# Islam and Europe: Cycles of Resurgence

Background context

The transition of Christianity from persecuted early Church to official faith of the Roman Empire is well documented in Scripture and historical literature. From its modest beginnings in Palestine, Christianity was taken throughout the Mediterranean basin by the Apostle Paul and subsequent early missionaries. The seven churches of Asia Minor are described in some detail in the New Testament, but the conversion of the Roman Emperor Constantine opened the way for the new faith to spread as far afield as North Africa, Spain, and Britain.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

■ 325 AD
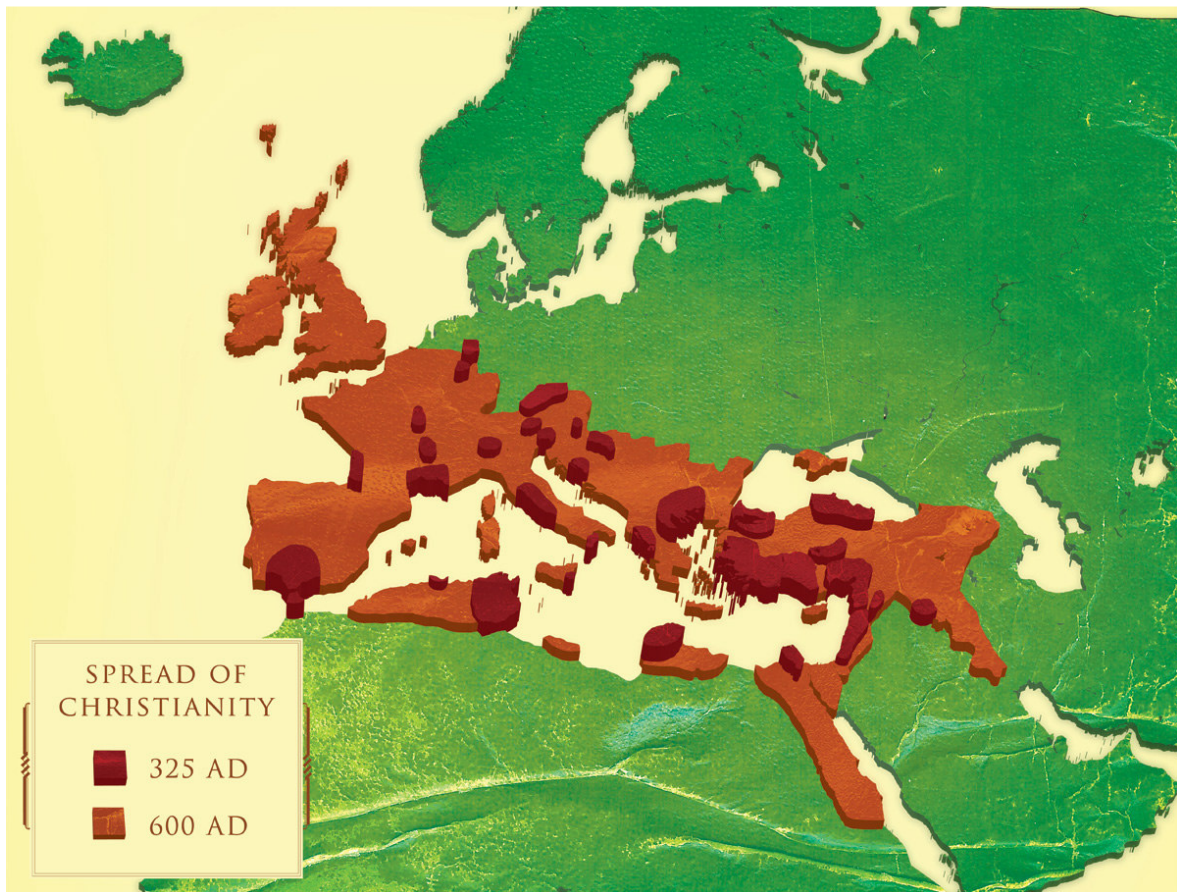
■ 600 AD

As the above map shows, around 600 AD Christianity was virtually unchallenged as the dominant faith of the Mediterranean lands. It was within this context that Islam emerged as a powerful rival to Christianity during the 7th century.
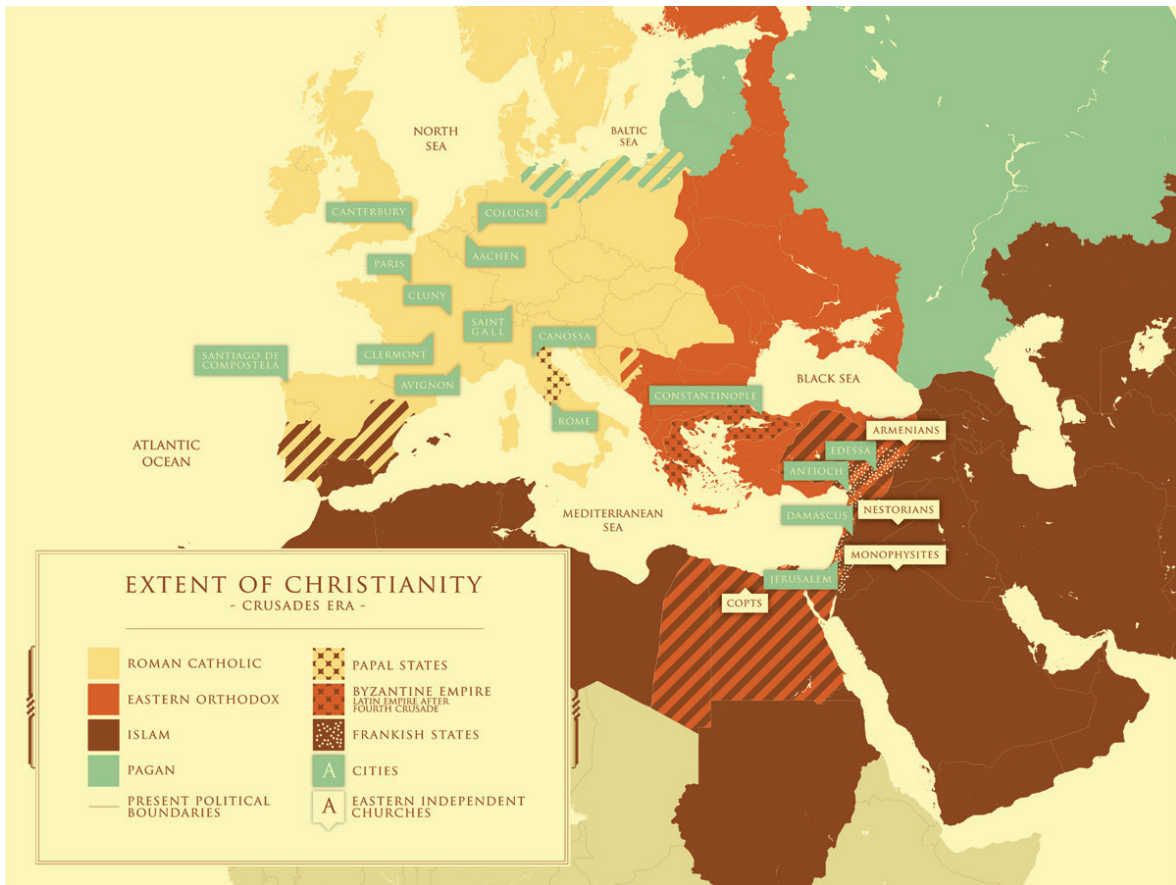
The Islamic Circle

The history of Islam since its inception in the early 7th century AD has been marked by cycles of resurgence and decline. This can be divided into several phases at the macro level.

<u>Phase 1: Surge and Consolidation (610—mid-11th century)</u>

The first phase of this cycle is represented by the great initial surge and consolidation of the Islamic faith. Muhammad (570-632), prophet of Islam, was born into an Arabian context where many gods were worshipped. Beyond the borders of Arabia were great empires in decline: the Eastern Roman Empire centered on Byzantium and the Sassanian Empire in Persia, where the Zoroastrian faith predominated. The region was ripe for dramatic political, social, and religious change. During his ministry (610-632) Muhammad articulated the foundational theological and legal principles of Islam, which were further elaborated by subsequent generations of Muslim leaders. He also provided the early model for expanding Islamic territory, and according to the most authoritative biography of the prophet of Islam written by Ibn Ishaq (d. 767) and edited by Ibn Hisham (d. 833),[1] he personally led the early Muslim armies in battle on over two dozen occasions and was wounded in the process.

