

# Sectarian Strife in Iraq, To where? And for Whom?: Causes, Implications, and Remedies

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## **Abstract**

*There is no doubt that sectarianism has abhorrent dimensions and negative roles that cast its shadows on the one people and the one nation, thus creating veils and differences between brotherhood and spreading poisons between the sides of the ideas and visions that it puts into place, and scattering the homes with blemishes through the creation of discrimination and the attempt to tear the sacred bond among people in general and adherents of the same faith in particular. That is why vigilance, caution, and deliberation in accusing the other and trying to understand them with an understanding are in line with the spirit of brotherhood and tolerance which make us all in one trench in order to expel and kill the yellow winds of sectarianism and racism and be at the level of the ambition of true humanity. This research came as a modest contribution to solving this crisis.*

**Keywords:** *abhorrent dimensions, sectarianism, faith*

## **I. Introduction**

Colonialism remains colonialism, whether it comes in its old dress, or if it wears a new garment and dressed in a suit other than its own as it is, in every time and place, seeks to implement the policy of "Divide and Conquer". British colonialism tried to implement this policy in Egypt by stirring up discord between Muslims and Copts, and it was failed, and the British colonialism is still trying and failing because the members of the Islamic nation choose to live peacefully with other religions as they are stronger than all conspiracies. Additionally, the British colonialism tried to raise this policy again in Lebanon between Sunnis and Shiites, but in the end it bares its fangs, and the Lebanese people realize the danger of the conspiracy. Similarly, in Iraq, the British colonialism tried to stir up sedition between the Shiites and Sunnis, but it failed, and it is still trying and failing because the free people of Iraq, who rejected the occupation, refuse to be preoccupied with sectarian differences, and have not left any opportunity for the occupation to consolidate its foundations and settle down for decades. The Islamic and Arab peoples have always accustomed to direct slaps after slaps to this colonialism with their unity and solidarity because the foreigner did not understand, and will not understand, that the differences between the Islamic sects have existed for hundreds of years, but without infighting. The reason is the belief that there is an umbrella under which all the Islamic sects are encompassed.

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When a person dies, his organs dissolve with the passage of time, and a strong coherent body is the living body, and our enemies knew that in us, so they wanted to afflict the Arabic nation with dissolution while it was alive, just as they wanted to separate the word of Muslims. All these sects are pushed into the veins of their distinction and fanaticism with corrupt blood to decompose this body when it is not yet dead. So, the nation would die before its death, and its power would end while it was in the prime of its life. Muhammad al-Ghazali says that "the division is a serious affliction, and when the nation falls into trouble among them, and the rivalries are rife in its existence, it is a nation that commits suicide before its enemy defeats it (1). However, some owners of paid pens try to exploit the ignorance of many Muslims about the reality of difference and agreement between Sunnis and Shiites, so they work to increase the gap between the two sects, and from time to time they repeat ideas and writings, fanatical on both sides, to plant the seeds of sedition and throughout history. In this contribution, we will try to answer some of these questions.

### **1. The Historical Roots of Sectarian Strife**

Any objective writer who tries to frame any concept in cognitive determinants is extremely difficult, so how about if he wants to define a hot term as "sectarianism". This is because it is surrounded by a lot of ambiguity, confusion, and severe overlap since its references are multiple as well as the diversity of its sources and its semantic transformations from time to time. The ancient defined it with a definition based on the division of ideas into kinds and sorts which differ greatly from the contemporary definition. At the same time, it differs from the Western approach to the concept before and after the emergence of the nation-state and with different schools associated with the currents of modernity and beyond.

#### **1.1 Sectarianism as a Linguistic Concept**

This concept was derived from the root "taf" which is a verb whose meanings meet around rotation as well as indicating the number that is less than a thousand people. Ibn Manzur says "the sect of a thing is a part of it" and in the glorious Quran "And let a group of believers witness their torment"(An-Nur: 2).Mujahid said "the sect is the one man to the thousand, and it was said "the one man is above it, and it was also narrated from him that he said "at least a man". Ataa said "at least two men". It is said "a group of people and a group of people at night. In the hadith, it is said "a sect of my nation is still on the right", and the sect is the group of people (2).Accordingly, we are in front of a numerical concept of a minority that contradicts the prevailing one. The ideological sects in Islamic history have been named with names other than this meaning so that the term "sects" using the current idiomatic use came somewhat late.

#### **1.2 Sectarianism: A General Overview**

The definition was derived from the linguistic definition, so sectarianism is "the group or sect adheres to its common interests and system of common values, and its fanaticism in right and wrong" (3). What we would like to say is that "the concept of early sectarianism in Islamic culture was related to the politicized doctrinal aspect more than it was a product of the jurisprudential differentiation which is from the nature of Sharia based on pluralism" (4). Accordingly, sectarianism is a political tendency that has nothing to do with religious or sectarian beliefs. Rather, sectarian differences have been exploited for conciliatory purposes far from religion, and these differences have evolved into blind fanaticism similar to tribalism.It has recently taken racial dimensions that do not differ from fascism and Nazism in the modern sense, but with a religious and sectarian

cover used by secular politicians who are far from the true spirit of religion and religiosity, but rather to exploit the members of their sect to achieve their political goals and their personal material interests, and to preserve their influence and powers in the state at the expense of other sects (5). Sectarianism played a major role in Iraq, which led to its instability, and we do not exaggerate if we say that it is the mother of crises, and from which all crises proliferated and branched out, and it is not a product of the present moment or the American invasion of Iraq as some think, but rather it is a product of history and geography, rooted in the depth of Islamic history.

