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The author does a remarkably good job too in providing the requisite background for a full appreciation of developments in the 1990s.

Gibbs is quick to point out the inconsistencies and contradictions in US policy that were bound to emerge from such a highly charged policy-making milieu and she does so simply and effectively: 'It was awkward', she writes, 'to claim the moral high ground over policy towards one offender when expediency so clearly governed policy towards another' (p. 37). The Bush administration invites the most unreserved criticism despite the fact that it followed in the steps of its Democratic predecessor in declining to implement the controversial Title III (regarding property claims) of the Helms–Burton Act and continued to adhere to the 'wet foot/dry foot' policy on Cuban migrants: over the amount of energy expended since 2000 by the Office of Foreign Assets Control on purported embargo violations when it had over 20 other sanctions programmes to administer and over the (counter-productive) assumption of fundamental Cuban incapacity that underlay the two reports of the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba. As for Cuban–American hardliners, they are given the opportunity to incriminate themselves through brief citation of some of their many injudicious statements: the insinuation by one of them that a liberal Democratic congressman was an 'apologist', similar to those who permitted Hitler to murder 6 million Jews, for proposing an easing of family travel to Cuba in 2008 allows Gibbs to remark mordantly that it was 'a performance which explained why CANF had used her services on Miami radio rather than in Washington' (p. 140).

The author's thoughtful conclusion ably draws out from a theoretical perspective some of the implications for the broader conduct of US foreign policy occasioned by the case-study: the durability and forcefulness of congressional activism after the end of the Cold War; the difficulties that it would encounter when faced with determined presidential opposition; the supreme importance of Executive branch implementation of legislation (especially apropos Title III of Helms–Burton); the incentive for members of Congress to challenge the Executive when different parties are in control of different branches of government (after 1994); and the influence that ethnic groups can have on the formulation of contemporary US foreign policy (though ideology and partisanship may have as much influence on voting patterns in Congress as campaign donations).

Gibbs's work makes an important contribution to the study of a major strand in the convoluted process of contemporary US foreign policy-making. It has also brought to light a lot of pertinent information not found in the more standard accounts of the United States' distinctly forlorn policy towards post-Cold War Cuba.

Philip Chrimes

Latin America and Caribbean

¡Pachakutik! Indigenous movements and electoral politics in Ecuador. By **Marc Becker**. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. 2010. 247pp. Index. £44.95. ISBN 978 1 44220 753 0.

Pachakutik and the rise and decline of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement. By **Kenneth J. Mijeski and Scott H. Beck**. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. 2011. 159pp. Index. Pb.: £25.50. ISBN 978 0 98680 280 3.

A fairly substantial body of literature has appeared over the last decade that has sought to explain the factors that permitted the emergence in Ecuador in the 1980s and 1990s of the most successful indigenous movement in Latin America. The respective authors of

these two visually attractive volumes have made over the years a number of important contributions to our understanding of the phenomenon of indigenous political activism in Ecuador; they, in fact, draw heavily on their many prior journal articles in specialist, often difficult to locate, publications and additionally in Marc Becker's case on his much-praised *Indians and leftists in the making of Ecuador's modern indigenous movement* (Duke University Press, 2008). The benefit of hindsight has now, coincidentally, allowed them to reflect at length on the indigenous movement's trajectory over the longer term and enabled them to pinpoint more precisely the reasons that led to its decline following the apogee of its political success at the turn of the century and its eclipse as a consequence of the dramatic appearance—and subsequent dominance—of Rafael Correa on the Ecuadorian political scene in 2006.

The two works inevitably traverse much the same terrain, though the focus and emphasis vary considerably. Becker, for example, devotes half of his book to an analysis of Correa's successful 2006 election campaign in which he appropriated much of the indigenous movement's agenda of socio-political change, the promised calling of a constituent assembly, the enactment of a new constitution in 2008, and the later confrontation with the politically much-weakened indigenous movement over the issues of mining and water rights, whereas Kenneth Mijeski and Scott Beck treat this period as an epilogue. The latter's focus is much more narrowly on the electoral fortunes of Pachakutik—often considered to be the political arm of the principal indigenous movement CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador)—from the abrupt decision to enter the political arena in 1995 to the abysmal showing of its presidential candidate in the 2006 elections. There is a clear difference of emphasis too over when the rot for Pachakutik actually began to set in. Mijeski and Beck locate early warning signals in the different outlook of the indigenous movement's activists in the Oriente and the Sierra, the former (personified by Antonio Vargas) more open to political deal-making and opportunism than their more purist highland counterparts. Pachakutik's undoing in their estimation, as they graphically put it, was its very 'entrance into the cesspool of Ecuadorian politics' which 'used up most of [its early] moral capital and eventually infected the entire indigenous movement with the stench of politics as usual' (p. 35), such that it became perceived as just 'another maligned party whose interest in patronage outweigh[ed] its commitment to social justice' (p. 111). Becker, while accepting the deleterious consequences of political involvement, is far less severe in his judgement: had indigenous communities 'not entered electoral politics, they would have had difficulty expressing their voices on the national stage' (p. 207); moreover, he sees the malaise stemming from political involvement as less preordained and as setting in much more gradually.

Another notable difference between the two volumes concerns the authors' respective analytical approach towards the same subject matter. Mijeski and Beck's book is a concise, tightly argued, briskly written, theoretically grounded and dispassionate, though far from dry, work of political science, with some harsh truths to tell (echoed by some of the indigenous leaders whom they have interviewed over time). Becker's more diffuse offering, in contrast, appears—consonant with his track record—to be more the work of the politically engaged scholar, promoting an alliance with other movements on the left as an agent of revolutionary transformation: he is frankly rather scathing about Ecuadorian political actors of a different ideological hue who are often condemned a little too readily as the nefarious agents of an ill-defined neo-liberalism. He is, nonetheless, generous to a fault in citing the contrary opinions of others. Becker is inclined too towards a more optimistic reading of events than Mijeski and Beck, seeing the popular mobilization against

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the free trade agreement with the United States in 2006 and the rescinding of the contract with Occidental Petroleum as well as the inclusion in the 2008 constitution—at least at a symbolic level—of much for which it had agitated over the years as a symptom of the indigenous movement's continuing vitality as a social movement as opposed to the evident bankruptcy of Pachakutik as an electoral vehicle.

Both works do a creditable job in navigating a path through the complexity of Ecuadorian politics in these years, though the relative novice might well be a little overwhelmed by the surfeit of acronyms and, in the case of Becker, the sheer amount of detail. Neither work dwells much on the political issues at stake per se, such as the ramifications of 'dollarization' or the significance of the US lease of the military base at Manta between 1999 and 2009. To his credit Becker provides, as already noted, an extended discussion of the importance of the mining issue that came to the fore in 2009 contrary to the letter and spirit of the new constitution.

Each book, in its own way, contributes to a better overall understanding of seemingly chaotic events in this most politically fractured of Andean nations.

Philip Chrimes