The later generations of Muslim leaders also surged through military conquest beyond the early Muslim borders centered on Mecca and Medina to spread throughout the Middle East, North Africa, Spain and beyond, Persia, and India. The period of greatest imperial expansion was from 632-750, under the Umayyad dynasty. The Islamic push into Europe was only stopped in 732 on the plains of Poitiers in France, when Charles Martel led the Franks in a great defeat of the seemingly invincible invading Muslim Umayyad army. After this Muslim conquest of vast domains in Europe and Asia, there followed a 300-year period of consolidation, with various dynasties vying for leadership of the Islamic world.[2]

Islamic military expansion meant Christian retreat on a vast scale. In fact, for over 450 years Christian domains experienced continual erosion, with the Muslim conquest of the Holy Land, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain. This is clearly reflected in the map below of Christian and Muslim territory in the 11th century, which presents a stark contrast with the previous map.

EXTENT OF CHRISTIANITY
- CRUSADES ERA -

ROMAN CATHOLIC
EASTERN ORTHODOX
ISLAM
PAGAN
PRESENT POLITICAL BOUNDARIES

PAPAL STATES
BYZANTINE EMPIRE LATIN EMPIRE AFTER FOURTH CRUSADE
FRANKISH STATES
A CITIES
A EASTERN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES

Phase 2: Decline (11th – 14th centuries) & Resurgence (14th – 18th centuries)

The initial phase of great Muslim imperial dominance was followed by a period of relative decline. This decline resulted from a range of factors: dynastic rivalry, established dynasties' losing their edge, and resurgence among Christian forces in Europe. The most significant event in terms of the latter factor was the Christian Crusades, which lasted for over 200 years and took the form of eight or more significant military campaigns sent from Europe to challenge Muslim dominance in various regions of the Middle East.

Much has been written about the Crusades down through the centuries. However in the late 20th century it became fashionable in Europe to extract the Crusades from their broader historical context, to portray them as a black spot on European history due to the level of violence associated with the Crusaders, and to view the campaigns as acts of unprovoked and naked aggression. In fact, the Crusades were first and foremost a European response to centuries of military defeat and retreat in the face of the first phase of Islamic expansion. In other words, the Crusades represented a counter-attack on a grand scale. Much of the violence resulting from these campaigns was excessive, but such was the context of the times in which they were fought.

