



On the statement of the French Foreign Minister on the so called "Sunni Islamic terrorism"

- French Interior Minister Gerald Darmanin said in a statement that "Sunni Islamic terrorism" is the most prominent threat to his country and to Europe, calling during a visit to the United States to strengthen security cooperation with Washington, especially before Paris hosts the 2024 Summer Olympics.

Darmanin said in New York: "We came to remind them that for the Europeans and for France, the first danger is Sunni Islamic terrorism, and cooperation to combat terrorism between the intelligence agencies is absolutely necessary."

- These statements caused a wave of reactions, both supportive and denouncing, and we in the scientific office of the Syrian Future Movement, Department of Research and Studies, are trying to disengage objectively, about the concept of "Sunni Islamic terrorism", in the hope of reaching a realistic approach.

<https://f24.my/9VDf>

<https://2u.pw/CkhVh4>

Chapter One: What is "Sunni terrorism"?

Throughout history humanity has witnessed a history full of various conflicts. Every human group sees itself as being right as well as sees its enemy as a demon, therefore demonizing the enemy - whoever it is - is a historical feature of human conflicts, bearing this in mind it becomes possible to understand the different definitions of terrorism, as every country sees its enemy as representing terrorism to the extent complete of demonization, which may not be seen by another country, thus we fell into the trap of the political and even self-interested use of the term terrorism.

Meaning of terrorism:

- Despite this ambiguity in approaching the perception of terrorism, with an objective view, terrorism can be considered "a means of coercion that uses or threatens to use violence in order to spread fear, and thus achieve political or ideological goals."

Putting this in consideration, we see that terrorism is a historical process that has accompanied the human race, due to its possession of awareness of itself and its surroundings, this awareness that is the foundation of culture, religion, politics and perception.. However, human cognitive development has prevented making this process an inevitable human destiny, through value and moral systems that culminated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"Sunni terrorism":

- The terrorist attack of 9-11 ended the honeymoon between the Islamic jihadists on the one hand, and the West represented by the United States of America on the other hand, after the fall of the common enemy, which was the Soviet Union.

The snowball rolled into a war in Iraq, then Afghanistan, until it culminated in the international coalition to fight the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant.

The journey of "Sunni terrorism" can be divided into two phases:

The first stage: After the fall of the Ottoman rule - the sick man - and the establishment of national states, the Islamic sense of identity and the necessity of restoring the caliphate that

unites Muslims under one political umbrella of rule coincided with the military taking over the reins of the national state, and the use of violence and tyranny as a means to establish control and rule, with an impressive global outburst of violent revolutionary communist thought.

You can review the book: Terrorism, History and Law, a group of researchers under the direction of "Henry Lawrence" and "Mirielle Delmas-Marty", coordinated by Hanaa Jaber, published by Dar Al-Farabi, and for more information: <https://www.unodc.org/e4j/ar/terrorism/module-1/introduction-learning-outcomes.html>

<https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

This complex combination produced a group of reactions in the Islamic arena, represented by a movement that rejects national states, and seeks to build a caliphate within the idealistic imagination, and uses revolutionary violence as a means to achieve that.

This movement did not have the strength to expand outside the borders for three reasons:

- 1- Because its sights are directed towards the internal military authority that has taken over state institutions.
- 2- The bloody conflict that limited the relationship between governments and Sunni movements.
- 3- Because this movement did not have a great and strong effect.

That is why the Sunni Islamic movement did not represent any external threat, but rather it could be considered an internal situation that was often contained, and even dealt with, like what happened with the fight against the Soviets in Afghanistan.

After 9-11 terrorist attacks, the jihadist movements split for the first time from the rest of the national Islamic movements, by activating the role of the al-Qaeda, through the theoretician Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, and the leadership of Osama bin Laden. Which made them isolated and they found themselves without any support.

Azmy Bishara | Bishara Azmi, the Arab Army and Governance: Theoretical Problems: The World Arab in Power Political and Army Challenges Theoretical, Arab Politics, Issue 22, and September 2016.

https://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2014/12/141211_jihadi_groups_timeline

The second stage:

Iran took advantage of the Sunni abandonment of al-Qaeda, brought it to Zahedan, and allows it to work within a new phase, making it change its goals from fighting the governments in Islamic countries, to fighting the Crusader West and Iran's enemies.

But the state of calm and security in Islamic countries did not allow the organization to move effectively, until Iraq war broke out, and at that time the strength of the al-Qaeda branch affiliated with Abu Musab al-Zarqawi escalated, to expand under Iranian support the strength of this militia, and carry out sectarian violence against the Shiites intentionally, until it became there Iran embraced sectarian reactions, finally culminating its efforts to establish its system of the Popular Mobilization Forces, which worked within two areas:

The first is to penetrate and seize the Iraqi state.