From the early hours of dawn on the day of the departure of the Messenger of Allah to the supreme comrade, a Jewish hand has extended and tried to sow discord among the sons of the Islamic nation, after the meeting of the shed of the sons of Saada, but the members of the Islamic nation refused that with all strength and determination. So, Imam Ali was a pioneer in reuniting and heal the rift, and stood his famous stand that brought this nation together, and prevented the feet of people into sectarian fighting, but rather a peaceful opposition. He made his point of view according to the scales and standards aiding this objection, which is customarily accepted. Among his objections is that he said "I am more entitled to this matter than you, I do not pledge allegiance to you, and you are the first to pledge allegiance to me. You took this matter from the Ansar, and you protested against them by kinship from the Prophet, and you took it from the people of the house by force, and I protested against you as you protested against the Ansar..." (6).

On the other hand, he tried to direct the attention of immigrants to the characteristics of those who are qualified to be successor of the Messenger of Allah according to the legal and mental constants. He says "By Allah, O Muhajireen, for we are more deserving of this matter than you, what was in us except the reader of the Book of Allah, the jurist in the religion of Allah, the one who knows the Sunnah, responsible for the matter of the subjects, defender of bad things, all are found in us..." (7). His objection to the Shura and its results does not deviate from the usual criteria and standards that everyone has fixed, and the most important of which is the absence of many of the companions and Bani Hashem from the meeting of the Shura who did not participate in the Shura. He placed unification of the ranks above the considerations of his right, taking into account the greater Islamic interest in this respect, when he said "indeed, when Allah seized his Prophet, Quraysh seized upon us with the matter, and we were rightly pushed over by all people, so I saw that patience with that is better than separating the word of Muslims, and their blood is shed, and the people are new to Islam, and religion is churning out the throes, spoiling it by the slightest weakness" (8). In another position, he was more explicit in its emphasis on Islamic unity and the greater Islamic interest, as he said "By Allah: (And may, unless the fear of division among Muslims and for infidelity to return and religion, we would have been unlike what we were for them" (9). He left a lot of positions and options, and he did not take any position that would tear the Muslims apart and weaken their young state, and thus Imam Ali was able, with his wisdom and skill in matters, to kill sedition to its backyard. He did not give the predators the opportunity to condemn Islam to death while it was still young.

This was the first seed that the invisible hands tried to help the leaders of the shed to move and turn the scales, so there were the Shiites, and there were Sunnis, meaning those who followed the caliphs and Shiite and they moved away from one another. The paid pens worked to stir up strife, so the book "Al-Milalwa Al-Nahl" was by Al-Shahristani which deals with sects and beliefs that do not exist on the surface of the earth, and it seems as if he talks about the creation of others in planets other than this earth.

Ibn Hazm Al-Andalusi also wrote the book "Al-Fisl fi Mullah, Whims, and Milal" in which he spread poisons to sow the gap between Muslims, and he also took what Abdul Qaher Al-Baghdadi wrote in the book "The Difference Between Difference", who exerted his best efforts to sow discord among the brothers, so he disbelieved and insulted as he pleased.

Such books were a prelude to exaggerating differences between Sunnis and Shiites, until every call for the unity of Muslims was met with doubts and accusations, and everything that calls for division finds acceptance. The matter reached skepticism that the Qur'an of the Shiites is not the same as the Qur'an of the Sunnis, and many Sunnis doubted that the Shiite Qur'an is the one that is in the hands of all Muslims. Nevertheless, he did not bother himself to turn over a copy of the millions of copies of the Qur'an that the Shi'ites circulate, and if they read it, the doubt will be gone and the problem is over, but they have judged something that does not exist by assumption. The interests of the rulers had the upper hand in promoting this among the Muslims. After the Rashidun Caliphate came the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates. Some of the caliphs had taken from the Jews and the Christians as advisors who adorned them with their work and turned them away from the path, so Sargon bin Mansour al-Nasrani al-Rumi was an advisor to Muawiyah bin Abi Sufyan and after him an advisor to Yazid (10). So, they stirred sectarian strife in the souls of these caliphs and urged them to fight sectarianism from where they did not feel, so they killed and slaughtered those who follow Ali and his sons, until al-Mansur and Rashid al-Abbasiyya killed the Shiites and put them in the cylinders and bored their eyes (11), forgetting the Almighty's saying "So be reconciled with your two brothers, and fear God, so that you may have mercy" (Al-Hujurat: 10). The first sentence of the verse establishes a fact that the believers are brothers, and they should always be that way as long as they are believers, and this is the command of their Lord. With an idea or an act that leads to it from the requirements of this brotherhood, for any reason. The second sentence of the verse enjoins self-reconciliation, meaning that Muslims distance themselves from everything that might spoil the brotherhood relationship that Allah has decided and decreed among them, and the Messenger warned of that by saying that "the corruption of brotherhood is Devastating" (12). The third sentence of the verse enjoins that reconciliation among Muslims should be under the piety of Allah, so it warns against following passions, or overriding worldly and fleeting interests and gains, or clinging to error and claiming that whoever seeks disagreement between brothers is right and that he only wants reform, while he wants to fall between The believers, dividing their ranks and stirring up tendencies among them. As for the fourth sentence, the Almighty directs to the fruit won by those who follow His previous commands, which is His mercy (may you have mercy) and it is the greatest reward in this world and the hereafter (13). Years passed, and the era of orientalist came, so Muslims fell into their traps on the one hand, and intriguing historians and promoters of illusions on the other hand. Many were deceived by the lies in the old books, and the prestige of the old and the familiar took hold of them, so they deprived themselves of the duty to think, what these and these replied, and they lost the truth that they have an independent thinking that reads, sees and judges what it touches in reality and not what others have said.