However, the centuries of decline in Islamic imperial history did not prove to be terminal. Islam is much more than a religious faith; it is rather an all-encompassing ideology covering individual and society, providing guidance on faith, politics, law, and every aspect of life. So in periods of decline in one aspect, Islam has a capacity to resurrect itself in another facet of its multiple identity, drawing on the model of its soldier-prophet, its self-perception as covering all aspects of life, its doctrine of jihad and its firm belief in the superiority of its message over that of other faiths. The jihad doctrine is a key ingredient of Islamic resurgence, ensuring that as Muslims turn from laxity to become more devout, such a transition will be accompanied by activism and militancy, which is sometimes expressed in violent means, fuelled by certain references from the Qur'an and prophetic traditions (Hadith). This trajectory towards militant activism is also present in the life of Muhammad himself, who started out as a peaceful protestor in Mecca and became the military leader and first great jihad warrior in Medina in the last part of his ministry.[3]

So from the depths of its decline, in the wake of the devastating Mongol invasions of the mid-13th century, emerged a group of dynamic new Islamic empires driven on by new Muslim people groups (14th – 18th centuries): the Ottoman Turks, the Safavids in Persia, the Mughals in India, and the Acehnese in the Malay world.

This phase of Islamic resurgence was also characterized by intra-Muslim rivalries and conflicts. But in terms of Muslim engagement with Christian Europe, focus falls on the military campaigns of the Ottoman Turks into Eastern Europe. The path was cleared for these campaigns by arguably the greatest watershed event in Christian-Muslim history: the fall of Constantinople, the great and ancient capital of the Byzantine Empire, in 1453.

This phase of Islamic resurgence was accompanied by extensive Islamization of conquered lands. While conversions to Islam throughout the regions of the Middle East conquered earlier proceeded apace, Ottoman policies and practice led to varying degrees of Islamization in their newly conquered Eastern European regions. In some instances Christian subjects within the Islamic domains converted to Islam for reasons of economic advantage, in order to benefit from the lighter taxes which were levied on Muslim subjects. At its worst, however, the Ottoman methodology of Islamization resembled what is referred to as ethnic cleansing today. Consider the fate of Constantinople after its capture. Roger Crowley observes:

> The vast majority of the ordinary citizens – about 30,000 – were marched off to the slave markets of Edirne, Bursa and Ankara... Conversion was a not uncommon occurrence, so traumatic had been the failure of prayers and relics to prevent the capture of the God-protected city by Islam. Many more captives simply disappeared into the gene pool of the Ottoman Empire.[4]

An Ottoman source provides testimony to the process of expelling one population and importing another:

> When Sultan Mehmed Khan Gazi had captured Istanbul … he sent messengers to all his lands saying, "Whosoever wishes, let him come, and let him become owner of houses, vineyards, and gardens in Istanbul." And they gave them to all who came.[5]

Barely two centuries later, Paul Ricaut, British Consul in Smyrna, reported in 1678 that he had seen evidence of Christians expelled from churches (which were then converted to mosques), Christian priests officiated in private out of fear, and many Christians converted to Islam because of the difficulties they faced.[6]

It is little wonder that, as the Ottoman imperial thrust into Eastern Europe proceeded, there was much Islamizing along the way, the legacy of which can be seen today in the substantial Muslim populations in areas such as Albania, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, with Muslims constituting a majority in the first two locations. It is also unsurprising that there is much suspicion of the Turks in the countries of Eastern Europe today, where opposition to Turkey's application to join the European Union is strong.

Phase 3: Decline (18th – 20th centuries) & Resurgence (late 20th century onwards)

The great Ottoman imperial dominance in Eastern Europe was followed by another period of relative decline. By the 19th century Ottoman Turkey was an empire in advanced decay. Its borders were rapidly shrinking, and its claim to be the center of Sunni Islamic authority through possession of the Caliphate was increasingly challenged by other Muslim locations, principally Mecca and Cairo. Minorities often paid the price for the Ottoman sense of concern at the empire's decline, with widespread massacres carried out against the resident Christian Armenian population in 1915-1917.[7]

Furthermore, Islam as a world force was overshadowed during the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries by the empire-building activities of the West, especially Christian Europe and, to a lesser extent, the USA. European colonial expansion during this period led to vast tracts of Muslim territory all over the world being taken over by non-Muslim powers.

Although it is easy simplistically to equate all empire building, whether Western or Islamic, significant differences should be noted, such as the efforts by key Western colonial powers to prepare colonized populations for eventual independence (e.g., Britain in India and Malaya; USA in the Philippines).

It is also worth pausing to consider the often-repeated claim that medieval Muslims were more tolerant than medieval Christians.[8] This line of argument ignores a key point: when medieval Muslims discriminated against minorities, they were acting in concert with their texts and their sacred law. When medieval Christians did so, they were acting in clear contravention of the teachings of Jesus Christ as recorded in the New Testament. Such Muslims were in fact good Muslims, in as much as they were seeking to implement the injunctions of their faith; the Christians concerned were not really Christian at all.

The *coup de grâce* to Ottoman power was delivered by European nations in the First World War, which precipitated the establishment of the secular republic of Turkey and the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924. This latter event was to have far reaching ramifications in later decades.

As noted above, a decline in Islamic power leads inevitably to the faith's adaptation to new circumstances and to eventual resurgence by going back to its Qur'anic roots and to the example of its activist prophet. This has been in evidence, especially since the 1970s. But in this new phase of resurgence, Islamic armies are not on the march, conquering vast new territorial domains,[9] as was seen in earlier phases. The features of this phase are varied and flexible, reflecting the fact that Islam is more than just creed; it is also political ideology, legal system, social organization, and so forth.

