

on the role of Aidit, Sjam, and PKI's special bureau; an informant who in passing is identified as "a follower of the Maoist line on armed struggle" (p. 137). One may also wonder why an historian has not made use of a longer historical perspective (that could have been based on already existing literature) to thus place his sources and pieces of oral history in context and improve the interpretation of them. Similarly, several additional factors that affected the 30th of September Movement remain to be added; for instance why Suharto did not act swiftly against the dissidents but waited until it was clear that Sukarno had not appointed him the new chief of the army. Even later in the afternoon, General Nasution, Suharto's senior and Minister of Defence who had escaped arrest and assignation, was stunned by his indecisiveness, (interview with this author in 1980).

In general conclusion, however, Roosa's account of the 30th of September Movement is an impressive piece of detective work. It is true that he does not venture into the historical puzzle of why a few leaders of the third largest communist party in the world got associated with the 30th of September Movement in the first place. But he has certainly contributed the best study hitherto of who organized it, why it failed, and how it could lead to mass killings, followed by decades of repression. It deserves the widest possible reading.

Olle Törnquist

CHARI, SHARAD. *Fraternal Capital. Peasant-Workers, Self-Made Men, and Globalization in Provincial India*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California 2004. xxv, 379 pp. Ill. £31.95; DOI: 10.1017/S002085900708296X.

In *Fraternal Capital*, Sharad Chari turns his formidable analytical lens on Tirrupur, south India, tracing the evolution of the town's knitwear industry from small-scale units catering primarily to the domestic market to an export industry thriving in a highly competitive global environment. Chari's questions revolve around a changed industrial landscape in the 1990s, when Tiruppur exports grew exponentially, and the town acquired many of the characteristics of global factory towns, including the casualization and feminization of the labor force.

However, this is no "standard" ethnography of the garment industry or of the gendered labor regimes that accompany the production of apparel for a global market. Rather, Chari has produced what he calls an agrarian history of the industrial present. Locating Tiruppur firmly within India's political economy, Chari's analysis weaves together local, global, and regional perspectives on Tiruppur in multiple directions. Using critical geography and anthropology, he complicates the relationship between globalization and "indigenous" capitalism and challenges dominant paradigms of late industrialization and capital accumulation in provincial sites.

Chari seeks to explain Tirrupur's rise to industrial prominence by focusing on the historical transformation of social capital wielded by the dominant caste in the region, the Gounder Vellalas. He accounts for the rise of the seemingly paradoxical category of "peasant-worker", primarily of working-class origin, who became the dominant fraction of capital in the knitwear industry. Through close readings of life histories and existing historical accounts, Chari shows how at particular moments, Gounder men invoked their agrarian past to construct their ethics of "toil" and successfully convert the "virtue" of their labor into the idiom of social capital. Thus, Chari turns to agrarian history to "make sense of memories of toil in shaping industrial work processes today" (p. 51).

Chari focuses on two points of transition in Tiruppur's history. In the first, he traces the region's shift from agrarian to industrial capitalism over the course of the twentieth century, until the 1980s; in the second, shorter one, he concentrates on Tiruppur's entry into global capitalism following a pivotal strike in 1984. Conditions in the early twentieth century spawned small, specialized urban centers where Gounder village patriarchs diversified investments based on their control of land, labor, and capital. Chari uses a series of life histories to show how small-scale industrial entrepreneurs emerged over the decades from lower Gounder ranks; these "self-made" men selectively invoked and remade the history of their caste ethos of toil and fraternity to mobilize capital and labor. To his credit, Chari takes Gounder self-presentations seriously but critically. He is persuasive in showing how these accounts are fundamental to local histories and practices of control over social labor.

At the heart of the story is an account of shifting methods of labor control, which begin with the urban adaptation of village Gounder extended family labor among a range of workers tied to owners of land and factories by debt and caste dependency. From the 1930s onward, Chari documents a shift to more structured forms of working-class subordination, one that is suffused with the ethos of Gounder toil as owners worked alongside their employees. Gounder self-understanding and projection of themselves as men constituted through their toil quite literally worked as an effective form of labor control. Strong unions in large textile mills soon embraced small Gounder factories. Yet even staunch communists adjusted their strategies in order to maintain employment stability.

