The Roots of Addiction in Free Market Society

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About the Author

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Contents

Summary

The City of Vancouver is promoting a major new initiative on drug addiction based on the "four pillars" of treatment, prevention, law enforcement, and harm reduction. This balanced and compassionate initiative warrants public support. Unfortunately, it does not warrant optimism. A century of intense effort has shown that no matter how well different approaches are coordinated, society cannot "prevent," "treat," or "harm reduce" its way out of addiction any more than it can "police" its way out of it.

Although the four pillar initiative is a step forward, developing an effective policy towards addiction requires a deeper and fuller analysis of both the extent of addiction and its causes. The four pillars encompass only a small corner of the addiction problem—illicit drugs—and are not founded upon an analysis of the root causes.

The word "addiction" has come to be narrowly applied to excessive drug use in the 20th century, but historically it was applied to non-drug habits as well. There is ample evidence that severe addictions to non-drug habits are every bit as dangerous and resistant to treatment as drug addiction, whether they be the compulsion for money, power, work, food, or material goods.

Addiction in the modern world can be best understood as a compulsive lifestyle that people adopt as a desperate substitute when they are dislocated from the myriad intimate ties between people and groups—from the family to the spiritual community—that are essential for every person in every type of society. These ties are called "psychosocial integration" in this paper.

This paper argues that dislocation is the necessary precursor of addiction, and uses examples from Canadian and Scottish History to show that free markets inevitably produce widespread dislocation among the poor and the rich. As free market globalization speeds up, so does the spread of dislocation and addiction.

In order for "free markets" to be "free," the exchange of labour, land, currency, and consumer goods must not be encumbered by elements of psychosocial integration such as clan loyalties, village responsibilities, guild or union rights, charity, family obligations, social roles, or religious values. Cultural traditions "distort" the free play of the laws of supply and demand, and thus must be suppressed. In free market economies, for example, people are expected to move to where jobs can be found, and to adjust their work lives and cultural tastes to the demands of a global market.

People who cannot achieve psychosocial integration develop "substitute" lifestyles. Substitute lifestyles entail excessive habits including—but not restricted to—drug use, and social relationships that are not sufficiently close, stable, or culturally acceptable to afford more than minimal psychosocial integration. People who can find no better way of achieving psychosocial integration cling to their substitute lifestyles with a tenacity that is properly called addiction.

Addiction changed from being a nuisance in the ancient world to a steadily growing menace as western society moved into free market economics and the industrial revolution. Because Western society is now based on free market principles that mass-produce dislocation, and because dislocation is the precursor of addiction, addiction to a wide variety of pursuits is not the pathological state of a few, but to a greater or lesser degree, the general condition in western society. Western free market society also provides the model for globalization, which means that mass addiction is being globalized along with the English language, the Internet, and Mickey Mouse.

Attempts to treat or prevent addiction that ignore the connection between free markets, dislocation, and addiction have proven to be little better than band-aids. Addressing the problem of addiction will require fundamental political and economic changes. The beginning of political change is a realistic discussion of addiction that recognizes that addiction is mass-produced in free market society, and that society, as well as individuals, must change. It requires moves towards good government and away from policies that undermine our ability to care for one another and build sustainable, healthy communities.

Of course, examining the side effects of "free markets" and the "new economy" is uncomfortable at a time when nearly every nation in the world seems bent on gaining admission to the free trade party to sample the goodies and enjoy the high tech euphoria. Ignoring the problem, however, is having side effects that are clearly visible here in Vancouver and all around us.

Introduction

The city of Vancouver is promoting a major new initiative on drug addiction based on the "four pillars" of: treatment, prevention, law enforcement, and harm reduction. The present form of the initiative is outlined in "A Framework for Action" by Don MacPherson, Vancouver's Drug Policy Coordinator.[1] This comprehensive document has many virtues. It grows from collaboration of local police, professionals and citizens; it recognizes the futility of single-minded approaches that have been faddish in the past; and it allows for experimentation as well as reliance on proven methods. This reasonable and compassionate approach warrants public support. Unfortunately, it does not warrant optimism.

Although addiction problems can be mitigated by closer collaboration between Vancouver's excellent health workers and police, they cannot brought under control. All four "pillars" of the new initiative have been utilized extensively throughout the 20th century in Canada, the U.S., and Europe, both separately and in combination.[2] Despite some genuine local successes, this massive effort has had no substantial impact on the steady growth of addiction either to drugs or to innumerable other habits: drinking, gambling, overeating, overspending, etc. There has been little impact because, no matter how well they are coordinated, the four pillars encompass only a small corner of the addiction problem—illicit drugs—and are not founded upon an analysis of the root causes.

Developing an adequate policy for the problem of addiction requires a full recognition of its extent and an analysis of its causes. This undertaking is essential because the spread of addiction has become a genuine menace. The analysis is inevitably complex, because the burgeoning of addiction in the 21st century is not so much a matter of individual tragedy as it is a matter of underlying political and social dynamics.

Addiction changed from being merely a nuisance in the ancient world to being a steadily growing menace in the modern world as society moved into free market economics and the industrial revolution. Analysing the still-growing menace of addiction entails examining the toxic side effects of "free markets" and the "new economy." Of course, such an examination is uncomfortable at a time when every nation in the world seems bent on gaining admission to the free trade party to sample the goodies and enjoy the high tech euphoria. Ignoring the problem, however, is having side effects that are clearly visible in Vancouver and everywhere.

The link between the new economy and addiction is called "dislocation" in this report, although it has been given various other names by social scientists.[3]

Free Markets, Dislocation, and Addiction

All children are intensely motivated to maintain close social bonds with their parents and other caretakers. Unless this drive is badly thwarted, older children and adults later strive to establish and maintain other close relationships, for example, with friends, school-mates, co-workers, and recreational, ethnic, religious, or nationalistic groups. Eric Erikson[4] depicted this as a life-long struggle to achieve "psychosocial integration," a state in which people flourish simultaneously as individuals and as members of their culture. Erickson showed that psychosocial integration is

essential for every person in every type of society—it makes life bearable, even joyful at its peaks.

Insufficient psychosocial integration can be called "dislocation." Severe, prolonged dislocation is hard to endure. When forced upon people, dislocation—i.e., ostracism, excommunication, exile, or solitary confinement— is so onerous that it has been used as a dire punishment from ancient times until the present. Severe, prolonged dislocation regularly leads to suicide.

Dislocation can have diverse causes. It can arise from a natural disaster that destroys a person's home or from a debilitating accident that bars the person from full participation in society. It can be inflicted by violence, e.g., by driving masses of people from their territory, or by abusing an individual child who thereafter shrinks from all human contact. It can be inflicted without violence, e.g., as when a parent instills an unrealistic sense of superiority that makes a child insufferable to others. It can be voluntarily chosen, e.g., in the single-minded pursuit of wealth in a "gold rush," or in jumping at a "window of opportunity." Finally, dislocation can be universal if a society systematically curtails psychosocial integration in all its members. Universal dislocation is endemic in free market society.

Although any person in any society can become dislocated, modern western societies dislocate all their members to a greater or lesser degree because all members must participate in "free markets" that control labour, land, money and consumer goods. Free markets require that participants take the role of individual economic actors, unencumbered by family and friendship obligations, clan loyalties, community responsibilities, charitable feelings, the values or their religion, ethnic group, or nation.[5] The essential maxim of free market society, as proclaimed by Adam Smith, is that markets that are regulated primarily by the laws of supply and demand maximize everybody's well being in the long run by multiplying the "wealth of nations."

Severe dislocation provokes a desperate response, whether it is universal or idiosyncratic. Dislocated people struggle to find or restore psychosocial integration—to somehow "get a life." People who persistently fail to achieve genuine psychosocial integration eventually construct lifestyles that substitute for it. Substitute lifestyles entail social relationships that are not sufficiently close, stable, or culturally acceptable to afford more than minimal psychosocial integration. At best, these substitute lifestyles can be creative, as in the case of an eccentric artist or high-tech wizard, but more usually they are banal and dangerous, as in the case of a youth gang member or a street addict. Substitute lifestyles sometimes—but not always—center on excessive use of drugs.[6]

Even the most harmful substitute lifestyles serve an adaptive function. For example, devoted loyalty to a violent youth gang, offensive as it may be to society and to the gang member's own values, is far more endurable than no identity at all. The barren pleasures of a street "junkie"—membership in a deviant sub-culture, transient relief from pain, the nervous thrill of petty crime—are more sustaining than the unrelenting aimlessness of dislocation. People who can find no better way of achieving psychosocial integration than through substitute lifestyles cling to them with a tenacity that is properly called addiction.

