

dams, Justice Felix Frankfurter, and Senator Robert Wagner (D-N.Y.), he envisioned an "industrial democracy" that would soften the socially destructive consequences of the competitive marketplace. During the New Deal and World War II, the victories of Hillman's CIO and other industrial unions—often supported by a sympathetic, activist government—seemed to resolve the century-old "labor problem": Relatively peaceful collective bargaining eased many of the conflicts between management and labor, while the higher wages won at the bargaining table tempered the age-old grievances of workers.

A generation ago most scholars of the labor movement applauded such accomplishments. Fraser, however, casts a more skeptical eye on the extent of Hillman's achievement. Fraser points to the racial and ethnic divisions that limited Hillman's appeal even within the industrial working class. Antagonisms between blacks and Appalachian whites defeated Hillman's attempt to organize textile workers in the South. In the North, an almost feudal hierarchy within many factories (Irish and German foremen on the top, Slavs and Italians in the middle, blacks on the bottom) often opposed the CIO. And, paradoxically, the success of labor may have proved its undoing. As the living standards of American workers improved, they demanded less insistently that their voice be heard. Indeed, the bureaucratically structured system of industrial relations that Hillman tirelessly championed—with its grievance procedures, rules for collective bargaining, and reliance upon union lawyers—had little to do with the shop-floor solidarities and socialist visions that had once inspired the young immigrant.

A NATION OF ENEMIES: Chile Under Pinochet. By Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela. Norton. 367 pp. \$24.95

September 11, 1973, is an unforgettable date in Latin American history. On that day, Chile's Marxist president, Salvador Allende, was murdered, and General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte proclaimed the victory of what was to become one of the world's more brutal military regimes. Chile's 150 years of democratic rule—

the most stable democracy on the continent—had come to an abrupt end.

Why, then, did many Chileans greet Pinochet's coup with jubilation? In 1973 Chile was suffering from an inflation rate of 300 percent, and the government was rationing goods. (The sorry state of Chile's economy resulted partly from an international economic blockade organized by the Nixon administration and partly from Allende's ineptitude.) Despite having Allende's blood on his hands, Pinochet arrived as a hero to many.

If this double-image of Pinochet, dictator and hero, seems an enormous incongruity, that is how Constable, a *Boston Globe* correspondent, and Valenzuela, director of Georgetown University's Center for Latin American Studies, present him. Pinochet was obsessed with the gaudy trappings of power—red-lined capes, a fleet of bullet-proof Mercedes, medallions of himself. At the same time, he was a workaholic who abstained from drink, avoided personal scandals, and harbored an unshakeable sense of moral righteousness. With that belief in his own righteousness, he organized Latin America's most efficient secret police and tortured thousands of political prisoners, even while his market reforms made Chile's economy the second strongest in South America. His "Chicago Boys"—Chilean economists who had imbibed Milton Friedman's free-market theories at the University of Chicago—instituted a capitalist shock treatment that forced Chilean industry to modernize. In 1981, the economy grew by 5.1 percent, while exports increased five-fold over levels recorded less than a decade before.

Chile's economic miracle, however, was a miracle for the few: Many groups—civil servants, teachers, skilled laborers—were left worse off, if not unemployed. When the economy—upheld by debt, high interest rates, and speculation—collapsed in the worldwide recession of 1988, Pinochet held a plebiscite to demonstrate support for his regime. To his astonishment he was voted out of office, though not by



much. (He received 42 percent of the vote.) With the inauguration of his democratically elected successor, Patricio Aylwin, the authors write, a chapter in South American history has closed: "After the ceremony ended and Pinochet stepped into his open limousine between rows of matching white horses, the last of South America's modern-day dictators was pelted with tomatoes and eggs."

Contemporary Affairs

SAVAGE INEQUALITIES: Children in America's Schools. By Jonathon Kozol. Crown. 262 pp. \$20

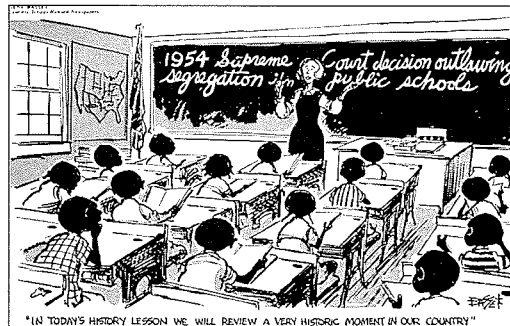
In American cities from New York to San Antonio to East St. Louis, the wasteland and the promised land are next-door neighbors. Cross a bridge or descend a hillside, and well-groomed yards and two-car garages give way to tenements, liquor stores, and lottery agents. The schools show no less stark a contrast.

William Bennett, Ronald Reagan's Secretary of Education, declared that throwing money at the schools would not solve our education problems. Kozol, who has aroused indignation about public schools ever since his *Death at an Early Age* (1967), here shows just what money can do. In Illinois, the richest school districts spend five times more on each student than the poorest districts do, and Kozol compares two such contrasting districts. At New Trier High in affluent Winnetka, a student advisor deals with 25 students; at Du Sable High in nearby North Lawndale, an advisor has approximately 420 charges. Ninety-three percent of New Trier seniors go on to four-year colleges; 75 percent of Du Sable students don't even graduate.

Kozol's story is not, theoretically, about race: White Appalachian children in overcrowded schoolrooms in Cincinnati fare as badly as do black students in the worst ghetto schools. Yet since most of the problem urban schools that Kozol visited were "95 to 99 percent non-white," *Savage Inequalities* is, in fact, a study of segregation. Thirty-seven years ago, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court found segregated schools inherently unequal and therefore unlawful. But the educational policies of the current and previous administra-

tions, Kozol argues, have retreated not 38 but 100 years, to *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) with its "separate but equal" doctrine and its separate but unequal reality.

Why do we tolerate these disparities in education while in other areas we do not? As political scientist Andrew Hacker has pointed out, we expect fire departments to speed as readily to tenements as to affluent suburbs. Again, Kozol's answer comes down to finance and funding—to the arcane machinery through which local property tax supports public educa-



tion. Wealthy homeowners generally pay a smaller percentage of their incomes but still collect far more to pay for their better schools. As of May 1991, 23 states had lawsuits challenging the fairness of this method of funding schools. Kozol proposes replacing property tax with a progressive income tax to generate school revenues. But to make such a proposal into law, Americans would have to be persuaded to care about children other than their own. If this does not happen, Kozol concludes, "apartheid might end in South African schools before it ends in ours."

A CHINESE ODYSSEY: The Life and Times of a Chinese Dissident. By Anne F. Thurston. Scribners. 440 pp. \$24.95

Two and a half years after Tiananmen Square, the streets in China's cities are calm, and Communist Party leaders boast that socialism is alive and well. Of course, nobody believes them. Only the personal prestige of Deng Xiaoping and his octogenarian colleagues—the last of the revolutionaries who accompanied Mao on the Long March—is holding the facade to-