the Société Internationale de Régie Co-Intéressé des Tabacs, which had monopoly rights over tobacco and kif (cannabis) in protectorate Morocco. The company was formed out of diplomatic negotiations between eager European powers and an insolvent Moroccan sultanate in the early twentieth century. In 1910, the Sultan sold the rights to the cultivation, processing, and sale of tobacco and kif to a coalition of European businessmen. The 1912 treaties between the Moroccan sultan and European officials that established a divided protectorate also incorporated the Régie into the colonial infrastructure, making sales taxes on tobacco and kif products a crucial source of funds for the French and Spanish administrations. The company eventually figured among the most remunerative within colonial Morocco by the early 1930s, with stores, factories, and a mass of European and Moroccan employees across the French and Spanish zones.

What happened on the ground within Morocco immediately after the concessions sale in 1910, though, remains uncharted. Using archival documents from the French administration, this paper examines the establishment of the monopoly system from its inception through the first few years of European rule in Morocco. It traces the creation and implementation of early tobacco and kif legislation, as well as the Régie's business operations. The main geographic focus here is the Chaouia plain around Casablanca, which had been militarily occupied by France since 1907 and transitioned to civilian rule in 1912. The documents show French frustrations at forcing the autochthonous population to adopt an unfamiliar market system for two familiar commodities. An examination of the Régie during this period ultimately reveals how tobacco and cannabis featured in the expansion of colonial legitimacy in early twentieth-century Morocco.

**Erika Dyck**, University of Saskatchewan and Patrick Farrell, University of Toronto  
Psychedelic Tripping: Unsung heroes, underground voices, and wise women

In 1953 psychiatrist Humphry Osmond drove from his home in Weyburn, Saskatchewan to Los Angeles, California to introduce the psychoactive drug mescaline to Aldous Huxley. This historic road trip led to a life-long friendship and introduced the world to the word 'psychedelic'. In 2021 we took inspiration from this historic journey and drove through western Canada, then south into California. Our journey did not involve bringing psychedelics across the border, rather we aimed to uncover memories, stories, and documentary traces of a psychedelic past that unfolded in a new era of psychedelic awakening. Instead of taking the more familiar path of recounting activities from well-known psychedelic leaders, however, we reached out to wives, children, students, underground therapists, and archivists whose lives were intimately connected with psychedelics but whose stories have been muted or entirely silenced as psychedelics came under prohibition by the end of the 1960s. Contrasting these stories as we travelled through Ken Kesey's psychedelic playground in the Pacific Northwest, we use this presentation to compare the sense of optimism and hope represented in these different psychedelic eras.

**José Emanuel Alvarez**, Consulado General del Perú en Nueva York, EE.UU  
"Coca Bruta": Racismo científico y los orígenes del control de drogas en el Perú

Este estudio busca presentar una revisión sintética del empleo de categorías raciales en las dinámicas sociopolíticas del Perú y su consecuente proyección a la política exterior en el periodo de consolidación del régimen internacional de prohibición de drogas. Se establecerán paralelos entre las posiciones de actores con influencia en la elaboración de normas y políticas públicas, especialmente médicos psiquiatras, y los paradigmas globales de la modernización, del racismo científico, y de la nueva medicina de la toxicomanía. Esta reflexión en torno a fuentes históricas se enmarcará en la construcción de la sociedad global internacional, caracterizada por poderosas ideologías del progreso occidentales, según la revisión crítica de las RR.II. de Acharya y Buzan. Se evaluará la relación de la diplomacia peruana con estas dinámicas en aspectos como la relegación de la temática de control de drogas frente a otros temas de política exterior. Se esbozará una caracterización de la agencia del Perú en las negociaciones internacionales sobre la materia. Finalmente, se intentará establecer vínculos entre dicha etapa formativa y desarrollos más recientes sobre la materia que podrían ser relevantes para los desafíos contemporáneos.

**Oscar Espín García**, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Geopolítica, Clubes y Fiestas Clandestinas: Uso de drogas sintéticas en la escena rave en Europa y América del Norte (1989–1998)

El uso de sustancias se ha diversificado a nivel global, existen nuevas sustancias psicoactivas que circulan en el mercado ilícito, y uno de los lugares donde se consume son las fiestas de música electrónica (NIDA,1992). Las fiestas rave surgen a partir de las fiestas de baile en la década de 1980 con la música disco, el techno Alemán, el sonido post punk y new wave de Reino Unido (Sextro & Wick, 2008), la música house de Chicago y techno industrial en Detroit (Jhon, 2015). Estos eventos ocurren en clubes nocturnos o fabricas abandonadas, celebrándose con la comunidad LGBT, el ingreso es exclusivo a invitados o amigos de invitados, debido a las restricciones y discreción del lugar, la creciente cultura rave se describía como un movimiento "clandestino" (Anderson & Kavanagh, 2007).

La música electrónica y los denominados “ravers” desde la década de 1980 hasta finales de 1990 fueron percibidos socialmente como “desviados” por su relación con la clandestinidad, la politización de su comunidad, el baile interminable y el uso de sustancias, generando una industria creativa alrededor del mundo (Conner,2015). Analizar elementos como la identidad juvenil y el concepto de des ciudadanización (Urteaga & Moreno, 2020), el placer contextualizado (Duff, 2008 ) asi como las tendencias epidemiológicas y aparición de drogas emergentes en las fiestas de música electrónica desde hace 30 años (NIDA,1992), nos da un panorama sobre las implicaciones sociales y de salud pública alrededor de una subcultura juvenil, ya que actualmente ocurre una crisis en salud mental en la industria de música electrónica, manifestándose en estilos de vida con estrés, depresión, abuso de sustancias y suicidio (Kegelaers et al., 2021)

**Benjamin Fong**, Arizona State University

It's Different This Time: Why the psychedelic renaissance can expect to become an enlightenment

Today psychotherapists in the United States are being trained to perform psychedelic-assisted therapy with drugs that are currently Schedule I substances under the belief that they will soon be rescheduled and approved for medical use. Historically, it's a terrible wager to make; though large cracks have appeared in the regime of "punitive prohibition," it seems premature simply to assume that drugs long categorized as having a high potential for abuse and no medical value will enter the legal realm without issue. In addition, the psychedelic renaissance promises to transform the practice of psychiatry, considered by many to be stagnant and incapable of meeting the country's current mental health needs. How will large pharmaceutical companies, for whom psychotropic medications have served as cash cows, react to threatening market disruption?

In brief, why is this time different? Why are a variety of previously demonized substances like MDMA, psilocybin, and LSD finally going to be used legitimately as tools of psychic emancipation? In this paper, I will attempt to lay out the reasons why the psychedelic renaissance can expect to become a full-fledged enlightenment, including: the current decrepit state of psychiatry; the mental health crisis; committed investors with deep pockets; the path-breaking example of marijuana legalization; the "shamanic elitism" of contemporary psychedelic enthusiasts; and finally the deep political stasis in the United States, demanding biochemical cures to make up for properly political transformation. I will rely upon both historical analysis as well as interviews with mental health professionals involved with psychedelic-assisted psychotherapy to inform this presentation.

**Domingo Garcia Garza**, Université de Lille

Sobre la Prohibición de Mezcal en México: La construcción social de una narrativa prohibicionista

La producción y consumo de mezcal en México son o han sido prohibidos? Sino, cómo explicar el sentimiento de su prohibición? La presente comunicación busca relativizar la creencia según la cual la producción y el consumo de mezcal fueron prohibidos en México en algún momento histórico. Esta comunicación busca dar cuenta de dos fenómenos concomitantes que han participado en la construcción del mito entorno a la prohibición del mezcal: uno determinado por el Estado y el otro por el mercado. Me propongo analizar la construcción de dicho mito sobre la prohibición del mezcal mexicano a la luz de las transformaciones políticas, económicas y sociales en los últimos cien años. Contrariamente a la creencia popular, afirmo que el mezcal nunca ha sido prohibido en México. El sentimiento de prohibición se explica por la voluntad de regular su producción y consumo a través de la fiscalidad (impuestos) y la aparición de una narrativa para estimular las ventas (el mercado). La regulación al origen de este sentimiento de prohibición, se inscribe en una dinámica mundial que busca disciplinar el consumo por motivos de salud pública y la competencia económica para estructurar el mercado interno. El método utilizado es el análisis de redes sociales, entrevistas, etnografía y fuentes secundarias. Mi presentación está basada en un terreno de campo efectuado en los últimos nueve años en las principales zonas de producción y consumo en México. Pero también comprende la escena del consumo estadounidense a través de diferentes testimonios recabados en la prensa, redes sociales y podcasts. Para ello me apoyo en la grilla esboza por Gretchen Pierce y Áurea Toxqui en *Alcohol in Latin America* (2014) según la cual la producción, el consumo y la regulación del alcohol están entrelazadas con la historia social y cultural de los países latinoamericanos desde la época precolombina hasta la fecha.

**Susan Gauss**, University of Massachusetts Boston  
Cultures of Progress: Beer, pulque, and development in Mexico

This paper explores how officials, reformers, and producers drew on ideas about racial improvement to shape tax and sanitation policies that directly impacted beer and pulque production and consumption in 1920s and 1930s Mexico. They promoted hygienic production processes, often defined more by racialized ideas of progress than by conditions or science, with tax and sanitation policies that supported an incipient monopoly in the brewing industry while undercutting centuries-old production processes, and the fading hacendados who supported them, in the pulque industry. In this, the emerging brewing industry benefited from strong political and personal connections between industry owners and the new revolutionary elite, undercutting prerevolutionary arrangements and clearing the way for the consolidation of new political and productive relations that could fuel modern industrial development. In examining prohibitive and enabling policies around pulque and beer production, this paper joins economic nationalism and indigenismo—both elite initiatives of the 1920s and 1930s—to understand their role in advancing a new model of state-sponsored development. Inspired by eugenics and fired by a fear of underdevelopment and dependency, racialized arguments about the nation influenced fiscal and sanitation policies affecting the alcohol industry in a way that restructured the organization of domestic production and consumption.

**Maziyar Ghiabi**, University of Exeter

The Drugs Pluriverse: Orientalism, ontology, and history in modern Iran

The paper studies drug orientalism in the context of modern Iran, with an aim to re-think drug history and historiography in the Islamicate world. It argues that drug orientalization is rooted upon a set of motives which have evolved since the colonial and imperial encounter: firstly, Western colonial officials and knowledge producers downplayed – if not ignored – the century-old debates which animated local indigenous approaches to the use of mind-altering substances. These were often rooted in the interplay and scholarly exchanges between medical scientists, philosophers/ethicists, and religious jurists. Secondly and partly as a mirror effect of what just said, the evolution of laws and policies on drugs in the modern era risks being interpreted as either a colonial import, a policy mimicry, or the outcome of timeless religious zealotry against pleasure inducing substances. Thirdly, drug orientalism distorts the social, cultural role of drugs in the ‘everyday’, through a pathology-frame informed by biomedical scientists which miss human agency in its historical context. De-orientalising drugs history means dispelling these myths and defusing the machine reproducing them.

Reflecting on these theoretical points, the article discusses Iran’s modern drugs history evidencing cases where drugs could be understood beyond orientalist frames: the ambivalent ontologies of opium and cannabis; the counter-intuitive policies of medical opium maintenance between 1969 and 1979 and harm reduction after the 2000s. Through these cases, the article makes the case for a drugs pluriverse: i.e. reclaiming knowledge and policy history defying prohibition and capitalistic marketisation; unearthing indigenous consumption practices that enmesh pleasure, intoxication and healing; engaging with local histories of drugs as matter of ontology.



## **The “Global Turn” in Drug History: An assessment**

ROUNDTABLE: Paul Gootenberg, Stony Brook University; Erika Dyck, University of Saskatchewan; Ibrahim Gabriell, Chacruna Latinoamérica; Phil Whithington, University of Sheffield; Jim Mills University of Strathclyde

Drug history has been globalizing its research coverage and internationalized its scholarly participation steadily since the 1990s. But recent years have seen a veritable explosion of new global perspectives, periods (early modern), drug topics (global cannabis, global hallucinogens), sites of interest, thematic conferences, and globally-titled publications and edited volumes (including a 35-chapter 2022 Oxford Handbook of Global Drug History). This roundtable aims to briefly introduce these intensifying efforts to invite a broader conversation between different kinds of global drug histories, particularly from an audience gathering in Mexico City and Latin America. What does it mean in 2022 to practice global drug history? What isn't global or connective history by now? What are latest methods or trends (imperial, international, transnational, imperial, illicit flows, South-South...) going beyond the siloed nation-state or dominant global North? How are notions of global “agency” or impact shifting? What still needs doing?

This talk aims to reflect on some questions related to the philosophy of psychedelics but from a decolonial approach. Some of these questions are: ¿Which are the philosophical uses of psychedelics? How is it possible to strengthen cognitive liberty within the framework of decolonial theory? Which will be the role of psychedelic humanities in the development of psychedelic science? How is it possible to explain the role of indigenous philosophies within psychedelic science? Which is the role of women in psychedelic research and activism?

This talk will focus on the critical reflections on philosophical uses of psychedelics to go beyond some false dilemmas, which prevails in current debates. The first section focuses on a brief analysis of the significance of cognitive liberty within the philosophy of psychedelics. The second section address how is possible to figure out a decolonial framework and a wide array of philosophical methodologies. The third section will be devoted to the analysis of indigenous philosophies and the implementation of decolonial theory in philosophical anthropology to challenge the lack of recognition and epistemological extractivism. The last section will be devoted to explaining the importance of developing a gender approach, which will recognise the works of women in psychedelic research. Also, the development of a decolonial approach will be helpful to critically reflect on some crucial issues such as the effects of psychedelic capitalism, the medicalisation of psychedelics experience, and the politics of prohibition that undermined the cognitive freedom for several decades. To conclude, this talk will highlight the significance the category of psychedelic justice to highlight some crucial topics such as gender, sexual and cultural diversity, sustainability, and reciprocity.

**Dave Hazzan**, York University

Speeding Toward Babylon: Trends in Canadian subcultural drug use, 1960–1980

In 1969, Los Angeles resident Wotjek Frykowski was waiting for a shipment of methylenedioxyamphetamine, or MDA, from Toronto. Tragically, Charles Manson's "Family" murdered Frykowski before the MDA arrived. Los Angeles police blamed Canada, insisting Toronto was the North American centre of MDA production, but Addiction Research Foundation researcher Reginald Smart disagreed. Was Toronto capital of the "love drug," MDA?