At all times, the division was the one who planted tyrants. They took advantage of that division to establish their authority, and then came foreign policies, which spread poisons, and were able to deceive the simple people, forgetting these naive people that it is not for a Muslim to invent a name for Allah that did not come from Allah. Or to invent an act of worship that Allah did not legislate. As for research and thinking, Allah Almighty opened His doors to all Muslims and called them to think and look and not judge matters by thinking

or hearing "And do not stop what you have no knowledge of, because the hearing, the sight, and the hearts of all of them were responsible for them" (Al-Israa: 36). Rather, Allah called us to reject sectarian fanaticism, but unfortunately those who ruled in the name of the Islamic Caliphate for long centuries used to see that Ali were their opponents, so they insulted the Shiites of Ali and used paid pens and tongues against them, until they were able to exist around the Shiites too much confusion.

But it was possible for any reformer to prevent the evil of dispersal, but the power that was in the hands of the caliphs, and the power that was in some foreign rulers after that prevented this, and what should be today is for the Sunni to remain Sunni, and Shiite to Shiite, with the right of each of them remaining in respect the other party without abuse. The difference in the branches does not mean that blood is permissible, as long as we agree on the principles, because I disagree with you in a certain belief, it does not mean for you that my blood is permitted because we are brothers of one religion and one sect, and our goal is one, which is to unify the ranks of the Muslims. We all do not disagree, neither in the Quran, nor in prayer, nor in fasting, or in Hajj, and we do not disagree by an inch about the fundamentals of beliefs, the fundamentals of religion, monotheism and prophethood. There is a difference between the Shiites for what they are, and the Shiites portrayed by the misleading media.

## **2. For Whose Interest are the Bridges of Communication Destroyed Between Sunnis and Shiites, and Why?**

Who are the people of the Sunnah ? They are followers of the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allah, Mohamed, as they say, and they are four groups in the branches and practical rulings, and these teams are the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali, and there were other apocryphal schools of which most of them became extinct. The people of the Sunnah follow the biography of the Messenger Allah, the Companions and the Rightly Guided Caliphs say that everything that comes from them is Sunnah, otherwise it is a heresy, and they extract the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allah from the six chapters (14). We cannot count the Wahhabis among them since they belong to the school of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab ibn Sulayman al-Tamimi al-Najdi (1115-1206), and he was a follower of the Ibn Taymiyyah school, and his student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziya came with new beliefs in the Arabian Peninsula. After Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab performed the rituals of Hajj, he headed towards Medina, and in it he denied the people's help and sought help from the Prophet at his grave and said "this work is contrary to monotheism, and the request of need must be from Allah only, his followers attacked the cities of Najaf and Karbala with the intention of demolishing the graves of the Shiite imams" (15). America today sought help from them in Iraq to break down bridges of communication between the Sunnis and Shiites, but the Sunnis and the community are acquitted of them and of their actions. As for the Shiites, this word is said to all of Shaya Ali before and after the death of the Prophet. The Shiites are the group of Ali bin Abi Talib, who is called the Shiites of Ali in the time of the Prophet and afterward (16). There has been Shiite political and social activity throughout history, which took Iraq as a home since the beginning of the Umayyad era, that is, from the day the Muslims split into Iraqis, and they are the Caliphate Army led by Imam Ali bin Abi Talib (assassinated 40 AH - 660 AD) and Shamiites, who are the army of the emirate, behind Muawiyah bin Abi Sufyan 60 AH-679 AD. It is known that the Battle of Siffin (37 AH-657 CE) was the decisive factor, where the arbitration, which resulted in another break-up in the Islamic ranks and that with the emergence of a third party, which was termed (the Kharijites), and thus Iraq remained influenced by the Alawite whim, or to say exactly the Shiite (17). When we

talk about the Shiites, we mean by them the Twelver Shiites or the Ja'fari, who are the group to which the Shiites of Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and all the Gulf states belong, and their influences extended to Africa in recent decades, after the success of the Islamic revolution in Iran (18). Sheikh Muhammad Abu Zahra instructed the reasons for the difference between the Sunni camp and the Shiite camp to several reasons:

1. The Arab intolerance, considering it the essence of the disagreement that distinguished the nation, such as the difference between the Umayyads and Hashemites first, then between the Kharijites and others.
2. The dispute over the caliphate, who is more entitled to it, the Quraysh or sons of Ali, or all Muslims.
3. The translation of philosophy that appeared in the Greeks and Romans, the emergence of theology, the emergence of a group of syllogisms, modifications and abstract mental studies.
4. Devising legal rulings that are hindered by the developments of life and the disagreement of the jurists regarding the rules of induction and its chain of narrators and their long debates about the interests sent, the hadiths, measurement, custom, and habit (19). Therefore, it can be said that the reasons for the disagreement lie in:

- A. Religious reasons
- B. Political reasons
- C. Historical reasons

But the historical reasons, i.e. the division that took place after the shed of Bani Saada, were the most important reasons which, over time and throughout history, have witnessed bloody eras that cannot be ignored. The events of the great sedition, the incident of Siffin, Karbala and others have caused deep cracks in the Islamic situation throughout the ages, and the developments in the current Iraqi situation are nothing but the harbingers of the past because it is moving in the same direction, and it led to an internal bloody quarrel that affected all Iraqis when the Iraqi arena slid in the midst of a bloody sectarian conflict. The indiscriminate bombings in civilian areas, suicide bombings, death squads, and homicides were carried out according to a rhetoric of incitement and mobilization against the other who is different from sectarianism. In order for these operations to increase the level of division and disruption among the Muslims, crossing the borders of Iraq to many parts of the Arab world and the Islamic world. The current religious parties had the biggest share in this, as they operate within their ideologies on a Shiite or Sunni sectarian basis. Some of these parties failed to prove their presence on the ground or deal with existence and the other self because it lacks language in the first place, as it does not believe in the difference in views or differences in the interpretation of good and evil, or in the interpretation of the universe, nature and the world. They are single-viewers of things, or are selective in thinking about the world, or aggressive in logic in evaluation. Therefore, we notice that they quickly resort to their preferred option represented by terrorism and terrorist operations, which often target innocent people who do not engage them in political, ideological or ideological conflicts, as evidenced by the killing of thousands of Iraqi civilians in different regions of Iraq. As we said earlier, sectarian discrimination in Iraq was not the result of the events after the fall of the buried tyrant Saddam, but rather has historical roots dating back to previous eras. The establishment of the modern Iraqi state, as it can be said that Iraq went through five historical stages in which sectarianism played a major role in its bloody history, namely:

1. After the British occupation of Iraq, and that after the First World War (1914-1918) after the Shiite clans revolted at the behest of the religious leaders, their religious authorities, so they launched the Twentieth Revolution against the occupation, while we find that the Sunni leaders have taken neutrality except rarely, with the exception of the killing incident the British commander, Laghman, at the hands of Sheikh Dhariby chance after the recklessness of the leader of Laghman.

2. As for the monarchy, it witnessed a conspiracy against the Shiites, but it took place behind the scenes. This sect was denied citizenship rights and fair participation in positions and jobs in the state.

3. As for the aftermath of the disastrous July 14 Revolution in 1958AD, although the conflict was under political names (nationalist, Baathist, communist), those who supported the revolution were the Shiite masses, not the religious leaders, and the Shiites at that time constituted 70% of the affiliates of the Communist Party.

4. As for the popular uprising that took place in 1991 AD, it was launched from the Shiite provinces and then followed by the Kurdish provinces, which were named by Saddam and his associates as the black provinces.

5. After the fall of the idol of Iraq 2003 to the present day, the Shiite and Kurdish provinces welcomed the new situation, and the Sunni brothers were supposed to stand the same position, but unfortunately they sheltered foreign terrorists under the pretext of resisting terrorism and opposing sectarian quotas (20). The first and last role in this is due to:

1) The leadership of the arrogant countries in the region, as America today, which is leading the world, is trying to run it according to what it wants and is trying to impose its control on the Islamic and Arab worlds and to extend its influence over the Islamic nation in general, and the Arab nation in particular. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Islamic homeland has been facing the modern Western challenge produced by the bourgeois industrial revolution and the old Crusader hatred, and its first signs were in the French campaign. This challenge managed to topple our political system represented by the caliphate, and they occupied our lands and tried to conquer us morally and intellectually and put forward its meager secular alternatives. More than sixty years ago, this challenge has fulfilled its most dangerous task, when the Hebrew state was planted in the heart of the Arab and Islamic world whereas they were able to bring their clients and students to the authority that they usurped. So the Arab and Islamic puppet regimes were formed, so the Saud was in the Arabian Peninsula, the Baath Party and Saddam the criminal was in Iraq, Anwar Sadat was the buried and then Hosni Mubarak, the agent in Egypt, Muammar Gaddafi was in Libya, and the Shah of Iran in Persia. Thus, they planted the entire Islamic land with the mines of the traitorous rulers, and in all this and that the West thought that it would direct its final fatal blows to the collapsing Islamic civilization, but it was a shame for them because our Messenger promised us that at the top of every hundred years an Islamic reformer will appear that saves this nation from the yoke of the enemies, and if the Iranian Islamic revolution directed its first arrows to the West and achieved the first victory of Islam in the modern era, life returned to this body that they thought had become a lifeless corpse, so Islam returned again, a wonderful youth, and this revolution endowed the Arab peoples. As a result, there were the stone revolution and the Palestinian revolution in 1980 led by Imam al-Sadr. Then, the West felt that its night had begun, as it had dropped from the minds of everyone, especially Muslims and the vulnerable in the world, that terror of Western countries and the major powers represented by America, and the West was in the dock. Roger Garaudy says "Khomeini

