

Breeding Bin Ladens: America, Islam, and the Future of Europe. By Zachary Shore. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. xv + 223 pp.

Londonistan. By Melanie Phillips. New York: Encounter Books, 2006. xxv + 191 pp.

These are two decade-old studies that have been neglected yet in the present climate now become highly relevant for discussion. Their earlier ‘irrelevance’ had much to do with their lack of optimism about trans-Atlantic integration of Muslim minorities and their tendency to read Islam as potentially threatening to American and European security and a source of religiously inspired violence. They give no sense of the great majority of Muslims around the globe having lived under Western European legal arrangements with prevalent satisfaction over the last 60 years or more, and they read Islam’s presence in the West as a source of disturbance to the Western social fabric.

Zachary Shore’s academics are tied to the US Navy, national security and foreign policy, and his research at Berkeley concentrates on European stability and on Islam as a potential “flashpoint” there. He warns about the population growth of Muslims in Europe and the consequent impact this “breeding” factor will bring to “European domestic policies’ (p. 112), let alone to internal security, and that as “European Muslims wax in number” (a characteristic phrase) they will then affect “European foreign policy” and undermine “transatlantic relations” (p. 160). While the United States has chosen serious military interventionism in the Middle East, they would do better to consider the susceptibility to extremist Islam in their own ‘cultural backyard,’ where elements are left disenfranchised and unemployed. In that Shore is more prepared to put some blame on European governments for lacking effective policies of integration, British journalist Melanie Phillips, for her part, talks of Britain’s “multicultural paralysis” when it comes to Muslims (chapter 4), so that by now, with security debacles, the absence of working integration has left the British Muslim community increasingly alienated, as a butt of suspicion (chapters 3, 5). Phillips ends up with the same warnings as Shore, that, as Islamic demands increase pressure against traditional values, Anglo-American relations will be spoilt (p. 189).

Now these opinions were being touted ten years ago, and I have been prompted to review them in the light of recent events, especially after the biggest refugee tragedy and mass flight in history in the wake of the Syrian War. Back in 2006 our two authors would usually be taken as left-wing commentators on dangers to a cherished democracy, when the Left and Right were not so far apart. Shore had finished his OUP book on *What Hitler Knew* (2005), and Phillips was a well received contributor to the *Guardian* and *New Statesman*, even after her *Islam, British Society and the Terrorist Threat* (2007). Yet now the two are touted as

prophets by the populist Right; through the books I review here they are reckoned to have seen ‘all our present troubles’ coming. President Donald Trump’s National Security Advisor Gen. “H. R.” McMaster recommends his staff supporters read Shore’s *Blunder: Why People make Bad Decisions* (2008) and *A Sense of the Enemy: The High Stakes of Reading your Rival’s Mind* (2014), and while journalists in her old newspapers routinely depreciate Phillips as a lamentable anti-multiculturalist (let alone turn-coat), her rightist supporters laud her as the bravest of columnists, with the new autobiographical *Guardian Angel: My Story, My Britain* (2016) turning her into a champion of preserved national identity.

I leave readers with the conundrum that the duo’s two 2006 books might have themselves ‘self-fulfilled’ their apparent and coinciding prophecy. I have lived too long not know how easily one can exacerbate social problems by ‘politically correct scapegoating.’ Then again some will say we needed such warners. But then again, did they make much difference? Then again, some will say they are part of an increased polarizing of social views, a widening of Left and Right, and some will ponder a pro-Israeli agenda, now highly visible in Phillips’s work as Jewish—and married to Joshua Rozenberg, a man as worried as she is that “sharia law is spreading as authority wanes” (à la her provocative, remarkably reactionary *The World Turned Upside Down: The Global Battle over God, Truth, and Power* [2010], written as if world peace hinges on Israel [and see p. 456]). Then again (and again), let all opinions be heard, as the great Jewish political theorist Hannah Arendt advised, for a greater danger for our vulnerable democracy may well lie in their hiddenness.

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