After interviewing seventy-two people who were involved in drug-using subcultures between 1960 and 1980, in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, I can confidently say Toronto was the capital of MDA. In Toronto, 35.71% of users I interviewed had used MDA. In Montreal it was 11.76%, and no one did it in Vancouver. Yorkville's "Brazilian George" was its most famous distributor. One interviewee manufactured it, the band Kensington Market was "to MDA what the Dead was to LSD," and Smart's research on MDA only begins in 1970.

MDA is one of 20 drugs I asked about. I have a unique database of users, their drugs, the ages they used, and much more. This is the first time in Canadian drug history that on the ground users were interviewed – thus far, research has focused mostly on policy. By talking to the hippies, punks, and others who were there, I was able to get their views on how drug scenes developed in the sixties and seventies – how drugs and musical creativity interacted, how drug availability changed subcultural roles, how gender and class influenced drug use. As I write my dissertation over the next semester, I will analyse the numbers and, combined with thousands of pages of qualitative research, help answer these questions.

**David Herzberg**, State University of New York at Buffalo

Addiction without the Hype? Consumers' experiences with Demerol in the 1940s

As a number of historians have argued, addiction was articulated in its modern U.S. form in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by an alliance of anti-“vice” crusaders and therapeutic reformers responding to a sharp increase in sales and use of opioids and cocaine. Having to navigate increasingly criminalized narcotics markets led many drug consumers to engage in a range of predictable behaviors that came to be associated with the state of “addiction.” Thus, addiction came to be an amalgam of measurable biological phenomena such as tolerance and withdrawal; subjectively expressed phenomena such as desire; and socially constructed phenomena such as shame, lying, criminality, and downward social mobility. The moral arc attributed to opioid use from relief and pleasure, to desire, to ruin became a template so sturdy that it survived application to a host of other substances to which it fit only awkwardly at best. If the pharmacological elements did not match, the social elements could easily be supplied—as, for example, in the case of cannabis.

When the first synthetic opioid, Demerol, was introduced in the U.S. in 1944, it was not immediately obvious how it fit into the fairly rigid addiction paradigm that had been built around opioids. It caused tolerance, withdrawal, and desire, but thanks to its status as a legal medicine used by socially privileged consumers, it did not yet necessarily lead to shame, lying, criminality, and downward social mobility. For a brief time, consumers (and their providers) had space to interpret the former without automatically mapping those experiences onto the latter. But their experiences operated in the shadow of the manufacturer’s all-pistons-firing marketing campaigns, which deployed a simplistic, miraculous vision of an opioid that simply did not foster any element of addiction at all. Faced with the prospect of an opioid breaking loose from hard-won regulations, the FBN threw its considerable weight to the task of categorizing Demerol as just like all other opioids, thus closing consumers’ creative space and rejecting their narration of their own experiences as the typical lying of “addicts.”

The addiction paradigm, in other words, was shaped not only by anti-vice crusading, but also by pro-drug marketing campaigns that threatened to use any conceptual wiggle room to evade or even eliminate consumer protections. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, historians have found ways to navigate the “vicious” origins of the addiction paradigm, recognizing its prejudices while still acknowledging genuine drug risks. This paper draws from the FBN’s collection of case reports of Demerol addiction from 1944 to 1948 to undertake a complementary operation: exploring alternate ways that consumers have experienced tolerance, withdrawal, and desire, without playing into pharmaceutical industry hype that falsely minimizes opioid risks.

**Timothy A. Hickman**, Lancaster University

The Keeley Company 'Social Histories' of Alcoholism and Addiction, 1952–1966

Historians of Alcohol and Drugs usually know that the Leslie E. Keeley Company's gold cure was a popular, internationally franchised therapy for alcohol and drug habits in the late-nineteenth century. They know much less, however, about the company's fate after the death of its founder in 1900. The Keeley Company continued to operate in Dwight, Illinois for most of the twentieth century, finally closing its doors in 1966 due to competition from state-run recovery programmes. This paper engages this latter history by presenting an overview of the Keeley Social Histories, a hitherto unexamined archive of over one thousand patient interviews conducted in Dwight between 1952 and 1966. The company hired sociologists, including University of Chicago graduate students, to interview its patients. They asked about family background, work, ethnicity, gender, race, and intoxication experience, creating a detailed record of the popular ideas and practices of everyday American 'alcoholics' and 'addicts' at mid-century. This paper offers an empirical overview of the Keeley patients who participated in the Social Histories as well as an exploration of the ideas and concepts that these people used to define their own personal experience of habitual intoxication.

**Yun Huang and Yong-an Zhang, Shanghai University**

**“It’s more pernicious than opium”: Morphine consumption and controls in China, ca. 1871–1909**

While historians have done ample research on the history of opium in the Qing dynasty, they have paid much less attention to other psychoactive substances, although their stories are central to understanding the drug history in the ensuing decades. One of these neglected substances is morphine, which arrived in China in the 1870s. This paper explores the introduction, its early consumption and the first efforts at control. It shows how a “new psychoactive substance” found a market in the last decades of the Qing dynasty and the first regulations on this drug were formulated. It argues that the spread of morphine in China was a combined result of several elements: the medical activities of Protestant missionaries, the business expansion of the western pharmaceutical companies, the opium suppression movement and the evolving choices of the consumers. The import control of morphine was not merely a response to its perceived abuse, but also to the idea on its alleged harm, which the literati of the time promulgated. They emphasised that morphine was a drug more pernicious than opium and weaved it into the narrative that opium and morphine could ruin the state and destroy the race. The reactions of the Chinese authorities to this “first non-opium opioid crisis” and their policy of formulating the import control, a process of many twists and changes, indicate one facet of the complicated struggle of China for modernization and independence under the hegemony of the treaty powers.

**Ffion Hughes**, Oxford University

Now how long have you had the feeling someone was trying to kill you"? Psychiatry, Substance Use, and the Definition of Deviance in the US Military During the Vietnam War

In this paper, I'll be taking a comparative approach to the US military's treatment of psychiatric casualties and drug users in Vietnam. I will interrogate whether authorities viewed psychiatric patients and drug users as medical and/or disciplinary issues, and the impact of this classification on soldiers' subsequent experience. Was the soldier a patient in need of treatment, a nuisance to be ignored, or a troublemaker in need of punishment? When treatment was offered, was it guided by military manpower needs, or by the patient's long-term well-being? I will also consider how military authorities understood the causes of drug use and psychiatric disturbance, including the relative importance of heredity, character "weakness," and wartime trauma. Throughout the paper, I will analyze the multiple official understandings of (ab)normality in the US military. Which substances and mental states were considered "deviant," and in which contexts? Whose suffering was deemed legitimate?

**Freddy Jaimes**, University of Texas at El Paso; El Paso Community College

The Language of Addiction: Race science, eugenics, and the origins of drug control in Latin America

This paper traces the origins of drug control policy in Latin America by examining the spread of medical and eugenic language that identified narcotic drugs as vehicles of racial, biological, and moral degeneration from the 1880s to the 1920s in Colombia, Mexico, and Cuba.

It explores how Latin American professional elites drew on trans-national scientific theories that recognized intoxicants and psychoactive substances as “racial poisons” and “agents of degeneration” to justify and facilitate the establishment of systems of drug control that were progressively adapted to local circumstances. With only a few notable exceptions, the relationship between these medico-sanitarian ideas, eugenic theories, and the genesis of drug regulations in Latin America has received little attention from scholars. Drawing on archival research in multiple locations including Mexico City, Bogota, and the US National Archives, I argue that the development of early Latin American drug control regimes emerged in specific national, political, economic, and socio-cultural contexts as local elites engaged with European and US contributions in the emerging fields of psychiatric, criminological, anthropological, and epidemiological sciences. This engagement was further developed through robust circuits of intellectual exchange across the region as national health authorities in the Americas intensified their cooperation on medical and sanitarian issues during the early twentieth century.



**José de Jesús Hernández López** and **Héctor Óscar González Seguí**, El Colegio de Michoacán; Hendrik Giersiepen, Geisenheim University  
Metanol en Destilados de Agave: Salud pública, normatividad y exclusión

Desde la creación de la primera norma para bebidas alcohólicas en México en 1986 (NMX-V-012-1986-Bebidas alcohólicas), se establecieron los límites máximos de metanol permisibles: 300 mg /100 ml de alcohol 100%, buscando con ello garantizar la salud pública de los consumidores, puesto que el metanol es un veneno siempre presente en las bebidas alcohólicas, pero en pequeñas cantidades el organismo logra desintoxicarse.

A casi 40 años de distancia esa norma y las sucesivas, tanto las de salud pública como las específicas de bebidas como el mezcal, tequila, bacanora o raicilla, todos destilados de agave, no se han actualizado. Hoy existen sobradas evidencias de que los límites de metanol pueden ser hasta cinco veces más altos que los actuales sin que ello represente un riesgo para la salud pública. Las evidencias se basan en investigaciones científicas, posibles por los adelantos tecnológicos. En consecuencia la no actualización normativa no puede sustentarse en riesgos a la salud, sino más bien en asuntos de otra índole, empero eso tiene varias consecuencias: Algunos destilados artesanales utilizan especies de agave que rebasan los límites de metanol establecidos, y al incumplir con los parámetros de la norma, no pueden ser comercializados; en otros casos, aunque la etiqueta indique que se utiliza una especie de agave para la elaboración de un mezcal, en realidad el contenido tiene un menor porcentaje, de tal manera que no rebase los 300 mg máximos permitidos.

La ponencia expondrá cómo el contenido de metanol tal como se presenta en la actualidad, es un mito que sea un problema de salud pública.

**Christine A. Jones**, University of Maryland, College Park  
The Chocolate Tonic

As scholars have amply demonstrated and the papers on this panel will attest, hot beverages imported to Europe from around the world—coffee, tea, and chocolate—have their place in pharmaceutical history. Encountered as social drinks in the far-away cultures from which they hail, they stimulated the body, sometimes powerfully, depending on the dosage and the humoral condition. That invigorating potential placed them among the experimental drugs of the 17th-century apothecary. Because the beverages were brewed, they soon acquired a relationship to European distillation and can be found in cookbooks and barista guides alongside liquors and alcohols.

Focusing on chocolate, this talk takes up the conjunction of its “exotic” bracing effect and association with familiar methods of preparation at the turn of the eighteenth century. That conjunction positioned the cacao of the Aztec to undergo a cultural turn—and erasure. Seventeenth-century French and English writing about chocolate peddled it as pharmaceutical—an antidepressant, a liquid lunch, and even an early-modern Viagra—making sense of a bracing effect they described as potent and potentially dangerous. At the turn of the century, home culinary texts and recipes for the bartending professional placed it among familiars, such as Ratafia and eau de vie, aligning it with known methods of preparation and European foods. Cacao’s ability to be “mingled” with a host of commonplace ingredients, from duck and wine to sugar and fresh milk, helped it pass as a staple of wholesome European cuisine. Such comfort across the spectrum of nutritional and medical categories, comestible and drinkable fare, served to eclipsing its Amerindian roots and position it safely behind the bar and on the well-heeled table. Once domesticated, the comparative tastiness of chocolate set it apart from other tonic remedies of the day and aligned it readily with fashions in health and wellness.

**Michelle Judd de la Luz**, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS)

La Otra Cara del Prohibicionismo de las Drogas en México: Los procesos de invisibilización y estigmatización de usuarias con trastornos relacionados con sustancias y trastornos adictivos

Los trastornos relacionados con sustancias y trastornos adictivos son de los trastornos mentales que históricamente han recibido mayor estigma hacia quien los padece por parte de la sociedad, a nivel institucional y desde la hegemonía médica. A diferencia de otros trastornos, los pacientes en esta condición son culpabilizados por su “responsabilidad” en el proceso de “adquirir” este padecimiento. Además, históricamente, las mujeres usuarias de drogas en México han sido víctimas de una violencia institucional que ha omitido no sólo sus narrativas en las esferas públicas y privadas, sino que también se ha obstaculizado el ejercicio y goce del acceso a políticas públicas y modelos de intervención para prevenir y atender sus trastornos adictivos. Las mujeres están expuestas a ser víctimas de violencia sin importar su condición etaria, de clase, social, de religión, de identidad u orientación sexual. No obstante, la intersección de variables como la situación de pobreza, pertenencia étnica, estatus migratorio y la condición de discapacidad, aumenta su vulnerabilidad y condiciona el acceso a servicios de tratamiento y atención para trastornos adictivos. El presente trabajo explora los procesos de invisibilización y estigmatización que un grupo de mujeres usuarias de drogas en México han experimentado desde centros clandestinos de atención para adicciones conocidos popularmente como “anexos” en donde han sido privadas de su libertad de manera ilegal en nombre de una llamada “rehabilitación”. Este estudio muestra cómo la corriente del prohibicionismo de drogas en el país, aunado a la falta de espacios regulados por las autoridades sanitarias y las pocas políticas públicas integrales en materia de rehabilitación, han condenado a mujeres con trastornos adictivos a vivir condiciones carentes de derechos humanos y por lo tanto, a vivir completamente alejadas del ejercicio de sus derechos en materia de salud y de una vida libre de violencia.

**David Korostyshevsky**, Colorado State University, Fort Collins

Recovering Habitual Drunkenness: Habit, compulsion, and drinking in 19th-Century United States

In this paper, I work to recover an understudied category of compulsive drinking situated both temporally and conceptually between intemperance and inebriety—habitual drunkenness. Although it was often used interchangeably with intemperance, the concept of habitual drunkenness captured the sense that alcohol caused compulsion in ways that intemperance did not. An overlapping group of physicians and temperance reformers defined habitual drunkenness as a physiological condition in which the drinker lost the physical capacity for control over drinking that was often referred to as an artificial or morbid appetite. Habitual drunkenness took shape against the backdrop of changing meanings of habit. Popular, medical, and legal dictionaries demonstrate that by the middle of the nineteenth century, the meaning of habit emphasized its involuntary or compulsive aspects. The emergence of habitual drunkenness also resulted from changing scientific knowledge about alcohol itself. As people realized that alcohol was a discreet chemical present in all intoxicating beverages, it became a logical target to blame for causing the physiological changes that resulted in compulsion. Although this shift did not translate into systematic efforts to treat habitual drunkenness as a disease, it demonstrates how temperance reformers and medical professionals operationalized changing medical and scientific understandings of alcohol to pathologize compulsion itself. In a period in which physicians remained reluctant to treat habitual drunkards, a pathologized vision of compulsion nevertheless reverberated in legal and business contexts such as guardianship law, divorce jurisprudence, and life insurance practices. These findings fill an important gap in the history of addiction by complicating medicalization narratives. The recovery of habitual drunkenness as a historical category of compulsive drinking reveals that the production of scientific and medical knowledge does not automatically lead to medicalization or harm reduction.

