

indigenous of the Gran Nayar joined the clerical side of the Cristero rebellions with even more fervor than their mestizo compatriots.

Overall, Morris does an excellent job in bringing the political cultures of the Gran Nayar into light. Some areas where Morris might offer the reader more include a clearer synthesis of how his four peoples differed in cultural practices. Rural violence in Mexico certainly did not suddenly stop in 1940, and therefore, some connection might be made to scholars working on similar themes in later decades, including Cedillo, Aviña, Pensado, and Osten. The seismic shift of changing to new cash crops (these are farmers first, after all) needs further analysis. Turning to coffee, avocados, oranges, and bananas must have been a dramatic moment.

This book is nonetheless of exceptional value to our scholarship on modern Mexico. It is well suited to specialists and graduate students and would appeal to upper division undergraduate classes. Morris provides a smart and well-researched entry to indigenous roles in nation formation and state-building in postrevolutionary Mexico.

*California State University, Fullerton*  
*Fullerton, California*  
[sneufeld@fullerton.edu](mailto:sneufeld@fullerton.edu)

STEPHEN NEUFELD

## MEXICO'S LEFT

*Edición y comunismo. Cultura impresa, educación militante y prácticas políticas (México, 1930–1940)*. By Sebastián Rivera Mir. Raleigh: A Contracorriente, 2020. Pp. 286. \$30.00 paper; \$12.99 e-book.  
 doi:10.1017/tam.2022.21

The historiography of the Mexican Left includes a wide range of approaches—from traditional political histories of party formation, electoral politics, and labor unionism to the history of ideas and cultural production. Sebastián Rivera Mir reveals the role of previously neglected actors integral to the Mexican Communist Left: the publishers, editors, and translators responsible for the printing and dissemination of the written material that aimed to forge a robust communist movement in Mexico during the late 1920s and 1930s. Departing from the Communist mantra that “*militar es editar*,” Rivera Mir positions the material world of publishing and distribution at the center of the Left’s political practice and cultural influence, particularly during the Cárdenas *sexenio*.

The book, moreover, skillfully employs a transnational method to examine Leftist editorial practice, following prominent communist figures not only in and out of Mexico City but also across the Atlantic and the Americas. Whereas previous publishing histories of Latin America have tended to focus on the Spain-Mexico-Argentina triangle, Rivera Mir elucidates the intimate connections between Mexican and US actors. One of Rivera

Mir's principal assertions is that the concrete materiality of translation—publishing, circulation, and reading—through books, broadsides, pamphlets, and leaflets helped spread communist and anticommunist ideas. He does so while staying closely attuned to the inseparable and more deeply explored political and intellectual influences on Communist social and cultural practice.

The book consists of seven chapters and an epilogue, tracing the history of communist and anticommunist publishing from the late 1920s to 1940 through the use of a creative set of primary sources such as (auto) biographies of prominent Leftist actors, state surveillance archives, and communist publications of the era. Chapter 1, “El internacionalismo editorial en busca de América Latina,” offers a fascinating transnational lens for understanding the network of publishers responsible for circulating and presenting Marxist-Leninist ideas approved by the Comintern to a Latin American audience. Chapter 2 centers on the violent persecution of the Mexican Communist Party (PCM) starting in 1929 and its effects on Leftist publishing and organizing. While much ink has been spilled about the famous magazine *El Machete*, Rivera Mir documents how the imperative of clandestine organizing amid state repression compelled a turn to less costly and more easily distributed materials, such as leaflets, broadsides, and pamphlets.

Although prior to 1935 the PCM and its affiliated publishers and editors followed the proletarian revolutionary line that sought to purge Leftist cultural production of content deemed “reactionary,” “petit-bourgeois,” or “counterrevolutionary,” the Comintern's anti-fascist Popular Front program, together with Cárdenas's election, opened Communist publishing toward broader anti-fascist content and less vulgar forms of Marxism. This period marked the heyday of Communist publishing in Mexico, with numerous publishing figures being received from abroad, and several chapters hone in on the labor of key publishing houses such as Editorial Popular and Ediciones América. While Chapter 5 explores the efforts and characteristics of anticommunist publishing, Chapter 7 more closely engages the understudied publishing nexus between the United States and Mexico.

Peppered throughout the book are fascinating stories regarding communist cultural production. A few examples include the irony of Mexican revolutionary Francisco Múgica, who while administering the Islas Marías penitentiary, allowed Marxism classes and a library full of Marxist-Leninist treatises (61); the ideological turns of the militant editor and bookseller Rodrigo García Treviño and his growing alienation from the PCM (Chapter 6); and the troubled travels of the Chilean Communist typographer Elías Lafferte (169–70).

Rivera Mir's book, a fine contribution to the historiography of the Mexican Left, focuses on the often-hidden dimension of cultural production and Leftist practice—the concrete acts of translating, designing, producing, and circulating Communist material to educate not only party militants but a wider working-class public. It should be required reading for scholars seeking to better understand the social and cultural practices of the Mexican Left

in the postrevolutionary period during an era of both political persecution and political opening.

*University of California, San Diego*  
*San Diego, California*

MATTHEW VITZ

### ECUADORIAN LEFT IN THE 1950S

*The CIA in Ecuador.* By Marc Becker. Durham: Duke University Press, 2021. Pp. 336.  
\$104.95 cloth; \$27.95 paper.  
doi:10.1017/tam.2022.22

This is not a book about the CIA in Ecuador, nor does it pretend to be. Rather than revisiting another episode of CIA intervention in Latin America, Mark Becker uses information gathered by the CIA to supplement a slender archival trail and tell the story of the Ecuadorian left. The result is an extraordinarily detailed study of the Communist Party of Ecuador (PCE), embedded in a nuanced political history of Ecuador during its “democratic parenthesis” in the 1950s.

The interregnum between the post-World War II “democratic spring” and the rise of the “new left” after the Cuban Revolution is often characterized as a “lost decade” of political activism in Latin America. In Ecuador, just as political conditions seemed to favor a leftward shift, the Communist Party was pushed to the margins of national politics, in part by conservative politicians who, pressured by the United States and its new national security apparatus, actively worked to limit the PCE’s influence. The CIA kept a watchful eye, vacillating between dismissing and exaggerating the Communists’ strength, but stopped short of overt intervention. At the same time, populist politicians proved to be more effective at mobilizing working-class support than formal leftist political parties, occupying the new political space created by the postwar democratic opening. Because it competed for the same constituencies, Becker argues, populism represented “an equal if not greater threat to the political left than either domestic conservative opponents or external agents” (110). The combined effect of these external pressures was to drive the PCE toward moderation rather than revolution.

Contrary to CIA claims, the PCE toed a moderate line throughout the 1950s, defined by its rejection of extraconstitutional uprisings in favor of parliamentary reform and its commitment to bourgeois development over class struggle. This moderation was not arrived at unanimously or without significant debate. Using party congresses and national elections (events that generated copious paperwork), Becker skillfully reconstructs the internal conflicts that drove the PCE during a period of surprising dynamism. At the center of the party’s internal debates was a question of leadership—a conflict between the party’s founder, Ricardo Paredes, and Pedro Saad, who was elected secretary-general in 1952. The transition of power at the top represented the PCE’s