The cycles of Islamic resurgence and decline, compared with Christianity's decline and resurgence, can be visually represented as follows:
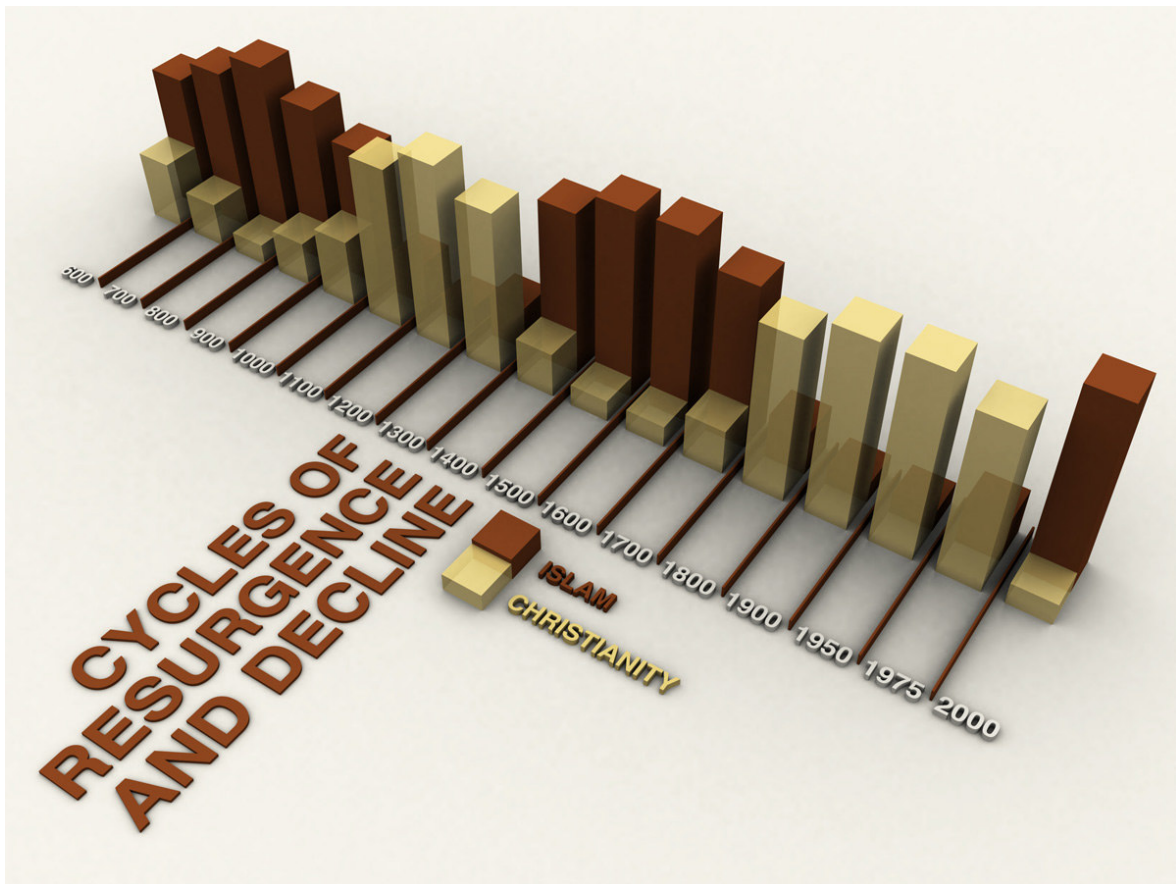
This new phase of Islamic resurgence is funded by wealthy, oil-rich Muslim nations and is facilitated by the movement of Islamic populations into post-Christian Western societies. These new Muslim immigrant communities jostle for power with declining European societies that have lost much of their confidence and sense of pride in their own heritage. Western government policies on multiculturalism

facilitate the empowerment of well-organized Muslim minorities. In turn, these increasingly dynamic Muslim immigrant communities throughout the West are undergoing a process of creeping militancy, increasingly influenced by Islamic activists seeking to gain strategic advantage.

Conclusion

In sum, today Islam is in resurgence, while Europe and its diasporas are once again in retreat. The features of Muslim resurgence in its modern guise focus on a wide range of non-military factors, including the following:[10]

Islamic population movement to Western countries, through both legal and illegal immigration. Europe's current Muslim population of 20 million will likely double by 2025.[11] Of course Muslim minority communities are not monolithic, as evidenced by the results of surveys taken of the British Muslim community.[12] These surveys point to a spectrum of views among British Muslims, ranging from integrationist attitudes at one end to radical separatist views at the other. Three points on this spectrum would be reflected in Muslim views as follows:

Participatory Assimilationist[13]	Participatory Islamist[14]	Separatist Radical Islamist[15]
• Publicly condemn terror attacks • Attribute blame for attacks on extremists • Don't want shari'a law • Use different schools, including church schoolsWatch full range of TV • Respond to issue of voting like non-Muslim British • Are open to UK Jews • See themselves as (1) British and (2) Muslims • Give no thought to the apostasy issue of Muslims being unable to choose another faith	• Publicly condemn terror attacks • Attribute blame for attacks on West • Want some shari'a law • Exert Islamic influence in state schoolsLobby for Islamic programming on TV • Urge Muslims to vote • Are suspicious of UK Jews • Emphasize identity as British and Muslims • Avoid the issue of apostates	• Might participate in terror strikes • Support terror strikes • Call for shari'a law • Use Muslim schools • Muslim media only • Do not vote • Consider UK Jews as legitimate targets • Are loyal to *umma* only • Consider apostates as legitimate targets

