

anyone different and more negative toward the United States and West.

As a student of Türkiye for more than fifty years, I am hopeful the book will be translated into Turkish, and that every Turk on either side of the political, secular, and religious spectrum will read it, especially those in government institutions at all levels, the police institutions, the military, academics, and private sector actors. American academics, military, and political observers of Türkiye, and leaders of MENA countries should not only read it, but should also discuss it extensively. This book offers much-needed constructive insight for understanding the Turks' self-identity.

William A. Mitchell
Baylor University
Waco, Texas

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The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe. Edited by Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012. 335pp. \$40.52.

The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe presents essays by well-known American and European experts on the history of the Brotherhood in Europe and several key elements of its ideology. One of just a few books on this controversial and important topic, it contains informative contributions by scholars such as Stefan Meining, Edwin Bakker, Lorenzo Vidino, John Calvert, Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, Elena Arigita, and Rafael Ortega. They detail how the Brotherhood established itself in different European countries and provide historical background on its internal ideological disputes.

While much of this analysis looks at the past, the book's introduction addresses the Muslim Brotherhood's current image as a radical organization and posits that *The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe* should "try to separate the valid arguments from the spurious ones" (p. 4). This is a tall order; most of the essays, even those arguing that the Brotherhood is moderate, add a caveat regarding its secrecy or ambiguous public statements, qualities that make any definitive analysis virtually impossible. Nor do subsequent essays analyze all of the charges listed in the introduction. Those regarding homophobia and anti-Semitism are perhaps most conspicuous by their absence, but

even the critical charge of alleged ties to terrorism is only dealt with in piecemeal fashion.

No author states unequivocally that the Muslim Brotherhood is radical; at most, several are skeptical about its goals and ideology. In contrast, those arguing that it is moderate sound confident. For example, coeditor Roel Meijer asserts that the Muslim Brotherhood “has become a more moderate movement that refutes violence and embraces democratic values, moving away from the idea of installing an Islamic state and implementing the *shari’a*” (p. 295). However, recent events in Egypt, Turkey, Libya, and Tunisia—where the Muslim Brotherhood has attempted to install an Islamic state, deprive women of their rights, persecute Christians, and silence opponents—cast grave doubt on his thesis.

Elsewhere, Brigitte Maréchal maintains that *The Charter of the Muslims of Europe*, presented by the Muslim Brotherhood’s umbrella European organization, shows that the Brotherhood feels it is “in the same boat” as other European citizens. However, she also cautions that “the Brothers are remarkably silent about their specific ideas, especially with regard to the interpretation of religious texts” (p. 101). Those texts are often the primary source of disputes between Muslims and non-Muslims. Given the Brothers’ silence, how can she be so sure they are committed to Western law and society? Again, current actions by Muslim Brotherhood leaders in the Mideast and North Africa, a significant number of whom are also leaders in the European Brotherhood, certainly undercut her argument.

The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe, despite presenting much useful historical background, is disappointingly silent on two key issues. First, none of the authors appears to think that much evidence exists regarding the strategy of the European Brotherhood. The introduction dismisses as “highly-charged” a book in which Swiss journalist Sylvan Besson argues that an unsigned memorandum titled “The Project” outlines such a strategy. Yet terrorism and Islamism experts like Olivier Guitta, Reuven Paz, and Juan Zarate argue that this document is in fact quite important. A U.S. federal court accepted as genuine a similar paper detailing the Brotherhood’s strategy for North America. An explanation of why “The Project” is not a reliable source would have made a useful contribution to the debate.

Second, the authors fail to discuss the European Brotherhood’s attitude toward the proliferating Muslim enclaves in Europe, the “parallel societies” or “no-go zones” governed by *shari’a*. The enclaves are an important source of the fear of the Islamization of Europe that in turn fuels distrust of the Muslim Brotherhood. Do leading Brothers distance themselves from the enclaves or do they support them? An analysis of Brotherhood attitudes would help to elucidate its true goals. It might also flesh out the apparent contradiction, raised by

several authors, between the Brotherhood's claim to represent all Muslims and its lack of mass appeal.

The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe contains much useful information but unfortunately fails to deal adequately with the controversial issues it raises, a failing thrown into sharp relief by recent real-world experiences revealing the true radicalism of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Leslie S. Lebl

Lebl Associates

Fellow, American Center for Democracy

Woodbury, Connecticut

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Sayyid Qutb: The Life and Legacy of a Radical Islamic Intellectual.

By James Toth. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. 392pp. \$35.00. E-book available.

Few Islamist authors have received as much attention in recent years as Sayyid Qutb. Popular portrayals of Qutb paint him as a paranoid, backwards, misogynistic radical. Scholars are more circumspect, and indeed there have been a number of excellent biographies published over the past several years about Qutb. Sadly, the saturated market of Qutb books is perhaps the biggest downfall of James Toth's contribution to the field, *Sayyid Qutb: The Life and Legacy of a Radical Islamic Intellectual*. Toth presents a balanced, nuanced picture of the often-misunderstood Qutb; however, the ambition of Toth's project ultimately takes away from the final product.

The book is divided into two parts: a biographical sketch of Qutb and a discussion of his political philosophy. The stronger of these two is the biography, not because it provides any groundbreaking revelations about Qutb but because Toth also highlights the various political upheavals Egypt experienced in the first two-thirds of the twentieth century. Providing the historical context for the formation of Qutb's thought allows the reader to develop a deeper appreciation of the evolution of Qutb's ideas from his youth through adulthood.

Slightly more than half of the book is taken up with a discussion of Qutb's "Islamic Concept." Although Toth does a decent enough job articulating the various aspects of Qutb's ideal Islamic society, he relies too heavily on Islamic political terminology that has no easy translation from Arabic to English without fleshing out the meaning of those terms. For those without much depth in the field