by the editor, Bruno Lanvin, on the need for a global vision. Issues such as developing intellectual information resources, increasing the participation of developing countries, models for an international legal regime for telecommunciations, and the implications of developments in telecommunications for other service sectors are also discussed. The contributors are all very authoritative in their respective fields and include, in addition to Feketekuty, Diana Lady Dougan, Shigehiko Naoe, Hitoshi Watanabe, Alain Vallee, and Jonathan Scheele.

The point that comes through page after page is that telecommunications allied with computers have so transformed and surpassed the relatively simple function of providing basic communications that the issues arising from their role in the global system now completely transcend purely sectoral interests taken in isolation. National economies, to remain efficient and provide improving living standards for their people, have to be integrated into the emerging global process, otherwise they will be left behind. Telecommunications are an integral part of this process and unless performing to the highest international standards will severely impede all other sectors of a national economy, both domestically and internationally. Moreover, telecommunications are now part of the international trade bargaining process in which considerations of reciprocity with respect to market access and trade-offs involving other sectors are inseparable, unavoidable features. So if Australia really wants liberalised market access and a level playing field for its agricultural and natural resource-based products, and a fair go in marketing its tourism abroad, it will have to be prepared to grant comparable access to others in areas in which they have a direct or substantial interest, which increasingly means the telecommunications sector and all that goes with it.

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It Did Happen Here: Recollections of Political Repression in America *by Bud Schultz and Ruth Schultz*
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Like many Australians, I have great affection for the United States of America, and tremendous respect for its people and their achievements. The burden of keeping the peace in the world fell on them after World War II. Modern scientific, technological, cultural, sporting and commercial advances have often been inspired and led by Americans. Some of the most brilliant people in almost every walk of life are Americans.

True, not everything is rosy. Racial problems still abound, despite enormous advances in the last 40 years. Poverty, homelessness and drugs are eating into the American dream at an alarming rate, especially in some of the big cities. Thousands of people sleep on the streets every night. Thirty-seven million Americans do not have access even to basic health care.

Violence is rife. There were 1,950 murders in the streets of New York alone in 1989, and 1,051 in the first six months of this year, an increase of 22 per cent.

More than 2,200 killings are expected in 1990, an average of six a day just in New York city. In July 1990, six babies were shot, four fatally, in their homes or asleep in cars as bullets from high-powered rapid-fire guns ripped through walls and doors or were sprayed through windows. Twenty-two taxi drivers have been killed during robberies this year. Almost 100 people die every day on the streets of American cities from violence or poverty and disease-related causes. The individual tragedies are as long as they are gruesome.

On the other hand, fighting repression and intolerance of political dissent overseas has been a catchcry of American leaders and people for much of this century, certainly since World War II. Some of it has been selective — such as in Latin America (e.g., Nicaragua, Cuba, Chile, Panama, etc.) and Asia (Korea, Philippines, Vietnam, etc.), where appalling and corrupt dictators have been preferred to elected or manifestly popular leaders. And Americans were hardly enthusiastic in confronting the Axis forces in World War I or Hitler and Mussolini in World War II. But they have generally stood, however naïvely at times, for the defence of right and liberty more often and more loudly than most.

Political repression in America itself? It sounds as inapt to the democratic promises of the American Constitution and to its Bill of Rights as *glasnost* must once have sounded to Soviet Communist ideologies. Yet both have occurred. And therein lies the impact of *It Did Happen Here — Recollections of Political Repression in America.* It exposes the anomalies and the hypocrisy of a democratic political system which professes to uphold and defend civil liberties, most notably in the First Amendment of the Constitution, and of that very Amendment itself, to repress, pillory and punish those who hold dissenting beliefs. The very title of this work, through its stark simplicity, stresses the incredulity and intellectual bankruptcy of a nation which all too often sees itself as the best, often the only, originator of worthwhile or progressive thoughts and precepts, maintaining an often blind faith in the probity and integrity of its own political system, quick to condemn imperfections in others, yet incapable of acknowledging its own.

The editors, Bud and Ruth Schultz, have produced a powerful and very necessary chronicle of an infamous piece of American history stretching from 1915 to 1969. In it, they show "the nether side of the American tradition of constitutional liberties" (Preface, p. xi) — a time when the American Constitution itself came close to extinction. In simple forthright language and style, they present us with a compelling and moving account of case histories — some famous, others less well known — chosen because "they best illustrated a particular repressive technique" used by the Government against dissenters (Preface, page xii). Photographs of the victims which accompany each case history add a personal and human face to the gross injustice and tragedy of their lives. They are the face of 20th century America.

The stories have been grouped into four main parts. In the first part, cleverly entitled 'The Commandments of Repression', (with sub-headings such as Thou Shall Not Speak, Thou Shall Not Sing, Thou Shall Not Teach, etc.), they introduce some forms of protest and the repressive techniques used by the government to counter them. Notable among these is the case of Pete Seeger, songwriter and member of the Weavers, who was blacklisted, investigated for sedition, called before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and harassed by the FBI, all because his songs inspired protest. But he emerged victorious and his own words best express the issues at stake: "We've got to fight like hell so people don't get persecuted now when they speak out. People

have a right to hold an unpopular opinion. You can attack them if you want to, attack them with words, but you don't fire them or put them in jail because you disagree with their opinions, no matter if they're spoken or sung" (p. 21).

