timidate a pesky Treasury officer, and closed his business amid accusations of embezzlement. And all of this he did in the pursuit of profit and not as a result of his inability to hold a formal job – which he had, and eventually quit. I am tempted to generalize that, when it comes to the migration industry, informality – and the concomitant illegality – is a choice rather than the result of lack of choice. While Hernández-León puts the stress on the business opportunities created by the Monterrey-Houston migratory circuit, he cannot draw big conclusions on informality from just one case study. Yet, he does provide a detailed account of the mix between informality and illegality, the changing nature of social networks as Jorge García transitioned from labor migrant to entrepreneur, and the ways in which the migration industry "not only facilitates human mobility across borders but also helps realize material and symbolic goals associated with international migration" (173).

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JEFFREY L. GOULD and ALDO A. LAURIA-SANTIAGO: ***To Rise in Darkness: Revolution, Repression, and Memory in El Salvador, 1920-1932***. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.

To Rise in Darkness: Revolution, Repression, and Memory in El Salvador, 1920-1932 contributes to a clearer understanding of a complex period of political, social, and cultural history, including how its contemporary interpretation reveals the dynamics of individual and social memory. In January 1932 a popular insurrection in western El Salvador was met with swift and brutal state-sanctioned retaliation resulting in the massacre of at least 10,000 mostly indigenous Nahuat-Pipil individuals followed by a long period of national military dictatorship. Over the years, interpretations and memories of the episode, commonly referred to as the *Matanza* ("the slaughter"), associate the violence with both pro- and anti-Communist discourse and mobilization, and the evanescence of an indigenous people and culture. Due in part to the scarcity of research on the topic, popular understanding about the *Matanza* may have exaggerated the number of victims, perpetuated misinformation about immediate government policy toward indigenous culture, and attributed innocence or a lack of agency to indigenous people. *To Rise in Darkness* takes on the above-referenced associations and misunderstandings by examining a period of national history remarkable for its alignment of subaltern interests and revolutionary zeal.

The authors connect the *Matanza* with the growth and widespread popular movements involving labor unions, urban, rural, and indigenous populations

and peasants who were experiencing the reduction of democracy, worker exploitation, and the dispossession from their land in the early twentieth century. The shared social and economic conditions of multiple actors were inflected with indigenous ethnicity, anti-Indian racism, *mestizaje* (the ideology of race and cultural mixing that undervalued and sought to eliminate contemporary indigenous culture), class factions, gender ideologies, rural-urban distinctions, and the arrival and localization of Marxism-Leninism. The book traces the emergence of social and political movements that linked interests in predominantly indigenous rural western El Salvador populations to the movements of workers in urban San Salvador, discussing the conditions and diverse subaltern interests that led to broad-based union mobilizations, strikes, rebellion, and insurgency.

To Rise in Darkness tackles the slippery topic of indigenous identity in El Salvador. Prior to the *Matanza* there was already evidence of cultural transformation in western El Salvador, such as the abandonment of the indigenous language, attire, and other ethnic markers. These changes resulted from loss of land, impoverished living conditions, increasing political and economic control by the non-indigenous, as well as overall increased interaction with non-indigenous people. The authors recognize that the conditions leading to the uprisings of 1932 had a particular impact on indigenous people and influenced indigenous agency and ethnic mobilizations that later intertwined with a popular Communist-inspired movement. The engagement of indigenous actors with Communist ideology and organizations appears alongside their autonomous pursuit of their own self-interest. Following the *Matanza*, many factors continued to exert influence on indigenous identity: the state viewed the absorption of indigenous cultural differences as progress; older Indians experienced the 1932 trauma as state-violence; and the younger generation were ashamed of being Indian. Indigenous people in El Salvador continue to be marginalized and still lack meaningful participation in national society.

To Rise in Darkness includes material from oral history interviews of more than 200 individuals. Memories about the *Matanza* present contradictions. For example, evidence indicates a limited degree of violence and destruction associated with the insurgents' takeover of haciendas and local municipalities. Yet some memories justify state violence precisely on the grounds of (unsubstantiated) insurgent violence. The question of who was culpable for the insurgence and the repression it wrought also produces disparate views. Certain memories claim the innocence of indigenous people against the guilt of "Communists," contradicting the authors' evidence of indigenous activism and agency. The oral testimonies of events leading to the 1932 uprising and ensuing state violence were gathered in the aftermath of El Salvador's civil war (1980-1992) and must be seen through the lens of democratic apertures, indigenous ethnic resurgence,

but these testimonies reveal the power of military and state ideology to influence subaltern views.

Following the January 1932 popular uprising in western El Salvador, the initial phase of reprisal involved National Guard violence against some, but not all, indigenous communities; and although directed primarily against indigenous people, victims also included non-indigenous actors. These facts complicate a charge of genocide. The second phase of the counter-insurgency, however, targeted self-identified Indians. The authors assert this was unequivocally genocide. Today in certain indigenous communities in western El Salvador and among certain diasporic Salvadorans and interested others, there are public commemorations of the *Matanza*. Meanwhile El Salvador's Human Rights Ombudsman (*Procuraduría de los Derechos Humanos*) is gathering and examining 1932 testimonials and other evidence to support the charge of genocide, while social justice activists seek recognition for the thousands of Indian bodies buried in mass graves in western El Salvador, and others revalorize indigenous cultural identity. These activities connect this book's important scholarship on an episode of nation-state violence with efforts to prevent the episode from slipping into oblivion.

Readers will be interested in the companion documentary film *1932: Cicatriz de la Memoria* (1932: Scars of Memory) produced by co-author Jeffrey Gould with Carlos Henríquez Consalvi, founder of the Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen in El Salvador. The film, produced in 2002, provides a valuable opportunity to view relevant archival photos and film footage of early twentieth-century El Salvador and to listen to witnesses and descendants of the 1932 insurrection, massacre, and repression. The book and film connect the dots between early social mobilizations, the long period of dictatorship and social inequity, and the recent civil war (1980-1992). The book discusses two state massacres in western El Salvador during the early 1980s to recognize some degree of continuous indigenous presence and political activism in the region.

To Rise in Darkness offers an anatomy of twentieth-century social and political mobilization in El Salvador. It will appeal to an interdisciplinary audience for its methodological and theoretical attention to discourse and ideology, symbolism and power, political agency and subjectivity, memory and identity. Additionally, we are reminded how political imagination in Latin America, and scholarship about an historical episode, benefit from attention to the dynamics of race, ethnicity, gender, and class.

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