

that it was not a case of a tyrannical Mao Zedong wanting personally to be immortalized; rather it was about “securing the historical conditions for the continuation of the revolution” (p. 118). On power struggles in the top leadership, Karl asserts the struggles were not first and foremost about personal power but reflected “real ideological differences over the course and direction of the Chinese revolution” (p. 84). Karl’s clear articulation of key points of historiographical debate makes the book ideal for teaching purposes; at the same time, with each reading of the text I am struck by the carefully structured interventions that build upon each other so that the book as a whole presents a sophisticated historically-situated analysis of Mao Zedong’s theory of politics.

Karl traces the situated development of key ideas in Mao Zedong Thought. She analyses: how Mao came to theorize peasants as a revolutionary class; the troubled relationship between feminism and class struggle; civilian control of the army (and the oft-quoted phrase “The Party controls the gun”); Mao’s theory of protracted war; the reversal from orthodox Marxism between the relative roles of consciousness and politics vis-a-vis the social structure; development of key concepts such as the mass line and permanent revolution; and Mao’s critique of bureaucratic elitism. The unifying concern, as Karl puts it, is that politics for Mao was “intimately related to his idea of creating a culture of revolution and a revolutionary culture” (p. 57). Here it seems appropriate to conclude this review by quoting the alternative formulation Karl offers to the term “voluntarism” as the explanatory category through which many of us have come to conceive Maoism. Karl writes: “it is more appropriate to recognize there is no concept of politics in Maoism divorced from mass politics. For this reason, politics in Maoist theory and practice cannot be abstracted from everyday life, engaged in only by distant elites. It is, rather, part of quotidian existence itself, and most important, it is part of the struggle to transform social existence” (p. 58). This theorizing of politics motivated Karl to write this book (pp. x-xi) and it is what makes this book timely and important. The book lays bare the failure of Maoist revolutionary actions to accomplish the desired goals; it also provides a sophisticated analysis of historical efforts to think and act politics in ways that lead to social transformation, rather than easy acceptance of the world as it was (and is).

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LORENZKOWSKI, Barbara – *Sounds of Ethnicity: Listening to German North America, 1850-1914*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010. Pp. xiii, 295.

Barbara Lorenzkowski’s innovative *Sounds of Ethnicity* examines the relationship between language and ethnic identity in the German communities of Buffalo, New York and Waterloo County, Ontario. Her book is divided into two parts: Part One: Language Matters, examines the German-language press of Waterloo County and German classes in the schools of Waterloo County and Buffalo, while Part Two: Music Matters explores the Peace Jubilees held in Waterloo and Buffalo in 1871 to commemorate the end of the Franco-Prussian War and *Saengerfeste*, or singers’ festivals, held in the Great Lakes region between 1860 and 1912. For sources, Lorenzkowski primarily examines news-

papers from the Great Lakes region, particularly the local German-language presses of Buffalo and Waterloo County. She also studies school board records and the records of the *Saengerfeste* and of the individuals prominently involved in them.

Lorenzkowski envisions ethnicity as something that “happens” rather than membership in a group. The use of language in speech or in song served “to sound out the shape of this ethnicity” (p. 6). She therefore moves beyond a simplistic understanding of language as a static marker of ethnic identity, whereby language loss signals assimilation. To do this, she delves past the exhortations of the ethnic elite, such as newspaper editors and leaders of cultural institutions, who called for linguistic purity, and lamented the increasing use of English amongst the ethnic rank and file, a group less clearly defined by Lorenzkowski. What she reveals is a dynamic, fluid relationship between language and ethnicity for both the rank and file and the elite, despite the conservative rhetoric of the latter. In speaking a German-English hybrid rather than a pure High German, or singing and making merry in the less formal setting of the beer gardens rather than listening politely in the concert hall, the rank and file Germans were not rejecting their ethnicity, but were expressing an ethnic identity that spoke to their own experiences in North America. For both the elite and the rank and file, language practices were also a forum for interaction with the host society, rather than a barrier between the two. In staging the singers’ festivals, the elite were partly trying to foster a musical culture in North America. Anglo-Saxon audiences, for their part, eventually came to claim these festivals as their own. As a result, these ethnic festivals became part of the mainstream public culture of Canada and the United States.