The second is to weaken the Sunnis under the pretext of terrorism

The Syrian revolution took place in March 2011, the dispute occurred between the heir of Al-Zarqawi, Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi, with his ambassador to Syria, Abu Muhammad Al-Julani, who was considered the first organizational jihadist split between Al-Qaeda - led by Al-Zawahiri, in whose arms Al-Julani fell - and the Islamic State, which adopted the name of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant.

Behind the scenes, Iran had allowed, through its ally, Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki, to hand over the Sunni region of Mosul to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS).

For more information: Speech by US Secretary of State Michael R. Pompeo, at the National Press Club, Washington, D.C., Jan. 12, 2021, <https://2u.pw/BCUyM7>.

"Zahedan Agreement" is a secret agreement between the Iranian regime and al-Qaeda organization that was signed in the city of Zahedan in Iran in 1998 AD,
<https://www.sasapost.com/translation/expediency-betrayal-iran-relationship-with-alqaeda/>

<https://2u.pw/ZoVIhM>

This is how Mosul was handed over to "ISIS" (alaraby.co.uk)

On the one hand, it strengthened its popular mobilization, and on the other hand, it presented itself as fighting terrorism, which represents a threat to the whole world, and in fact it is the one who supports it.

This policy made the Sunni forces in Mosul threatened by ISIS, which sees the Sunnis who are not loyal to its authority as apostates and more dangerous than the infidels, thus the Sunni forces lost their political status and reduced their influence.

The Syrian intelligence affiliated to the authority of Bashar al-Assad had a hand in these groups as well, which made these groups differ and fragment according to the interests and differences of the countries.

Chapter Two:

"Sunni terrorism" represents the greatest threat to Sunni Islam before anything else

- The danger of Sunni terrorism is manifested to the Sunnis themselves before others through two paths:

1- Violent behaviour: As jihadi movements make all of their opponents among the Sunnis apostates, the rank of apostasy in their literature is more dangerous than the original infidelity, so the original infidel is not the Sunni Muslim according to them, as for the Muslim who contradicts their doctrine, such as not expiating the transgressor for example, or being a Sunni affiliated with the Sufis , or not accepting the pledge of allegiance to their Emir and caliph, this made other Muslims apostatized from their imaginary version of Islam, therefore the punishment for apostasy must be established against them, which is death!

This is how the Assad regime supported ISIS in Syria (elaph.com)

The most prominent example is the expiation and killing of Sunni Muslims who accepted democratic participation in Algeria, and the issuance of an expiatory fatwa under the title "Beheading those who go out on Election Day...and security for those who stay home and turn."

Even the rule of ISIS in Mosul and Syria and its killing of large Sunni groups such as the "Al-Shaitat" group only because it rejected its religious and political perceptions, and since there are no statistics on the number of deaths caused by ISIS for all components, but many analysts agree that more than 80% of the victims are from Ahl al-Sunnah, for information: <https://2u.pw/hDKZXq>

<https://2u.pw/LYB1I2>

<https://2u.pw/49TPvj>

- The number of victims among the Sunnis is greater than others, as we saw in Syria, where these groups participated in eliminating the moderate Sunni opposition and were able to a large extent to fragment it and eliminate many of its movements.

The real reference for Sunni terrorism:

- 1- There is no religious or political reference that supports Sunni terrorist movements.
- 2- Iran alone embraces the Sunni terrorist movements and supports them indirectly through:
 - a. Iran's agreement with al-Qaeda in the so-called Zahedan agreement.
 - b. Maliki's support for ISIS withdrew from Mosul.
 - c. Tighten the nerve of Sunni terrorism with Shiite terrorism and vice versa.

This can be evidenced by the fragmentation of more than twenty factions of the Free Army by the jihadists, including the Hazm Movement, the Revolutionary Army, and the Syrian Liberation Front led by Jamal Maarouf, who was exiled to Turkey after he was the largest force in northern Syria, and the Al-Nusra Front managed to eliminate him.

One of the ideologues of the jihadist movement, "Abu Musab al-Suri," declares that the jihadist movement lacks religious scholars and weighty references.

A famous book by Samuel Huntington, its author claims that the stage of national conflict will be followed by the stage of ideological conflict, and that the candidate front is the Islamic entity. Edward Said replies to him that Samuel relied heavily on the thought of Bernard Lewis, which makes Muslims a single geopolitical entity, without taking into account the state of diversity and pluralism natural in all ideologies. See: Edward W. Said (2001). "The Clash of Ignorance". The Nation..

