

In the end Benne reduces his thesis to these simple terms: No socialist society has room for any religion other than its own secular dogma; only a capitalist society allows religion to flower. Capitalism, moreover, is consistent with Judeo-Christian teachings if it is a partner of the people; and man can have no hope for the future without vigorous spiritual renewal. "Perhaps," suggests Benne hopefully, "the Divine response is near." [WV]

**THE WAR OF THE DISPOSSESSED:
HONDURAS AND EL SALVADOR,
1969**

by **Thomas P. Anderson**

(University of Nebraska Press; 203 pp.; \$15.95)

Miles L. Wortman

The chief value of this good, academic study of the 1969 El Salvador-Honduran war is that the event is sufficiently distant to judge dispassionately as a historical event. But it is as much about today's crisis, the region's complexities, and its almost hopeless dilemma as it is about that hundred-hour conflict.

The region is full of dreams. There is the 160-year-old dream of a united Central American entity, a return to the unity enjoyed under the Spanish crown. The dream endures despite racial distinctions, regional antipathies, periodic border wars—in short, despite a lack of commonality save the dream itself. In the first half of this century the dream led Hondurans to invite Salvadorans into their labor-short banana fields and mines. The Salvadorans came, fleeing political oppression, seeking land, full of ambition. Some followed the custom of their own country and squatted on uncultivated land. They prospered and xenophobia developed among the Hondurans.

The same dream led to the creation of the Central American Common Market with its promise of increased regional cooperation and prosperity. El Salvador prospered. Cheap but well-made Salvadoran shoes pushed out Honduran-manufactured or handmade shoes in every town in that country.

Another Central American dream, of healthy populations—a dream we all share—led to efforts by national governments and international organizations for health care, vaccinations,

health education. And population grew—from 1.4 million in El Salvador in 1930 to 2.5 million in 1960. There are 4.8 million today, with a density eight times that of the United States. In Honduras, half the population today is unproductive, under fifteen years of age, a weight on the economy.

The dream of industrialization, of investing in factories, using foreign loans, developing exports to support these populations, failed with the rise in oil prices in the '70s that made production costly.

The dream of industrial agriculture, to make the land produce more in gross terms than the grain the peasants farmed, was ruined by the oil price rise, by higher fertilizer costs, by the pressure of the large agrarian populations for land, and by the greed of large landholders who refused reform and thus faced revolution.

Finally, there is the dream of the cleric, to find social justice in lands where the economic equations do not support subsistence.

Some of these dreams died in the 1960s and a reaction set in. In Honduras populist groups pressured for relief, for agrarian reform; and the pressure was turned against the easiest target—the foreigner, the Salvadoran peasant who occupied Honduran land. Xenophobia distracted peasant and labor groups from more important domestic problems. Politicians dragged out old border issues. Salvadoran success in the Common Market was decried. In both countries horrible jingoism arose; small incidents excited passions as newspapers misinformed their clientele. A prewar euphoria developed as the problems and the lost dreams were set aside in order to face "the enemy."

Most North Americans remember the resulting 1969 war by its facetious title, the "Soccer War," because it was sparked by disagreement at a football match. It seemed a comic opera affair, lasting a hundred hours, killing a couple of hundred soldiers—not very important as wars go. We ignored the two thousand civilians killed and the many more refugees.

And in the early '70s of Watergate and Vietnam we forgot Central America. The reports of 130,000 Salvadorans shipped home from Honduras, the "dispossessed" of the book's title, were not important. Wasn't this a usual occurrence in Latin America?

The border between Honduras and

El Salvador was closed. Population pressure in El Salvador grew, made worse by the repatriated refugees. The Common Market was dead, Salvador's prosperity became depression, unemployment soared, food and energy prices increased. The euphoria at the onset of the war became anger at the failure in both countries and frustration at mounting domestic problems.

Anderson links the 1972 political turmoil in El Salvador, the electoral fraud, the coups and countercoups, to the failure of the war. With all dreams of democracy dead, small terrorist operations began. Private armies financed by large farmers, businessmen, police and military officials responded, killing first peasants, then land reformers, some priests, then some nuns and an archbishop. In the uninhabitable mountains between Honduras and El Salvador, the "haunt of many criminals of both nations" before 1969, guerrilla groups formed. Oil made life more expensive for the peasantry. Resistance grew. Population swelled. Repression increased. Toward the end of the '70s help for the guerrillas came from the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. The dreams died.