The English word "addiction" came to be narrowly applied to excessive drug use in the 20th century, but was generally applied to non-drug habits during many previous centuries. There is ample clinical evidence that severe addictions to non-drug habits are every bit as dangerous and resistant to treatment as drug addiction.[7]

Because western society is now based on free market principles that mass-produce dislocation, and because dislocation is the precursor of addiction,[8] addiction to a wide variety of pursuits is not the pathological state of a few but, to a greater or lesser degree, the general condition in western society. Because western free market society provides the model for globalization, mass addiction is being globalized, along with the English language, the Internet, and Mickey Mouse.

Of course, addiction can occur in any society, including tribal and socialist ones. For example, alcohol addiction was widely prevalent in the USSR, which did not have a free market economy. This may be because Soviet society shared with free market society the willingness to destroy psychosocial integration on a grand scale in the interest of economic development and ideological purity, as in the case of agricultural collectivization.[9] However, intercultural comparisons will not be undertaken in this report, which focuses on the dynamics of addiction in free market society without implying that other societies do not engender problems of their own.

There has been little analysis of free market society and dislocation among professional addiction researchers because their field has been fenced in on four sides by professional conventions. First, only experimental and medical research has been considered really valid, other approaches seeming too philosophical, political, literary, anecdotal, or unscientific. Second, attention has been lavished upon alcohol and drug addictions, although non-drug addictions are often as dangerous and far more widespread. Third, American examples, data, and ideology have provided most of the important guideposts in this field, although powerful political forces limit debate there more than other places. Fourth, although a few individual scholars do speak out, professional addiction researchers have rarely contradicted the mainstream media misinformation concerning drugs and addiction. Under these conditions, and since professionals are making little progress on the problem of addiction, society will do well to fall back on common sense and history.

Because Vancouver has always been part of free market society and because it has Canada's biggest drug addiction problem, we who live here can glimpse the relationship between free markets, dislocation, and addiction by looking out our windows, reading our local history books, and looking at our own friends and families. Following a look at Vancouver, this report will undertake a more general analysis.

"Terminal City":

Microcosm of Dislocation and Addiction

About 6000-10,000 ragged junkies in Vancouver's "downtown eastside" are currently buying, selling, and injecting cocaine and heroin, panhandling aggressively, and dying on the streets in record numbers. A large and growing proportion of these junkies are HIV positive. Most are white, although there is a disproportionate number of native Canadians. Compared to the better known images of New York or Los Angeles, Vancouver's downtown eastside drug scene is less one of racial contrast and hot violence than one of homogeneous, sodden misery.

Spreading in every direction from the downtown eastside centre of hard drug addiction is a vast, doleful tapestry of less notorious, but often equally tragic forms of addiction. There are gambling addicts in the casinos, alcoholics in the bars, money and power addicts in the financial district, workaholics in the offices, cybersex and video game addicts at the monitors, skibums in the resorts, television addicts on the couches, food addicts at the convenience stores, celebrity addicts in the theaters, relationship addicts working on their issues, religious fanatics spreading the Word, and on and on. Of course, most people who engage in these activities are not addicted to them, and some who are addicted manage to lead stable lives and contribute to society nonetheless. However, many people are disastrously and sometimes fatally addicted to one or more of these pursuits, and the mass of seriously addicted people is growing.

The notorious downtown eastside junkies—the most publicized addicts in Canada—are not necessarily the most destructive ones. For example, some occupants of the country's boardrooms feed their own habits by ruinously exploiting natural resources, polluting the environment, misinforming the public, and purveying modern weapons in third world countries. Severe addictions to power, money, and work motivate many of those who direct this destruction.[10] Why is there so much addiction in Vancouver?

Vancouver's history of dislocation and addiction

Although justly admired for its beauty, civility, and assiduous urban planning,[11] Vancouver is also, more than most, a city of dislocation. From the arrival of the first English settlers to the area in 1862, the space for urban sprawl was acquired by forcing native people from nearly 100 villages around Burrard Inlet, False Creek, and the Fraser River. The natives' lands, which had for centuries been sites for food gathering, communal houses, huge wood carvings, ancestral burial grounds, and invisible spirits became the basis of a free market in real estate almost overnight. Many of their complex cultural practices were outlawed or mocked out of existence.[12] Their famous "potlatches," elaborate ceremonies in which rich natives gave enormous amounts of food and goods to others according to complex traditional, clan, and personal obligations were the antitheses of free markets. They were prohibited by law from 1884 until 1951.

These dislocated natives' descendants populate the downtown eastside, and their ghosts con-

tinue to haunt the land's new owners. A popular print by Roy Henry Vickers, a native artist, depicts Vancouver with the city's landmark buildings dwarfed by enormous totem poles towering over them, just visible in the eternal drizzle.

From its beginning until the present, Vancouver has been the landing point in Canada for a huge eastward migration of displaced east and south Asians, accelerating in the 1880s as shiploads of single Chinese men were imported en masse to labour on the railroad and in the coal mines. Asians, although always a substantial portion of the city's labour market, were treated as aliens from its beginning through the second world war, during which the entire Japanese-Canadian population was stripped of its property and scattered into internment camps.

With the completion of Canada's first transcontinental railway in 1886, Vancouver also became the terminus for the westward migration of European people in Canada—most of those who landed here came direct from Europe or migrated one or more times through eastern Canada or the U.S. Even today, it is a commonplace observation that the majority of people who live in Vancouver were born elsewhere. Vancouver was nicknamed "Terminal City" shortly after the railway was completed.

The city of Vancouver was incorporated and given its present name in 1886, little more than a century ago. Sparked by completion of the railway in that same year, the scattered farms, mills, and shanties exploded into urbanity. Speculators rushed to buy land, the first newspaper was established, an urban water system was planned, and the first eastbound shipload of merchandise, 1,000,000 pounds of tea from China, arrived in the port and was loaded on railway cars for shipment. Markets were free and growth was unstoppable—the entire city of 400 wooden buildings burnt to the ground with several fatalities, but it was resurveyed and mostly rebuilt, including a new city hall, electric street lights, and a roller skating rink—all in the year 1886.[13]

Today, Vancouver is a prosperous and beautiful city. It has never known war, bombing, revolution, famine, or plague. Although it felt the full force of the economic depression of the 1930's, relative to most other parts of the world it has been only lightly brushed by industrial blight, class struggle, poverty, slums, and organized crime.[14] Vancouverites' complaints tend to target the provincial government and the long rainy season, although it is generally conceded that the government is well-intentioned and the climate is the most temperate in Canada.

However, whereas dislocation is commonplace in modern cities, Vancouver's is extreme. Populated by diverse immigrants, Vancouver's values and institutions did not grow from a surrounding peasant culture, common religion, or single language. There has been too little time for extended families or clans to become important. The predominant occupations—logging, fishing, and mining—separated working men from their families for months on end. Vancouver might, in time, have developed a unique cultural fusion as did Canada's older eastern cities, such as St. Johns and Quebec City, but its nascent culture seems to have been drowned in its infancy by a flood of freely-imported music, temperance leaders, movies, figures of speech, textbooks, magazines, experts, computers, professional sports, fast food, and television. People from all over the world have come to Vancouver to join Canadian culture, but have instead found themselves adrift in "Lotusland."