**Julie Landweber**, Montclair State University

Coffee's Controversial Appeal Within the First French Empire, 1650-1789

From its arrival in France circa 1650, coffee provoked strong emotions among adherents and detractors. Its addictive nature and exotic origins (originally coffee came only from Yemen) provoked a passionate desire to consume it among socially elite early adopters. Medical and theological "experts," alarmed by the popularity of this new drug-beverage, warned endlessly of its dangers to drinkers' health and spiritual well-being. Nonetheless, the business of coffee began attracting serious commercial attention. Beginning in 1715, French merchants sought to relocate coffee production from Yemen to French colonies in the East and West Indies. While this project faced many challenges in the Indian Ocean, experiments in the Caribbean turned coffee into one of the leading commodities produced by Saint-Domingue, Martinique, and Guadeloupe in the eighteenth century, second only to sugar both in profitability and in impact on the French diet.

Despite runaway economic success in harnessing colonial production to satisfy metropolitan desires, coffee became a polarizing commodity in the colonies as well as the metropole. In the Indian Ocean, coffee-cultivation had to be forced upon an unwilling colonial population by the Compagnie des Indes Orientales. In the Caribbean, coffee was embraced by those whom the sugar complex had shut out: poorer whites and gens de couleur who could not afford to grow sugar could make a comfortable living cultivating coffee. But this opportunity alarmed colonial elites, who foresaw danger in an economically and racially equalizing society and blamed coffee for these changes. Concerned by coffee's inexorable spread, for decades colonial planters and metropolitan dietary experts fought a losing battle against small farmers and everyday drinkers for overproducing and overconsuming this strange bean. By 1789, coffee had become so valuable in the colonies, and so cheap in the metropole, that removing it from French diet and culture had ceased to be thinkable.

**Lucas Marin Lanes and Hernando Zuleta**, Universidad de Los Andes

Myths of Drug Consumption Decriminalization: Long-term effects of Portuguese decriminalization on drug-related deaths

There are philosophical, economic, moral, and medical discussions on the drug consumption decriminalization debate. However, there is scarce empirical evidence on the impacts of decriminalization on consumption, specially, on problematic drug use. In 2001, Portugal decriminalized consumption of illicit drugs independently from the type of drug. Previous studies of the Portuguese case focused on estimating short-term effects on prices, drug seizures, and drug-related deaths. In this paper we focused on determining the short, medium, and long-term impact of Portuguese decriminalization on problematic drug use, measured through drug-related deaths, from a theoretical and an empirical perspective. We employed a synthetic control method and a difference-in-differences strategy to estimate this causal effect. Even if we estimate a negative short-run effect of 63% on drug-related deaths, there are null long-run effects of this policy. These findings push forward the need for a worldwide discussion on drug regulation as the prohibitionist approach seems not to contribute to guaranteeing lower risks for consumers.

**Adrian Márquez Rabuñal**, Stony Brook University

Creating the Cocaine and Opium Fiends: Analysis of scientific discourses and visual materials 1870s-1910s

This work seeks to explore the United States cultural construction of addiction. To do this, I take an epistemological perspective that excludes the inherent addictiveness of drugs from the conceptual kit. This work uses two documentary sources, the *Journal of Inebriety* (1876-1914) and images published in newspapers and magazines, to approach the construction of the early-20th century stereotypical cocaine and opium fiend. The examination of scientific discourses and visual materials allow understanding that the construction of the stereotype of cocaine and opium abusers was a cultural operation based on the continuous repetition, until exhaustion, of a stereotypical image.

**Alice Mauger**, University College Dublin

Alcohol, Drug Use and the Irish: Portrayals and representations in post-war London and New York

The “drunken Irish” is an ethnic label with distinctly deep-rooted historical and cultural associations. Today, the impression of Irishness as somehow synonymous with joviality has been bolstered by the global dominance of drink exports like Guinness and Jameson, the international popularity of themed Irish bars and the proliferation of alcohol-fuelled festivities around the world every St Patrick’s Day. Simultaneously, an alleged Irish tendency towards excessive drinking, and in recent decades, drug use, remains the subject of extensive debate, with reference to both the Irish-born and wider diaspora. Yet, to date, historians have neglected to investigate the relationship between Irish drinking and drug use, ethnicity and migration. While scholars have done much to disentangle the behaviours of the Irish who “left” and those who “stayed behind”, there has been no dedicated historical examination of modern health, welfare and policy responses to an ethnic group deemed prone to substance abuse. Nor have this cohort’s lived experiences in relation to alcohol and drugs been explored.

This paper will introduce the key sources and methods underpinning a new major research project on the portrayals and experiences of Irish alcohol and drug use. By focusing on the Irish in London and New York, and drawing transnational comparisons with the Irish “at home”, this project aims to provide a nuanced investigation of the intersections between alcohol, drug use, mental health, migration and ethnicity since the Second World War. Crucially, the project will interrogate the cultural and societal implications of the ubiquitous “drunken Irish” label, the disproportionate rates of alcoholism reported among Irish migrants/diaspora, and the perceived day-to-day roles of recreational drugs, drink and drinking spaces, both positive and negative. In doing so, it hopes to provide a blueprint for interrogating how drinking and drug use in other ethnic and migrant groups have been framed and interpreted and how this, in turn, has impacted on their lived experiences in a transnational perspective.



**Joseph Mays**, Chacruna Institute for Psychedelic Plant Medicines and **Daniela Peluso**, University of Kent

### Decolonizing Philanthropy and Indigenous Reciprocity in the Psychedelic Space

This presentation will look at competing models for Indigenous advocacy by examining the history of Nagoya protocol implementation and access and benefit sharing schemes involving Indigenous communities. By looking at examples from the past 30 years as well as in the present-day psychedelic renaissance, we will show that business partnerships between investors in the Global North and Indigenous communities often function to re-create and reinforce exploitative dynamics. Whether they are presented as “win-win” or ostensibly altruistic, these models operate within the framework of global capitalism and are inevitably subject to the same incentives of all for-profit corporations with a primary obligation to their shareholders. Sometimes, attempts are made to mitigate these inevitable imbalances, such as promises to create advisory councils of Indigenous elders with (or without) the power to veto capital allocation —assurances that are ultimately meaningless for most rural Indigenous stakeholders. These business decisions take place in an impoverished economic context where there are few options but to commodify culture. We will show how these dynamics have played out in the shift towards ethnic tourism already undergone by many traditional communities. We will further contrast these models with the project currently developed by the Chacruna Institute for Psychedelic Plant Medicines, and our Indigenous Reciprocity Initiative of the Americas, which proposes an emphasis in increasing the autonomy of local communities. We hope this presentation will highlight the inherent and historic power imbalances involved in many impact-investment schemes involving Indigenous communities, as well as the emergence of new models that attempt to avoid recreating the same disempowering dynamics of conventional philanthropy. As “reciprocity” becomes the new buzz word on the emerge “psychedelic industry” we invite researchers, activists and philanthropists to join us in these critical reflections.

**Patricia Lynne McCourt**, Ph.D. Candidate, Mississippi State University

Title: “A Narcotized Group”: Troubling the Distinction between Medical and Nonmedical Female Drug Users in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era

Abstract: When describing drug use and addiction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century United States, it has long been customary for scholars to distinguish medical from “nonmedical” users. The former category refers to persons who first obtained a narcotic, typically some form of opium or cocaine, from a physician, while the latter refers to users who obtained their supply without a prescription, presumably seeking out a drug for its psychoactive effects rather than to treat a painful disease or condition. Contemporaries and later pioneering historians managed to sketch a demographic portrait of each group to reveal that the former comprised mostly middle and upper-class white women while the latter tended to contain a much more diverse cast of poor and working-class users, namely Chinese immigrants, prostitutes, and single white men in urban centers. While these categories are a useful framing device for understanding the aim and impact of federal narcotic regulation, cultural attitudes surrounding and representations of addiction throughout this dynamic era seldom diverged into such neat compartments. Female users during this time, both those holding a prescription and those without, present an excellent case study for examining parallels in the treatment and depiction of drug use and its consequences across both literally and socially distant spaces. Though “respectable” women often garnered pity as victims of unscrupulous physicians, responses also included a fair amount of condemnation and pathologizing. Conversely, female “nonmedical” addicts who might have socialized in Chinese opium dens or depended on patent medicines were not universally the object of ridicule and disgust. Instead of victims at the hands of the medical profession, reformers often published seduction narratives wherein traffickers employed potent drugs to kidnap and enslave a once virtuous girl. In this paper, I will demonstrate that American society’s portrayal of women’s drug use held many common threads which demonstrate assumptions regarding the essential nature of femininity. What results from these varied narratives is a paradoxical lack of agency due to women’s inherent vulnerability to the forces of evil in a rapidly modernizing world- in this case, an unregulated narcotics market- coupled with their inherent virtuosity that seemed crucial to social harmony but also in constant need of protection.

**James McHugh**, University of Southern California

Land of Ancient Entheogens? A Critical Survey of Mind-alerting Substances in Premodern South Asia

Studies of religion and history in South Asia often characterize the region as historically dominated by mind altering drugs (soma, datura, cannabis). These substances are often assumed to have been taken for religious, entheogenic purposes, and are sometimes presented as part of a set of Indian traditions, such as types of yoga and meditation, that transform the mind for what we would call spiritual reasons. The idea of premodern India as characterized by mystical intoxication is also prominent in some more popular discourses on drugs, religion, and South Asian history.

Based on a thorough review of the topic, and presenting some new, original research on datura, this paper challenges and even overturns this view of drug history in early India. The paper first explores what we know about the ancient ritual drink/plant soma, arguing that the evidence of this substance used as an entheogen is ambiguous; that it was highly restricted in usage; and that by quite early periods an “original” psychoactive soma was quite possibly no longer available. Indeed, for most of the ancient period the only mind-altering substance anyone consumed was alcohol, with betel appearing about 300 CE. And cannabis is only prominent from about 1000 CE and later. Thus datura has been suggested as a powerful entheogen taken in this middle period, a “bridge drug” between ancient soma and medieval cannabis. Yet on closer examination, our sources from this period typically present datura as a plant used to stupefy people for nefarious means, never as some sort of positive entheogen. Considering surviving evidence for over a period of almost three thousand years, the paper concludes that, until cannabis appears about one thousand years ago, there was no long-term continuity of religious drug use in South Asia.

**Kathryn McLain**, Montana State University

When Global Influencers become Local Influencers: Helen Howell Moorhead in Montana

My dissertation stems from my interest in how drug policy at the local and state level is influenced by policy makers and individual power players both locally and globally. Montana from 1920 to 2020 presents an opportunity to investigate the overlap between public health, rule of law, and drug use. If drug use and drug policy are cyclical, as so many policy makers point out, then using a historical methodology to examine them can offer stronger and more nuanced policy analysis. My goal for this research is to address the intersections of global and local drug policies, drawing on expertise from my work with the federal government as well as my scholarly research in the field.

This presentation will highlight the first case study from my dissertation centered on the 1930s and the influence of Helen Howell Moorhead in Montana. Moorhead is best known for her work with the Foreign Policy Association on international drug regulation, including her attendance at the League of Nations' Opium Advisory Committee in Geneva in 1923 and subsequent international conferences. Her influence on the domestic level of narcotics policy is less well known. She vacationed in Montana in the mid-1930s and became interested in what she called Montana's "Dark Spot on the Narcotics Map"<sup>1</sup> – or rather Montana's lack of enforcement of federal narcotics laws as it related to doctors who were vigorously prescribing morphine and other drugs to their patients. Investigating her correspondence with state and federal politicians and subsequent legal follow up, I hope to open new findings on pressures to the justice system when it comes to drug prescriptions and drug use.

---

<sup>1</sup> Helena Howell Moorhead, "Montana: Black Spot on United State Narcotics Map," *The Billings Gazette*, (Billings, MT) February 23, 1936.

**Joshua Mentanko**, Yale University

A Third World Commons for Traditional Medicine? Mexico City and the global history of traditional medicine in the 1970s

In the late 1970s, traditional medicine was a silver bullet for some states who identified themselves with the third world, a loosely-defined group of nations who had achieved political decolonization but remained trapped in colonial economic patterns and exerted collective influence in international institutions. The relatively new Mexican national agency for traditional medicine research (IMEPLAM) convened a meeting of these states—excluding the first world—in April 1977. This meeting brought together parallel conversations about making global health and the global economy more equitable by uniting ideas from the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and universal primary care. Delegates representing African, Asian, and Latin American states attended through researchers affiliated with public scientific institutions. This paper examines the transcript of their discussions and places their conversations about drugs within broader intellectual discussions about race and development and health and economic well-being after decolonization. For the Mexican delegates, the need to respond to a perceived overpopulation crisis through culturally appropriate methods guided their statist and vertical approach to integrating traditional medicine into public health services, especially in rural areas. While the delegates coalesced on the need to keep their traditional medicine resources out of capitalist pharmaceutical research and distribution patterns, they also wanted to share their “native” resources amongst themselves. I will conclude by reflecting on the incipient tensions between state and indigenous sovereignty over traditional medicine as it appears in the meeting’s conversations.

**Kathryn Meyer**, Wright State University

Opium, Economic Policy, and Border Warfare: China v Japan 1930–1937

The Manchuria Aviation Company; established September 1932, was part of Japan's imperial expansion into northeast Asia. As a commercial airline, it made the new nation Manzhouguo (Manchukuo) seem modern and legitimate. The company quickly expanded scheduled flights between cities in the northeast and later into China, Korea and Japan. It encouraged tourism, delivered mail and cargo, and shuffled government personnel and businessmen through the puppet state. Yet it could not escape its function as an instrument of occupation. It survived only through its role as a logistical aid to the Imperial Japanese Army. It backed up military actions by moving troops, providing surveillance, transporting the wounded and at times dropping leaflets on Chinese areas about to be invaded.

One clandestine operation for the company involved moving opium from the poppy growing areas in Manzhouguo into North China where it would be processed into heroin. Chinese historians and politicians alike argue that this was meant to poison China. Memoirs of Japanese pilots who worked for the company imply that the purpose for the smuggling was actually to weaken the new Chinese Nationalist currency by flooding the already thriving North China drug market with a cheap product. Between the creation of Manzhouguo in 1931 and 1937, when Japanese invasion of China proper began, the territory just south of the Great Wall was in political flux. The Nationalist government exercised power in the south, where the government of Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) carried out a monetary reform on the antiquated silver-based system. The new managed currency was in part reliant on opium revenues legally obtained through a state-run monopoly. By flooding the North China market Japanese were in fact attacking China's financial stability while propping up potential allies.