Lorenzkowski’s transnational approach, which sees the German communities of Buffalo and Waterloo County as “cast in a continental, not transatlantic mould,” makes a significant contribution to the historiography (p. 17). Studies of the formation of ethnic communities and identity in Canada are quite often limited to the level of a single neighbourhood or city. Those studies which venture beyond this local level are typically bounded by the receiving country’s borders. Those works which adopt a transnational approach, such as Elizabeth Jane Errington’s *Emigrant Worlds and Transatlantic Communities*, generally look at the continuing ties of community between the sending and receiving countries. The world that immigrants knew and lived, however, was not limited to the axis of sending and receiving countries. When immigrants came to North America, they frequently moved from one place to another in search of work, paying little heed to the border between Canada and the United States. Even once they had settled more permanently, these migrants continued to have ties of kin and community that straddled borders. These local studies of Waterloo County and Buffalo enable Lorenzkowski to explore the growth of a larger German community in the Great Lakes region. She argues that the German-language press of Waterloo County created a transnational space that encompassed Canada, the United States, and, initially, Germany. In their advocacy for linguistic purity, editors criticized not only immigrants who spoke in a German-English hybrid, but European Germans whose language was riven by dialects and littered with French loanwords. The German-Canadian editors increasingly looked towards the German-American press, creating a transnational space that became more North American in its orientation. Additionally, she shows how the eight German singers’ festivals held in Waterloo County between 1874 and 1912 helped to create and strengthen ties of

community between German immigrants in Canada and the United States. Those who sang in and attended the festival, she contends, increasingly looked to their counterparts on the other side of the border instead of across the Atlantic to the German Empire.

Crucially, while she examines the formation of a German North America in the Great Lakes region, Lorenzkowski retains the importance of the border. Although the singers' festivals brought Germans together as a community, they also highlighted some of the differences between German-Americans and German-Canadians. For example, German-Americans were regarded as brash by their Canadian counterparts, while German-American visitors saw the festivals held in Waterloo County as simple and modest, the antithesis of what those in the United States had become (p. 186). Additionally, Germans in Waterloo County were more confident in their assertions of their ethnic identities, owing in part, to the more prominent history of nativism in the United States.

Sounds of Ethnicity makes a valuable contribution to the study of immigration and ethnicity. Lorenzkowski's focus on the role of language in the formation of ethnic identities complicates the simplistic assimilation-resistance dualism of other studies. Her transnational approach illustrates the creation of an ethnic community that spanned the Canadian-American border, while paying attention to the particularities of immigrant lives in each developing nation.

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MAGAZINER, Daniel R. – *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2010. Pp. xii, 283.

Time flies. With the 1994 end of apartheid quickly approaching its twentieth anniversary, outside observers may be forgiven for thinking that – despite significant challenges like poverty and HIV/AIDS – South Africa continues its upward trend toward political prosperity and stature in the global community. This sanguine view unfortunately bears little resemblance to many political sentiments found on the ground. While the strident form of state-sanctioned racial oppression promulgated after 1948 is indeed over, it has been replaced by growing class conflict accompanied by fear that the ruling African National Congress (ANC) has entrenched itself such that South Africa is a de facto one-party state, despite democratic claims to the contrary. Needless to say, the emergence of this situation has presented new challenges for writing political history in the South African context. *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977* by Daniel Magaziner presents one way out of this dilemma.

The Black Consciousness Movement marked a fundamental shift in anti-apartheid politics by reviving protest after the setbacks of the Sharpeville Massacre (1960) and the Rivonia Trial (1963-64), both of which resulted in the exile and imprisonment of a number of activists, most notably Nelson Mandela. It consequently signaled a generational shift as well. Magaziner addresses this transition in the three chapters that comprise Part one Making Black Consciousness, noting in particular the ways in which university student politics provided a crucible for the rise of this new cohort of activists. Among them was Steve Biko,