# Radical Islam in Europe and the Siren Song of Multiculturalism

Problems with multiculturalism, especially those caused directly or indirectly by Islamic jihadism and immigration, with a focus on the situation in Europe

## by Robert H. Barrigar

here are words that invoke many different meanings, some of them incompatible with one another. Egregious examples in the English language are "fast," "sanction," and "cleave," each of which has two diametrically opposite meanings.

Other words embrace so many disparate concepts that they frequently frustrate analysis, dialogue and explanation, and lead to misunderstandings between people. Examples are "democracy," "liberal," "education," "Islam," and "justice."

One such word in the latter category is "multiculturalism." It is in the news because, for example, German Chancellor Merkel, former British Prime Minister Cameron, and of course Dutch parliamentarian Geert Wilders, have recently been critical of it or of some of its consequences.

In a broad sense, "multiculturalism" means the coexistence and tolerance of several cultural or ethnic groups within a society. Wikipedia defines the word as meaning "the acceptance or promotion of multiple ethnic cultures, applied to the demographic make-up of a specific place, usually at the organizational level, e.g., schools, businesses, neighbourhoods, cities or nations." Already one notes a questionable limitation in that definition, since discrete cul-

tures may be associated not with ethnicity but with religion or various other traditional social practices. Andrew Heywood in his book *Political Ideologies* notes that the word may have either a descriptive function or a normative function: "As a descriptive term, it has been taken to refer to cultural diversity ... As a normative term, multiculturalism implies a positive endorsement, even celebration, of communal diversity, typically based on either the right of different groups to respect and recognition by others, or to the alleged benefits to the larger society of moral and cultural diversity."

Enforced multiculturalism has a very long history. In Biblical times, displaced ethnic Jews spent generations in Egypt. Victors everywhere generally preferred to rule rather than kill those whom they conquered. The Roman policy of coopting recently defeated enemies as allies was hugely successful. It was not long after Julius Caesar's conquest of Gaul that Gauls became the most numerous soldiers in the Roman army. This tendency to absorb conquered people into an empire has persisted into modern times. The present composition of the populace of countries such as India and Italy is at least in part directly attributable to military conquests of the 19th cen-

tury, and that of countries such as China, Pakistan, Indonesia, to more recent military activity.

However, multiculturalism has been a subordinate factor in nation-building. Garibaldi emphasized the unifying factors shared by the peoples of Italy and largely ignored ethnic differences. Like Italy, Germany had its share of internal military conquest prior to World War I, but until very recent years saw itself solely as the homeland of ethnic Germans. Sometimes the resulting societal constituents of an ad hoc coopered-up country or empire get along tolerably well together, as in Italy (despite significant north-south disparities), but sometimes the country fragments upon disappearance of the coalescing force, exemplified with a vengeance in Yugoslavia once Marshal Tito died.

But what of voluntary multiculturalism, or politically supported multiculturalism, that requires the support or at least the tolerance of a majority of the people in a given country? Tolerance of cultural differences does not per se imply that multiculturalism exists.

The classic example is America. Massive immigration was encouraged, especially in the 19th century, and immigration is still officially encouraged, despite some dissent proximate to the southern border of the US and

in the White House. A century and longer ago, although there was friction, the little Dutch girl from Sheboygan eventually perfected her spoken English, and the immigrants, largely of white European origin, integrated well into American society. Sometimes the immigrant subgroups surpassed the descendants of earlier settlers. "Hey, Mac" shouted by a Manhattan cab driver owes much to Irish immigration and nothing to the earlier Dutch and English settlers.

But the histories of 19th-century white Europeans arriving in America were to a great extent parallel to those of the earlier white settlers. Quite a different story emerges if one examines the fate in

America of the aboriginals, or that of the slaves from Africa and their descendants.

America has traditionally espoused a meltingpot manifestation of multiculturalism – immigrants are expected to adapt to American society as they find it, to speak English, to have their children educated by institutions that for decades have attended to the education of the native-born, etc. This theory is tenable in the US, but not in Canada, because Canada is the product of two principal founding societies, the English and the French, having not only linguistic but also significant cultural distinctions from one another. And increasingly over the decades, immigrants arriving in Canada are neither francophone nor anglophone, are not white, have no Christian religion or tradi-

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Multiculturalism comes under more intense scrutiny and debate when one considers the problems of immigration today. From a European perspective, it's clearly time to take measures to prevent (to the extent possible) militant Islamists from causing further terrorist attacks, such attacks apparently perceived

by Islamic State and other Islamic terrorist groups as serving the objective of having Muslims take over and govern the non-Islamic world. At present, Europe more than elsewhere is especially acutely threatened. But how to stop the radical Islamist tide there? And what policies are suitable for Canada in the light of the drastically altered situation now facing Europe?