**Carmen Millé**, Center of Educational and Community Responses (CRECE)  
Dependencias, Raíces Para una Época de Incertidumbre

Se analizan las características que posee la sociedad contemporánea desde fines del siglo XX hasta nuestros días que hacen tan difícil la definición identitaria y promueven la búsqueda de certeza. Ésta puede resultar inalcanzable, ya que la modificación constante de lo que se considera deseable, ambicionable o sólo adecuado hace que nunca se alcance la satisfacción, la seguridad. Esta situación, percibida en los países centrales pero aguda en los periféricos y en especial en América Latina, no parece encontrar respuestas que funcionen más allá de paliativos para la sobrevivencia, sin representar respuestas adecuadas.

Como se expone, siguiendo a Peter Wagner, nos encontraríamos en una etapa en la que una gran proporción de la población, especialmente las juventudes, pero también todos los grupos de edad ven cuestionada la mera posibilidad de trazar un proyecto de vida o de poder defender ante sí y los demás que el camino que se está recorriendo es el que podrá aportar lo requerido para el futuro.

Ante esta situación, algunos encuentran en el consumo de sustancias adictivas o el desarrollo de un comportamiento adictivo una respuesta que les permite diseñar un centro, que organice su vida y evite el cuestionamiento perpetuo de lo será el mañana, tal como los señalan Alexander, Griffith y Millé.

Se presentan, por último, algunas de las vías que, desde las políticas públicas y las organizaciones de la sociedad civil se han llevado a cabo; y se trazan vías alternas que podrían contribuir a abrir ese ofrecimiento de puertas y ventanas entre las que cada quien podría escoger como lo mejor para sí.

**Jim Mills**, University of Strathclyde

Before the Ban: Cocaine markets in colonial India, 1885-1900

The colonial Government of India started a process of regulation in 1900 that culminated in 1906 with a comprehensive ban on the consumption of cocaine within all of its territories. This paper explores the story before these efforts at control began. It takes events back to 1885, the year that cocaine became one of the wonder-drugs of the late nineteenth-century, and explores the medical networks that ensured that the substance was pressed into action in south Asia at much the same time as it was being experimented with elsewhere in the world. It also traces the commercial connections which ensured that supplies of cocaine reached India from 1885 onwards, and the methods used by the enterprises of the period to encourage consumers in India to try the product. Finally, the paper looks at the colonial administration's efforts to develop a cocaine industry of its own. The paper argues that commerce and colonialism lie behind the cocaine in south Asia in this period, but in complex ways. This case study in the global spread of cocaine may be one where 'globalisation' thwarted, rather than encouraged, that process.



**Nidia Olvera Hernández**, Instituto Mora

Centros de Vicio, Laboratorios de Opio y Combate al Hampa Metropolitana

Control de drogas en la ciudad de México en la década de 1940

En esta ponencia se examinará el panorama de consumo, producción y distribución de sustancias ilícitas en la ciudad de México durante la década de 1940, en el marco de la Gran campaña nacional contra los enervantes y de las transformaciones en la política internacional de drogas de 1947. Se analizan las estrategias de control de drogas, las autoridades encargadas de implementarlas y a los infractores de los delitos contra la salud.

Además, se muestra una urbe en proceso de modernización y crecimiento poblacional, para luego trazar los principales espacios de consumo y distribución de drogas en la capital mexicana. Para lo cual, se hizo uso de los expedientes de presos por delitos contra la salud que llegaron hasta la Penitenciaría de Lecumberri resguardados en el Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de México, notas de prensa y documentación oficial de diversas instancias nacionales como el Departamento del Distrito Federal, la Secretaría de Salubridad y Asistencia, la Secretaría de Gobernación y la Procuraduría General de la República; así como del Departamento de Estado de Estados Unidos de Norteamérica.

**Jennifer Poulos Nesbitt**, Penn State York

Commodity Histories, Economies, and Ecologies in “Rum an’ Coke”

This paper examines constellations of signification in Jacob Ross’s short story “Rum an’ Coke” (1999) to track historical shifts in the representation of commodities in relation to shifting economic markets, U.S./Caribbean policy and trade, and ecological interdependence. Although the title of the story references “Rum and Coca-Cola,” a popular metaphor for U.S./Caribbean relations in the twentieth century, rum is minimally present in the story; the iconic product of plantation slavery has been replaced by cocaine and “Rum an’ Coke” is a revenge drama driven by the devastating impact of drug addiction in a small town on Grenada. Further, this narrative never directly refers to U.S. policy or practices; instead, it focuses tightly on local economic and socio-cultural relations as they are sapped by an influx of cocaine (the “coke” of the title). This paper frames representational patterns in the story historically, economically, and ecologically to demonstrate that the gaps that Ross leaves deliberately open lines of flight—metaphorical and literal—that capture fugitive relationships between material conditions and semiotics. The repositioned trope of “Rum and Coca-Cola” in the title invites contextualization of the plot in the larger frame of U.S./Caribbean drug interdiction policy and hemispheric routes of drug trafficking, even as the isolated setting might appear to refuse such implications. Instead of economic relations, Ross presents ecological relations through sparse references to migrating birds. Ross layers the deep time of natural cycles with historical references to plantation slavery and contemporary descriptions of a small-town drug culture. By exploring unexpressed diachronic and synchronic links between rum and cocaine through semiosis, Ross’s story captures discursive logics that efface recognition of both contemporary and historical material relations among dispersed subjects of post-colonial economies.

**Miroslav Nožina**, Institute of International Relations (IIR), Prague

Cannabis and LSD Behind Iron Bars: Paradoxes of drug policy in the Communist Czechoslovakia 1948–1989

Communist regimes are frequently characterized as totalitarian systems where exists only limited space for drug use. This is only partial true. The Czechoslovak communist government was relatively tolerant towards the use of psychotropic substances until the early 1970s. Already in the 1950s, the research of cannabis' treatment effects was realized, and from 1954, a wide LSD research and use in psychotherapy took place in Czechoslovakia. The country became one of the biggest world producers of LSD as well.

In the late 1960s, the manufacture of drugs and drug addiction began to acquire serious proportions in the country in line with world-wide trends. The Czechoslovak government then introduced new legislation and rules to suppress the drug problem. These new measures, based on international drug conventions and protocols, were inefficient in the elimination of illicit production and abuse of drugs in the local drug environment. Unfortunately, they "stigmatized" cannabis and LSD as well, and interrupted promising development in their clinical use.

In this context, the drug policy implemented regardless of the specific conditions of drug use and abuse had a negative impact on the drug problem in Czechoslovakia.

**Jaime Olivera Hernández**, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California

Después de la Pandemia, así es en Xicali: Alcohol, drogas y narcomenudeo en la frontera norte de México

La idea de estudiar lo culturalmente significativo de un tema relacionado con el alcohol y las drogas, surgió a partir de situaciones de entrevista con algunos de los actores principales de los escenarios de estos temas. El narcomenudeo en México, como fenómeno social que da cuenta de los niveles de consumo de drogas y alcohol en distintos lugares y sectores sociales de la población, demuestra hoy en día una presencia cada vez más fuerte, no sólo ya en las zonas urbanas de las ciudades, sino también en sus valles y zonas rurales. Mexicali, Baja California, ciudad fronteriza del norte del país, es una ciudad como tantas otras que, durante los primeros meses del inicio de la pandemia por COVID-19, se elevaron tanto las denuncias de delitos por narcumenudeo como los niveles de consumo.

Así, a través de una investigación cualitativa, la cual se encuentra en un proceso continuo de proliferación con la aparición de nuevos enfoques y métodos (Flick, 2004); y desde la perspectiva de los estudios socioculturales -que destacan por la necesidad de obtener un carácter metodológicamente más abierto y dispuesto a adaptarse a las necesidades de sus objetos de estudio; así como, también, por analizar dichos objetos poniendo en juego la interconexión de tres conceptos fundamentales: la subjetividad, el poder y la cultura (Reguillo, 2004)—este trabajo analiza e interpreta las narrativas sobre el consumo de drogas y su asociación con el alcohol tras la pandemia, que ofrecen tanto usuarios como dealers de sustancias psicoactivas ilegalizadas en Mexicali, con el objetivo de profundizar en el conocimiento sobre los sentidos y significados sobre su consumo y el impacto en otras esferas de lo cotidiano, en la historia reciente de la ciudad.

El comportamiento del delito en la Ciudad de México, en la última década, ha sido a la alza. De hecho, y acorde a señalamientos tanto de tomadores de decisiones como de la evidencia acumulada, se puede señalar la presencia de organizaciones criminales en la ciudad los últimos 12 años. Entre las posibles explicaciones se encuentra la disputa por el control de la venta de drogas al menudeo; interpretaciones y posicionamientos que cobran relevancia y fuerza durante el mandato de Miguel Ángel Mancera, 2012-2018. Tomando en cuenta esta situación y acorde a la revisión de la literatura sobre el campo, se encuentra que a la fecha, no existen investigaciones que den nota de los factores asociados que expliquen por qué la venta de drogas al menudeo se distribuye de manera no aleatoria y tan concentrada en ciertos puntos de la ciudad. Para dar respuesta, se argumenta acorde a teorías específicas que tienen por objeto la distribución del delito a pequeña escala en contextos urbanos. Metodológicamente se recurre a una investigación orientada a variables mediante el ajuste de modelos de regresión, así como al uso de distintas técnicas estadísticas y de análisis espacial. Los resultados se discuten a la luz de la teoría y del contexto criminal de la Ciudad de México y en tésitura a las decisiones específicas de combate al crimen organizado en la ciudad.

**Carlos A. Pérez Ricart**, Center for Research and Teaching in Economics (CIDE), Mexico City and  
**Benjamin T. Smith**, University of Warwick  
History of U.S. Drug Policing in Mexico, 1970–1990

The paper will look at the way in which U.S. drug policing agencies (principally the BNDD and the DEA) played a dual role in shaping Mexican drug policy. The central argument of the paper is as follows: on the one hand, they used a series of off-the-books leaks to shape policy; on the other hand they legitimized torture.

The presentation draws on original archival work done in Mexico and the United States, as well as other documents produced by the State Department, the DEA and other U.S. government agencies and collected by the authors over the last ten years. The paper presents contributions to the literature on drug policy, Mexican-US relations and transnational policing.

## ***El pulque no es droga ni alcohol. La construcción de la denostación social del consumo del pulque en México, 1900-1917.***

Rodolfo Ramírez Rodríguez

### **Resumen**

Durante mucho tiempo el pulque fue considerado la bebida nacional por excelencia, no tanto por su distribución geográfica sino por la cantidad consumida a nivel nacional. Pero a inicios del siglo XX se le consideró el origen de casi toda problemática social en el país, pues la mayoría de los sujetos detenidos por la policía declaraban haberse embriagado antes del crimen. Si bien el pulque no es una bebida alcohólica de alta graduación, y aun cuando se le consideraba parte de la dieta alimenticia de los mexicanos, se le achacó el origen de la criminalidad en la Ciudad de México debido a que esta contaba con el mayor número pulquerías. Los gobernantes y sus administraciones porfirianas consideraron que al ser la bebida más económica y de mayor consumo se debía de suprimir por todos los medios, implementando entre 1901 y 1913 una serie de reglamentos de salubridad y de venta que buscaban un alza en su costo para dejar de ser la mejor opción de los bebedores. Sin embargo, la demanda continuó en alza hasta la irrupción de la revolución mexicana. Durante ella se produjo su desestructuración productiva y con el arribo de gobernantes provenientes del norte del país, quienes retomaron la tesis de que el origen del postramiento de la población se debía con certeza al consumo del blanco licor. El gobierno constitucionalista reiteró la denostación social y promovió un prohibicionismo que si bien no colapsó al negocio pulquero, sí fue el origen de una serie de difamaciones sociales que con el tiempo influyeron en convertirlo en el “mal comprendido licor”.

Rodolfo Ramírez Rodríguez es licenciado en Historia por la Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla. Realizó sus estudios de Maestría en el posgrado de Historia de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) y en 2015 obtuvo el grado de Doctor en Historia con Mención honorífica, en la misma casa de estudios, con la investigación *La querrela por el pulque. Auge y ocaso de una industria mexicana, 1890-1930*, la cual recibió el Premio Francisco Javier Clavijero como mejor tesis de doctorado en Historia y Etnohistoria, en 2016 por el INAH, y fue publicada por el Colegio de Michoacán, A. C. en 2018.

Realizó dos estancias posdoctorales, la primera en la Facultad de Economía de la UNAM con el proyecto de investigación *Las inversiones privadas en el noreste del valle de México y la comarca minera de Pachuca. Un acercamiento a la integración de una economía regional, 1850-1870*. La segunda fue en el Doctorado en Biodiversidad y Conservación en la Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo con el proyecto *Historia del impacto ambiental en la región de los Llanos de Apan, México, un estudio de caso multidisciplinario*. Es Investigador Nivel 1 del Sistema Nacional de Investigadores del Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (SNI-Conacyt). Sus líneas de investigación son la cultura e industria del pulque, la literatura viajera decimonónica en México, la conformación de un mercado regional en el estado de Hidalgo y la construcción de expresiones de identidad popular en México y, recientemente, el impacto de la historia ambiental en México.

**Edoardo Pierini**, University of Geneva

Set & Setting: A neglected methodological tool to rethink the history of drugs

The politics of prohibition have plagued the history of alcohol and drugs not only in discouraging research in this field, but also in providing a fallacious cultural context for the analysis of the consumption of mind-altering drugs throughout history. For a long period, historians, following the pattern established by politicians and lawmakers, believed that the effect of drugs depended only on their intrinsic chemical and pharmacological properties.

Since the 1960' a new psycho-social approach emerged within the field of psychedelic drug research and showed the importance of the interaction between the medicaments, the individual biology and the socio-cultural background of the consumer. Drug researchers claimed how the effects of psychoactive drugs are dependent in large part upon 'set', the personality, preparation, expectation, and intention of the person having the experience, and 'setting', the physical, social, and cultural environment in which the experience takes place. The abandonment of the mid-20th clinical psychedelic research however led to the marginalization of the concept of set and setting which has never been integrated into historical studies.

The application of this model explains different unresolved themes in the history of drugs, such as why in the Ancient world apparently there was no recreational use of opium and other intoxicants, or why did some drugs rapidly emerge as global consumer goods in Early Modern trade exchange, whereas others remained restricted to a regional market.

Other selected case studies include the alleged opium addiction of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, and the ambivalent effect of the same drug attributed to the oriental peoples in the Early Modern *Materia Medica*, which allow us to trace the spread and evolution of the medical and cultural elements surrounding the consumption of drugs and to deepen our understanding of important historical processes.