The Anderson book is a careful, analytical study of the causes and the effects of the 1969 conflict. It is also about today. [WV]

WOMEN IN THE TWO GERMANIES
by **Harry G. Shaffer**

(Pergamon Press; xiii + 204 pp.; \$26.00)

Margery Fox

Long interested in women's progress under socialist systems, Shaffer has produced a rigorous and well-documented study of women in East Germany (the German Democratic Republic) and West Germany (the Federal Republic of Germany), a study that has the exceptional merit of comparing women who share essentially similar cultural backgrounds but who live under different social systems.

Women in West Germany have had to fight independently for their rights in the absence of either a supportive political ideology or a socio-religious tradition that fosters equality; it is a state that gives priority to individuals. Any profound sex role changes in West Germany would have to evolve gradu-

ally through alterations in the social structure. The socialist state, on the other hand, has from the time of its inception considered the emancipation of women an inseparable part of the wider revolutionary struggle to emancipate humankind; here, priority is given to society. Thus East Germany has been committed to an official governmental policy of "furtherance" of women, a type of reverse discrimination.

Shaffer's most telling point is that after some thirty years of socio-political separation, in which the most conspicuous changes have occurred in the most recent decades, women in East Germany clearly have made superior progress, though complete equality of the sexes has fallen short of reality in both states. The persistent cultural legacy of prejudice and discrimination continues to blight present efforts to achieve actual social equality. Few episodes in human history, in fact, so clearly illuminate the differential effects of social and cultural phenomena on behavior, and this study might have been a richer delineation of those processes had the author been more fully cognizant of them.

Skirting a theoretical approach, and with a minimum of discourse, the book derives its impact from a cumulative buildup of detailed information organized under the rubrics of law, work, education, domestic life, and women's organizations. Concerning work, we learn that in West Germany, 80 per cent of all working women are locked into typical women's low-level jobs, while less than half of their East German counterparts work in traditional occupations. Yet in both states women occupy less than 2 per cent of the top management and leadership positions, a figure almost identical to the U.S. and attributable to the same familiar problems: lingering male chauvinism even in the GDR, inferior and insufficient education of women for careers; pregnancy and childbirth that, despite compensatory legislation in the GDR, handicap women insofar as they interrupt work and cause experience and training losses. The East Germans concede that women always work a "second shift" because of their primary responsibility for childcare and household duties, but no East German women expressed the preference heard among some West German women to remain unmarried or at least childless in order to pursue a career.

Spokeswomen in West Germany re-

alize that no equal rights amendment can change a whole cultural tradition; but Shaffer correctly asserts that the law can serve as a foundation for true equality. That East Germany has such a law in place may justify the optimism of its younger women about their future political roles, as well as account for the author's Marxist bias. He argues convincingly that major credit or blame for the significant dissimilarities in women's status lies with the respective social systems, "each with its very different ideology, social fabric, economic framework, political structure..." and that this profound difference permeates the entire outlook of the two peoples. Shaffer implies that West Germany and the West generally lag in a social sense because they have failed to develop a collective consciousness, a cultural ideology favorable to raising women's social status to a level of true equality with men. [WV]

THE ARABS

by **Maxime Rodinson**

translated by **Arthur Goldhammer**

(University of Chicago Press; 188 pp.; \$12.50/\$5.95)

ISLAM IN THE MODERN WORLD AND OTHER STUDIES

by **Elie Kedourie**

(A New Republic Book; Holt, Rinehart and Winston; 332 pp.; \$17.95)

Daniel Pipes

Who *are* the Arabs? Whoever speaks Arabic. This obvious response ignores both the Arabic-speaking groups who shy away from Arab identity (Berbers, Maltese, Copts, Druze, Jews, Kurds) and non-Arabic speakers who cultivate it (Somalis, Comoro islanders). Out of this complexity Rodinson produces an amazingly intricate definition. Arabs are those who:

1. speak a variant of Arabic and regard it as their natural language, the language they ought to speak or, if they do not speak it, nevertheless have the same estimation of it;

2. regard as their patrimony the history and cultural traits of the people that has called itself and that others have called Arab, for whom one of those cultural traits has been, since the seventh century, belief in the Muslim religion (which is not limited exclu-

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