Many scenarios may be imagined to halt the spread of militant Islam – some of them quite horrendous, many of them requiring Western countries to abandon or modify long-cherished beliefs and principles. Almost any effective solution will violate at least some present constitutional

and Afro-Americans.

or legal provisions or principles, necessitating suitable amendment thereof.

#### The present situation

Middle East expert Amir Taheri has characterized the present situation in the US this way:

The politically correct crowd has turned Islam into a new taboo. They brand any criticism of Islam as racist, ethnocentrist or simply vile, all crammed together in the new category of "Islamophobia." Is it Islamophobia to question a religion whose Middle East leaders often preach "Death to America" and hatred for Western values?

More prevalent than Islamophobia is Islamophilia, as leftists treat Muslims as children whose feathers should not be ruffled. The Islamophilia crowd invites Americans and Europeans to sacrifice part of their own freedom in atonement of largely imaginary sins against Muslims in the colonial and imperialist era.<sup>2</sup>

Interestingly, a dozen years ago former Governor of Colorado Richard Lamm said this: "If you believe that America is too smug, too self-satisfied, too rich, then let's destroy America. It is not that hard to do. No nation in history has survived the ravages of time. Arnold Toynbee observed that all great civilizations rise and fall and that 'An autopsy of history would show that all great nations commit suicide." Prof. Lamm's recipe for the suicide of America was the following:

- Turn America into a bilingual or multi-lingual and bicultural country. History shows that no nation can survive the tension, conflict, and antagonism of two or more competing languages and cultures.
- Invent 'multiculturalism' and encourage immigrants to maintain their culture.
- Celebrate diversity rather than unity.
- Encourage all immigrants to keep their own language and culture. Replace the melting-pot metaphor with the salad-bowl metaphor.
- Make our fastest growing demographic group the least educated.
- Persuade large foundations and business to give the foregoing efforts lots of money. Invest in ethnic identity, and establish the cult of 'Victimology.'
   Persuade all minorities to think that their lack

- of success is the fault of the majority. Start a grievance industry blaming all minority failure on the majority population.
- Create dual citizenship and promote divided loyalties. Celebrate diversity over unity. Stress differences rather than similarities.
- Make it taboo to speak against the cult of 'diversity.'
- Make it impossible to enforce our immigration laws. Develop this mantra: That because immigration has in the past been good for America, it must always be good. All immigrants should be treated as symmetric. Ignore the cumulative impact of millions of them.<sup>4</sup>

Further, we must in my view recognize that attempting to address only large-group threats will not solve our problems. The threats that are most likely to materialize into terror, at least in the near to intermediate term, are those made by individuals or small groups, not by quasi-governments nor large groups. In Canada, witness the attacks on Parliament Hill and in St. Jean-sur-Richelieu, both in 2014. Although before the Parliament Hill attack, the RCMP had received warnings, 5 these were later reported to have been too vague to have justified police action. 6 The St. Jean-sur-Richelieu attack was characterized by Public Safety Minister Blaney as "clearly linked to terrorist ideology."

I have also taken into account the inevitable tendency of militant Islamists to take over Muslim communities to the disadvantage of so-called "moderate" Muslims, who are compelled to accept the take-overs in order to avoid having themselves and their families killed as "apostates" or quasi-infidels. European governments have found that the higher the Muslim population in an area, the greater and more extreme are the efforts of the militants.

A number of imams have categorically stated that there are no "moderate Muslims." Influential Malay Muslim Ridhuan Tee Abdullah has stated bluntly that "Islam is not a moderate religion, but a fundamental one." Either an individual is a Muslim or s/he is not. Exceptions and dissent are not tolerated. "Islamic countries today, such as Saudi Arabia, operate under Islamic law, with no toleration for dissent. There are no Christian

churches in Saudi Arabia. Even the country's 'moderate' Muslims are required to conform to strict sharia law or face penalties such as imprisonment, public beatings, having their hands and feet cut off, and even beheadings."9

While it seems that many Muslims would, were they free to do so, prefer to be "moderate Muslims" or even "secular Muslims," it is the militants who control the Muslim world, and their threats (and their carrying out of their threats) frequently keep the other Muslims from expressing any tolerance for moderate views or

Western views or condemnation of jihadist acts. The would-be moderate Muslims would rather stay alive and protect their families from harm than criticize the jihadists. That is a principal reason why it is often difficult for non-Muslims to distinguish Islamist radicals from Muslim non-radicals.