**Hernán Pruden**, Universidad Mayor de San Andrés-Universidad Nacional de La Plata

La otra industrialización: Los inicios de la producción de clorhidrato de cocaína en Bolivia (1951-1962)

La ponencia analiza desde una perspectiva histórica: i) cómo se organiza la industria de la cocaína en Bolivia; ii) y cómo se forja la relación entre productores de cocaína y traficantes con las fuerzas estatales represivas y judiciales encargadas de la regulación de la producción y circulación de esa sustancia. Comienza en la década del 50, con los primeros descubrimientos hechos públicos de laboratorios de procesamiento de la hoja de coca, en tiempos en que la legislación boliviana no prohibía aún estos emprendimientos, y termina a principios de la década del 60, cuando se aprobó la legislación punitiva acorde a las presiones internacionales.

La investigación se basa en trabajo hemerográfico y de archivos judiciales bolivianos.

**Haggai Ram**, Ben Gurion University of the Negev

Voluntary Conscripts of Modernity? Mizrahi perspectives of hashish in interwar Palestine and Israel

My paper deals with hashish and Mizrahim (Jews of Middle East and North African descent) in pre- and post-1948 Palestine-Israel. It examines Mizrahi negotiations with dominant Zionist discourses and discriminatory practices regarding cannabis culture in the country. I will mainly focus on writings by prominent Mizrahi novelists from the pre-state and state periods. Many of them displayed vehemently subversive susceptibilities, oftentimes anti-Zionist in nature. At the same time, they assimilated and promoted Zionist—Orientalized, racialized, and gendered—conceptualizations of hashish and hashish users.

During the Mandate years, the habit of hashish smoking was distinctive of Palestine's urban working-class Arabs; and during the first two decades of the State of Israel, hashish smoking was largely associated with Mizrahim. In both periods, mainstream Zionism drew on a vast repertoire of colonial and metropolitan images to describe hashish use as a stereotypical marker of Oriental–Arab, and later Jewish–Arab, backwardness. In the post-1948 period, the image of the hashish smoker exacerbated the marginalization and criminalization of Mizrahim in Israeli society.

Perceived as a token of their “failure to thrive,” hashish smoking served as evidence that their problems stemmed from primitive cultures rather than the state's prejudicial policies. During the interwar years, most Jews in Palestine refrained from hashish; and from 1948 to the late 1960s, hashish smoking was restricted to the Mizrahi underclass. This testifies to the power of Zionist anti-hashish ideology and practice. It is telling, however, that anti-establishment Mizrahi literary figures—some of them self-proclaimed anti-Zionist Arab-Jews—also assimilated such notions. This circumstance requires further inquiry. Moreover, given that it is also consistent with other cases in the Global South, where the indigenous middle classes conceptualized hashish in much the same way as their recently departed European colonizers, my paper will draw parallels to other regions to provide a wider perspective.

Las dinámicas criminales en los años recientes de la historia de México se han visto afectas por factores internos -reacomodos políticos, esquemas de cooptación territorial, bases de protección policial y apoyo logístico de corte social-, y por otra parte, por factores externos, enfocados en la oferta y demanda tanto nacional como internacional de sustancias ilegales, pero a su vez, de productos y mano de obra, que poco a poco, han logrado posicionarse como recursos de empoderamiento económico delictivo en el caso mexicano, como lo son el tráfico de combustible y el control logístico de la migración.

Esta ampliación de actividades económicas ilegales, es un terreno que requiere ser explorado en nuestro tiempo, para comprender cómo las lógicas delictivas actuales y sus reconfiguraciones operativas han logrado ser efectivas en torno al control de espacios locales-regionales y trans-regionales. Por otra parte, las lógicas criminales han expandido sus horizontes de acción, perfeccionando uso de armamento, táctica, tecnología y estrategias, que han repercutido en la factibilidad de incursionar a territorios e interés, cooptar espacios estratégicos -instituciones, áreas de la esfera política y social, y puntos vitales de control de vías de tránsito y comunicación, para reconfigurar espacios operativos de acción que son cada vez más eficientes, estratégicos y prolíficos para la expansión de actividades criminales con capacidad efectiva de alta peligrosidad, pero a su vez, pueden llegar a desarrollar una inestabilidad operativa y funcional en sus organizaciones y reorganizaciones.

Esto puede provocar que sus acciones sean eficientes a nivel operativo, pero más violentas e invasivas en los contextos sociales dónde despliegan sus controles territoriales y desarrollan sus actividades de interés criminal. En este sentido, cada localidad tiene una funcionalidad, densidad delictiva y transitoriedad criminal que nos permite comprender las variaciones y reconfiguraciones de las organizaciones delictivas y sus niveles de violencia, que no pueden ser analizadas desde una lógica de estado homogénea, sino desde la multiplicidad y espacialidad desde donde se articulan, desarrollan y operan las lógicas criminales actuales.

**Haggai Ram**, Ben Gurion University

Voluntary Conscripts of Modernity? Mizrahi perspectives of hashish in interwar Palestine and Israel

My paper deals with hashish and Mizrahim (Jews of Middle East and North African descent) in pre- and post-1948 Palestine-Israel. It examines Mizrahi negotiations with dominant Zionist discourses and discriminatory practices regarding cannabis culture in the country. I will mainly focus on writings by prominent Mizrahi novelists from the pre-state and state periods. Many of them displayed vehemently subversive susceptibilities, oftentimes anti-Zionist in nature. At the same time, they assimilated and promoted Zionist – Orientalized, racialized, and gendered – conceptualizations of hashish and hashish users.

During the Mandate years, the habit of hashish smoking was distinctive of Palestine's urban working-class Arabs; and during the first two decades of the State of Israel, hashish smoking was largely associated with Mizrahim. In both periods, mainstream Zionism drew on a vast repertoire of colonial and metropolitan images to describe hashish use as a stereotypical marker of Oriental – Arab, and later Jewish-Arab – backwardness. In the post-1948 period, the image of the hashish smoker exacerbated the marginalization and criminalization of Mizrahim in Israeli society. Perceived as a token of their "failure to thrive," hashish smoking served as evidence that their problems stemmed from primitive cultures rather than the state's prejudicial policies.

During the interwar years, most Jews in Palestine refrained from hashish; and from 1948 to the late 1960s, hashish smoking was restricted to the Mizrahi underclass. This testifies to the power of Zionist anti-hashish ideology and practice. It is telling, however, that anti-establishment Mizrahi literary figures – some of them self-proclaimed anti-Zionist Arab-Jews – also assimilated such notions. This circumstance requires further inquiry. Moreover, given that it is also consistent with other cases in the Global South, where the indigenous middle classes conceptualized hashish in much the same way as their recently departed European colonizers, my paper will draw parallels to other regions to provide a wider perspective.

**Andrés López Restrepo**, Universidad Nacional de Colombia (Bogotá); Universidad Torcuato di Tella, Buenos Aires

### Opium and Empires: Origins of prohibition

The idea is widespread that the opium problem in the XIX Century it's to blame on the United Kingdom while in the XX Century was the responsibility of the United States. The problem is that these two countries are deemed responsible even though their policies were opposed. The missing element to explain this change is China, whose prohibitionism was defeated in the two opium wars, but which through different circumstances happened in Japan, the Philippines and the United States triumphed in the end. The European powers, including the United Kingdom, adopted in the XIX century a policy based on monopolies (nevertheless the liberalism of the United Kingdom), which was a more reasonable policy than prohibitionism, but the United States decided to promote the latter. The conceptual framework to understand this process is empire, the political structure shared by the United Kingdom, China and the United States. Inspired by different motivations e interests, these three empires defended very different drug policies, and, in the end, the triumphant empire imposed its favorite policy on the whole world during the XX Century.

**Estefanía Ciro Rodríguez**, Narcotráfico, Economía de la Cocaína y Conflicto Armado en la Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la Verdad- Colombia

Las disputas de la coca: mujeres campesinas, conflicto armado y “Guerra contra las Drogas”

Qué disputan las vidas de las mujeres cocALERAS en Colombia? Ocurre una triple opresión que enfrentan las mujeres cocALERAS: la violencia de la ley que se explica por sobrevivir de un mercado ilegalizado, las dificultades de la exclusión rural y la violencia de la estructura patriarcal. Esta ponencia quiere insinuar que esta tríada podría quedarse corta si no tienen en cuenta los vasos comunicantes de las economías de la cocaína y la represión de “la lucha contra las drogas” en relación con el conflicto armado.

Esta relación no es automática; desde algunas posiciones, la “lucha antidrogas” no es más que un contexto. Este texto advierte que es preciso rastrear el impacto del tránsito de un periodo de guerra sucia en Colombia hacia uno de “guerra contra el narco” en los cuerpos, territorios y vidas de las mujeres y mostrar dónde se concreta el transversal patriarcal violento que se exacerba en la transición de un escenario de violencia de las guerras no convencionales (Segato, 2014, 16)<sup>1</sup>.

La metodología fue diversa. La rigidez de las entrevistas semiestructuradas se mezcló con caminatas y convivencias en sus pueblos y casas. También pudimos compartir reflexiones en medio de “pedagogías” de los acuerdos de paz. En medio de este andar, iban emergiendo “las geografías del terror”.

Esta ponencia muestra estas geografías y los vasos comunicantes en la vida de las mujeres cocALERAS de las violencias en el mercado ilegalizado de la cocaína, analiza el rol de la guerra contra las drogas en este escenario, explora en qué consiste la cuestión rural cocALERA y finalmente lo que significa la autonomía monetaria en esta actividad para ellas.

Se encuentra que la reproducción de la economía de la cocaína descansa sobre el trabajo despojado y cotidiano de las mujeres en las comunidades domésticas (Meillassoux, 2009), la posibilidad de la reproducción de la riqueza para algunos en este mercado solo es posible atrapando a mujeres campesinas en roles y violencias desde donde se extrae su trabajo. “La guerra contra las drogas” atiza esto. Es por eso que es necesario explicar la ilegalización de la cocaína como una forma de explotación sobre el campesino pero específicamente sobre la mujer. La coca, apostándole a un escenario de regulación legal y de tránsito hacia la paz, será digna para la mujer si esta estructura de violencias y geografías del terror pueden ser desmanteladas.

The Conflicts of Coca: Peasant Women, Armed Conflict and the War on Drugs

---

<sup>1</sup> Esta pregunta sobre las disputas de las vidas de las mujeres campesinas cocALERAS se aborda a través de un diálogo de largo aliento con diversas mujeres cocALERAS campesinas del Caquetá desde la elaboración de la investigación doctoral, de profundización en el 2017 durante el primer año de implementación de los acuerdos de paz en Colombia gracias a un apoyo a la investigación del Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia (ICANH) sobre mujeres cocALERAS y de siguientes encuentros que buscaban entender las grietas del posacuerdo frente a los proyectos de vida de las mujeres campesinas del Caquetá realizados hasta el 2017. Se analizaron 33 entrevistas semiestructuradas a profundidad realizadas entre 2014 y 2017 en municipios de La Montañita, San Vicente del Caguán, Florencia, Morelia, Paujil, Belén y Curillo en el Caquetá en la construcción de una investigación de la que resultó el libro “Levantados de la Selva: Vidas y Legitimidades de la Actividad CocALERA. Uniandes. 2020. Bogotá. Posteriormente, se alimentó del ejercicio del seguimiento del tránsito de lo que significó la negociación, firma e implementación de los acuerdos de paz en Colombia, firmados entre las FARC y el gobierno de Juan Manuel Santos (2010-2018) el 24 de noviembre de 2016.

There has been a revival of interest in what might be variably labelled the “acid-left,” “psychedelic socialism,” “acid communism,” or “freak anarchism,” all of which point to the same basic political logic: whereas libertarian radicals have traditionally aimed to alter power structures in order to change social institutions to finally change mankind itself, LSD-inspired radicals reverse this: one can change the social order through a revolution in sensibility. In the 1970s, many of those in the anarchist milieu took LSD, often with the aim of invigorating anti-materialism within themselves and within their communities. In this way, attempts to infuse psychedelics and “psychedelic philosophy” into radical leftist politics is no new endeavour, and this paper seeks to refute any notion that psychedelics have tended to transcend politics by examining their use in politically radical contexts in Britain and Ireland in the 1970s. Whilst the 1960s has tended to dominate in social histories of psychedelics, the focus here on the succeeding decade will show that key actors and organizations continued to use them to radical ends by employing them in their theoretical and practical efforts to form alternative societies to the one they perceived to be characterized by the spectre of nuclear war, bourgeois Christian values, the ascendancy of capital, and a ceaseless fixation on economic growth; they represented and championed optimism for the possibility of radical change.

This exploration will be centred around one key individual in the history of “acid-anarchism”: the Irishman Bill “Ubi” Dwyer, who offers a fascinating conduit to the complex relationship between psychedelics, anarchism, the British left, and the countercultures of the 1970s, whilst his global travels also allow for transnational perspectives to be taken. Using sources from the underground alternative press, national newspapers, and the radical anarchist press, the paper will look firstly at the story of Bill Dwyer and the development of his own brand of acid anarchism before examining the ideas of “post-scarcity” and “lifestyle radicalism” in 1970s anarchist circles more closely. The paper will argue that there has been an overriding of the truly radical, politically threatening potential of the countercultural use of psychedelic drugs in the past, masking a great deal of serious, politically engaged content that requires salvaging in the historiography.

**Odette María Rojas Sosa**, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Un veneno y un antídoto? Visiones en torno al pulque y la cerveza en el México posrevolucionario, 1929–1946

En el marco de la lucha de los gobiernos posrevolucionarios contra el consumo de bebidas embriagantes, el pulque, una de las bebidas alcohólicas de mayor consumo y tradición en el Valle de México, fue objeto de numerosas invectivas y críticas tanto por las técnicas utilizadas en sus procesos de producción, transporte y venta, como por su composición química y las presumibles consecuencias negativas que traía consigo la ingesta habitual. En contraste, la cerveza, de origen europeo y creciente popularidad, gozó de estima y apoyo por parte de las autoridades. Esta situación contribuyó a crear una “rivalidad” entre ambas bebidas, que se tradujo en la aplicación de diversas medidas tendientes a reducir el consumo de una (pulque) y favorecer el de la otra (cerveza).

Esta ponencia expondrá las visiones de diversos actores sociales—autoridades, médicos, literatos—alrededor del pulque y de la cerveza, para explicar por qué, en medio de una campaña contra el alcoholismo (desarrollada entre 1929 y 1946), el pulque se percibió como una bebida nociva y negativa, mientras que la cerveza era vista con aprobación. Para ello se examinarán fuentes documentales, provenientes del Archivo General de la Nación de México y del Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Salubridad, al igual que prensa, revistas y obras literarias.