The statistical breakdown of Muslims according to various points on the spectrum is a matter of ongoing research. The appendices to this paper provide more detailed information. At this point we could suggest that Participatory Assimilationists count for up to 10% of the British Muslim community, Participatory Islamists count for

40-50% of the community, and Separatist Radicals count for 5-10% of the community, with the remaining percentages lying between these various groups.[16] While the radical fringe has attracted huge attention from Western media, security services, and government, it is the middle group, the Participatory Islamists, who provide the primary engine for increasing Islamic influence in British society. Their willingness to participate in society gives them access to the corridors of power in diverse ways discussed below, which in turn is leading to a more visible Islamic presence and resulting Islamic influence on British government and society. While policy makers combat the aggressive Islamizing activities of the louder and more obnoxious radicals, they are unwittingly opening the way for a more subtle Islamization by Participatory Islamists which may well change Britain's identity profoundly over the next generation.

This changing identity of Britain, and similarly Europe, is being affected in many areas of society.
- Establishment of mosques among these new immigrant communities. Between 1985 and 2006 official mosque numbers in Britain grew from 338 to 754, although in all by the latter year there were over 2000 Islamic community centers and mosques of all types.[17] A similar growth of mosques has taken place in France where, according to the *Catholic News Agency*, "In the last thirty years more mosques and Muslim prayer centers have been built … than Catholic churches in the last century." [18]
- Increasing Islamic influence on education systems, both state and private, through establishment of Muslim schools and pushing for Islam-friendly policies in government schools. Furthermore, vast funds have been dedicated by Arab governments and individuals to the establishment of Professorial Chairs and/or Centers for Islamic Studies in key Western universities.[19]
- Increasing Islam-friendly policies in other key institutions: key government departments (such as the Home Office in Britain), prison systems, health service,[20] etc.

Well-organized and funded Muslim missionary activities. The presence of Muslim mission activity in Western locations is quite noticeable,[21] and it is accepted by Western governmental and social leaders. It receives substantial funding support from certain Muslim governments (especially Saudi Arabia), as well as non-governmental groups and wealthy individuals. Key features are:
- Establishment of organizations whose purpose is to strengthen the faith of Muslims in Britain and to reach out to non-Muslims with the message of Islam. An example of such a group is the UK Islamic Mission.[22]
- Dialogue as Islamic mission. Muslim authorities have encouraged interfaith dialogue in the West since the 1990s (to the chagrin of many radical Muslims), seeing dialogue as a key way of getting the Islamic voice heard in Western circles that have lost faith in the Christian voice. The October 2007 "A Common Word" statement by 138 Muslim scholars[23] is a key example of this, but there are many others.[24] The push for dialogue with church authorities in the West, where Muslims are not in power, contrasts with the relative lack of Muslim interest in dialogue with Christians in countries

where Islam is the majority and where the quest for power and influence is not an issue.[25]

As the Muslim minority presence and mission outreach has increased in Western countries, there has been a concurrent clamping down on Christian minority activities in Muslim countries, such as Malaysia and Pakistan, as well as increasing pressure on those few significant Christian communities which survive in Muslim countries, principally Egypt and Lebanon.

Muslim charity for religio-political purposes. Mosques around the world raise funds for Muslim charities, promoting this as fulfillment of the *zakat* (charitable donation) requirements for every Muslim.

- They often present such payments as a way for Muslims to fulfill their individual requirements for jihad. And while some mosques focus on the greater jihad—the individual struggle to be more devout—many do not. Where mosques are dominated by radical groups, clerics preach the lesser jihad: waging war for the cause of Islam. They direct *zakat* contributions to foreign military campaigns in such troubled regions as Kashmir, the Middle East, Chechnya, and the Sudan—and Muslim charities with international branches serve as conduits. This flexibility in the use of *zakat* points to Islam's self-perception as a holistic faith covering all aspects of life.
  - Unlike aid and development work funded by Western governments, which typically shun a religious component to the aid activities, Muslim charitable activities in the form of aid and development ordinarily include religious inputs. An example is the Rabita Bangladesh group, which received substantial funding from the Saudi government and which supported diverse activities: funding for agencies involved in outreach to non-Muslims and medical care (hospitals, nurse training centers, village health worker training, and mobile dispensaries). In addition to training in hygiene, the participating hospitals ran courses for their patients in Qur'an and Hadith, and also distributed the Qur'an to patients.[26]
  - More generally, Muslim charitable activities tend to favor Muslims as the beneficiaries, rather than the approach of Western and Christian charitable groups that do not discriminate on the basis of creed. Saudi Arabian development assistance is granted predominantly to non-revolutionary Arab and Muslim countries.[27] Principal beneficiaries are Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Bangladesh, and the Sahel zone in Africa. In the early 21st century the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia spent around $4 billion annually on international aid, with two-thirds of that sum devoted to strictly Islamic development.[28] One researcher into Islamic aid activities noted that "Most Islamic relief organizations do not conceal the fact that they develop projects in which priority is given to those that benefit Muslim populations."[29]
  - Aid support originating from the Saudi royal family is primarily directed towards religious and educational institutions, such as the establishment of university centers for Islamic Studies mentioned above.

