

and pharmaceutical companies, research, education, the paramedical occupations, the mass media, governmental legislative, regulative and administrative agencies and the public provision for health and welfare. The British experience highlights the problems of a welfare society; our American experience highlights the problems of a mixed economy, where the different roles played by government, medicine, industry and the mass media are seen as competitive and antagonistic, rather than supplementary or complimentary.

Where earlier witnesses were particular to confine their discussion to the use of prescription drugs, excluding the relationship of illegal uses of drugs in drug using contexts of the "youth culture," in the type of discussion which I present, a wider context is necessary.

Throughout the entire western tradition there has been a marked ambivalence toward the body, towards bodily pleasures, and towards pleasure and pain. From the days of Diogenes, when Cynic converts lived a life of the most severe abstinence, dependent upon the bounty which other members of their society gave them, through the traditions of early Christian hermits, to the development of monasticism, there have been some individuals who sought the spiritual life in ways which depended upon bonuses to them as beggars from others who lived in the world. Within this tradition which still survived in some Catholic and Islamic communities, abstinence by the few was matched by cheerful indulgence by the many. However there has been a parallel tradition in which the requirement of abstinence appropriate for the few whose fasts, prayers and medications was believed to benefit the many, has been extended to the entire population. Instead of few religious dependent upon the world, the entire population has been enjoined to live a life of rigid self discipline, to eschew all stimulating intoxicating and relaxing drugs and practices, to meet pain and physical deprivation gladly, and to conduct their lives by excluding related pleasures. Where the countries that permitted gaiety, relaxation and pleasure to the bulk of a population who led seriously constricted lives in terms of actual economic well being, assigned abstinence and monastic lives only to a selected portion of the community, the countries with a puritanical and protestant tradition prospered economically, demonstrating the virtues of a thrifty, sense denying, pleasure avoiding, gratification postponing way of life.

The extreme Protestant sects, Hutterites, Mennonites, and the many other self-denying sects originating in Germany demonstrate this most completely. Plain clothes, no alcohol or tobacco, no card playing, dancing or reading secular literature—the basic tenets of this group-wide self-denial—is occasionally elaborated to forbid even tea and coffee. Also, under the extreme emphasis on self-discipline and self control, any substance not necessary to life, which involves addiction—loss of complete control over the self, is disapproved. So, in an American traditional Protestant setting, drugs which alter moods represent the most reprehensible extreme of a series of indulgences which are seen as ways of escaping the requirements of a sternly moral life. Such groups characteristically seek to legislate the behavior of the entire community, legislating sabbath observances, prohibition of alcoholic beverages and the expression of sex behavior, even going to the extremes of forbidding a married man to kiss his wife on Sunday, or members of a community to take a bath in bathtubs during the winter months. Where the advocates of such rigorous self denial live close by others who believe that life should be enjoyed or its deprivations ameliorated, they attempt to invoke the shared desire to protect the young, so that where prohibition on alcohol, or cigarettes or extramarital sex activities for adults fails, they concentrate on forbidding them to minors.

These attitudes apply also to food necessary for survival, food that is good for you (to eat), and food that is good (to eat) is not good for you. Furthermore weight, even moderate amounts of plumpness are morally derogated as showing a lack of self-control. Medicine, necessary for health should be nasty to take, and medicines that relieve pain, probably richly deserved by our human state if not from recent indulgence in vice, are disapproved of. In my childhood the kind of woman who took headache powders was disapproved of as much as someone who today lives on tranquilizers. The distinction between virtue and vice was clear, virtue was distinguished by pain followed by pleasure, vice was pleasure (indulgence), followed by pain.

Although we are a people whose culture has been shaped by many traditions, our cultural attitudes, and particularly our laws strongly reflect the moralistic position known as the Puritan Ethic, while many of our large cities have been