The title of the most famous jihadi book, which believes that reality, is brutal and that jihadists should exploit it to reach the stage of spite against the violators, then empowerment, and this book, is considered one of the important references in the violent jihadist current.

Finally, those who fight Sunni extremism are the Sunnis themselves, through the epistemological system of the Sunni Islamic nation, through the two levers: just political authority and free religious authority.

A just political authority that speaks in the name of its people and is not hostile to them can absorb any case of extremism by withdrawing the terrorist narrative, through laws that protect Sunnis and others from victimhood, which is the most prominent factor in the extremists' narrative.

The free religious reference builds on the accumulation of extended heritage and contemporary knowledge that interacts with reality, advanced sciences and philosophies and influences and is affected by them. For example:

Chapter Three:

Assessment and Recommendation

- Extremism feeds on extremism, and withers away with moderation. Extremist media builds its narrative on the culture of the clash of civilizations, the concept of savagery management, the abolition of the transgressor, and the isolation of my identities. Religious texts in the Old Testament are considered in most contemporary Christian religious incubators, a historical heritage that is read within its context despite the possibility of exploitation by extremists.

Just like the Islamic texts that are read within their temporal and spatial contexts, without demolishing the sacred structure, without a close-minded view, in this way a narrative contrary to terrorism are built, a rational and realistic narrative that reads the religious text away from the terrorist movements' exploitation of it. Considerable religious references and these movements are strengthened in their absence.

- Attention must be paid to Iran's role in supporting and embracing these movements, with which it pulls the nerve of its militias on the one hand, and tries to exploit the terrorist Sunni movements by accusing all Sunnis of being terrorists on the other hand.

- The exact timing of the French statement, with the continuation of the conflict with Russia in Ukraine, and the weakness of the Sunni terrorist movements, especially after the attempt to

ascend the Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman and work on the renaissance of Saudi Arabia, as he decided to work on a strategy far from the positive relationship with the closed terrorist ideology, The nature of his policy also appears in the Iranian-Saudi agreement, which may relieve the region from Iran's exploitation of its various Sunni and Shiite arms.

Therefore, the statement of the French Foreign Ministry may be read as an attempt to politically exploit Muhammad bin Salman and divert his activity towards being preoccupied in an arena far from the arena of changing the face of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia towards modernity that has an Arab specificity, as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is always accused of embracing terrorist movements due to the religious connection of these movements to the Hanbali school of thought and calligraphy. Sheikh Muhammad Abd al-Wahhab and his doctrinal school on which the religious authority of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was based.

Recommendation

Through its program and theoretical vision, the Syrian Future Movement sees the following:

1- Every religion or culture has a potential for extremism and terrorism if there is someone who uses it, just as there is support for moderate thought, and therefore the whole world - with all its religions and cultures - will have to unite to spread the culture of religious moderation, through a trilogy:

- a. Rejection of violent religious doctrines.
- b. Linking moderation with psychological well-being, which is affected by various factors, such as injustice, lack of justice, poverty, and ignorance.
- c. Fighting political tyranny, which exploits religion for its own benefit, thus the absence of a free, acceptable, moderate religious reference, to fill its void with extremist voices, in addition to that tyranny is interested in mobilizing terrorist movements to intimidate them, and continuing to consolidate its rule by spreading the narrative of the terrorist alternative to authoritarian rule, and ignoring the democratic alternative that embraces Moderate voices in general, and religious ones in particular, are those voices that have the only effective ability to expel terrorist religious narratives

2- The necessity of emphasizing that these Sunni terrorist groups have lost their Sunni political and religious authority and that only Iran is exploiting them for its own benefit, and

the necessity of linking the Sunni terrorist groups with the Shiite terrorist groups, and that they feed off each other under Iranian sponsorship.

3- Finally, the Syrian Future Movement recommends the need to move away from the term “Sunni terrorism”, as it is applied to groups that raise Sunni Islamic slogans, but upon investigation they have the biggest contradiction with it, just as this term is intended to exonerate or justify Shiite terrorism, and the truth is that it emerges from one source.

This does not mean in any way to absolve the Sunni Muslims of the negatives, since as in all nations, peoples and races there are negatives and extremists, but an objective reading requires an accurate view of reality that concludes that the terrorist movements are supported by Iran, and that no Sunni political or religious reference stands behind these groups.

That is why the Syrian Future Movement calls for adopting the term "terrorism by Iran's arms" instead of dividing terrorism into "Sunni terrorism" and "Shiite terrorism", and putting pressure on Iran to stop it from exploiting this card, which weakens the national states in the region in particular, and affects the world order in general.

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