Rise of the Khilafa Movement. The abolition of the Caliphate in 1924 left deep scars with many Muslims, who campaign for its re-establishment as part of the present phase of Islamic resurgence. Many other Muslims, while not necessarily embracing an overt Khilafa movement, nevertheless work hard to shore up worldwide Islamic identity (*umma*) as the primary means of self-perception for Muslims. This has many manifestations.

- Islamic financial activities are increasingly becoming a feature of this sense of *umma*, with some countries such as Britain going to great lengths to attract Muslim funding by establishing shari'a-friendly environments in the banking sector.[30] In November 2007 the *Financial Times* stated that the British Government was seeking "to turn London into the world centre of Islamic finance."[31]
- A push for the implementation of shari'a law in other social and legal sectors to varying degrees in both Muslim and non-Muslim countries represents a key plank in the campaign to reinforce worldwide Islamic identity.

Islamization of culture. This often occurs through subtle intimidation, producing diverse manifestations.

- In some countries like Malaysia traditional cultural patterns and art forms are under pressure to give way to more Islamic activities.[32]
- The greatly increased use of headcover or full-face veil by Muslim women around the world is not simply an act of free choice. While some women prefer such attire, many feel subtle pressures to conform, both within Muslim-majority countries and within closed parts of Islamic minority societies in the West.
- Marriage practices such as polygamy and forced marriages, criticized by some liberal Muslims but held dear by many traditionalists, flourish in many traditional Islamic societies but are also increasingly found in some Muslim communities in the West, such as Britain, where multicultural policies enable Muslim traditionalists to circumvent established marriage laws and practice.[33] In early February 2008 it was announced that British husbands with multiple wives would be permitted to claim extra welfare benefits, a move which would primarily benefit Muslim polygamous marriages and which represented another step towards Islamization of society.[34]
- The culture of free speech, so prized in the West after centuries of struggle, is being challenged by militant Muslims. After highly charged Muslim reactions in the West to the Danish cartoon incident and Pope Benedict XVI's speech at Regensberg, coupled with violent reactions in the Muslim world, a tone of apology and self-censorship has settled in many Western policy-making arenas. Another manifestation of this particular challenge is Muslim support for legislation designed to outlaw religious vilification, which on first glance has a certain appeal but which in fact risks curtailing freedom of speech.

The formation of strategic alliances with non-Muslim groups who can assist the Islamist cause. An alliance between Muslim activist groups in the West and Western leftist secularist groups has been increasingly in evidence in the early years of the 21st century. This alliance has been particularly evident in anti-Iraq War protest marches, the rise of George Galloway's Respect Party on the British political

landscape, Muslim activist support for London's leftist Mayor Ken Livingstone, and in turn his support for certain Muslim initiatives such as the huge mosque planned for the Newham area of London, adjacent to the 2012 Olympics site.

The latest phase of Islamic resurgence contrasts with the faded former glory of post-Christian Europe, a situation which is largely self-induced. This loss of direction by Europe and its diasporas draws heavily on a pervasive guilt complex for past colonial activities; indeed, a deliberate, negative spin tends to be cast on discussions of past European colonialism by media and policy makers in the West.

At the same time, while self-critique is lauded, critique of minorities in the West became almost taboo during the last quarter of the 20th century. A cult of silence prevailed when minorities, especially Islamic minorities, followed practices that would be entirely unacceptable in the majority of Western society, such as denial of fundamental freedoms of religious choice or oppression of women.[35]

The broader context for this loss of direction in the West has been the spread of rampant secularism from the 1970s onward (the very same period as the resurgence of Islam), which has turned the traditional faith of European nations from a source of pride to a target of attack. In other words, the decline in Western Christianity has not been caused by the advance of Islam *per se* but rather by the advance of secularism. It has created a spiritual vacuum that has opened the way for the third phase of worldwide Islamic resurgence to reach into the heartlands of the very societies which had so vigorously resisted the march of Islam in earlier centuries.

Further Reading

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Appendix A

Brit. Muslim community of ± 2 million (2006)	▶	▶	▶	▶	▶	■
Cumulative %	8.5%	31%	41%	80%	95%	100%
Cumulative numbers	170,000	620,000	820,000	1,600,000	1,900,000	2,000,000
Themes	**Separatist**	**Separatist**	**Parallel**	**Participatory**	**Participatory**	**Participatory**
	Radical Islamist	**Islamist**	**Islamist**	**Islamist**	**Integrationist**	**Assimilationist**
Terror attacks	Participate in terror	Refuse to inform on terrorists[36]	Publicly condemn	Publicly condemn	Publicly condemn	Publicly condemn
	Support terror	Sympathize with 7/7 attacks	Attribute blame to West	Attribute blame to West	Attribute blame to West	Attribute blame on extremists
Shari'a	Call for shari'a	Shari'a for UK	Shari'a for UK	Some shari'a		No shari'a
Schools	Muslim schools	Est. Muslim schools	Est. Muslim schools	Islamize state schools		Mainstream schools
Media	Muslim media only	Muslim media preference	Muslim media preference	Islamic programs on TV	Islamic programs on TV	Mainstream media
Elections	Do not vote	Do not vote	Why bother?	Get out and vote	Best to vote	Vote if they feel like it
War on Terror	= War on Islam	= War on Islam	= War on Islam	= Victimization of Muslims	Ambiguous	
Views of UK Jews	Legitimate targets	Legitimate targets	Suspicious	Suspicious		Like other citizens
Views of UK Christians	= Crusaders	Territorial obstacle	No interest	Route to influence		Like other citizens
Those who insult Islam	Attack	Prosecute	Prosecute	Prosecute		
Primary loyalty	Loyal to *umma* only	Loyal to *umma* more than to UK	Loyal to *umma* more than to UK	Muslim and British	British and Muslim	British first
Integration to UK	Too much already	Too much already	Very wary	Very wary	Favorable, up to a point	Favorable
View of Muslim apostates	Legitimate targets	Harass	Harass	Avoid the issue		Not an issue