**Colin Rydell**, University of Chicago

Cider as Temperate British Empire Colonizer: Frontier

Alcoholic cider was a common article of consumption in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, accounting by 1700 for roughly 12% of the robust English drink trade. However, by the mid-eighteenth century, cider production stagnated and began a two-centuries-long decline due to a host of considerations including the popularization of new forms of alcoholic beverages, progressively more efficient means of producing traditional cider competitors, and, I argue, increasing state pressure to bring extra-legal cider production within the excise tax regime.

In America, too, cider has seen its fortunes swing wildly. By far the most common beverage of the colonial period by volume, cider still accounted for roughly 40% of the per capita pure units of alcohol consumed in America as late as 1830. The swift decline in overall American per capita alcohol consumption brought about by the temperance movement after 1830 impacted all major categories of hard drink, but none so dramatically as cider. As alcohol consumption rates slowly climbed again in the second half of the nineteenth century, cider was not among the primary benefactors.

I would like to suggest that the socio-political causes for cider's rise and fall in England apply to various temperate regions colonized by the British Empire, particularly in America but also in Ireland, South Africa, and Australasia. This paper will argue that lessons gleaned from the example of the great English cider boom and bust period between 1600 and 1750 augment how we perceive the dominance and subsequent decline of cider in far-flung areas across the globe.

**Julia Sarreal**, Arizona State University

## The Other Caffeinated Beverage: Yerba Mate in the Early Modern Era

The spread of coffee, tea, and chocolate in Europe during the early modern era is well recognized. But in South America, yerba mate reigned supreme. Like the other caffeinated substances, yerba mate was considered a wonder drug (and a vice), a basic necessity, and an important component of social life. It was often compared with Chinese tea. But unlike other substances, the way yerba mate was consumed set it apart. People share mate (pronounced as mah-tey). It is more than a drink; it is a social practice. By the late eighteenth century, yerba mate had evolved from an indigenous staple to a commodity consumed by all races, classes, genders, and social groups in southern South America. Its shared consumption blurred social, racial, and class divisions. From Chile and Buenos Aires to Paraguay, Lima, and Potosí, yerba mate was a basic necessity and a mainstay of daily life. It also played a key role in regional trade and its taxation provided critical funds to cash-strapped local and viceregal government entities. European observers repeatedly commented on its importance in South America and recognized its commercial potential. And yet, unlike chocolate and tobacco, which were also stimulants native to the Americas, yerba mate did not spread in Europe during the early modern era. Initially, Spain's trade policies, which prohibited direct trade between South America and Spain were the problem, unintentionally restricting the spread of yerba mate. When late eighteenth century trade reforms allowed direct trade between South America and Spain, tea and coffee were already widely adopted in Europe and then independence era instability hindered the globalization of yerba mate well into the nineteenth century. Only in the twenty-first century, when marketed as a healthy energy drink instead of as a cheap substitute for tea and coffee, has yerba mate globalized.

The new legal status of cannabis in Mexico gives rise to the existence of a legislative vacuum relating to the need to prohibit or permit the use of this plant at the workplace. This deficiency must be corrected in order to anticipate the technical complexities involved in the detection of cannabis intoxication within those spaces. However, the literature on the relationship between the use of drugs in general and marijuana in particular at the workplace in Mexico is very scarce. This paper aims to document and analyze the points at which a series of laws and jurisprudences related to cannabis and the Federal Labor Laws in Mexico have come together and intersect. For this, firstly, a historical analysis is carried out on documentary sources (specifically laws and rulings handed down by the Supreme Court); this analysis will provide a historical perspective on how Mexican law has dealt with drug use within the workplace. And secondly -not in the historical process but focused in the present-, scientific evidence is analyzed in order to contribute in the design of a public policy that heads off problematic areas in the relationship between labor law and the regulation of cannabis in Mexico: this relationship presents aspects that allow one to foresee past, present and future legal tensions, thus requiring academic and scientific efforts to deal with a delicate area in terms of the design and implementation of public policy.

**José Domingo Schievinni**, Universidad Autónoma de Querétar  
Chair: Vicios en la Ciudad: Espacios y Estereotipos

En esta mesa se discutirá cómo representaciones del vicio emanaron a la vez que contribuyeron al establecimiento de espacios informales de consumo de drogas en contextos urbanos.

**Yves Schulze**, Université de Toulouse

The Blood of a Poet: Antonin Artaud as a case study of drug culture evolution in the first twentieth century

It is generally acknowledged that, throughout modern times, artistic environments cultivated a very tolerant if not encouraging relationship towards alcohol and drugs, for their likewise creative and social effects. Antonin Artaud (1896-1948) offers a complex and interesting case study in this respect. From his youth until his death, he treated his neurological and psychological issues with various pharmaceutical drugs, back in a time when their medical, recreational and legal purposes were relatively erratic. Eventually living as a drug addict, attempting and dropping out of several detox programs, the French artist took contrasted stances concerning drug culture: his reader may come across his explicit assaults on the beginning of repressive legislation, defending the right of disposing freely of one's body, but also his criticism on the complacency of the artistic scene regarding intoxication.

This presentation aims at least two objectives. Firstly, we would like to examine Artaud as a key witness of mutations in drug culture and its evolution between medical considerations, artistic stereotypes, and public health history; but also in considering drug culture as the mindset in which the writer undertook a journey to Mexico between 1935 and 1936. There, at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, he utters his "Revolutionary Messages" before setting out half-dead and on horseback to find the Tarahumara people, known for their ritual and therapeutical use of peyote. Secondly, we aim for a critical examination of his drug-inspired thoughts and works. This study will grant us first-hand insights into a consumer's practice and, moreover, raise questions that remain relatable to this day. Artaud's life and works offer a great opportunity to articulate a lifelong personal relationship towards drugs within a multipolar institutional history, allowing us an attempt in writing, as Roy Porter put it, a "Medical History from Below" (1985).

**Sarah Brady Siff**, Ohio State University

The Name of the Weed: Marijuana effects and datura alkaloids

Cannabis is a plant, but marijuana is an idea. Much evidence suggests that the first wave of public exposure to information about marijuana, starting in the late 1800s, referred to the use of datura, a genus of psychoactive plants bearing ephemeral, trumpet-shaped flowers and pronounced seed pods. Taken indiscriminately, its toxic alkaloids can result in terrifying hallucinations, dissociative behavior, memory loss, catalepsy, and death — quite unlike the results of cannabis use. Known by a host of common names, native datura species grew weedlike across the American continents; on the other hand, cannabis was a cultivated fiber source that Spanish and British colonists had tried and failed to grow from large amounts of imported hemp seed. Archaeological and ethnographic studies establish datura's natural abundance and its widespread spiritual and medicinal consumption by indigenous Americans from Peru to the Caribbean to Southern California. Starting in the late 1800s, periodical texts referring to mariguana, mayaguana, marahuana, or marihuana described users driven by murderous rage or sickened to delirium; the term slandered, first, revolutionaries in Mexico, then prisoners and criminals more generally. A turning point came during World War I, when datura became an overnight cash crop as the United States sought domestic sources of its alkaloid atropine, an essential antidote for sarin and other poison gases sprayed over Europe's battlefields. Henceforth lawmakers and enforcers more frequently identified cannabis as marijuana, a shift that transformed the drab cottage industry of small-scale cannabis flower cultivation into a perilous, defiant venture. Still it was decades before the law established that cannabis was the true marijuana. Far more dangerous to ingest, datura was the original marijuana and its effects the real foundation of so-called reefer madness.

**Benjamin Smith**, University of Warwick

*Arbiters of Impunity, Agents of Coercion: State, crime, and violence in Mexico, 1910–2020*

This paper looks at the relationship between crime and the Mexican state over the median durée, using literature on both mafia-controlled protection rackets and the state as organized crime. By integrating these theoretical insights drawn from historical sociology, criminology, and political science with new primary research, I put forward a new framework for understanding state formation not only in Mexico but also in other relatively tax-poor countries. Furthermore I also suggest new ways to explain both corruption and the perverse incentives of the war on drugs. Together these assertion place control of protection rackets at the center of the history of state formation but also contemporary concerns over the intersection of democracy, violence and organized crime.

**Iain Smith**, NHS Forth Valley and University of Glasgow

“True Alcoholic Insanity”: The nineteenth century misattribution of alcohol as a major cause of persistent mental disorder in patients within Scottish Asylums

In the 1855–57 Inquiry by the Scottish Lunacy Commission, which led to the Lunacy Act (Scotland) of 1857, it is clear that Scottish psychiatry was already having to deal with the mental consequences of alcohol and the report describes oinomania, perhaps an early term for alcohol dependence, as having a major impact on admissions. The idea that alcohol can itself cause insanity was explored – an estimated 20% or more of the cases in asylums were said to be caused by intemperance around that time -and this figure was subsequently to rise as the century wore on. From today’s perspective, this seems a curious and excessive causal attribution.

In this talk I trace how the idea of a persistent form of alcoholic insanity evolved in the Scottish context and I outline changing terminology and ideas around the mental consequences of alcohol. These ideas were expounded by physicians and alienists in the public arena of parliamentary inquiries in the second half of the nineteenth century as well as in the specialized literature of the time including the medical reports within the Annual Reports of asylums.

The ideas of individual Physician Superintendents in the Glasgow asylums in the period 1890 to 1910 show that at least one doctor started to realize that the attribution of alcohol in the aetiology of insanity, particularly in men, had been overplayed as alcohol consumption fell and insanity continued to rise.

This story has relevance for psychiatry today. The possibility of misattributing mental illness to the use of a particular drug when that drug is widely used in a population needs to be born in mind as it may have practical consequences for individual patients.



**Stephen Snelders**, Utrecht University

A Very Private Affair: Opium in Amsterdam, c. 1600-c. 1940

This paper investigates the history of opium in Amsterdam, from the rise of the city as a key hub in global and colonial trade in the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the introduction of a drug regulatory regime in the interwar period. Before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, opium was as a painkiller, sedative, and sleeping drug used on a regular basis. Opium was abused in incidents of date rape, suicide, and murder. Chests of raw opium were imported from Turkey and Persia and sold at auctions in the centre of the city. The opium was processed for consumption by producing small pills, or by making laudanum, a tincture of opium dissolved in alcohol that became increasingly popular in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Opium preparations were prescribed and sold by pharmacists, apothecaries, druggists, and chemists, without regulation by the authorities. Consumption was, unlike that of other old and new intoxicants such as alcohol, tobacco, coffee and tea, very much a private affair. Respectable members of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch establishment such as female writer Belle van Zuylen and Dutch East India Company director Ioan Gideon Loten consumed opium in private to sleep or to endure attacks of asthma. The concept of addiction was still unknown, but users reported increasing dependence on the drug. In the interwar period trade and consumption 'retreated' to the harbour district – now also the location of Amsterdam's Chinatown. Opium was smuggled in through the Chinese sailors of the Dutch steamship companies and smoking (and not eating) opium spread into Chinatown, to Chinese lodgings, opium dens, and gambling establishments, and the occasional white users. Chinese 'secret' societies fought each other over control of the Chinese territories and infrastructure. Apart from this fighting, there was no disorder in public spaces caused by opium users. Opium remained very much a private affair.

**Nicholas Spiers and Bia Labate**, Chacruna Institute for Psychedelic Plant Medicines  
Indigenous Uses of Psilocybin Mushrooms and Psychedelic Capitalism

This presentation will offer an overview of the literature covering the use of psilocybin-containing mushrooms by Indigenous groups, in order to better approach ethical dilemmas beleaguering the psychedelic renaissance. The current public discourse in the Global North regarding Indigenous practices involving sacred mushrooms is largely informed by a few dated, over-referenced accounts. These English-language sources tend to conflate pre-hispanic uses of psilocybin with contemporary Indigenous practices, denying the historically situated and emergent nature of contemporary shamanism and reproducing exotic tropes of the wise, ancestral Indigenous shaman. We will present a more comprehensive, Spanish-language literature review which contemplates more rigorous and diverse ethnographic and ethnobotanical research, including the work of Indigenous scholars. This presentation will move beyond the Mazatec-centric research which has often made Indigenous sacred mushroom use synonymous with Mazatec shamanic practices, thereby neglecting the diversity of Indigenous practices throughout Mexico. This background will contextualize contemporary tensions in Indigenous communities arising from relatively new phenomena such as psychedelic tourism and extractive psychedelic capitalism. While scientific research on psilocybin and patents related to its use in psychedelic therapies proliferate, recognition of the Indigenous cultures and territories where psychedelic substances and practices originate is largely non-existent or performative. Initiatives to acknowledge the historical context of mushrooms, attempts to include Indigenous voices in psychedelic conferences, or emergent discourses around the need to financially compensate Mazatec people are often beset by cultural mistranslation and seemingly contradictory conceptions of what constitutes healing, knowledge, and the mushrooms themselves. We hope this presentation helps to better frame questions around authenticity, Indigeneity, and commercialization of Indigenous knowledge and sacred medicines.

**Tarangini Sriraman**, Azim Premji University

**“The Silver Mask of the Prophet”: Missionary medical discourses of alcohol and caste in colonial Madras 1860–1930**

This paper looks at how missionary medical discourses in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Madras Presidency (a region in colonial South India) rendered toddy and arrack in caste terms. It plots two sites of missionaries’ medical encounter with alcohol and caste. The first is the dissemination of British scientific temperance tracts (in translation) through Adi-Dravida and Adi-Andhra (Telugu and Tamil Dalit, or oppressed caste) pastors to promote village sanitation and domestic virtue. I pay close attention to the use of allegories such as the ‘silver mask of the prophet’ – here, alluding to a false Prophet who advocates drink – as hiding the face of a ‘leper’. These allegories persist alongside ‘scientific temperance instruction’ in writings that seek to especially purge ‘toddy’ and ‘arrack’ among these communities. These regional language tracts were published by the Christian Literature Society, a joint missionary entity, which sought explicitly to disseminate ‘vernacular’ education among marginalized castes.

These tracts were closely linked to missionary public health discourses around alcohol in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Madras Presidency. The writings of Bishop Robert Caldwell, JA Shamrock and Reverend Moffat on dietary, toddy tapping and brewing cultures of marginalized caste communities framed the debates over alcohol in stark terms. I examine binaries created around the ‘natural science’ of the palmyra tree and fermentation versus the ‘craft’ and ‘bodily knowledge’ of tree-climbing and crude distillation. Through these heterogeneous sites, this paper will unpack the framing of toddy and arrack as ‘lower caste drinks’ and demonstrate the evangelical mission of recasting the medically cleansed bodies of backward castes for spiritual reform. I also explore the historical possibility of Dalits embracing ‘oppositional discourses’ of temperance by asking community members to erase oppressive ‘pre-Christian’ bodily habits (Mohan 2015) through these writings.