If dislocation is the precursor to addiction, "Terminal City" should also be "Addiction City." Alcohol and drug statistics suggest that it is. Vancouver has long been Canada's most drug addicted city, and British Columbia its most drug

addicted province, with respect to annual per capita consumption of alcohol, death rate attributed to alcohol, prevalence of alcoholism, death rate due to heroin and cocaine overdose, prevalence of HIV infection and Hepatitis C infection among injection drug users, availability of heroin and cocaine, self-reported use of all illicit drugs, arrest rates for drug crimes, etc. This is so currently and has been so throughout the 20th century.[15] Heroin statistics provide the most notorious example. British Columbia is one of 10 provinces and 3 territories in Canada, yet in 1997, 61% of all heroin arrests in Canada were in British Columbia. Addictions that do not involve alcohol and drugs are far more common in Vancouver than is drug addiction.[16] Unfortunately, it is as yet impossible to compare their prevalence with that of other places.

This look at Vancouver's history suggests that the so-called "drug problem" is merely a special case of a much larger addiction problem and that large-scale dislocation is the precursor to addiction. There is epidemiological and experimental support for these generalizations in the medical and psychological literature.[17] However, the historical evidence of a causal relationship between free market society, dislocation, and addiction is even stronger.

The Macrocosm: Free Market Society,[18] Dislocation, and Addiction

Historical research provides many examples of causal links between (1) emergence of free market society and dislocation, and (2) dislocation and addiction of all sorts. The next two sections of this report provide some examples of each of these two causal links followed by an apparent counterexample, the drug "crack" which—it is said—addicts everyone who uses it, dislocated or not.

Free Market Society as a Cause of Dislocation

In free markets, the exchange of labour, land, currency, and consumer goods must not be encumbered by clan loyalties, village responsibilities, guild rights, charity, family obligations, social roles, or religious values. Since cultural traditions "distort" the free play of the laws of supply and demand, they must be suppressed to establish a free market society.

Paradoxically, establishing a "free" market society regularly requires coercion on a massive scale because most people cling fiercely to their cultural traditions.[19] Polanyi's classic study, The great transformation makes the point concisely: Establishing a free market society "must disjoint man's relationships and threaten his natural habitat with annihilation."[20]

Also paradoxically, established "free" market societies require the continuing presence of powerful control systems. Carefully engineered management, advertising, taxation, and mass media techniques keep people buying, selling, working, borrowing, lending, and consuming at optimal rates, deliberately undermining the countervailing influences of new social structures that spontaneously arise in modern families, offices, factories, etc.[21] Thus, opportunities to re-establish new forms of psychosocial integration are suppressed.

Although various forms of capitalism have existed throughout history, free market society first achieved full strength in early modern England. Well before the English Revolution of 1640, free market advocates were able to draw theological justification from English Protestantism, legal support from Parliament, and coercive power from the crown. By a series of increments, England achieved a full-blown free market society by the early 19th century. This was in part achieved through a massive, forced eviction of the rural poor from their farms, commons, and villages and the absorption of some of them into urban slums and a brutal, export-oriented manufacturing system. Those who resisted these new realities too strenuously were further dislocated from their families and communities, by forced apprenticeship of their children, destruction of their unions and other associations of working people, elimination of local charity to the "undeserving poor," and by confinement in "houses of correction" where they were encouraged to

accept their new responsibilities with whips and branding irons.[22]

Forced dislocation spread from England to the rest of the British Isles, e.g., the "clearances" of the clan society of the Scottish highlands, and to English colonies abroad, e.g., the settlement of Australia by "transportation" of convict labour. The dislocated British immigrants reproduced their own condition by dislocating aboriginal peoples wherever they landed, with the support and encouragement of the Imperial Government.

The necessary connection between the free market economy and dislocation in early 19th century England was recognized as much by Whigs who supported free market capitalism, like William Townsend and Herbert Spencer, as by those who opposed it, like Robert Owen and Karl Marx. Marx and Engels devoted some of the most powerful rhetoric in their Communist Manifesto to describing the dislocation that free markets produced in Europe.[23]

In contemporary times as well, the devastating effects of free markets on traditional society have been amply documented, both by scholars who support the globalization of free markets and by those who oppose it.[24] The most enthusiastic advocates of free market society often justify mass dislocation by emphasizing the fact that free market institutions are sometimes voluntarily chosen and bring wealth to some of those who join them, apparently forgetting that free markets are more often established by force and bring poverty to most of those who survive the dislocation.

The highlands of Northwestern Scotland provide an example of the dislocating effects of free markets on traditional society. Until the second half of the 18th century, highlands society was little touched by free markets. The local economy was a network of traditional obligations among people living in stable families and occupying well-defined social strata: chiefs, tacksmen, subtenants, and cotters. English was a foreign language; people spoke Gaelic.

Each highlander belonged to a clan, and all members were expected to support their clan chief both with the produce from their farms and their valour on the battle field. In return, the clan chief was expected to preserve his people's rights to their tiny farms in perpetuity. Interclan battles were bloody enough, but also ritualised with the flash of competing tartans, the call of bagpipes, and the legacy of warrior heros. There was little export or import and little use for money. Although highland society suffered from famine in poor years, it offered psychosocial integration to even the very poorest, and emigration was uncommon.[25]

After the last major armed uprising against British rule was defeated at the Battle of Culloden in 1746, the British government began the systematic destruction of highland society. The traditional bearing of arms was prohibited, as was traditional dress, including plaid, tartan, and kilt. The hereditary powers of the chiefs were abrogated and some of their lands were confiscated. Chiefs who retained land were admitted into English society, but only if they transformed themselves from Gaelic-speaking chiefs to English-speaking landlords.

The free market completed the work of cultural destruction that military conquest had begun. In an era of war and population explosion, England needed more meat and wool than it could produce and new landlords of the spacious highlands had the opportunity to sell these commodities to huge free market. At the same time that the newly-minted landlords were losing their traditional rank in society, they were being tantalized with the rewards that the export market could bring: homes in London, city wives with worldly repartée and a cultivated taste for clothes and jewlery, English peerages,

continental food and art.

The highlands had traditionally produced cattle and grain, mostly for local consumption. However, it was quickly discovered that the landlord's wealth could be multiplied by replacing the cattle with new breeds of hardy sheep and reducing the human population from many subsistence farmers to a few shepherds. For the most part the clansmen, now looked upon as peasants subject to the dictates of the agricultural market, remained a warrior race in their own minds and would have nothing to do with running sheep, especially on the lands of evicted comrades and kinsmen. Either the free market was to be thwarted by tradition, or the highlanders had to be evicted. The evictions that ensued were so extensive that they came to be known as "clearances."

Legal eviction notices procured by clan chiefs or English landlords who had bought the formerly inalienable land in the free market, usually allowed highland families a few months to voluntarily leave and pull down their houses. Most refused and were burnt out by the sheriff. In lieu of their ancestral land, the families were sometimes offered barely habitable land on the coast and the opportunity to join the herring fishery (by building their own boats) or to work as miners. Sometimes their only option was to emigrate in disease-ridden boats for Canada or other destinations at their own expense.

Sporadic rebellions against the clearances by disarmed highlanders were quelled by regular troops from Scottish regiments, dispatched by the English king, at the request of local chiefs or English landlords. The legality of this military coercion was upheld in court on free market principles. Extensive justifications for the clearances that were written for public consumption stressed that: the productivity of the land was improved, which was true; that the cotters under the traditional system were extremely poor, which was true enough; and that the evicted people were happy with the situation, which was an outrageous lie.

The pitiless cruelty of the burnings and the ensuing exile, including deaths by exposure, starvation, and infectious disease was documented in published reports by first-hand witnesses. The enduring despair of the survivors over the loss of their culture was documented in a mournful folk literature, mostly written in Gaelic.