By way of example, the Taliban have been assassinating "moderate" Muslim imams. <sup>10</sup> Muslims have even gone so far as to issue fatwas against victims of militant Muslims. As a flagrant example, UK Islamists issued a fatwa against Malala Yousafzai, the Nobel Prize-winning Pakistani schoolgirl shot by the Taliban. <sup>11</sup>

When "moderate" Muslims have criticized the views and practices of Islamic State, they have sometimes done so in a manner that leaves Westerners troubled by many of the "moderate" views. See, for example, 6 Elements of 'Extremist' Islam That 'Moderate' Muslims Endorsed as They Condemned the Islamic State. 12

Author and philosopher Jonathan M.S. Pearce has examined this issue in detail in some of his writings, of which his paper "*True Islam" and violent extremism* is both representative and helpfully analytical.<sup>13</sup>

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There are branches of Islam that are arguably truly moderate. Of these, the Nizari Ismailis, whose Imam is the Aga Khan, and the Alawites are particulary noted for their distance from mainstream Sunni Islam. The Aga Khan Museum is a museum of Islamic art, Persian art and Muslim culture in the North York district of Toronto. The foundation-laying ceremony for the Museum was performed by then Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper and the Aga Khan in 2010.14 Notwithstanding that Syria's President al-Assad is an Alawite, the sect's syncretic doctrine incorporates ancient Judaic, Gnostic,

neo-Platonic, Islamic, Christian and other elements. As well as Biblical prophets and saints, Alawites acknowledge Krishna and Buddha as religious teachers and models.<sup>15</sup>

Prof. Ali Asani, an Ismaili Muslim and director of the Islamic studies program at Harvard University, put the Aga Khan's work into perspective this way:

We are witnessing an ideological competition, a battle between different interpretations of the Islamic faith, which profoundly impacts popular perceptions of the faith. His Highness the Aga Khan espouses a cosmopolitan vision of Islam which embraces religious, ethnic, and cultural diversities. Others' interpretations of Islam are ahistorical and acultural in their approach, often defining it through negative or purely ideological terms.

Several such [ideologically motivated] groups are opposed to the cultural arts and music. They go around destroying our shared human cultural heritage. They have their reasons for doing so, grounded in their context, but their highly ideological and polarizing vision of Islam contrasts starkly with the Aga Khan's vision, which promotes the arts through various initiatives such as the Aga Khan Program in Islamic Architecture, jointly administered by Harvard and MIT; the Aga Khan Trust

for Culture, which is engaged in restoring historic monuments in several cities in Africa and Asia; and the Aga Khan Music Initiative.

The Aga Khan notes that the Qur'an itself embraces pluralism, diversity, and differences of opinion. For example, one verse [49:13] says, "We [God] have created you male and female, and appointed you races and tribes, that you may know one another," or to that effect depending

on how one translates it. His Highness extrapolated that observation to find "at the very heart of the Islamic faith... a conviction that we are all born 'of a single soul'" and that despite our diversity, "we share, in a most profound sense, a common humanity."

The purpose of God creating difference in human society—whether it is gender difference, or ethnic, or any kind—is supposed to be an occasion for learning and knowledge. Through that knowledge, as we engage with "the other," we see that we're actually engaging with other viewpoints and in the process coming to know ourselves better. It's not meant to eliminate difference. It's used to celebrate difference and engage with it in a very positive way.<sup>16</sup>

Prof. Asani in his Harvard lectures focuses on "silent Islam," "the work that people do that's driven by faith" rather than the power-driven "loud Islam," in which people "are using Islam to justify hegemonic goals." He refers to the Aga Khan as a practitioner of silent Islam. Prof. Asani adds, "Oftentimes I get asked where are the moderate Muslims and why aren't they speaking out. Well here is a Muslim — listen to him."

