

is that it puts history explicitly at the center of foreign policy analysis. The question of why and how the British and U.S. governments pursued certain policies in the Middle East usually involves assessments of strategic objectives, decision-making processes, and implementation mechanisms to secure interests. Frampton is attentive to these considerations, but he frames them in the human impulses, hesitations, and intuitions of actors. In a laborious but mesmerizing account that extends from Britain's hegemony (1928–1952) to American ascendancy (1952–2010), the book draws on diplomatic cables, intelligence sources, and ethnographic materials to reconstruct key moments of “enmity and engagement” between the Brotherhood and the West. What is striking in this account is the similarity of the diplomatic language, the thorny options, and mutual suspicions that permeate relations between the Brotherhood and foreign powers across time and administrations. Political history emerges as the most reliable predictor of the British and American cycles of engagement and disengagement with Islamists in the Middle East.

Another major contribution of the book is how it connects the ideas of Hasan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb to the Muslim Brotherhood's overall political vision and subsequent actions and political success. There is an extensive body of academic and nonacademic writings on individual biographies of Muslim leaders and the political ideologies and strategies of Islamic movements, but few studies succeed in conceptually and empirically linking ideas to social activism and real-world events. In this regard, chapters 1 and 2 merit special attention. In the book's first chapter, “Origins and First Encounters: 1928–1939,” Frampton traces the birth of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928 and its evolution from a six-man group in Ismailia to a mighty national political movement by the 1930s. Frampton skillfully weaves in al-Banna's still-forming conception of an Islamic political entity with his keen observations of rapid social change, Western cultural influence, and the reality of British power in Egypt. In analyzing the Brotherhood's perspective on relations with the West, the book puts the history of ideas at the center of political action. Chapter 2, “Wartime Liaisons: 1940–1944,” brings up another important yet hidden dimension. British policy thinking about engaging or not engaging with the Brotherhood was informed by a close examination of those ideas and the evolution of the organization's behavior and potential. The book's fundamental claim is that the Brotherhood's leaders never shied away from those ideas and worldview, and the Western powers never encouraged the group's formal control, even though they were fully aware of its political influence.

But a word of caution is in order concerning this general conclusion. The book's narrow focus on the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, with passing references

to other cases, should advise against generalizations. Studies of political Islam show that the national context matters a great deal, as we can observe from divergent practical experiences in Tunisia, Morocco, and Jordan. Equally frustrating, Frampton seems to reproduce the binary ideological vision he attributes to the Brotherhood by depicting the group as invariably ideological, while portraying the Western powers as making rational political choices to defend objective interests. Still, Frampton's study of the Muslim Brotherhood's relation with the West offers great insight into Islamic political activism today and the dilemma of whether and how to engage Islamic movements and their affiliated parties. This book is a must reference for students, scholars, and journalists working on the subject of political Islam.

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DAVID STENNER. *Globalizing Morocco: Transnational Activism and the Postcolonial State*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2019. Pp. xiv, 289. Paper \$30.00.

For a long time, the study of Moroccan nationalism typically has been conceptualized through a state-centered analytical framework. This perspective has often precluded the analysis of forces and initiatives beyond the nation-state, such as nonstate actors and organizations that operate in regional or supranational contexts. Moreover, standard historiography has usually emphasized the histories of political activism in the French zone of the protectorate while neglecting the Spanish zone in northern Morocco, delineating the activities of a few celebrated actors and leaders of the nationalist party in great detail. In *Globalizing Morocco: Transnational Activism and the Postcolonial State*, David Stenner shifts the optic and advocates the need to transcend state-centered histories. Instead, he proposes social-network analysis as a means of studying Morocco's decolonization process. This conceptual reorientation allows Stenner to overcome the constraints of the dominant framework and extend the history of nationalism beyond the territorial borders of the state and the formal political organization of the nationalist party.

As Stenner suggests, social networks are informal entities that can span large geographical spaces and connect diverse actors for a specific purpose. Due to their dynamic character and flexibility, informal social networks are more effective tools for transnational advocacy campaigns than formal organizations, such as political parties. However, he notes, therein lies their major weakness. The extreme diversity of their members, nonhierarchical structure, and lack of shared culture prove to be detrimental to informal social networks after achieving their purpose and increase the

likelihood of their demise. Furthermore, because central brokers hold unique positions within the network, their withdrawal from it can easily damage the social movement.