Highlanders who were not evicted were deliberately stripped of their sources of psychosocial integration. The life of James Loch, a famous highlands administrator has been described thus:

> ...for the rest of his life, he worked to complete the clearance of the interior, to carve the emptied lands into great sheep farms, to build harbours, bridge rivers, turn cattle-tracks into macadam roads, and to so mould and control the lives of 'the ignorant and credulous people' that at one time the young among them had to go to his agents for permission to marry. 'In a few years,' he wrote, before a quarter of his long service was run, 'the character of the whole of this population will be completely changed...The children of those who are removed from the hills will lose all recollection of the habits and customs of their fathers.'[26]

As sheep replaced people and hamlets, the highlands did become far more productive in exportable wealth than they were before. A few of those who were not exiled prospered, primarily chiefs and their overseers (called "factors"). English entrepreneurs who acquired highland estates became immensely wealthy. It could be said that Canada benefited from the clearances, which forced tens of thousands of hard working settlers to Nova Scotia, to Lower and Upper

Canada, and to the Red River settlement in the wilderness beyond. Some overcame their dislocation by establishing new colonies of Scots that have survived and prospered in Canada. Some established new lives as farmers and tradesmen in the free market environment, working the same kinds of dislocations upon the Canadian aboriginals and métis that they had earlier experienced themselves.[27] Others flowed into a rising tide of dislocated humanity.

Because England successfully dominated the 19th century world, English free market economics, with its intrinsic destruction of traditional culture, spread across the map of western Europe.[28] Because free market society now dominates the world, the destruction of traditional culture has become ubiquitous. In an ultimate irony, tens of thousands of Latin American peasants, some of whom grew coca on their tiny farms, are currently being dislocated in the interest of preventing addiction through the War on Drugs.[29]

Dislocation in free market societies is not confined to poor people or poor countries. At the end of the 20th century, for rich and poor alike, jobs disappear on short notice; communities are weak and unstable; people routinely change lovers, families, occupations, co-workers, technical skills, languages, nationalities, priests, therapists, spiritual beliefs and ideologies as their lives progress. Prices and incomes are no more stable than social life. Even the continued viability of crucial ecological systems is in question. For rich and poor alike, dislocation plays havoc with delicate ties between people, society, the physical world, and spiritual values that sustain psychosocial integration. Again, Polanyi made the complex point concisely:

> ...the most obvious effect of the new institutional system was the destruction of the traditional character of settled populations and their transmutation into a new type of people, migratory, nomadic, lacking in self-respect and discipline—crude, callous beings of whom both labourer and capitalist were an example.[30]

One index of dislocation among the rich is the spreading social problems of the U.S. middle class, arguably the pinnacle of success in the free market world. The pressures of ever-increasing competitiveness, productivity, flexibility, overwork, downsizing, restructuring, etc., on the two working parents in American middle class families, often cut off from their extended families, are such that the children are deprived of essential time and support, even if adequate daycare fills their needs during the working day. Psychologist Richard DeGrandpre has called this a "culture of neglect" and a "trickle-down theory of child rearing." He identifies this dislocation from traditional family supports as a direct cause of the rapid spread of "Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder" and the consequent prescription of the stimulant Ritalin to school age children, about 15% of whom are now on Ritalin.[31] Americans consistently score the highest, relative to all other developed countries, on a plethora of other indications of dislocation, including divorce, single parenthood, children in poverty, economic disparity, and excessive television viewing.[32] Canada's middle-class plight is not as extreme as the U.S., but the trends are the same.

Other signs of dislocation of the rich include the growing discontent, stress, and workplace violence among corporate "management." Current management literature abounds with discussions about how the army of dysfunctional managers should themselves be managed. The cause of this discontent is ingeniously lampooned in contemporary cartoons, like "Dilbert". As sociologist John Gray puts it, "Businesses have shed many of the responsibilities that made the world of work humanly tolerable in the past."[33]

There have been pauses in the advance of free

market society. For example, it was slowed during the depression of the 1930s when the Roosevelt government in the U.S. and a sizeable group of American economic thinkers warned that it would be necessary to seriously curtail free market fundamentalism if capitalism was to survive. Free market ideology was not prominent in Canada or the U.S. between 1940 and 1970, even though these countries were citadels of capitalism during the "Cold War." These were the years in which popular wisdom celebrated Keynesian economics, the welfare state, and regulations on the flow of international capital.[34]

But times have changed. Free market fundamentalism has accelerated dislocation everywhere, as the ideological threat of a successful Soviet economy disappeared and as world wide competition has seemed to require frenzied productivity. This is equally the case in countries with "mature" economies, including Canada; in "developing" countries under the aegis of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank; and in China, which has gradually been moving towards a free market economy at an accelerating pace since the 1980s. The World Trade Organization, the International Chamber of Commerce, and other powerful transnational bodies urge dramatically expanding the scope of free markets in areas, such as education and medicine, where their role was previously limited.[35]

The hegemony of free market principles is extending beyond limits that have long seemed prudent. For example, Adam Smith warned in the Wealth of Nations that national governments must resist the power of manufacturers to "become formidable to the government, and...intimidate the legislature" (p. 415). Smith also feared excessive profits (pp. 109-110) and considered "private luxury and extravagance" to be "ruinous taxes" (p. 72).

Futurists predict—and sometimes celebrate—more increases in dislocation as the Internet further replaces local ties.[36] Ultimately, people are expected to even give up their identity as human beings—the ultimate dislocation. Italian futurist, Valerio Evangelisti has described it thus:

> Traditional capitalism only needed to advertise. But the new capitalism goes into people's imagination, dreams, and most intimate visions of the world. The growth of communication has permitted it to go there, imposing lifestyles, creating needs that did not exist before, deliberately increasing people's thirst for approval. It is impossible to understand contemporary society without taking the rapid colonialization of the imagination that has been accomplished in recent years into account...There is a deliberate attempt to rob people of their identity.[37]

Dislocation as the Precursor of Addiction

Only people who are chronically and severely dislocated are vulnerable to addiction, although some of them manage to avoid it. Some eventually find ways to achieve enough psychosocial integration and some who do not achieve psychosocial integration enter into lifestyles that cannot be called "addiction" without stretching the word too thin. They may, for example, become eccentric, physically ill, depressed, hypochondriacal, violent, or suicidal instead.

The historical correlation between severe dislocation and addiction is strong. Although alcohol consumption and drunkenness on festive occasions was widespread in Europe during the middle ages, and although a few people became "inebriates" or "drunkards," mass alcoholism was not a problem. However, alcoholism gradually spread with the beginnings of free markets after 1500, and eventually became a raging epidemic

with the dominance of free market society after 1800.[38]

From Charles Dickens onward, social historians often identified dislocation (along with poverty) as a major cause of alcoholism.[39] Eric Hobsbawm wrote as follows about the "labouring poor" in the early 19th century:

> ...faced with a social catastrophe they did not understand, impoverished, exploited, herded into slums that combined bleakness and squalor, or into the expanding complexes of small-scale industrial villages, [most of the labouring poor] sank into demoralization. Deprived of the traditional institutions and guides to behaviour, how could many fail to sink into an abyss of hand-to-mouth expedients, where families pawned their blankets each week until pay-day and where alcohol was "the quickest way out of Manchester" (or Lille or the Borinage). Mass alcoholism, an almost invariable companion of headlong and uncontrolled industrialization and urbanization, spread "a pestilence of hard liquor" across Europe.[40]

Opium use, which had been common and unproblematic in England for centuries, first became perceived as a widespread addiction problem in the 19th century.[41] Other kinds of addiction spread too, leading to a profusion of newly recognized problems from aspirin addiction to workaholism and to a huge number of treatment and self-help programs.

But was it really dislocation per se, that caused the spread of addiction? Could it not also have been poverty, disease, physical pain, the availability of new drugs, or a new Puritanism? The ideal test would be a historical situation where dislocation was extreme, but was unaccompanied by the other possible causes. Because Vancouver only partially fits these requirements, I have selected two Canadian examples that approach this ideal type more closely, and an apparent counterexample.

Native Canadians

Extensive anthropological evidence shows that prior to their devastation by Europeans, the diverse native cultures in Canada all provided a level of psychosocial integration that is unknown to modern people. Most native people lived communally and shared their resources within a matrix of expectations and responsibilities that grew from their family, clan, village, and religion as well as their individual talents and inheritance of particular prerogatives. They clung to their cultures with courageous resolution—although they valued European trading goods, they found European ways repellant. On the other hand, Canadian natives had a long tradition of warfare, cruel torture of prisoners, and slavery[42] like the Europeans.