POLLS OF BRITISH MUSLIMS 2001-06

APPENDIX B

The polls consulted were carried out in November 2001 (two polls[2,3]), June 2002[4], December 2002[5], March 2004[6], November 2004[7], July 2005[8], December 2005[9], and February 2006[10] Views and levels of support from different polls were as follows:

	NOV 2001[9]	NOV 2001[3]	JUN 2002[4]	DEC 2002[5]	MAR 2004[6]	NOV 2004[7]	JUL 2005[8]	DEC 2005[9]	FEB 2006[10]
OPPOSE US/UK MILITARY ACTION IN AFGHANISTAN	80%		66%						
WAR ON TERROR IS REALLY AGAINST ISLAM		57%			68%	80%			
9/11 ATTACKS JUSTIFIED		15%							
FURTHER ATTACKS ON USA JUSTIFIED				11%	13%				
SUPPORT AL-QAEDA ATTACKS ON WESTERN TARGETS									4%
TERRORIST ATTACKS ON UK JUSTIFIED				8%			5%	7%	1%
TRUST NEWS FROM MIDDLE EASTERN MEDIA CHANNELS MORE THAN BBC								68%	
SYMPATHISE TO SOME DEGREE WITH MOTIVES (THOUGH NOT NECESSARILY METHODS) OF 7/7 SUICIDE BOMBERS								24%	20%
MUSLIMS SHOULD NOT INFORM ON PEOPLE WHO ARE INVOLVED OR CONNECTED WITH TERRORIST ACTIVITIES						25%			
MUSLIMS BEAR NOT MUCH/NO RESPONSIBILITY TO PREVENT CRIMES SUCH AS 7/7 AND TO BRING TO JUSTICE THOSE WHO COMMIT THEM							24%		
FEEL NOT MUCH/NO LOYALTY TOWARDS BRITAIN							16%		7%
WESTERN SOCIETY IS DECADENT AND IMMORAL, AND MUSLIMS SHOULD SEEK TO BRING IT TO AN END BY VIOLENT MEANS IF NECESSARY							1%		7%
THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY HAS ALREADY INTEGRATED TOO MUCH INTO BRITISH SOCIETY				17%	26%	18%			
SUPPORT CRIMINAL PROSECUTION AGAINST THOSE WHO CRITICIZE OR INSULT ISLAM						58%			
SUPPORT VIOLENCE AGAINST THOSE WHO ARE DEEMED BY RELIGIOUS LEADERS TO HAVE INSULTED THEM									13%
SUPPORT USE OF SHARIA COURTS IN BRITAIN TO RESOLVE CIVIL CASES WITHIN MUSLIM COMMUNITY							61%		
SUPPORT INTRODUCTION OF SHARIA LAW TO CERTAIN AREAS OF BRITAIN									40%
CONSIDER JAIL SENTENCE OF ABU HAMZA AS UNFAIR									30%
REGARD BRITISH JEWS AS LEGITIMATE TARGETS 'AS PART OF ONGOING STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE IN THE MIDDLE EAST'								37%	
REJECT ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST								30%	
SUICIDE BOMBINGS ARE JUSTIFIED IN ISRAEL								17%	

[2] Approximately 1000 respondents. "Q-Poll: readers survey", *Q News*, no. 337 (November 2001), 9

[3] 500 respondents. "UK Muslims 'against Afghan war'", BBC News Online, Wednesday 14 November 2001. Cf http://www.icmresearch.co.uk/reviews/2001/today-muslims-poll-nov-2001.htm, accessed 22 February 2006

[4] 500 respondents, ICM poll for *The Guardian*. http://www.icmresearch.co.uk/reviews/2002/guardian-muslims-poll-june-2002.htm, accessed 22 February 2006

[5] 500 respondents, ICM poll for the BBC. http://www.icmresearch.co.uk/reviews/2002/bbc-today-muslims-dec-02.htm, accessed 22 February 2006

[6] 500 respondents, ICM poll for *The Guardian*. http://www.icmresearch.co.uk/reviews/2004/guardian-muslims-march-2004.asp, accessed 22 February 2006

[7] 501 respondents, ICM poll for *The Guardian*. http://www.icmresearch.co.uk/reviews/2004/Guardian%20Muslims%20Poll%20Nov%2004/Guardian%20Muslims%20Nov04.asp, accessed 22 February 2006

[8] 526 respondents, YouGov poll for *The Telegraph*. Anthony King, "One in four Muslims sympathises with motives of terrorists", *The Telegraph*, 23 July 2005

[9] 500 respondents, Populus poll for *The Times*. "Poll shows voters believe press is right not to publish cartoons", *The Times*, 7 February 2006

[10] 500 respondents, ICM poll for *The Sunday Telegraph*. http://www.icmresearch.co.uk/reviews/2006/Sunday%20Telegraph%20-%20Mulims%20Feb/Sunday%20Telegraph%20Muslims%20feb06.asp, accessed 22 February 2006

Endnotes

[1] Alfred Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah* (New York: Oxford University, 2004).