**Scott K. Taylor**, University of Kentucky

Coffee, Tea, and Doux Commerce: Capitalism, morality, and soft drugs in early modern Europe

Western Europeans adopted coffee and tea as part of everyday life, at least for prosperous urban dwellers, in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During the same period, observers took note of the beginnings of consumer society, and debates began about the morality of consumption and production. Were tea and coffee luxuries, and if so, did that imply Rousseauian decadence and corruption or the civilizing grace of Montesquieu's *doux commerce*? Did the money spent in the production and sale of these products help spur a Smithian virtuous cycle of increasing wealth and industriousness, benefiting the national economy? Or did the temptations of the coffeehouse and tea table pull men and women away from their work, creating sites of anti-industriousness that dragged down the nation? Furthermore, tea and coffee were closely linked to their fellow soft drugs like gin—tea was allegedly a gateway to gin-drinking for unsupervised women—and sugar, which made tea and coffee palatable to Europeans. But this implicated tea in the Gin Craze that gripped early eighteenth-century England, associated with unrestrained drunkenness among the urban poor, especially women. Sugar linked both tea and coffee to the transatlantic slave trade and Caribbean plantations that became controversial in the late eighteenth centuries, leading to anti-slavery advocates boycotting sugar, making the tea table and coffeehouse sites of contention. Historians have studied the ways that coffee and tea are linked to the emerging masculine public sphere and feminine private sphere, but evidence here taken from English, French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch sources will show early modern Europeans wrestling with the broader implications of their ever-increasing thirst for caffeinated drinks in the emerging global world of capitalism where commodity chains linked Africa, the Caribbean, East Asia, and the Middle East to the tables of western Europe.

**Arun Thomas**, University of Hyderabad, India

Making Ganja 'Modern': Botanizing cannabis in the British Madras Presidency, South India, the 1920s–1930s

Cannabis has always been dubious for its fluid relationship, often ambiguous, with the social and governmental systems. The ontological journeys of cannabis from a leisure substance to a full-fledged market commodity and a highly state-monitored drug show the complex life of cannabis in colonial India. While the colonial government tried to regulate the consumption and proscribe the free cultivation of cannabis at the beginning of the 20th century, at the backdrop, it set up cannabis experimental botanical gardens and seed farms to come up with hybridised cannabis seeds in the Madras Presidency. The application of botanical science in cannabis cultivation transformed the ganja from a wildly grown plant to a 'tamed' scientifically produced one. It is tacit that cannabis knowledge production in the Madras Presidency did not emanate *ex nihilo*. Instead, this paper argues that the development of botany at the global level and the establishment of agricultural colleges in the non-European regions had a synergic connection that bridged wild (Non-scientific) cultivations of ganja into the contact zones of imperial botanical science and technological application. This paper mainly looks into the discussions and practices in the three cannabis experimental botanical gardens and delineates the production of cannabis knowledge concerning the quality of seed, soil, manure, economic potency of the new hybrid variety, acclimatisation of non-local varieties, disease resistance and methods to eradicate male and monoecious plants in the Madras presidency. It also takes cannabis as a prism to fathom the interconnections between science, economy and empire.

En la primera década del siglo XXI ante la compra de compañías tequileras por parte de corporaciones extranjeras, jóvenes mexicanos de clase media urbana, afectados por los efectos de las políticas neoliberales y la globalización, encontraron en el pulque un arma de lucha. Para ellos, la auténtica bebida mexicana era el pulque que tiene orígenes prehispánicos y permanece siendo producida, comercializada y consumida por mexicanos. El pulque experimentó entonces una nueva ola de interés y revitalización en la que participaron diferentes sectores: privados, gubernamentales, industriales, turísticos, y culturales entre otros. En ese interés una compañía agroindustrial creó y patentó “la ruta del pulque” por ejemplo. Otro grupo trabajó sin éxito en obtener la denominación de origen para el pulque. Y los descendientes de los pocos dueños de pulquerías que aún sobrevivían, se dieron a la tarea de regresar a las tradiciones y prácticas de las pulquerías decimonónicas y de principios del siglo XX como el decorar los establecimientos con murales y ofrecer platillos mexicanos típicos.

Con base en investigación etnográfica, hemerográfica, entrevistas y observación participativa y utilizando los conceptos teóricos y hermenéuticos de patrimonio cultural, herencia e identidad, esta ponencia analiza el renacimiento del interés por el pulque en el siglo XXI dentro y fuera de México. Dicha revitalización representa un ejemplo de cómo el capitalismo, el patrimonio cultural, y la identidad se intersectan en estos tiempos de globalización y políticas neoliberales.

*Translation:* Who owns the “Route of Pulque”™? Globalization, commercialization, cultural heritage and pulque

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, due to the purchase of tequileras by multinational corporations, urban young hipsters, seeking to reclaim their traditional heritage, have adopted the beverage as a tool by which to challenge the alleged evils of globalization and neoliberal policies affecting Mexico’s current economy and their daily lives. For these millennials, pulque is the authentic Mexican beverage due to its pre-Columbian origins and remains produced, commercialized, and consumed by Mexicans. Pulque reached a new wave of interest among different groups: people involved in the government at local and regional levels, industry owners, tourism, and cultural affairs among others. Under such wave an agribusiness registered as a trademark the “ruta del pulque”, while other individuals worked unsuccessfully in obtaining pulque’s “denomination of origin.” In the meantime, the descendants of pulquería owners, of the few remaining taverns, did research on the traditions and practices of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century pulquerías and reinstated some of those practices such as the murals in the walls and serving traditional Mexican food.

Based on ethnographic research, newspapers, interviews, and participant observation, as well as drawing on insights on cultural patrimony, identity, and heritage, this paper explores the interest on pulque and its popularity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Mexico and abroad. The pulque revival is an example of how capitalism, cultural heritage, and identity operate and interact in globalization and neoliberal times.

**Simone Varriale**, University of Padua and Ca' Foscari University of Venice  
Altered State. Biopolitics for drug users in the Italian scenario

Between the 1970s and the 1980s Italian government introduced new normative processes to improve its welfare measures and fight the spread of the heroin epidemic across the nation. The 1975 anti-drug law described for the first time in Italian history the drug user not as a criminal but as a sick person needing help through a national care system.

The biopolitics category, in the interpretative meaning proposed by scholars and academics such as Didier Fassin and Jarret Zigon, allows the identification in the Italian welfare state of a prejudicial logic underlying the paradigm shift about the drug user. On the basis of this methodological approach it is possible to rethink the relationships among private sphere, politics and medical institutions.

The proven failure of the Italian government to deal with the drug emergency and the concurrent reform of the national health system in the 1980s opened a wide debate on alternative methods of treating drug addicts. The Radicali, led by Marco Pannella, and some wings of the left supported harm reduction; the majority of political forces and public opinion pushed for coercive treatments such as forced abstinence.

In the end, the prohibitionist line prevailed thanks to the influence of new actors on the biopolitical stage: emerging therapeutic communities ended up dictating the medical and political approach to the drug users recovery. This is the birth of the so-called “social private”, an independent management space that is publicly guaranteed and controlled in terms of its resources and social outcomes. Thus, through the interpenetration of public and private the “Italian way” of the war on drugs would seem to be the first glimpse of the post-war welfare state evolution into its current mixed version, heavily influenced by all the peculiarities of a biopolitical management of the population.

**Pavel Vasilyev** and **Viktoria Vinokurova**, University in St. Petersburg  
Foreign Natives: Psychoactivity, policing, and the elusive corporeality of the Post-Soviet rave

This article focuses on the rave subculture of St. Petersburg in the 1990s and demonstrates how new forms of psychoactive control and resistance emerged in the wake of the Soviet collapse. By staying sensitive to the material and corporeal aspects of these phenomena, it contributes to the socio-material studies of drug control and emphasizes that the physical body itself should be an important venue for drug research. In doing so, we build on existing literature that discusses bodies as information resources to detect drug use and identifies resistance strategies to increasingly technological drug control measures. We advance this discussion by suggesting that the psychoactive setting of rave in post-Soviet St. Petersburg gave rise to a highly particular yet notably elusive and difficult-to-define type of corporeality. On the one hand, this corporeality could be positively interpreted as a marker of resistance and belonging on the “inside.” At the same time, it could also be employed strategically by law enforcement officers to detect and prosecute drug-consuming individuals. Moreover, we propose to view this psychoactive “rave body” as deeply embedded in its spatio-temporal context—thus accounting for the influence of time and space on the materiality of drug control and resistance. In examining these dynamics, we draw on a wide range of sources, including memoirs, press materials, early Internet archives, publicly printed interviews, photographs, and video materials.



**Gerardo Vela de la Rosa**, Universidad de Guanajuato

Los Intentos Fallidos por Establecer el ‘Estado Seco’ en San Luis Potosí: 1915 y 1924

Desde las últimas décadas del siglo XIX y la primera del XX, en diferentes estados de la República Mexicana se dieron múltiples intentos por regular el comercio y consumo de bebidas alcohólicas. Esta actividad era considerada como uno de los “males sociales” que afectaban a los ciudadanos de la época porque en esos años se pretendía formar una sociedad moderna, basada en la laboriosidad, la higiene, el ahorro y la temperancia entre otras cualidades. San Luis Potosí no fue la excepción y un ejemplo de aquellos intentos fue la creación del primer reglamento de cantinas dispuesto para la capital del estado en 1907. No obstante, las medidas más contundentes se llevaron a cabo con los dos intentos por establecer un “estado seco” durante el movimiento armado de la Revolución mexicana (1915) y durante la etapa “institucional” de dicho movimiento (1924). En la presente propuesta se presentará el seguimiento a las campañas antialcohólicas que acompañaron a ambos decretos de ley seca en la entidad, dando una explicación sobre el porqué éstos no tuvieron las repercusiones deseadas respectivamente. Con base en una investigación de archivo y hemerográfica, esta investigación demuestra que no sólo fue la resistencia de productores, comerciantes y consumidores a acatar lo dictado por la autoridad lo que propició el fracaso. También influyó la falta de coordinación entre los distintos actores políticos involucrados, así como la ambivalencia y flexibilidad con que se llevaron a cabo las acciones antialcohólicas pues amenazaban los ingresos al erario público municipal y estatal.

**Timothy Vilgiate**, University of Texas at Austin

The Discovery, Exploration, and Cultural Transformation of *Salvia Divinorum*

Mazatec curanderos discovered xka pastora (also called *Salvia divinorum*) sometime between 500 BC and 0 AD, when the Sierra Mazateca remained a sparsely settled pilgrimage site known for its vast network of caves and sacred mountains, integrated the plant into the training and initiation of new ritual specialists, either chewing the leaves or drinking them in a tea. Through attempted Mixtec conquests of the region, Aztec imperial rule beginning in 1350, and the Spanish invasion in 1519, the plant remained a carefully guarded secret. Sharing knowledge about the plant with outsiders constituted a grave violation of local norms, reflected by the resistance faced by R. Gordon Wasson's 1961-2 expedition to the region. Yet by the mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century, hallucinogenic plants took on new economic and strategic value to the industrial world, viewed as potential tools for either therapy or enhanced interrogation. Expectations that the advance of "modern medicine" and technological development would cause the knowledge of curanderos to disappear rationalized breaches of local boundaries and expectations in the quest to document the plant. In reality, however, contacts between institutionally trained pharmacologists seeking to understand xka pastora and curanderos in the Sierra often proved deeply humbling, as foreign experts came to perceive indigenous healers as uniquely skilled and adept at navigating and understanding novel states of consciousness. When smokeable extracts of the plant appeared on the global mass market in the late 1990s, the humanizing dynamics of direct contact faded, and although Mazatec curanderos figured heavily in the plant's marketing, the cultural roots of the plant were rendered as vague—ambiguously and generally indigenous. The intense and dramatic effects of the plant when smoked, moreover, fostered the development of a subculture perceiving itself as uniquely adept at exploring the uncharted frontiers of consciousness, often doubting Mazatec knowledge about the plant.

**Jonas von Hoffmann**, Center for Research and Teaching in Economics (CIDE) Drug Policy Program (PPD), Aguascalientes, Mexico

### Comparing and Contrasting the (Ab)Uses of “Usable Pasts” in Present Cannabis Reform Debates

The past has played a prominent role in some present-day cannabis reform debates. In Uruguay, the prior experience with a state liquor monopoly was invoked to inspire and justify its path-breaking cannabis regulation in 2013. In Mexico, a brief, and almost forgotten, period of drugs being legally available in 1940 resurfaced seven decades later. In the US, the negative example of alcohol “prohibition” and the racist roots of cannabis prohibition have been used as arguments in favor of legalization. However, the practice of invoking the past cannot be observed in other contemporary cannabis reform debates. Neither in Chile nor Canada historical referents have featured prominently. By comparing and contrasting the uses and abuses of historical precedents, examples and anecdotes, the paper unearths similarities and differences between countries and builds an explanatory account of the differential role of “usable pasts” in present-day cannabis debates. The paper finds that while some historical experiences, notably alcohol prohibition, have been invoked universally, others depend on context-specific histories, historiography and advocacy choices. Not only needs there to be a minimally viable set of historical referents to serve as “usable past,” but also historiography needs to have laid the foundation for advocacy to build on, as a “usable past” is an invention or at least a retrospective reconstruction to serve the needs of the present. Lastly, present-day reform proponents must choose to invoke the “usable past” as part of their advocacy strategy. Because these processes of reconstructing and invoking the past are, to some extent, are voluntary and political, the use of the past in present cannabis debates is neither uniform, automatic nor unproblematic; much historical nuances get lost in contemporary debates and some potential “usable pasts” are never invoked.

**Thembisa Waetjen**, University of Johannesburg

A Benign Drug for a Free Country: [\[1\]](#) Helen Suzman's campaign for dagga law reform in South Africa, 1998-2005

Throughout her 36-year career as opposition member in South Africa's all-white parliament, Helen Suzman was an outspoken, solitary voice against the prohibition of cannabis ("dagga") and apartheid state's draconian drug control laws. Into the post-apartheid period, by then in her late 70s, Suzman became a vocal advocate for legalizing cannabis and the unlikely public face in a wider, diverse movement. She aligned herself, in different ways, with both local and international medical and cultural figures. In this paper, I examine Suzman's campaign, her networks of support and the diverse fronts of opposition to drug reform between 1998-2005. This was a period when several notable events -- the adoption and implementation of a new national constitution, daily televised hearings of Bishop Desmond Tutu's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the struggle to secure ARV roll-outs for an AIDS-burdened nation -- were igniting contestations over ideas about liberal rights and democracy under the new black majority government. What explains Suzman's early and ongoing dedication to this cause and why did it fail? Of what significance, if any, was this episode for the later, successful shifts of dagga policy brought about by the rulings of the Cape High Court (2017) and Constitutional Court (2018)?