Although murder, adultery, and insanity sometimes occurred within Canadian aboriginal culture,[43] I have as yet found no mention by anthropologists of anything that could reasonably be called addiction, despite the fact that activities were available that have proven addictive to many people in free market societies, such as eating, sex, gambling, psychedelic mushrooms, etc. Canadian natives did not have access to alcohol, but natives in what is now Mexico and the American Southwest did. Where alcohol was readily available, it was used moderately, often ceremonially rather than addictively.[44]

The history of Canadian aboriginals is different from the more famous "Indian wars," enslavement, and mass slaughter that occurred in the U.S. and in Latin America. Centuries before Vancouver was founded, both British and French trading companies in Canada established formal and mutually beneficial fur-trading relationships with many native tribes, primarily in eastern and

central Canada. Few European settlers then sought to settle in the inhospitable Canadian climate, so there was little need to displace the natives. Later, the English colonial government formed indispensable military alliances with various aboriginal nations in several wars, particularly against the U.S.[45]

After these crucial wars ended, it would have been unseemly for the Crown, as it began to covet the vast native lands, to slaughter former allies who had fought loyally and sometimes decisively. Instead, the British and later Canadian governments quietly pursued a policy, later called "assimilation," intended to move aboriginal lands into the real estate market and aboriginal people into the labour market as quietly as possible. This policy was explicitly intended to strip the natives of their culture and lands. One notorious instrument of this policy was a network of "residential schools" where children, often forcibly taken from their parents, were forcefully taught to despise their own language and customs, which sometimes alienated them from their own families as well. An 1847 report of the colonial Canadian government contained this comment:

> Their education must consist not merely of the training of the mind, but of a weaning from the habits and feelings of their ancestors, and the acquirements of the language, arts, and customs of civilised life.[46]

Although assimilation policy very nearly succeeded in eliminating native languages and spiritual practices, it failed to integrate the natives into free market society, thus leaving them utterly dislocated .[47] As wards of the federal government, however, they generally had food, housing, and some protection.

Although some Canadian natives developed a taste for riotous drunkenness from the time that Europeans first introduced alcohol, many individuals and tribes either abstained, drank only moderately, or drank only as part of tribal rituals for extended periods.[48] It was only during assimilation that alcoholism emerged as a pervasive, crippling problem for native people, along with suicide, domestic violence, sexual abuse, and so forth. Although some eastern tribes were ravaged by drunkenness and alcoholism centuries before assimilation was established as a policy, the causal principle appears to be the same. For example, the Hurons of eastern Canada, who were "civilized" by the devotion of courageous French missionaries backed by the firepower of the French Army early in the seventeen century, were famous for their drunken violence.[49] "Civilization," as it came to these natives, was administered by militant Jesuits in a century of fanatical religious zeal. This meant destruction of the robust Huron religion and, hence, Huron culture itself, with dislocation as the consequence. Eventually every tribal culture in Canada was engulfed by the overpowering European culture, and every tribe succumbed to the ravages of dislocation, including epidemic alcoholism. Massive dislocation produced massive addiction.

The Vancouver area had a relatively minor history of fur trade and no history of military alliance with the Crown. The natives were dispossessed of their lands without great violence,[50] enslavement, or impoverishment, but deliberate destruction of whatever remained of their culture began immediately and, with it, rampant alcoholism.[51]

Throughout the period of assimilation up to the present, Canadian natives have had an astronomical rate of alcoholism, although the statistics may understate the problem. Although a few reserves have only minor problems with alcoholism, alcoholism in many reserves is nearly 100% (including people in stages of recovery). Alcoholism was only one consequence of this mass-produced dislocation. Other consequences

include drug addictions, depression, domestic violence, and suicide.[52]

There is a more popular explanation for the widespread alcoholism of Canadian natives. They are often said to have a racial inability to control alcohol. However, this is unlikely, since alcoholism was not a ruinous problem among natives until assimilation subjected them to extreme dislocation. Moreover, if natives were handicapped by the "gene for alcoholism," the same must be said of the Europeans, since those subjected to conditions of extreme dislocation also fell into it, almost universally.

Orcadians in Canada

The history of the Hudson's Bay Company, the "oldest continuous capitalist corporation still in existence,"[53] provides an example where, at least for some of its employees, maximum dislocation was little confounded by other distress. The Hudson's Bay Company was chartered by Charles II of England, in 1670. Until 1987, a span of more than three centuries, it maintained forts and fur trading outposts on the shores of Hudson's bay and throughout the Canadian north. Some of the company's traders were volunteers from London and some were from the Orkney Islands at the Northern extreme of Scotland, where the ships from London stopped en route to Hudson's Bay to provision and to augment their complement.

Preferred as employees because they were already accustomed to extreme northern latitudes and life at sea, and because of their characteristic sobriety and obedience, the Orkney volunteers were mostly poor lads who volunteered for adventure and escape from the confines of traditional Orkney society. Whereas they did gain some of what they sought, they severed their ties to a close, traditional system based on both common land and cotter labour which persisted in the Orkneys until the middle of the 19th century,[54] long after it had been cleared from the highlands.

As "Bay men," their only contact with home came once a year from a single ship that brought mail, supplies, and English sailors, and took out the pelts. When the annual ship disappeared, the men were alone again. Although fed and treated as well as the era and circumstances permitted, their lives provide evidence of the long-term effects of dislocation:

> ...With some exceptions, the Bay men became internal exiles in both their homelands, original and adopted. Never part of any society outside the fur trade, they gradually pruned their ancestral roots, becoming bitterly aware of the true nature of any voluntary emigration: that one is exiled from and never to, and that disinheritance and marginality are all too often the price of freedom. More than one loyal HBC trader faced the end of his days with few close friends or blood relatives he wished to acknowledge and so bequeathed whatever worldly goods he had gathered to the only family he had: the Company.[55]

One unmistakable aspect of the lives of the Bay men was intemperance. Alcoholism appears to have been rampant:

> ...The Company quickly realized that liquor was a greater enemy than the climate to its trade on the bay, no matter how many prohibitions it proclaimed and no matter how often it paid off informers to halt the smuggling of brandy cases on outgoing ships, the booze flowed steadily across the Atlantic. Exceptional was the Company [employee] who failed to organize surreptitious caches of several gallons or so of brandy for his private stock....[56]

The alcohol-related problems suggest widespread alcoholism, although this word had not yet been invented. The following was written about an outpost on Hudson's Bay named "Moose Factory":

> Many of the work accidents at Moose were alcohol-related. One man consumed so much "bumbo"—that fur-trade mixture of rum, water, sugar, and nutmeg—that he fell off the sloop and promptly drowned. With some regret and much haste, his mates lost no time in auctioning off the contents of his chest. The chief factors were always afraid that the men on watch, who were too often drunk, would spitefully or accidentally set fire to the buildings. The courage to commit suicide could also be found in the bottle. "Brandy-death" was common....[57]

But could the men already have been alcoholic before they encountered the supreme dislocation of Hudson's Bay? Or could the extremes of northern life have made them alcoholic? These explanations could work for the Londoners, but not the Orcadians. The Orcadians were preferred employees of the Bay because of their natural sobriety and because they were accustomed to life at extreme northern latitudes. Dislocation transformed them. Local preachers in the Orkneys spoke of the returning Bay men and those who had served long stints in the English fishing fleets in similar terms:

> ...the Rev. Francis Liddell, minister of Orphir, launched into an impassioned diatribe against those who abandoned wives, children, and parents to enter the service of the Company, eventually returning home with enough money to out-bid honest farmers; they brought home none of the virtues of the savage, but all the vices—indolence, dissipation, and irreligion; "My God!" he declaimed, "shall man, formed in the image of his Creator, desert the human species and, for the paltry sum of six pounds a-year, assume the manners and habits of the brutes that perish?"[58]

Counterexample: "Instantaneous Addiction"

If dislocation is the necessary precursor to addiction, then there could be no instances in which addiction occurs unless preceded by dislocation. Yet, popular wisdom teems with apparent counterexamples. For example, between 1986 and 1992 the American media reported a catastrophic epidemic of addiction to crack cocaine among American youth. Far from being limited to dislocated people, crack addiction reportedly afflicted all those who used the drug even once. Respected mainstream American news media reported that addiction was spreading inexorably because smoking crack caused "instantaneous addiction," qualifying it as "the most addictive drug known to man." The resulting "epidemic" was "as pervasive and dangerous in its way as the plagues of medieval times," and "all but universal."[59] Neurobiological researchers of the day devised brilliant explanations for the irresistible addictiveness of crack that was being claimed, without seriously testing the validity of the claim itself.[60]

Had the proclaimed addictiveness of crack been true, it would have proven that dislocation is not the necessary precursor of addiction. However, it was false. Numerous large scale studies have now shown conclusively that only a small fraction of crack cocaine users become addicts. Those who do become addicted are concentrated among the visibly dislocated segments of the population, and their reasons for continuing crack cocaine use are easily understandable as responses to dislocation.[61] Severely dislocated people are likely to become addicted if they try

crack, but they are equally vulnerable to many other addictions as well.