set a pattern for erasing the West in the dock" (21). The West seemed to revolve around itself, not finding a strong corner to shelter in, so it floundered here and there because the Islamic tide has come, so they toppled their biggest client in the region under the pretext of possessing chemical weapons, and then to regret it after that. Endokribinmich, a senior advisor in the Pentagon says "in the event of a civil war, the result may be that we are helping the emergence of another Saddam Hussein who receives cruelty enough to deal with the problem" (22). Their agent Saddam had described the situation in Iraq to them as having eliminated all manifestations of Islam in Iraq, and the Americans were surprised by the Iraqi Muslims who were walking on foot to visit Hussein because the entry of the American forces into Iraq coincided with the sacred month of Muharram. They stood up and accused the Islamic Republic of Iran of stirring up these great crowds to march to Karbala, so the visit of forty million visits was unprecedented in history. So they searched for new agents in Iraq, so they put their hands in the hands of Al Qaeda under the leadership of Osama bin Laden, trying to save what could be saved. Al-Qaeda, led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, entered Iraq, and they wreaked havoc on the ground, but what bloodied the hearts of people was the crime of blowing up the shrines of the two military imams in Samarra. The dawn of Wednesday 2/22/2006 AD was a bleak, bloody dawn full of cried eyes and sore eyelids. Political observers indicated at the time that the decision to bomb the two military imams was a heavy one. At that time, Wafiq al-Samarrai indicated that in an interview with a satellite channel when he described the crime as having an external dimension and that the aim behind it is to prevent the stability of the political situation in Iraq and to prevent the emergence of a political system that does not owe allegiance to the Arab Spartans. Therefore, we now believe that the role of Al-Zarqawi and his gang has been exaggerated and inflated to cover up the hidden role of those regional powers that are running this conflict from behind the veil of Zarqawi (23). The Shiites of Iraq had become so calm that the rational authority imposed on them, which had always been the safety valve for the Iraqis, as it saved Iraq from a brutal sectarian stalemate (24). Not long ago, Dr. Salam Al-Zobaie, the former Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister, stated in this regard that America is sponsoring the Sunni-Shiite Kurdish conflict in Iraq, when it is angry at Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki, it manipulates these sensitive papers, explaining that the countries whose political system has been changed by an external will, with military intervention, as happened in Afghanistan and Iraq, their political system is completely upside down. Additionally, he stressed, in special statements that the Iraqi people have become fully convinced of the failure of the (Sunni - Shiite - Kurdish) systems that own the joints of the state. Because its goals are different and will not meet in one day, for sure. Also, Iraq is still under Chapter Seven, meaning that its sovereignty is incomplete, and America is still controlling the critical matters (25). All this and that is going on in the interest of Israel, the spoiled girl of America and the countries of the West, so he sees what it means for America to sell to Iraq F-16 planes in which Israeli spy devices were discovered, and this is what was recently revealed by Governor Al-Zamili who told Al-Jadida News, saying "there is information indicating the presence of spy devices Israeli-made fighters inside the F-16 planes that Iraq contracted with the United States of America, considering that this matter poses a threat to the Iraqi national security. He added that the Security and Defense Committee formed a delegation to discuss this issue with the American side (26). These are the methods of the West, and in order for the US forces to stay in Iraq longer, there must be such fractures wreaking havoc on the ground.