I concede that what Muslims believe, what they tolerate, what they do, is by no means homogeneous. The Islamic world is complex even to life-long Muslims. That is one of the reasons for which I

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endeavour to avoid condemnation of and prejudice against Muslims as fellow human beings, but I absolutely condemn Islam as a fundamental foundation for, and a commonplace pretext for, multiple crimes against humanity, and a cover for the militant jihadists who kill, mutilate, rape, steal from, and threaten those who don't agree with them and who refuse to accept their rule. There can be no doubt that Islam is the

most dangerous dogma and militant movement facing the world. Islam is not merely a religion; it is a repressive way of life.

#### Today's preferred response to radical Islam

The immediate solution in response to Islamic threat requires governmental control of radical Islam, relatively rapid and effective constraints on jihadist violence, and a willingness on the part of the immigrant Muslim population to accommodate themselves to the prevailing Western society, values, political views and traditional social practices found in European countries and North America, while preserving freedom of belief in the Islam religion within the aforementioned constraints and accommodation.

The aforementioned proposal for immediate measures to be taken, intended to preserve the European heritage and to respect its principles to the extent possible and concurrently preventing its destruction by radical Islamists and avoiding Governor Lamm's recipe above, has been devised for application to Europe. Since Europe at present faces an acute emergency, it has been easier for me to make suggestions applicable to Europe than suggestions more suitable for Canada to follow. Nevertheless, as Canada is a friend of Europe and can learn from the European experience, it is in

my respectful submission potentially useful to study the European situation when formulating Canadian policy. With President Trump's policies still under critical review, it is difficult to decide what in America's history or present situation would constitute suitable guidelines for Canada to follow.

### A more drastic future proposal, intended for implementation in western European countries in response to their present situation and in response to future Islamic jihadist violence and disruption:

The authorities in each European country should adopt and implement a suitable strategy and methodology to achieve acceptance by Muslims of European values, assimilation of immigrants, and in particular to achieve the following objectives:

- Recognize that Islam's negative teachings, practices, and attributes provide support for Islamic extremists, and that the negatives outweigh whatever positive benefits Islam may have. Educate and inform all citizens and their children accordingly.
- Defuse those Muslim males who threaten European society.
- Liberate Muslim women.
- Dissuade Muslim children from uncritical adherence to Islam.
- Exclude Islam from multiculturalist protection except as to its strictly religious beliefs.
- Effect summary deportation of all non-citizen Muslim troublemakers
- Deny citizenship, and deny state welfare benefits of all kinds whatsoever, to all Muslim males except those who have entered Europe as children or who have settled in a European country for a minimum of 15 years, and who have accepted and observed European values.
- Curb or limit further Muslim migration into Europe.
- Prohibit the building of any new mosques in Europe. Relax this prohibition to the extent that Islamic nations permit churches to be built in those nations and that tolerate the Christian and

- Judaic religions. (When circumstances are ripe, it may be possible from time to time to convert any mosques that now exist in Europe to public uses, churches, or synagogues, whichever is locally supported.)
- Enforce compliance by all Muslims with prevailing laws and regulations. Prohibit establishment of sharia law, even informally, and prohibit compliance therewith.
- Strengthen the military and police forces of all European nations to provide adequate enforcement of the aforementioned programs.

# Suggestions as to some specifics of such adoption and implementation:

Defuse those Muslim males who threaten European society

- Effect summary deportation to some suitable destination of all Muslim males (but not necessarily their families) who (i) have entered Europe illegally; or (ii) have engaged in trouble-making or have manifested trouble-making tendencies.
- Deny citizenship, and deny state welfare benefits of all kinds whatsoever, to all Muslim males, except those who have entered Europe as children or who have settled in a European country for a minimum of 15 years, and who have ostensibly accepted and observed European values.
- Monitor in the discretion of the military, police, and public authorities all communications between troublesome Muslims and everyone else. The content of such communications may be used to discover trouble-making or trouble-making tendencies.
- Have the police actively monitor Muslim gatherings suspected of being likely to cause trouble. If circumstances so indicate, require all Muslim males (either generally or in specified regions) to obtain advance approval of any meeting of more than a prescribed number of Muslim males, with due notice of the place and time of such meeting, and make arrangements for the monitoring of such meeting by the authorities. (This requirement may be abandoned or modified following satisfactory integration of the Muslims into the European community.)

#### Liberate Muslim women in Europe

- Provide suitable education to all Muslim girls and women to bring their education up to European high-school graduation standards as a minimum.
- Support higher education for Muslim women who show promise of benefiting from such.
- Require Muslim women to avoid hiding their faces when performing a public duty or responsibility. There is no fundamental or rigid Islamic religious duty or obligation requiring women to cover their faces under any circumstances.<sup>18</sup>
- Require Muslim women to report to the authorities any and all abuse, including that by their husbands or other family members. Beating of women or children constitutes one form of abuse. (If the law requires all women, regardless of their religion, to report abuse, then there is no reason to single out Muslim women.)