Anthropologist Philippe Bourgois has described the adaptive function of the "crack economy" of young blacks and Hispanics in New York City. Economically and socially dislocated in the ghetto, young men "struggle for survival, and for meaning" (p. 61). Even a dangerous life of addiction and petty crime at least avoids doing degrading work for pathetic wages. The most successful drug users rise through the hierarchies of drug society and achieve a kind of substitute psychosocial integration with the larger community:

> The feelings of self-actualization and self-respect that the dealer's lifestyle offers cannot be underestimated. A former manager of a coke-shooting gallery who had employed a network of a half-dozen sellers, lookouts, and security guards and who had grossed $7000-13,000 per week for over a year before being jailed explained to me that the best memories of his drug-dealing days were of the respect he received from people on the street. He described how, when he drove up in one of his cars to pick up the day's receipts, a bevy of attentive men and women would run to open the door for him and engage him in polite small talk, not unlike what happens in many licit businesses when the boss arrives. Others would offer to clean his car. He said that even the children hanging out in the street who were too young to understand what his dealings involved looked up to him in awe....[62]

Crack addiction, like any addiction, can have horrible consequences, but the demonic ability of "crack" to cause addiction, as much in psychosocially integrated people as in dislocated people, is a total fabrication.[63] Crack is not, in any important sense, the cause of crack addiction, but dislocation is. Unfortunately, the media, politicians, and even some addiction professionals have not publicized the fact that the irresistibly addictive demon crack is a fabrication, and, therefore, many members of the general public and even addiction professionals still believe it to be true. The coils of propaganda that support the "war on drugs" are strong and resilient, like those that support wars in general.[64]

There is no space in this short report to evaluate the possibility that drugs other than crack induce addiction in non-dislocated people, although the claim was widely believed for alcohol in the 19th century, heroin at the turn of the century, and marijuana in the 1920s. No credible evidence for any of these claims has materialized. In each case, the great majority of users take the drug in moderation, do not become addicted, and feel they gain more from their drug use than they lose.[65] No matter what drug they use, drug addicts who can be carefully studied turn out to have been severely dislocated before their addiction ensued.

Conclusion: Getting at the Roots of Addiction

Every society must cherish its defining beliefs. Therefore, it is only polite to overlook connections between free markets, dislocation, and addiction. Print and electronic media foster this distraction, celebrating the free market's achievements with blinding fireworks and deafening fanfare. As well, they endlessly publicize new medical explanations for the puzzling spread of addictions and new hopeful solutions for the "drug problem"—currently including the four pillars approach.

But we can no longer afford this much politeness, because interventions that ignore the connection between free markets, dislocation, and addiction have proven little better than Band-Aids applied to the gaping wound that addiction inflicts upon free market society. This is not to say that prevention, treatment, harm reduction, and police intervention are useless—only that these four pillars of intervention cannot reduce addiction faster than free market society mass-produces it. Under these conditions, civil inattention to root causes is unaffordable.

There have been decades of futile debate about whether addiction is a "criminal" problem or a "medical" problem. The hard fact is that it is neither. In free market society, the spread of addiction is primarily a political, social, and economic problem. If the political process does not find contemporary wellsprings of psychosocial integration, society—with its ever freer markets—will manifest ever more dislocation and addiction. Careful coordination of prevention, treatment, harm reduction, and policing for drug addiction can ameliorate drug addiction, but cannot even address the larger problem of addiction or its root causes. Political action is necessary.

Changing the Debate

One form of political action is changing the terms of the debate on addiction. A realistic discussion must recognize that addiction is mass-produced in free market society, and that, therefore, society as well as individuals must change. To define addiction as either a "drug problem" or a "disease" of aberrant individuals, is to prolong a wild goose chase. Addiction is a harmful lifestyle, which may or may not involve drugs, which more and more people in free market society are adopting as a desperate measure to prevent themselves from being crushed by severe, prolonged dislocation.

Changing the terms of this debate is a huge task, since the current manner of speaking of addiction as an individual drug-using disease is maintained by an media army that has been launching this message for decades. People endure this barrage of disinformation partly because it complements a deeply-rooted North American "temperance mentality," which makes it seem natural to blame social problems on drugs and alcohol[66] and partly because it profits many institutions and professions that treat, police, prevent, and "harm reduce" the putative disease. Those who launch the public information barrage prosper because the "War on Drugs," which has drawn its justification from it,[67] serves vital commercial and geopolitical purposes for

vested interests with very deep pockets.[68]

Professionals in the field of addiction could take the lead in changing the terms of the debate. Rather than endlessly competing for funds by overstating their own achievements, those who support each of the four pillars should apprise society of the limited extent of their accomplishments, thereby showing that even the four pillars together cannot save the day.

Some policemen have bravely spoken out on the limited impact of police intervention, leading some jurisdictions away from excessive drug law enforcement.[69] Similar forthrightness from prevention, treatment, and harm reduction professionals would help a lot. Prevention professionals know that their success in dissuading people from drug use over the long term is low. Treatment professionals know that no matter how much treatment is available, most addicts will not accept it voluntarily, that most of those who do accept it will not overcome their addiction in a lasting way, and that imposing it involuntarily is even worse. Harm reduction professionals know that most addicts on methadone maintenance programs continue to inject, and most addicts with access to needle exchange programs continue to share needles on frequent occasions. Although the four pillars are compassionate and useful in combination, society cannot "prevent," "treat," or "harm reduce" its way out of addiction any more than it can "police" its way out of it. This does not mean that professional intervention should be eliminated, only that more fundamental steps are essential.

Clarifying Directions for Political Change

Authoritative voices around the world are raising a mighty chorus of warnings against the psychological devastation engendered by the free market society (in addition to the more visible ecological and social devastation).[70] According to Globe and Mail journalist, P. McKenna: "It is absolutely essential for states and individuals to locate that delicate balance between...a world of high-tech, instantaneous communication, idolatry of markets and investment and 'Darwinian brutality'...and...a world with a heartfelt sense of belonging, rootedness, community and identity."[71] Sociologist John Gray: "It is true that restraints on global free trade will not enhance productivity; but maximum productivity achieved at the cost of social desolation and human misery is an anomalous and dangerous idea."[72] People knowledgeable about addiction can add a new counterpoint to this chorus, because understanding the relationships between free markets, dislocation, and addiction provides a fresh take on some old themes.

The complex problem of dislocation and addiction is not exactly the same as more familiar issues, like "eliminating poverty" or "achieving social justice." Although poverty and injustice are abhorrent, both are frequently borne without addiction.[73] It is poverty of the spirit, which is called "dislocation" in this report, that is the precursor of addiction. The key to controlling addiction is maintaining a society in which psychosocial integration is attainable by the great majority of people. People need to belong within their society, not just trade in its markets.

For example, in an era when corporations and capital can hopscotch continents in pursuit of cheap labour, it is a matter of social justice that working people ought to have the same rights of mobility as those who would exploit them. However, the free movement of labour is not the best solution to this problem, since immigration usually entails extreme dislocation, which adds greatly to the hardships of workers who immigrate, even if they do achieve better pay.