In his State of the Nation address on 10 February 2022, exactly a century after South Africa's national prohibition of cannabis, President Cyril Ramaphosa declared that the ANC government would be streamlining the regulatory processes facilitating a hemp and cannabis 'sector' to come to the urgent aid of the country's covid-depressed economy. This paper will provide a context for understanding shifts in dagga politics during South Africa's democratic period.

**Eva Ward**, University of Strathclyde

Drug Policy, Development and the Construction of the US Colonial Project in the Philippines

Following the US conquest of the Philippines in 1898, the colonial government in 1905 prohibited all recreational sale and use of opiates and cocaine. During the preceding Spanish colonial era, a legal monopoly system allowed a limited number of distributors to import and sell opium to the Philippines' Chinese inhabitants. Many- but not all- distributors also belonged to the Chinese diaspora and consequently the sale and recreational use of drugs was considered inherent to the Chinese community of the Philippines, and the success of the American colonial experiment there was framed as contingent upon stamping out existing networks of distribution and practices of consumption before they could influence the larger Filipino population. As Anne Foster and other historians have shown, this course of action was intended not only to safeguard the morality of Filipinos from a Protestant American religious perspective but also demonstrate the supposed beneficence of US colonialism relative to other imperial powers. However, another influential motive for prohibition was to preserve Filipinos' economic productivity as a colonial workforce. In the words of American Commissioner of Public Health Dr. Victor Heiser, it was "evident to employers of colonial labor that human life had a direct monetary value." (Heiser 1936, 177) Moreover, prominent advocates of prohibition like Charles Brent argued that restricting narcotics consumption to medicinal purposes would safely facilitate the importation of Chinese immigrant labor in the service of colonial economic development. This proposed paper examines the imperialist attitudes and economic factors that shaped the American approach to drug policy in the Philippines and the role that pharmaceutical regulations played in the construction of the US colonial state.

**Susannah Wilson**, University of Warwick

A Medicine for the Soul: Morphine and prohibition in the French cultural imagination, 1870–1940

This paper examines narratives of morphine use in France between 1870, when hypodermic administration of the drug became widespread, and 1916, when a law to restrict access to psychoactive substances was passed. The paper will offer brief examples of three types of morphine users: addicts within the medical profession; female morphine addicts from prostitutes to upper-class women; and writers and artists who defended their right to dispose of drugs as they saw fit in the years following the 1916 law. The paper argues that morphine's visibility, its genderedness, and its incompatibility with classic Republican values pertaining to masculinity, self-control, and perfect femininity contribute in important ways to its cultural representation as a major crisis. Examining medical treatises, popular literature, visual culture, and personal narratives, the paper argues that the nineteenth-century figure of the morphinomane is an early manifestation of the emergent idea of the toxicomane, and is the vehicle via which opiates came to be negatively imagined towards the end of the nineteenth century. The context of the First World War gave these ambient concerns, which were specifically French, legislative urgency, connecting the nation to the international move towards the prohibition of psychoactive substances.

**Henry Yeomans**, University of Leeds

## Illicit Alcohol Markets in England and Wales in the Long Nineteenth Century: Preliminary findings

Academic literature and wider cultural memories of illicit alcohol markets tend to coalesce around certain prominent historical examples. The role of moonshine and bootlegging in circumventing the harsh legal controls on alcohol in prohibition-era USA is well known. Illicit gin selling is equally well remembered as a means of evading prohibitive excise taxes in eighteenth century England and undermining government attempts to curb spirits-drinking. But, as illuminating as these specific historical examples might be, they should not obscure the fact that illicit markets in alcohol are not occasional, spectacular enterprises instigated by strict legal controls, but persistent and deeply embedded features of modern societies. This presentation will report preliminary findings from an ongoing project which examines illicit alcohol markets in England and Wales across the long nineteenth century (1789-1914) and analyses the key factors which shape the development of these markets through time. Specifically the presentation will identify the main historical types of illicit alcohol in England and Wales, including smuggled spirits, illicitly produced drinks and adulterated beer. The actors and offences involved will be described and the varied interactions of producers, distributors and retailers from across licit and illicit spheres will begin to be sketched out. Ultimately the presentation will point towards complex, evolving configurations of products, actors and practices that have underpinned illicit alcohol markets over long periods of time.

**Dr Ryosuke Yokoe**, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science

Brewers, Booze and Medicine: Industrial Funding of Alcoholic Liver Disease Research in 1980s Britain

This paper expounds on the nature of private-sector funding in alcohol research by examining a particular instance from the 1980s in which the UK brewing industry chose to fund scientific research into alcoholic liver disease. Through previously unexplored internal records of the Brewers' Society, the representative trade association of the British brewing industry, the paper underscores how the drinks industry sought the aid of medical experts in engaging in wider policy debates on alcohol and public health during the latter half of the twentieth century. Partly to minimize its own responsibility for the rise of problem drinking, the industry took an interest in studies that looked into factors other than alcohol itself that contributed to liver cirrhosis, the quintessential disease of the heavy drinker. Between 1980 and 1983, Dr Roger Williams received the financial aid of the Brewers' Society in carrying out a set of clinical studies that looked at how inborn determinants relating to heredity and sex influenced an individual's susceptibility to develop cirrhosis. For the industry, such results showed that only a minority of drinkers were at risk of developing alcohol-related problems, a revelation they believed undermined public health-based policies that targeted all drinkers by reducing per capita alcohol consumption. Although clearly driven by self-interest, the industry nevertheless supported legitimate lines of scientific inquiry that elucidated the complex, multifactorial disease causation of cirrhosis.



### **Women in Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime**

ROUNDTABLE: Felia Allum, University of Bath; Deborah Bonello, Senior Editor, Latin America, VICE World News; Elaine Carey, Oakland University; Patricia Figueroa, Under-Secretary of Human Rights, state of Sinaloa

The panel examines the role of women in organized crime by four panelists who have written extensively on women drug trafficking and organized crime. The presenters examine the historical and contemporary roles of women from low level workers to leaders who run their own organized crime networks. They also question the "male gaze" that has defined the perception of women in organized crimes for decades as victims with no agency, as well as the use of binary terms such as victim or victimizer to analyze the dynamic, arguing for more nuanced understandings of their participation and impact. They also consider how women have navigated the violent nature of organized crime in the past and the present, and its impact on women and children.

### **Roundtable: Histories of Healing and Stories of Sickness: Addiction, treatment, and the oral tradition**

According to historian and clinician William White, the history of addiction treatment and recovery is an oral tradition. Collecting and analyzing oral histories of treatment and recovery is one way alcohol and drug historians can validate and reveal unwritten, insider knowledge. However, when narrators' testimonials about recovery are formulaic and ideological, questions about sincerity and subjectivity open up doubts about the nature of belief and the risks of wrongly endorsing or misrepresenting such powerful anecdotes. This panel brings together four alcohol and drug historians who have used interviews and oral histories in their research on the histories of addiction treatment and considers the role of testimony as therapeutic intervention, scientific evidence, performance, commodity, and call to action.

According to historian and clinician William White, the history of addiction treatment and recovery is an oral tradition. Collecting and analyzing oral histories of treatment and recovery is one way alcohol and drug historians can validate and reveal unwritten, insider knowledge. However, when narrators' testimonials about recovery are formulaic and ideological, questions about sincerity and subjectivity open up doubts about the nature of belief and the risks of wrongly endorsing or misrepresenting such powerful anecdotes. This panel brings together four alcohol and drug historians who have used interviews and oral histories in their research on the histories of addiction treatment and considers the role of testimony as therapeutic intervention, scientific evidence, performance, commodity, and call to action.

Claire Clark will discuss the Therapeutic Communities Treatment oral history project involving in-depth oral history interviews with second- and third-generation therapeutic community patients, counselors, and administrators who were active in the field from 1965-1975.

Emily Dufton will discuss interviews conducted with physicians, researchers, clinic operators and lawyers involved with developing the past half-century of America's medication-assisted treatment programs, including the use of methadone, buprenorphine, naltrexone and LAAM.

Amy Sullivan will discuss how narrators in the Minnesota Opioid Project challenged long-held judgments, treatment options, and stigma against drug users and people seeking help for addiction in Minnesota. The collection began as a time capsule and ended as a call to action for empathy and community education as powerful interventions to end the opioid epidemic.

Marcus Chatfield will discuss his dissertation research examining the history of the parent-pay teen program industry in the United States since the 1950s. He is interested in the way oral histories and conversion narratives benefited young people held within coercive settings and strengthened the programs that elicited such testimonials.

## **The State of Drug and Alcohol History Pedagogy: Teaching Challenges and Innovations Roundtable**

**Abstract:** Over the past decade, cutting edge scholarship has opened new frontiers in the study of drugs and alcohol. At the same time, popular interest in these topics continues to motivate undergraduates to enroll in courses that help them better understand the history of psychoactive substance use and addiction and how it has shaped the current landscape of drug and alcohol issues in our society. Such popular interest in these topics is itself a tool for helping faculty engage students in broader subject matter in our society, culture, and politics. We propose two sessions of roundtables which will bring together teaching faculty to discuss both the challenges (and rewards) of drug and alcohol history pedagogy and the unique approaches, methods, and tools they employ for responding to these challenges. One roundtable session, *"Innovations,"* will provide a platform for our fellow scholars of drugs and alcohol to present questions about issues they have faced, strategies they have employed, with the hope of improving the ways in which we as educators teach and engage our students about this critical topic. The second roundtable, *"Challenges,"* will also provide a platform for faculty presenters to discuss issues they have faced in the classroom. This session will discuss a variety of challenges in teaching undergraduates the narrative of psycho-activity, ranging from course design, classroom activities, to strategies and tactics for using drugs and alcohol history to better understand more complicated subject matter.

**Short Abstract:** This two-roundtable session will bring together teaching faculty to discuss the challenges (and rewards) of drug and alcohol history pedagogy and the unique approaches, methods, and tools they employ for responding to these challenges.

### **Participants:**

James Bradford, Associate Professor of History, Berklee College of Music

Taylor Dysart, PhD Candidate, University of Pennsylvania

Lucas Richert, Associate Professor, School of Pharmacy, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Mat Savelli, McMaster University

Robert Stephens, Associate Professor of History, Virginia Tech

Aileen Teague, Assistant Professor of International Affairs, Texas A&M

### **Session 1: "Innovations" Roundtable:**

Moderator: James Bradford, Associate Professor of History, Berklee College of Music

\*\*\*

#### **Participant #1**

Robert Stephens, Associate Professor of History, Virginia Tech

*Writing Books Together: Publishing Undergraduate Research as Engagement Strategy*

Student engagement is essential to real and lasting learning. In this presentation, I will report on a partnership between the Virginia Tech University Publishing and the Department of History to publish edited volumes of undergraduate research produced in capstone courses. This strategy of putting real

stakes into the capstone seminar has created significantly more student engagement and teaches a set of related skills (editing, copy editing, the publication process, etc.) that has greatly improved the historical research and writing of our graduates. I will discuss the process and avenues for publication for those who do not have university publishing units as well.

\*\*\*

**Participant #2:**

Aileen Teague, Assistant Professor of International Affairs, Texas A&M  
*Using Experiential Learning to Understand the Opioid Crisis*

My presentation will draw from the course I designed on the opioid crisis, which incorporated historical, policy, and public health perspectives. I will examine the variety of experiential learning tactics I employed alongside engagement with historical narratives, which included engaging with guest speakers working in the local addiction community, visiting rehab facilities and methadone clinics, and having students attend AA meetings. This combination of approaches worked to humanize the subject of addiction, immersing students in top-down and bottom-up perspectives on the history and place of opioid addiction in our society, and placing students in a better position to propose potential policy solutions.

\*\*\*

**Participant #3:**

Lucas Richert, Associate Professor, School of Pharmacy, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
*Pharmacy Education & Psychoactive Substances in History*

This presentation will discuss the ways that history constitutes part of the pharmacy curriculum at UW-Madison. When it comes to emergent medicines (cannabis or psychedelics) or administering naloxone, for example, pharmacists have a significant role to play in the health care landscape and policy arena. Access to historical narratives and case studies enable a more holistic education and ultimately enhance professional practice.

\*\*\*

**Session 2: “Challenges” Roundtable**

Moderator: Aileen Teague, Assistant Professor of International Affairs, Texas A&M

**Participant #4:**

Mat Savelli, McMaster University

This presentation examines the strategies and challenges involved in teaching drugs history to non-history students. Focused on what is ostensibly an interdisciplinary course on the social dimensions of addiction, I examine how non-history students engage with, understand, and struggle through the

study of drugs history (both illicit and pharmaceutical). I discuss the ways in which history can be used to help non-history students understand concepts like the social construction of drugs' meaning and the often artificial division between drugs which cure and those which enhance.

\*\*\*

**Participant #5:**

James Bradford, Associate Professor, Berklee College of Music

*Professor, Therapist, or Clinician?: Teaching the History of Drugs to “Users” Amidst an Evolving Legal and Social Environment*

My presentation will draw on two courses that I teach, *Drugs and Intoxicants in World History*. My courses engage students directly in the history of drug use and drug control, and encourage students to explain how the vestiges of the past resonate in contemporary discourses, such as those surrounding addiction, cannabis policies, and globalization. Yet, the course has also evolved in unintended ways. What is becoming more common among my students is that many of them are directly or indirectly affected by drug use and addiction, and it is an unavoidable source of discussion in our classes. My presentation will explore how I deal with this dynamic, as an educator, as a mentor, and as a fellow human, particularly in light of changing legal and social landscapes surrounding drugs.

**Participant #6:**

Taylor Dysart, PhD Candidate, University of Pennsylvania

My presentation will explore the challenges and opportunities of teaching the history of drugs within global histories of science and medicine. Drawing from my experience as an instructor for a global history of medicine survey, I will ask how the history of drugs can help students better understand what it means for humans to heal, harm, and suffer. One of my primary pedagogical goals is cultivating greater historical empathy; teaching creatively at the intersection of the history of drugs and medicine, I will suggest, is one small contribution to achieving that goal. My time as a co-organizer of the Collaborative Pedagogies in the Global History of Science (2019), a workshop that brought together established faculty and early-career instructors to brainstorm novel pedagogical approaches to the history of science, and as the Associate Editor for the History of Science and Medicine in Latin America and the Caribbean, an open-access resource for students, have introduced me to creative and experimental pedagogical practices.

\*\*\*

**Comment:**

The Audience