## 2) The Role of Neighboring Countries.

Some neighboring countries had the first and last role in igniting the sectarian war in Iraq. Those who incite division and disagreement were neither Sunnis nor Shiites. In these countries there is a group called themselves (religious scholars) whose mission is to incite killing. They have the ability to distort and interpret religious texts in favor of extremism and violent justification. They are concentrated in Saudi Arabia and are called Wahhabism. Among their actions, a group of them issued in 2006 a signed statement by 38 Saudi clerics inciting the killing of Shiites and stigmatizing them as infidels (27). The Saudi government wanted to topple Saddam Hussein, but after his execution they condemned the death penalty, and we should not forget the saying of the King of Saudi Arabia during the events of 1991 AD when he called US President George Bush the father calling him and saying that "14 Shiite and Kurdish governorates have fallen, so the advance is coming to our Saudi borders, and not After Saudi Arabia, we know who will be" (28) Likewise, the Jordanian president Abdullah Ibn al-Malik declared "I fear Arabism from the Shiite crescent" (29). Likewise what he said on May 19 2004 when he said "Iraq needs a president for it, an army officer, who has practiced efficiently in the Iran-Iraq war to hold Iraq" (30). With these statements, he warns America and its Shiite allies in Iraq: Because the new thing in this crescent is the emergence of the Shiite role in governing Iraq. Likewise, what was stated by the Secretary-General of the Arab League on 5/9/2005 in a statement he issued, in which he expressed "grave concern about the dangerous developments in the Iraqi arena as a result of the targeting and assassination of scholars and imams of mosques in the recent period" (31). His statement came after the accusation by Sunni Arab parties of the killing of Sunni clerics and worshipers in a specific incident, forgetting this but the General Secretary that there is a big difference between the Takfiris and the Sunnis. There are imams of takfir mosques who push towards sectarian strife and incite the killing of Shiites, as these are not Sunnis, and the Sunnis reject them. Likewise, the Qatari government's support for terrorism and terrorist operations cannot be tolerated, in addition to what Turkey is doing in terms of incitement to sectarianism and sectarian violence, and the crisis between the Iraqi government and the Turkish government over the issue of granting Tariq al-Hashemi political asylum on its territory is only part of this abhorrent sectarian scheme. What they did was because of their fear of the success of the political process in Iraq, and their fear that the infection of democracy would reach their countries. Therefore, these countries contributed to fueling sectarian strife and pouring oil on the burning fire in Iraq to thwart the political process and prevent democracy (23). But all this or that incitement does not work, that is, their interventions cannot succeed unless there is a psychological and moral willingness on the part of the Iraqis themselves, to implement what the foreigners want from them, or who sheltered the beasts of Al Qaeda from the Saudi suicide bombers, and guided them to their non-Iraqi targets (33).

## 3) Other Internal Factors

Among these factors:

### **First: The Absence of Justice.**

Since the establishment of the Iraqi state, the vast majority of the Iraqi people have been subjected to injustice and persecution, and this was an inevitable result of the sectarian and racial discrimination that took place during the era of the buried tyrant Saddam. In the political process from the agents of the former regime who covered up other parties under other titles and names, and they have become accustomed to continuing to

monopolize power, and insist that other components of the people not participate in the government. Therefore, they adopted a policy of repression and terror against the majority.

### **Second: The Civilizational Apostasy.**

The Baath regime revived tribal and clan conflicts during its rule. This contributed to restoring society to the emergence of the state and the formation of peoples, and led to the concentration of funds in the hands of loyal Sunni tribes, while depriving the Shiite majority of that, and even impoverishing them, so that was another factor in stirring up sedition (34).

### **Third: The Presence of Multiple Parties in the Iraqi Government.**

The composition of Iraqi society imposes on it party pluralism, as among the Sunnis, Kurds, Turkmen, Yazidis and Christ, etc., even one sect is divided into several parties, so we find many Shiite parties. For instance, the Islamic Dawa Party, which is one of the most prominent Shiite parties and everything that has arisen from a Shiite party organization later on that is not without the influence of this party, but also from its cadres who disagreed with the leadership and formed their organizations (35), followed by force by the Supreme Council and Badr, then the Islamic Virtue Party, the Sadrist movement, as well as the Islamic Action Organization and others (36) and the same applies to the rest of the sects.

The Sunnis also have a group of parties, as well as the Kurds, Turks and others, and the issue of giving leadership to one of them is a difficult issue, as everyone is striving to be the winner after a free election process. After the elections, each party tries to accuse the other parties of accusations of rigging the elections, and this in turn leads to problems that do not you shall praise its consequences, the country has drawn into rivers of blood because the loser in the political battle is trying to prove his presence on the ground through killing and bombings, and by this we do not mean parties with one affiliation, but rather parties with multiple affiliations, especially parties that were formed from men who were counted among the men of the buried regime. So these people have become accustomed to seeing blood and killing the innocent to return Iraq to the era of tyrants. The bitter truth exposed by democracy is that the Iraqi parties are not reconciled with each other and that there is an enormous reservoir of hatred among their components.

### **Fourth: Linking Arab Nationalism with Sectarianism.**

In the early twentieth century, the advocates of Arab nationalism committed the biggest crime in human history when they linked the Arab national movement to sectarianism hostile to the Shiite Arabs. They looked at non-Arabs with a chauvinist and racist view. They stigmatized the Shiites of Iraq with various epithets and appeals to their Arabism and patriotism. They said that they are foreigners, populists, and they called them the fifth column, and they said that they are loyal to Iran, and they wrote books and articles on this, some of them even exaggerating by saying "the Shiite Arabs are neither Arabs nor Iraqis in the first place. Rather, the Islamic leader Muhammad al-Qasim brought them with the buffaloes from India and inhabited the marshes of the south"(37).

