

bers. Although Mexicans constitute 57 percent of undocumented immigrants, they represent 80 percent of people deported (56). Trapped in unfair immigration laws and unable to go back, migrants experience deep nostalgia for a homeland already transformed by global capitalism.

In chapters 10–13, López analyzes the penetration of transnational corporations in Mexico, how people cope with NAFTA, and the institutions of power. Mexico's countryside has become a landscape of ghost towns. Many rural families or lonely inhabitants mourn the separation from or abandonment by their spouses, parents, children, and relatives in California (161). They also have to deal with environmental destruction, including deforested, eroded, and degraded land. Transgenic corn varieties are becoming dominant in farming and destroying the genetic diversity of unique strains of corn (169, 178). Leaders of peasant organizations and their allies who favor conservation suffer harassment and human rights violations. Moreover, the Mexican countryside has become a market for U.S. food industry, with junk food and soda beverages replacing healthier diets. Consequently, transnational corporations are enjoying an economic boom, while the United States becomes the largest commercial corn producer and exporter in the world (190).

These changes are enabled by institutions of power that facilitate the exploitation of rural Mexicans. Government agencies, the Catholic Church, schools, corporations, the military, peasants' and workers' organizations controlled by the government, commercial intermediaries, and political bosses coerce and co-opt rural Mexicans in order to implement NAFTA and foster so called development.

In chapter 14 and the Epilogue, López concludes by linking these processes to consumers in the United States. She invites readers to realize that their voices are important in ensuring fair labor practices and healthy methods of cultivation. Mexicans have to deal with widespread human rights violations in both sides of the border. Lack of attention, ignorance, and greed could destroy completely Mexican traditional farming, environment, culture, and even cooking (201).

The importance of *The Farmworkers' Journey* lies in its ethnographically grounded explanation of NAFTA's effects in west-central Mexico and the fate of migrant labor in California. López shows how rural Mexican families are struggling to accommodate to a new life, but it also describes how often having an income in the United States does not mean better living conditions. She positions herself in the book not as mere observer but an active participant in the struggle to alleviate the poverty of Mexican families. Unlike authors who celebrate transnational links, López describes the pain of displacement and of stranded relationships. *The Farmworkers' Journey* is not just about farmworkers, but about the transformations the Mexican rural population has experienced, especially the increased poverty that has arisen in NAFTA's wake.

**Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements.** *Marc Becker*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 303 + xxv pp.

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*Indians and Leftists* provides a dynamic and well-researched history of Indian peasant

movements in Ecuador from the 1920s to the 1980s. Subsequent indigenous movements, under the ethnically conscious umbrella of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), made their dramatic debut in a 1990 national uprising. Becker provides an emphatic critique of post-1990 social scientists who divide ethnicity versus class in analyzing Ecuadorian movements even as the movements they celebrate (such as CONAIE) recognize a common heritage with class-based organizations. The history presented here offers a critical corrective to claims (or assumptions) that prior generations of indigenous movements lacked an ethnic dimension. However, Becker's eagerness to make this argument sometimes overshadows other, equally important, analytic points about the evolution of these movements.

This text contributes to the history of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement by looking at its key organizations and events, and the uneven progress of legal and agrarian reform. It describes a seamless flow among uprisings, strikes, and labor rights demands. Becker carefully describes and analyzes specific confrontations, such as the 1930–31 Pesillo strike and the uprising and massacre at Guachalá hacienda in 1954, that galvanized the movement and garnered national attention. He also highlights men and women who committed their lives to organizing unions and strikes under the umbrella of the Ecuadorian Federation of Indians (FEI). And the brief biographies of these key participants and chronology of events included in the text will be valuable resources for people exploring these movements.

Indian peasant organizers' shift toward a national political horizon is a crucial turning point in the history that

unfolds in Becker's narrative. This shift was enabled by new tactics of strikes, sit-ins, and union organizing, all of which militantly confronted landlords but sought engagement with the state. As Neptalí Ulcuango describes it, "We quit hiding when the army showed up ... [and] presented ourselves as an organized and disciplined force" (75). The role for outside leftists in this process was to join in clandestine organizing, produce nationwide publications like *Ñucanchic Allpa* (Our Land), act as deputy leaders in Indian organizations, and serve as the movements' skilled interlocutors with the state. The Communist Party of Ecuador (PCE) incorporated indigenous organizers in its Central Committee and put specifically peasant and Indian demands on its national agenda. Becker's thorough history illustrates that urban leftists have played a valuable role within Ecuadorian Indian movements, crucially through building urban–rural alliances and nationwide organizations, and spreading strike tactics.

Just as importantly, Becker explores how "rural workers and urban leftist intellectuals ... together ... tried to figure out what it meant to be Indian with an ethnic identity and marxist with a class-based interpretation of the world" (10). This investigation places Becker's work among a variety of recent studies of the left-indigenous collaboration in the early 20th century, including those by Jeffrey Gould and Aldo Lauria-Santiago (El Salvador), Greg Grandin (Guatemala), Laura Gotkowitz (Bolivia), and Forrest Hylton (Bolivia's 1927 Chayanta revolt). All uncover a deep and serious engagement by Latin American leftists with oppression structured around race. Such encounters

led often to political innovation, such as the ideology of Peru's José Carlos Mariátegui. In *Indians and Leftists*, we hear that "Indigenous peoples' thoughts have influenced our reflections to the point where our perceptions are significantly different than that of orthodox Ecuadorian communist thought," although it would be useful to be shown rather than told about this theoretical transformation (92).

Becker's portrait differs sharply from many current images of leftist indifference to, or theoretical subordination of, struggles against racial oppression. However, such images are not simply, as Becker states, an "ungrounded assumption" (165). Aside from a brief segment on the decline of the FEI and the PCE, Becker does little to theorize the disenchantment between Indians and leftists. He misses opportunities to discuss how factors such as the United Front strategy, developmentalist visions of the future of peasants and of Indians, a devaluing of indigenous communal structures, denial of leadership positions to Indians, and the national culture of racism might all have complicated relations between indigenous organizers and their mestizo or Creole counterparts. What Amalia Pallares calls "the inconsistency between the lived experience of racial discrimination in everyday practices and political life and the promise of equality in leftist discourse" (Pallares 2002: 181) is denied rather than theorized in Becker's work.

This book illustrates how indigenous movement organizations have transformed, but would benefit from a closer look at how theories of race and class have changed in the process. The real distinctions between the idea that "indigenous and socialist struggles were one and the

same" (101), and the imperative to create a plurinational Ecuador in which each indigenous people thrives culturally, deserve greater attention. Becker's choice to invoke the Comintern/Soviet theory of oppressed nationalities as a precedent for the latter position is a distraction. Soviet Marxists perceived subordinate groups as oppressed first and foremost *by* their traditions, the reverse of the position of contemporary indigenous (pluri)nationalists.

The trajectory Becker lays out is valuable for understanding how the Ecuadorian indigenous movement has become such a capable political force. In reading it, one learns a great deal about the extended history of effective community pressure, as well as the specific methods, organization, and political perspectives of the agrarian movements in Ecuador's Highlands. It provides a vital perspective on the role of left ideology and individual leftists in these movements, displacing many false assumptions, even if it is unwilling to fully explore their failings. This text is a fine complement to studies of Ecuador's more recent indigenous upsurge, and would fit well in graduate and undergraduate courses on Ecuador, the Andes, multiculturalism, indigenous politics, and especially the internal life of social movements.

## References Cited

- Pallares, Amalia  
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