This is perhaps less apparent in Canada than in other countries, since Canada still affords room

for population growth, allowing many immigrants to Canada to find permanent homes that are far better than those they left. But the dislocation that results from immigration is hard to bear even under the best conditions, and it is exacerbated in most countries by corruption, violence, betrayal, and ultimately deportation when a temporary labour need ends.[74] Instead of mass migration, a better solution to the problem of exploitation of labour is imposing fair labour standards on a global level and preventing transnational corporations from inducing local governments to rescind local labour, health, safety, and environmental protections.

Current concerns with the outrageous bias of international free market institutions (WTO, World Bank, etc.) towards the economic interests of rich countries and with criminal corruption in large corporations might also be understood somewhat differently in light of the globalization of addiction. Bias and corruption are huge problems,[75] but neither of them is intrinsic to the free market. Rather, they are manifestations of contemporary excesses that might be correctable through political pressure. On the other hand, continuing, ever-increasing dislocation of people from human culture in order to create free markets is intrinsic to free market society—addiction would be endemic in the purest form of free market society.

At this time in history, it is premature to automatically attribute a well-developed approach to the problem of addiction to the political "left," although the left is the historical opponent of punitive treatment of drug addicts. Rapid expansion of free market society is currently accepted—either enthusiastically, grudgingly, or unconsciously—by many of those who wear the label "left," "radical," "labour," "intellectual," or "liberal" on the political spectrum,[76] as well as those labeled "right." The left needs to provide a fuller analysis of the devastating psychological impact of free markets, in addition to their devastating ecological, social, and political impacts.

Social Change

Confronting the globalization of addiction requires more than words. There need to be concrete changes in social policy. As an example, consider the huge amounts of money now spent in British Columbia on low-flying helicopters that search for marijuana plantations. The quest is futile, because the province is immense and because marijuana can be grown indoors. Moreover, the great majority of marijuana users suffer no addiction or other discernible ill-effects.

The side-effect of this futile policing is the transformation of resourceful and prosperous growers who might be mainstays of rural communities into criminals.[77] Community-busting proceeds further when the RCMP arrives in a community, announces a meeting, and enlists the aid of local people to inform on their neighbours who might be growers, thus sowing further suspicion and division.

At the same time, the provincial government cannot find enough money to support the local schools and hospitals in many of these same remote communities, displacing children and medical patients into adjacent districts, far from families and friends. The police frequently cannot find money to control petty crime, undermining the family security. There are not enough social workers to carefully investigate suspected cases of child abuse. As a consequence some children are destroyed by abuse and others are apprehended when their natural families could be restored to peacefulness with a little support or supervision.

All of the money now being spent vainly and disruptively attacking marijuana cultivation could be far better spent in the same communities to

prevent the dislocation of the children, the sick, and the vulnerable. Reducing dislocation would reduce present and future addiction and other forms of self-destruction.

The social changes that need to be made on provincial and federal levels run counter to the trends of recent years. Federal and provincial governments have cut social housing, denying thousands the step towards psychosocial integration that decent, stable housing provides. They have cut unemployment insurance and welfare, forcing people to move to where jobs are more plentiful, abandoning their home communities. Overall, public spending has been in decline for much of the 1990s, undermining our ability to care for one another and to provide decent employment in socially useful fields.

Moreover, recent federal governments have ignored the funding needs of the medical system, destroying people's trust in their government's willingness to honour their clearly-expressed wish for universal, comprehensive health care. They have signed or supported agreements, like the FTA, NAFTA, MAI, and FTAA that weaken Canada's social safety net, cultural industries, ability to protect the environment, and control over fresh water, without reflection on the role that people's relationship to a strong, honourable nation can have for their psychological health. These governments and the media flirt with ideas of common currency and increasing economic union with the United States, leaving people to wonder over their future as citizens of a sovereign country. A recent series of article in the Globe & Mail frankly advocated union with the United States. Under the title "Is it time for Canadians to think the unthinkable?", a recent article displayed a startling ignorance of the history of the highland Scots who played such a major role in the settlement of the history of this country:

> That a union of Canada with the American commonwealth, like that into which Scotland entered England, would in itself be attended with great advantages cannot be questioned....[78]

Solutions to the rising tide of addiction and other consequences of dislocation flow naturally from attention to root causes. We need to restore social spending. We need to enhance our ability to care for one another. We need to invest in social housing. We need to reform our public services, so they become more nurturing. We need to rebuild programs like welfare and UI that give people choices and allow them to stay in their home communities. We need to place full employment once again at the top of the public policy agenda. With a ballooning federal surplus, there is no economic reason this cannot be done. Perhaps, most important, we need to restore the credibility of Canada as an honourable, sovereign nation, rather than a puppet of the United States.

On a global level, substantially reducing the addiction problem requires nothing less than exercising sensible, humane controls over markets, corporations, environments, public institutions, and international agencies to reduce dislocation. This cannot be achieved without conflict, because it will inevitably impede the pursuit of ever-increasing wealth and ever-freer markets. Of course it would be naive to hope for a return to any real or imagined golden age. However, it is at least as naive to suppose that society can continue to hurtle forward, ideologically blinded to the crushing problems that free markets create. Solving the problem of dislocation is not the least of the tests that the new, global society must pass, if it is to endure and flourish.

Notes:

1. MacPherson (2000). The "four pillar" metaphor was developed in Europe (Levy, 2000).

2. Brecher (1972); Ledain (1973); Trebach (1982).

3. For example, "anomie", "identity diffusion," "alienation," "les désarrois de l'individu-sujet."

4. The premises in this paragraph were given their clearest formulation and theoretical development in Erik Erikson's work (1963; 1968; 1982). The theory of this report follows Erikson throughout. It could also be stated in the language of postmodernist psychoanalysis (Dufour 2001), but this seems unnecessarily complex.

5. The premises in this paragraph were given their classical statement in Polanyi's The great transformation (1944).

6. Alexander, 1990, chap. 8; Erikson, 1968, p. 88.

7. Reviewed by Orford, 1985; Alexander, 1990; Alexander & Schweighofer, 1988.

8. It is conventional among addiction professionals to think of addiction as having multiple precursors, often called "risk factors", that correlate positively with the incidence of addiction. The thesis of this report is that the single underlying cause or precursor of addiction is a person who can find no better way of coping with a state of sustained, severe dislocation than to adopt an addictive lifestyle. Various risk factors correlate with addiction because they raise the risk of dislocation or because they put drugs or other common objects of addiction close to hand. Thus, childhood abuse is a risk factor because it produces emotional wounds that raise the likelihood of dislocation as the child matures. I have developed this theory at length elsewhere (e.g., Alexander, 1990; 1994).

9. Marx and Engels devoted some of the most powerful rhetoric in the Communist Manifesto to the destructive relationship between bourgeois capitalism and traditional social bonds (Marx & Engels, 1848/1948). Ultimately, however, they expressed no expectation that a Communist society would restore traditional social relationships, and, in fact, distanced themselves from "utopian" socialists and communists who believed in their restoration (pp. 39-42). In an often-quoted paragraph, Marx and Engels appear to endorse the bourgeois faith that the "real conditions of life" come to the fore when traditional social ties are broken (Marx & Engels, 1848/1948, p. 12)

   The Soviet Union's practice of destroying traditional society in the interest of economic development is well known in the case of collective farms and well-documented in many other instances (see Gray, 1998, chap. 6; Ginisty, 1999). The Chinese communist government of Mao Tse Tung went to great lengths to preserve most aspects of traditional rural social structure and had no major problems with opium addiction or alcoholism, despite the widespread availability of good, cheap beer. However, massive dislocation of the Chinese rural population increased substantially during and after the reign of Deng Xiao Peng and much more is expected with the entry of China into the WTO (Cernetig, 1999; Lew, 2000; Mangin, 2000). If the theory of addiction that this report posits is correct, China will experience massive increases in addiction (although not necessarily drug addiction) in the next few years.

10. Newman, 1959; Slater, 1980; Newman,

1991, chap. 17; Barlow & Winter, 1997, chap. 1.