Saddam sought to consolidate these principles, after he had provoked the Iran-Iraq war, he described the Shiites as such, so he deported the Iraqi Shiites to Iran, claiming that their origins are Iranian. For the first time in history, with purely sectarian and racist motives by issuing the Nationality Law No. 666 of 1980 AD, according to which Revoke the nationality of hundreds of thousands of Shiites, Arabs, Kurds, Fellians and

Turkmen, and forcibly deserted them under the accusation of Iranian subordination, and this law was implemented with the utmost force and brutality. This was done by throwing them at the Iranian borders mined during the Iran-Iraq war, after they were stripped of all their official documents that prove their Iraqi origin and their money were confiscated (38). As for the others, he shot them with the imposed holocaust of war. That is, they ignited this war and made its tools the Shiites of Iraq, and the sons of the Shiites were in the first ranks on the battlefronts. The Shiites were protecting the back of the criminal Saddam inside the country, and all this is not hidden from anyone, and the Baath regime forced about four million Iraqis to emigrate to the diaspora, most of them Arab Shiites and Kurds, and brought in their exchange about four million citizens of Arab countries and treated them as Iraqi citizens with a view to changing the sectarian and national demographics of the population (40). In addition to those who were executed by the regime in Iraqi prisons, the Shiites, as the Iraqi prisons were filled with Shiite youth, thousands of them were executed under the pretext of their support for Iran and their affiliation with parties loyal to Iran (41). This offense committed by the nationalists when they linked nationalism and sectarianism was a ticking time bomb for Arab nationalism itself and the direct and main reason for the failure of the modern Iraqi state in its instability and nourishing and perpetuating the hatred and violent conflicts between the components of the Iraqi people, which led to the destruction of the Arab national movement and to the failure of the liberal democrat project on whose foundation King Faisal I wanted to build his kingdom, and consequently to the resounding collapse of the Iraqi state on 04/9/2003, and the tremendous complications and repercussions that followed (42).

#### **Fifth: The Political Despotism that Surrounds Some Components of the Iraqi State.**

The truth must be said, some politicians from among the Sunni brothers imagine that the seat of government is the monopoly of them only and that they should rule alone, and that the chair is not fit for them, until one of them has reached the point that he considers that the Shiites do not know how to govern. I heard Mahmoud al-Mashhadani, speaker of Parliament, on a satellite channel, says what it means that when a Sunni signs a draft resolution, he signs with confidence and without hesitation, as for the Shiite, his hands shake when signing (43). The Sectarian Saddam and those who were before Saddam developed a love of rule and tyranny with power. Accordingly, the Sunnis printed themselves on power, whether religious or secular, they practiced sectarianism from a position of power.

#### **Sixth: The Decline in the Role and Prestige of the State.**

One of the harbingers of foreign intervention in Iraq and the attempt to present what he wants is not what the Iraqi government wants to make the Iraqi citizen, I do not say all citizens, to view his government as a weak government, not to think about rights when he tries to offend it, or bypassing the law set by it, but rather my expense if I said if the official insulting the law permits the ordinary person to insult him as well.

#### **Seventh: The Wrong Interpretation of the Religious Text.**

As there are fanatic groups that took the religious text and interpreted it as they like, killing and slaughtering in the name of religion, and this group today in our wounded Iraq is represented by Wahhabism, especially those coming from across the border, as they came with ideas and cultures that incite killing, in addition to the absence of religious piety.

### **Eighth: The Spread of Corruption in State Institutions.**

If bribery entered a country, it impoverished it. For the sake of achieving their despicable goals, terrorist groups were able to reach some of the state's leaders, sympathizers of course, and pay them huge sums so that they can reach the heart of the Iraqi government.

### **Ninth: Leakage of Confidential Information.**

Since the Iraqi government is composed of several parties, but of several political components, some linked to the West, and the other to the East, he made everything that should be top secret in the reach of everyone. This in turn exposed the weaknesses of the state in front of others, and knew the loopholes that they could direct the fatal blow to the government.

**Tenth: The Concentration of Money in the Hands of a Certain Group.** This implies that a large segment of society was deprived of it, so the poor increased poorer, and the rich became rich, so fair distribution became a distant dream. It may be well-wishers, so they were killed and displaced in exchange for the money they get from the financiers of terrorism.

There are other internal factors, but we stood on the most important of them hoping that we have succeeded in this proposition.

### **3. Ways to Get Out of The Sectarian Crisis**

The crisis of sectarianism that swept through the beloved Iraqi homeland made it the scene of many difficult problems that are difficult to solve, but the Almighty Allah "pledged to solve all problems if we changed our reality and our situation" (Thunder: 11). Let us close our eyes for an hour and suppose that we have changed what we are, so Allah Almighty inspired us the appropriate solutions to eliminate this crisis that burned the green and the ground. Although the first way to eliminate them is to address their roots and causes and find a set of causes and factors that prevent their development, this requires the development of policies and plans to eliminate them that include measures in the short term and others in the long term (44). As for the short term, it includes:

1. Imposing the rule of law and establishing relevant agencies to prosecute perpetrators and instigators of violent events and bring them to trial, limiting the role of reconciliation sessions to calming feelings without disrupting the law, and establishing laws for non-politicization of religion and its use for factional interests, and if we are a democratic state, democracy does not mean equating the perpetrator and the victim. Therefore, they both grow and enjoy the same privileges because this is unfair and opposes the law of heaven.
2. Employing security to serve the citizens and not to disperse them because the police must be at the service of the citizen, so the Ministry of Interior must play its role in serving the oppressed Iraqi citizen, not being him. This is of course only after the policemen have eliminated the foreign elements whose first and last goal is the destruction of the young Iraqi state after they were recruited by hostile countries. For Iraq, for every security breach that takes place today in any region of Iraq, the security man is primarily responsible for it, then the citizen, whose role should be to follow up and inform about all suspicious cases or movements.