[2] Among these were the Abbasids, the Umayyads in Andalusia (Spain), the Fatimids, and Saljuqs. The latter dynasty heralded the arrival on the Islamic scene of a powerful new people group, the Turks, who were to dominate the Islamic Middle East for most of the 2nd millennium AD.

[3] This contrasts greatly with the life of Jesus, who renounced the use of violence throughout his ministry.

[4] Roger Crowley, *Constantinople: The Last Great Siege, 1453* (London: Faber & Faber, 2005), 235-236.

[5] *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*, vol. 1, *Politics and War*, ed. and trans. Bernard Lewis (New York: Oxford University, 1974), 146.

[6] His extensive account of his time in the Ottoman domains was published as Sir Paul Ricaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 6th ed. (London: Printed for Charles Brome, at the Gun, at the West-End of St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1686).

[7] "The Armenian population of the Ottoman state was reported at about two million in 1915. An estimated one million had perished by 1918, while hundreds of thousands had become homeless and stateless refugees. By 1923 virtually the entire Armenian population of Anatolian Turkey had disappeared." *Encyclopedia of Genocide,* Israel W. Charny, editor-in-chief, Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 1999, http://www.armenian-genocide.org/genocide.html (accessed April 5, 2008).

[8] Bernard Lewis, *Europe and Islam* (2007 Irving Kristol Lecture) (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 2007), 16.

[9] Due in significant measure to the fact that Muslim military power still lags well behind that of the West.

[10] The following features of Islamic resurgence are representative only; a comprehensive list of features would require book-length discussion to do it justice.

[11] "Muslim Boom in France: More Mosques, Fewer Churches", *Catholic News Agency Website*, November 6, 2006, http://www.catholicnewsagency.com/new.php?n=7990 (accessed March 19, 2008).

[12] The British Muslim community provides a snapshot of the diversity of Muslim minority groups in the West. For an analysis of surveys taken of this community between 2001-2006, cf. Appendices A and B to this paper.

[13] Meaning a Muslim inclined to both participate in the majority non-Muslim society and assimilate to that society.

[14] Signifying a Muslim inclined to participate in majority non-Muslim society for the purpose of seeking to influence that society to adopt Islam-friendly views and policies, in order to prepare the way for an Islamization of society in all areas.

[15] Signifying a Muslim who is both inclined to keep separate from majority non-Muslim society and is hostile to that society, adopting various radicalized views.

[16] An example of a group lying between the Participatory Assimilationist and Participatory Islamist positions is the Quilliam Foundation, established in Britain in April 2008, whose founders "believe that Western Muslims should revive Western Islam, our Andalusian heritage of pluralism and respect, and thereby find harmony in West-Islam relations" http://www.quilliamfoundation.org (accessed April 5, 2008).

[17] For a discussion of increase in mosque numbers in Britain, see "Islam in Britain", Lancashire Council of Mosques, http://www.lancashiremosques.com/discovery_muslims_in_britain.asp (accessed April 5, 2008).

[18] "Muslim Boom in France."

[19] Examples are the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, the Centre of Islamic Studies at the London School of Oriental and African Studies, and the Sultan of Oman Chair in Oriental Studies in the Faculty of Theology of the University of Leiden. In addition, $20 million has been granted to both Harvard University and Georgetown University by Saudi benefactors to enhance their Islamic studies programs. See "Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Donates $20 Million to Support the Harvard University Islamic Studies Program," *Harvard University Gazette Website*, http://www.news.harvard.edu/gazette/daily/2005/12/13-islamic_gift.html (accessed March 18, 2008). Also, Caryle Murphy, "Saudi Gives $20 Million to Georgetown," *Washington Post Website*, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/12/12/AR2005121200591.html (accessed March 18, 2008).

[20] An example of the pressures facing the British health system from Muslims uncomfortable with the system's established policies is the case of Muslim female students who "have raised objections to removing their arm coverings in theatre and to rolling up their sleeves when washing their hands, because it is regarded as immodest in Islam." Julie Henry and Laura Donnelly, "Female Muslim Medics 'Disobey Hygiene Rules,'" *Telegraph Website*, February 4, 2008, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2008/02/03/nislam403.xml (accessed March 19, 2008).

[21] "Muslim Group behind 'Mega-Mosque' Seeks to Convert All Britain," *Times Online*, September 10, 2007, http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/faith/article2419524.ece (accessed March 19, 2008).

[22] See *UK Islamic Mission Website*, http://www.ukim.org/DesktopDefault.aspx (accessed March 19, 2008). See also *Islam in Britain: The British Muslim Community in February 2005* (Pewsey: Isaac, 2005).

[23] See *The Official Website of A Common Word*, http://www.acommonword.com/ (accessed March 17, 2008).

24 See, for example, *Christian-Muslim Forum Website*, http://www.christianmuslimforum.org/ (accessed March 19, 2008).

25 Ng Kam Weng, a leading Malaysian Christian theologian, comments that "Muslim scholars are only interested in pursuing a dialogue with Western Christians rather than local Christians… because Dialogue with local Christians… confers legitimacy on local Christian Movements." Ng Kam Weng, "Dialogue and Constructive Social Engagement: Problems and Prospects for the Malaysian Church," *Trinity Theological Journal* 5 (1995): 32.

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27 Juergen Bellers, "Aiding Their Moslim Friends: Saudi Arabia's Development Policy," *Development and Cooperation*, no. 4 (1993): 28-29.

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