The second part — 'The Method to the Madness' — deals with the contribution to repression made specifically by the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government. Under sub-headings such as The Congressional Inquisition, The Compulsion to Loyalty, and Criminalisation of Dissent: The Frame Up, we are exposed to the activities of agencies of repression such as the FBI, the *Selective Service Act 1948,* and the *Smith Act*, to name but a few. But the centrepiece of executive-based political repression was undoubtedly the HUAC, a Congressional committee, the activities of which were the total antithesis of democratic practice. Said President Harry Truman: "The House Un-American Activities Committee is the most un-American thing in America" (p. 153). Yet was it? Those less credulous might see it as a corollary of that intellectual bankruptcy referred to earlier.

The investigations of this Committee began with the Hollywood Ten and lurched out of control, ferreting out and denouncing the 'Communist conspiracy', that festering paranoia of the McCarthy era and beyond. It was a time of ". . . . cruel orders, unremitting accusations, treacherous friendships, innocent men ruined — a conspicuously monotonous glut of downfalls and their monotonous causes" (Tacitus, *Annals* IV:33). Tacitus' words are chillingly apposite, despite the fact that he was describing the repressive, autocratic regimes of first century Roman Emperors!

The parallels continue. The Emperors used delators (informers) to denounce their prey: "It was, indeed, a horrible feature of the period that leading [men] became informers" (*ibid.,* VI:7). Note the words of Ring Lardner, Jr. who was arraigned before the HUAC: "We sat through a whole week of testimony by Adolphe Menjou and Robert Taylor, Gary Cooper, Louis B. Mayer and Jack Warner, Ronald Reagan and Robert Montgomery. And we listened to this picture they presented of a terrible menace posed by the people they thought might be Communists" (p. 103). Tacitus speaks of a reign of terror. Compare Francis Chaney Lardner: "There was such terror of being blacklisted . . . . people got very, very frightened".

Those who faced the Committee had to be prepared for gaol or economic ruin or both. It is very much to the credit of John Randolph that at the end of his story of blacklisting and persecution, he can say ". . . I've never given up my faith in people" (p. 152).

In the third part — 'The Face of a Police State', which includes such arresting sub-headings as Police Unleashed and Secret Police: American as Apple Pie — we move to the extremes of police-state actions. Many of these cases centre on the unchecked and often deadly police violence against black activists in the 1960s, protesting students and labour union workers. Notorious among the two latter were the Ludlow Massacre of striking miners on 20 April 1914 which left thirteen children, a woman and five men dead; the Everett Massacre of "Wobblies" in 1916, the toll of which was five dead and others lost in the waters of Puget Sound; and the Orangeburg Massacre of 8 February 1968, when State troopers fired without warning into an unarmed group of students at South Carolina State College, killing three and wounding twenty-seven. Nor have these been the only student killings. For example, in 1970, National Guardsmen killed four and wounded nine students in Ohio who were demonstrating against the US invasion of Cambodia. In retrospect at least, the cause seems unarguably

right. Ten days later, in Mississippi, two student demonstrators were killed and 12 wounded when police and state highway patrols opened fire on their campus. We are not talking about Tiananmen Square — this is 20th century America, the so-called 'land of the free'. As the book says, "It Did Happen Here".

And secret police are indeed as 'American as Apple Pie' — the FBI is the mainstay of America's secret political police, their work usually complemented by local 'red squads'.

In the fourth section — 'The High Cost of Winning' — we see the inordinately high price paid by those who challenged this repression and eventually won vindication. To paraphrase Albert Einstein: They sacrificed their personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of their country (p. 141).

All, however, is not dark. It is significant that despite the litany of injustice, economic hardship and personal tragedy contained in these case histories, the victims of repression are neither bitter nor disheartened. On the contrary, they show a tenacious belief in the ideals of the American Constitution and way of life. As Ring Lardner, Jr. put it: " . . . they went too far, and the American sense of fair play went against them" (p. 115). His words are echoed by those of Pete Seeger: "There is a strain of decency in America. I bet there were people saying, 'Well, is this what Thomas Jefferson was talking about? Is it what Abe Lincoln was talking about?' (p. 17).

It Did Happen Here is historically significant in that it collects, apparently accurately and certainly systematically, the material it presents. But it does much more than that. It raises the issue — how democratic or free is a democracy? It compels us to review closely the many shortcomings of our own political system. But above all, it is a compelling reminder that complacency poses probably the most serious single threat to civil liberties. Edmund Burke once said: "It is not the appalling deeds of a few evil men which make the darkest pages of history, but the indescribable silence of many good people". This book proves just how right he was.

The call for eternal vigilance to secure our freedom was justified by Pete Seeger: "It's been known throughout the world for as long as recorded history that if you have unpopular opinions, you're going to be persecuted" (page 17). Only attentive caring, courage and incisive bold works such as *It Did Happen Here* will take the certainty out of this statement. It seems that the promised companion volume by Bud and Ruth Schultz, to be called *Voices of Dissent*, which will examine government interference in movements for social and economic justice, will be worth waiting for. This one certainly was.

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