Relatively peaceful labor relations ended dramatically in a prolonged strike in 1984, which also revealed many latent fissures in Gounder fraternity. In the wake of the strike, knitwear enterprise shifted rapidly toward contract work. Predictably, the nature of labor control shifted as knitwear output and exports doubled almost every year, drawing in new configurations of workers, financiers, and employers. The masculine domestic workplace was replaced by a differentiated and insecure workforce, one that had been "feminized" by a diversification of work contracts, types of security, and exposure to violence. Reflecting this organizational and ideological shift, Gounder self-presentations of fraternity gave way to a newly fashioned cosmopolitan masculinity with some Gounder characteristics.

Chari captures the break represented by the post-1984 period most strikingly through a story of globalization by fraud, as he calls it. He recounts the tale of a Mr Doha, a US-based businessman who manages to scam a fortune from eager Tiruppur tycoons, with promises of rapid returns from overseas deals. The most compelling stories, however, concern the casualization and feminization of labor in the post-1984 regime, as the old idiom of Gounder toil gave way to one of contract control over an increasingly female non-unionized workforce. This transition corresponded to a shift away from the production of the *banian* or working man's T-shirt to a concentration on high fashion markets for knitted attire. As Chari notes, export fashion products are more ambiguously gendered; they are also out of the reach of working-class consumers. In the 1990s, new extended commodity chains that end in Los Angeles and New York boutiques have firm roots in "sweat-shop" labor relations in Tiruppur.

In a region filled with distinctive class-caste linkages among farms and factories, the city and the country, Gounder ethics of toil embodied the spirit of indigenous capitalism. This important book thus presents a theoretically and empirically elaborate refutation of the idea that forces emanating from a Western-derived and dominated global capitalism explain the forces of capitalist development in provincial sites such as Tiruppur.

Densely written and ambitious in scope, this book makes a substantial contribution to scholarship on globalization, industrial geography, and political economy.

Dina Mahnaz Siddiqi

DUBOIS, LINDSAY. *The Politics of the Past in an Argentine Working-Class Neighbourhood*. [Anthropological Horizons.] University of Toronto Press, Toronto [etc.] 2005. xiv, 283 pp. £40.00; \$60.00; DOI: 10.1017/S0020859007092966.

Argentina is a country with a violent and complex recent history which provokes widely different views. The perspectives on the struggle between the traditional land-owning elite and the emerging urban working classes and the eventual civil war between left-wing guerrillas and a militarized state diverge widely. This has much to do with the idiosyncratic legacy of Peronism, the political offshoot of the personalist regime of Juan Domingo Perón (1895–1974). The interpretation of Peronist influence on the political history of late twentieth-century Argentina continues to haunt historians. There is no doubt that the military hated the Peronists; during the period of his exile (1955–1973) carrying a photograph of Perón or his deceased wife Evita could lead to arrest and prison. The military interventions of 1966 and 1976 were explicit attempts to put an end to Peronist reforms and to silence Peronist activists. The problem has always been that Peronism was not a clear-cut party. On the one hand, Perón and his party succeeded in obtaining unswerving loyalty from the Peronist followers, so much so, that this emotional loyalty continues today. On the other hand, the party hosted widely divergent tendencies, ranging from extremely radical youth movements to the neo-liberal president Menem.

In the light of this conflictive past, Lindsay DuBois's book, *The Politics of the Past*, may certainly be welcomed. On the basis of a long-term residence in one of Buenos Aires's working-class neighbourhoods, José Ingenieros, this Canadian anthropologist attempts to understand the ways this past has been perceived and processed among its inhabitants. Because of the methodological problems of this endeavour and the permanently contrasting stories and perceptions encountered by DuBois, the book is also a case study in the problems and ambiguities of oral history research.

The book is divided into two parts. First, the history of the neighbourhood is presented, starting with its illegal occupation (*toma*) in 1973. In the second part, it demonstrates how the memories of the historical occupants of the neighbourhood widely diverge and how this poses particular problems for anthropological and historical research.

These problems present themselves in full force already in the first part, in which DuBois tries to unravel the initial period of the neighbourhood when people from different backgrounds decided to take on the government and occupied a complex of buildings that for a long time had been designed for renovation. Interestingly enough, it is almost impossible to come to an accurate and unambiguous account of this period. DuBois observes that “[c]onflicting scenarios circulate [...], even among people who personally participated in the occupation of the apartments” (p. 59). Part of this can be explained by the illegal nature of the event which implied a good deal of secrecy, but as the book develops it becomes increasingly clear that it should also be considered the direct result of the very conflictive and atomized nature of Argentine society in the wake of a polarized and violent past.