# Dissuade Muslim children from uncritical adherence to Islam

- Abolish and prevent the establishment of Madrassa schools and other Islamic schools (for adults as well as children). (This requirement may be waived if such schools forbear from teaching radical and jihadist Islam.)
- Require all children of Muslim parents to become educated in non-Islamic schools and to take instruction in European law, culture, traditions, and political and social practices, as well as instruction in the locally used European language(s).
- Prohibit imams and other Islamic leaders from publicly promoting any views inconsistent with the adoption and implementation of the strategy and methodology recommended herein.
- If a Muslim child 14 years old or less is considered by the authorities to be at risk of becoming a militant Islamist or at risk of chronically engaging in a trouble-making activity, and the child's parents have not taken suitable steps to reduce such risk, or if the authorities perceive that the child's situation subjects the child or related children to an unacceptably high risk of becoming militant Islamists or at risk of engaging in a trouble-making activity, the authorities may require such child or children to be subjected to care and education intended to reduce such risk, and may be placed for foster care and/or adoption by substitute parents who

are perceived by the authorities as unlikely to be susceptible to such risk or its promotion.

• Authorities shall retain the right to monitor mosques and other Islamic institutions, buildings and locations to ensure compliance with the recommendations herein, and may order the closing of any such if a risk is perceived of noncompliance with the recommendations herein.

#### **Afterthought: Demographics**

Note that the foregoing proposals do nothing to reverse the worrisome demographic trend occurring in the ancestral populations of western Europe. Prevailing demographics in which the Muslim birthrate substantially exceeds the non-Muslim birthrate negatively affect security. It will be necessary to balance the risk of excessive Muslim and low non-Muslim birthrates against the objective of global population reduction. Further measures to promote European birthrates and to lower Muslim birthrates may conceivably have to be taken, even if the consequence is to delay global population reduction.

#### Conclusion

Multiculturalism in the Western understanding embraces differing social practices and religions. It is compatible with differing political views. It embraces differing laws applicable to different religious groups only to the extent of accommodating differing religious beliefs and practices that are not *per se* in violation of the laws of the country in question.

In contrast, Islam is a total way of life, embracing not only separate religion but also separate law, social practices, government, and political adherence and advocacy. Islam does not lend itself to accommodation of Muslims within established Western society.

Islamic jihadism is especially incompatible with Western concepts of multiculturalism. Muslims who reject any attribute of Islam are considered apostates, and under Islam, apostasy is punishable by death. Consequently Muslim "moderates," to the extent that such exist, know that they risk death if they reject current exhortations of imams and other Muslim leaders. Partly for that reason, Alawites are secretive about their religion.

If Western culture, society and freedoms are

to be preserved, Western multiculturalism must not countenance the extremes of Islam. Western governments must be cautious about the extent to which they welcome Muslim immigration and the extent to which they permit Muslims to practise the Islamic way of life in Western countries. Such Islamic practice must not be permitted to occur in a manner that threatens Western civilization.

#### **End Notes**

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Now retired, Robert Barrigar, Q.C., B.A.Sc. University of Toronto 1959, LL.B. Dalhousie Law School 1963, LL.M. Harvard Law School 1964, previously practised intellectual property law and is the author of a continually updated book on patent law. He has served the Government of Canada as special counsel on legislative reform, is a former President of the Intellectual Property Institute of Canada, and served on Council of the International Federation of Intellectual Property Attorneys, as well as President of its Canadian section. He was inducted into the Bertha Wilson Honour Society (named after the first woman appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada) in 2014. Robert has also been active in environmental organizations and projects, having served on the national executive of the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society and as President of its Ottawa-Hull chapter.

Editor's Note: While some readers may find Barrigar's recommendations shocking, European countries may be inching toward considering comparable ones. On September 27, TheLocal.ch reported that the Swiss Lower House voted to prohibit mosques from taking foreign money, to require them to declare where their financial backing came from and for what the money would be used, and to require that imams preach in the local language. The Swiss Senate has yet to debate the bill; the Federal Council, which constitutes the government's executive branch, opposes the measure on the grounds that it places Muslims "under general suspicion" and "fuels the argument of extremists."



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