Stenner carefully explores the critical role played by several activists, including lesser-known Moroccan nationalists from both the Spanish and French zones who relocated abroad and foreign sympathizers. These brokers served as bridges between Morocco and the outside world, creating an informal international network that raised global awareness for Morocco's struggle against colonial rule in the period between World War II and the end of the protectorate in 1956. Among the Moroccans' foreign supporters were American intelligence agents, labor activists, businessmen, a former first lady, British journalists, French intellectuals, Egyptian Islamists, and Iraqi and Pakistani diplomats (3). Stenner follows their activities in Tangier, Cairo, Paris, and New York as they successfully brought the nationalists' demands for independence to the attention of an international audience. Whether publishing articles critical of French colonial policies, translating propaganda material into English, organizing receptions to attract international media attention, creating personal contacts with prominent politicians, or giving speeches and interviews to sway public opinion, these global activists proved pivotal in propagating the Moroccan nationalist message abroad. Stenner argues the diplomatic success of the Moroccan international campaign cannot be understood outside the emergence of the new global order of the early Cold War era. This bipolar conflict, he contends, provided anticolonial activists with numerous opportunities to make their voices heard, and the Moroccans were no exception. He illuminates their skillful participation in international diplomacy; in particular, he highlights the nationalists' effort to convince the UN General Assembly to address the "Moroccan question." Finally, Stenner demonstrates that after this informal and transnational alliance had achieved its goal of ending colonial rule, the network quickly unraveled. The very flexible nature of the network that constituted an advantage throughout the liberation struggle became a critical impediment after Morocco gained independence. The king also contributed to its demise by co-opting the central brokers of the network and placing many of them in official leadership positions in the newly independent state or as ambassadors abroad. This move proved destructive for Moroccan politics, as it significantly weakened the nationalist movement, which lost talented personnel and important international contacts, and consolidated the king's dominance of the political stage after 1956.

By introducing a novel way of thinking about the Moroccan anticolonial struggle that draws upon transnational network analysis, Stenner recovers an overlooked history. His effort to look beyond the nation-state enables a nuanced exploration of Moroccan na-

tionalist activism in the local, regional, and international contexts concurrently. Especially important to his historical narrative is exposing the effect regional and international dynamics had on local politics. Further, his move away from a fixation on formal institutions of political activism offers a particularly important study of forgotten activists who previously were considered marginal to the struggle for independence. In turn, this allows him to contest the divided history of the nationalist movement into separate French and Spanish zones and to view Morocco's struggle through a comprehensive framework of analysis that treats Morocco as a whole. Finally, he investigates the continued significance of Moroccan global activists in the postindependence period and broadens our understanding of the legacy of colonial rule in Morocco. Stenner has written an excellent book that deserves serious consideration from all historians interested in anticolonial movements.

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CASSANDRA MARK-THIESEN. *Mediators, Contract Men, and Colonial Capital: Mechanized Gold Mining in the Gold Coast Colony, 1879–1909*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2018. Pp. xii, 217. Cloth \$110.00.

In *Mediators, Contract Men, and Colonial Capital: Mechanized Gold Mining in the Gold Coast Colony, 1879–1909*, author Cassandra Mark-Thiesen has generated an engaging social and economic history of African mine workers in the Gold Coast colony, the first mechanized mining sector in West Africa (2). The book reconstructs the lives of these laborers, but also the lives of the African recruiters who facilitated the employment of indigenous workers on the gold mines. Mark-Thiesen's extended engagement with these African intermediaries generates the book's most interesting sections and also constitutes its most important historiographical contribution. These individuals ably navigated a rapidly shifting mining landscape, in which new companies came online and also failed with regularity, while the industry experienced two major boom cycles during the opening decades of operations. Initially, these indigenous recruiters were former mine workers themselves and not only ensured that their recruits made their way to the mines to commence employment; they were also responsible for training and overseeing the recruits once they began to work. Over time, this holistic approach splintered into the constituent tasks, with multiple individuals assuming the various roles that a single recruiter previously performed. Mark-Thiesen deftly reconstructs the labor