11. Bula & Ward, 2000.
12. Hill-Tout, 1978, e.g., p. 45; Pethick 1984.
13. Pethick, 1984
14. McDonald & Barman, 1986.
15. Juristat: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1999; Murphy, 1922/1973. Although B.C. is Canada's most drug addicted province, it is surpassed in this regard by its arctic territories, i.e., the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. This too fits easily into the theoretical structure of this report.
16. Alexander & Schweighofer, 1988.
17. Alexander, 1990; 1994.
18. The term "free market " is used here in its conventional sense, meaning a system in which, in all spheres of activity, people and corporations have the maximum freedom of choice in shopping, hiring, firing, and investing. The term is often contested because although "free market" economics maximize certain important freedoms, they curtail the freedom of citizens to safeguard social cohesion and the physical environment by regulating markets and corporations (Chossudovsky, 1997).
19. Polanyi, 1944; Agar, 1936/1999; Hill, 1958, chap. 7; Gray, 1998; McFeat, 1966; McMurtry, 1998, pp. 259-296.
20. 1944, p. 42. An expanded, but still concise statement of Polanyi's essential analysis can be found on pp. 40-42.
21. Beniger, 1986; Bourdieu, 1998; Beaud & Pialoux, 2000.
22. Hill, 1958, chap. 7; Neeson, 1963; Polanyi, 1944.
23. Marx & Engels, 1848/1948, p. 11.
24. Scholars who recognize the devastating effect of free market society on traditional culture but nonetheless support it include Hayek (1944), Beniger (1986, pp. 434-435), Giddens, (1999), and Friedman, (2000, pp. 11-12). Scholars who condemn the devastating effect of free markets on traditional society include Polanyi (1944), Hobsbawm (1994, p. 16), Chossudovsky (1997), Gray (1998), Sassen (2000).
25. Prebble, 1963.
26. Prebble, 1963, p. 69.
27. Prebble, 1963, pp. 114-115.
28. Polanyi, 1944, p. 173.
29. Lemoine, 2001.
30. Polanyi, 1944, p. 128, italics added.
31. DeGrandpre, 1999, p. 18.
32. Bronfenbrenner, et al., 1996.
33. 1998, p. 72.
34. Agar & Tate, 1936/1999; Giddens, 1998; Hobsbawm, 1994; Polanyi, 1944.
35. Chossudovsky, 1997; George, 1999; Lew, 2000; Mangin, 2000; McQuaig, 1998.
36. Harvey, 1998, p. 25.
37. Evangelisti, 2000, p. 29, my translation.
38. Austin (1985) contrasted drinking in medieval and eighteenth century Europe as follows:...

    Although chronic inebriety was a sin (in medieval Europe), occasional inebriety was accepted as a natural aspect of life. One of the few examples of legislation against drunkenness was a decree by Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury in the seventh

century ordering that anyone who drank to excess must do penance for fifteen days. Because of the importance of beer and wine to the diet, drink controls largely focused on protecting the drinker from unscrupulous sellers, maintaining a good supply and a fair price, and reducing the adverse consequences (such as public disorders) of too much drinking. As in antiquity, inebriety was largely associated with occasional festivities and with a few specific populations (nobles, students, and clerics) who had the wealth, free time, or access to supplies that enabled more regular indulgence...In the eighteenth century, concerns again rose as inebriety became more regular among more people, reaching unprecedented heights. The upper classes and the towns continued to lead the way, but chronic inebriety was no longer primarily the prerogative of the upper-classes. The major development of the century was the expansion of drinking among the lower classes and into rural villages. Its was most prevalent in England, but everywhere complaints about inebriety multiplied (pp. xviii, xx) .

39. Charles Dickens, 1835/1994; Hughes, 1987.
40. Hobsbawm, 1962, p. 202.
41. Berridge & Edwards (1987) argue that this was more a matter of class persecution and professional ambition than of a major increase in addiction. They also report, however, a substantial increase of opium use in 19th century England and indications of at least moderately increased addiction as well.
42. Jewitt, 1824/1988; MacAndrew & Edgerton, 1969, pp. 137-139; McFeat, 1966.
43. Oberg, p. 193.
44. McAndrew & Edgerton, 1969, p. 109.
45. Allen, 1992; Newman, 1985.
46. Quoted by Haig-Brown, 1988, p. 25.
47. Chrisjohn, Young, & Maraun, 1997; Haig-Brown, 1988.
48. McAndrew & Edgerton, 1969, chap. 6.
49. McAndrew & Edgerton, 1969, pp. 124-126
50. Of course British authorities always had the lash, the gallows, and the artillery of the royal navy close at hand, and these were called into service at the slightest indication of organized resistance (Arnett, 1999). It is impossible to know whether the natives were persuaded to give up their cultures by being hopelessly outnumbered, by the magical attraction of British trade goods, or by occasional demonstrations that resistance would always encounter irresistible force.
51. Kew, 1990; Matas, 2000.
52. Some indirect evidence for this assertion comes from research on the relationship between youthful suicide and cultural integrity in native groups (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998) .
53. Newman, 1985, p. 3.
54. Thompson, 1987, p. 222.
55. Newman, 1985, p. 9.
56. Newman, 1985, pp. 160-161.
57. Pannekoek, 1979, p. 5.
58. Thompson, 1987, p. 220.
59. Quotes collected by Reinarman and Levine, 1997, chap. 1.
60. Wise & Bozarth, 1987.
61. Erickson et al., 1994; Matthews et al., 1994; Cheung & Erickson, 1997; Morgan & Zimmer, 1997; Reinarman & Levine, 1997; Peele & DeGrandpre, 1998.
62. Bourgois, 1997, p. 71.

63. Trebach, 1987; Erickson & Alexander, 1989; Alexander, 1990, chap. 5; Erickson et al., 1994; WHO/UNICRI, 1995; Reinarman & Levine, 1997; Peele & DeGrandpre, 1998.

64. Alexander, 1990; Hermann & Chomsky, 1988; DeBray, 1999.

65. See Alexander (1990; 1994) for a review of the relevant literature. The validity of the generalization made in this paragraph is not as obvious for heroin as it is for alcohol and marijuana. Although there are large numbers of non-addicted recreational users of heroin (Trebach, 1987), there may not be enough to justify the generalization. However, heroin is virtually identical pharmacologically with a large number of other "opiates" or "opioids," e.g., morphine, dilaudid, and Demerol whose preponderant use is nonaddictive.

66. Levine, 1992; Alexander et al., 1998.

67. Alexander, 1990, chap. 8.

68. The best documented beneficiary of the drug war is the United States, which uses the label of "drug traffickers" as a justification for suppressing anti-capitalist uprisings in Latin America and of imposing discipline on disobedient foreign governments. Drug companies, which use the drug war to eliminate the illegal competition for the psychoactive drugs they sell are also major beneficiaries (Chomsky, 1992, chap. 4; Lemoine, 2000; 2001; Buchanan & Wallack, 1998) .

69. An outstanding Canadian example is the late Gil Puder, of the Vancouver Police Department (Puder, 1998) .

70. e.g., Bourdieu, 1998; Dufour, 2001.

71. McKenna, 1999.

72. Gray, 1998, p. 83.

73. For example, describing the lowest and largest stratum of highland traditional society, Prebble (1963) wrote:
The cotter was from birth a servant. Tradition and customary right gave him a little grazing for a cow on the township pasture, a kail-yard and a potato-patch by his round-stone hut, and for these he paid a lifetime of service to the sub-tenant...The servant of the servant is worse than the devil. Bad is the tenancy, but the evil of the Evil One is in the sub-tenancy. His escape could come in his dreams, or in the sharing of glory with the chief when the Bard sang or the Piper played. He could escape further into the King's red coat, and die at Ticondaroga or Havana with the slogan of his clan on his lips.
Yet the life was something which he and the sub-tenants were themselves unwilling to change. Their attachment to the land was deep and strong. They had peopled it with talking stones, snow-giants, and mythical warriors of mountain granite. Their culture was virile and immediate, their verse flowered on the rich mulching of their history. (p. 15) .

74. Fennell, 2000; Morice, 2000.

75. Bulard, 2000;De Brie, 2000; Quéau, 2000; Vidal-Beneyto, 2000; Viveret, 2000.

76. Giddens, 1998; Goytisolo & Grass,1999; Dixon, 2000.

77. Poole, 1998.

78. Fagan, 2000.

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