3. Emphasis on the factors of national unity such as the peaceful coexistence between the people of one people, determining the mechanisms for reconciling the mutual demands of the elements of the nation by activating the dialogue and finding a mechanism to remove the fears and concerns related to what happened in the past of transgressions or injustice to any social group, and this does not happen except by deepening the idea of citizenship And raising the value of belonging to the motherland, not plotting against the homeland under the pretext of sectarianism, and recognition of the cultural specificity of the other is an integral part of the general culture of society (45).

4. Emphasizing the national ground for resolving disputes. The solution to any problem between two sects, Sunni, Shiite, or Kurdish, must emanate from the Iraqi homeland, meaning that it be solved by a national agenda, in which citizens participate because bullying abroad or foreign intervention means developing estrangement and anger between the conflicting religious sects on the basis of conflict civilizations. The continued burden of debt on managing international conflicts and their increase day by day increases the number of these people, and deepens their mutual wrong vision, and the emergence of a group with different names with a foreign agenda, and the attempt to present their case in international forums has raised a special sensitivity among the public, which is a critical and undesirable behavior. As Adnan Al-Dulaimi did when he attended an Islamic conference in Turkey and many others, who tried to propagate public opinion against the government.

5. Defining a clear distance between religious and national constants and values and between attempts to harness these values for other purposes and interests that do not serve the national interest and the goals of upgrading society to the level of civil society, and this is done in its fullest way when we do the role of civil society institutions, as these institutions contribute to achieving cooperation between individuals and groups in the fields of economic, cultural and social, in order to protect the rights and interests of groups and reconcile them, which in turn contributes to ensuring the highest degree of equality among them because these institutions are far from government interference and control.

6. Issue laws that enshrine equality between religions. Such as issuing a unified law between the Shiite and Sunni endowments and other sects on the necessity of establishing and restoring places of worship, equal opportunities and preventing discrimination in public jobs, in obtaining political and economic opportunities, and standing with courage, determination and courage in the face of any cultures and false religious interpretations that lead to the emergence of religious extremism that deepens differences, undermines ties, and opens the door to the negative and abhorrent influences that the issue of bullying abroad leaves in order to obtain certain internal gains, which consequently return to splitting the group's stick and weaken the state's ability to integrate and cohesion.

7. Benefiting from international protocols, councils and Islamic councils for human rights, and affirming the values of citizenship.

8. Clarifying the fallacies and removing the internal and international uproar about religions, including what was published in the Western media that the Islamic religion does not respect other religions, or that it is a religion of terrorism that does not care about human rights, as well as clarifying the fallacy and the radical difference between human rights and inter-religious dialogue, and the inability to link them because the first is a political dialogue and the second is a civilized dialogue aimed at understanding and coexistence, eliminating misunderstanding and correcting misconceptions, as well as

not linking the dialogue of cultures and religions on the one hand and terrorism on the other hand. The first goal is intellectual, while terrorism has always political references.

9. Moving from a culture of consumption to a culture of production. Consumption and production are not only a behavior, but a culture, the first is based on relying on others, and the second relies on self and self-sufficiency, and this can only be done with a gradual approach based on the collective responsibility associated with securing the needs and requirements of life, and this in turn contributes to the service of humanity as a whole, and requires existence of institutions to distribute revenue, reduce social and economic disparities and adhere to a value framework that depends on conscience, reason and work ethics, and develops creativity skills. What is required is a governmental stand with capital owners who finance industries - whether external or internal or with government funding for this purpose. Agriculture in our beloved Iraq will perish if She did not find a serious stand by the state because Iraq almost today has become an importer of fruits and vegetables, after it was an exporter of them. This constitutes a dangerous precedent for the Iraqi economy, and this culture, the culture of transition from consumption to the culture of production, solves for us the problem of thousands of unemployed young people with degrees or others.

10. Stopping religious debates in various media outlets that seek to distinguish, and to prove the preference and preference of one religion and belief over other religions and beliefs because it contains offense, offense, slander, and insult ... etc., and rejecting the separation between text and practice, the Qur'anic text carries enough values if adhering to it to build a common coexistence and mutual respect among all Muslims, and the Islamic religion does not bear what some deviants do. Human behavior, which is a deviation from the intent and purpose of the Islamic religion, and hence the urgent need to respond to the wrong interpretations of the texts.

As for the most important factors that hide behind this debate, they are:

**First:** The revolution of satellite channels, communication and information media, and the new media. That is, the harbingers after the fall which allowed groups and small groups, or individuals to use the new communication tools to break the restrictions contained in the present political public sphere, or bypass its restrictions, and resort to the net public sphere from the Internet new information space to express their political, religious, national, and ethnic views and discourses... etc., and this in turn leads to the fact that the extremists misuse these channels in criticizing some of the discriminatory religious discourses and practicing verbal, symbolic and ideological violence against the other. The new (net) media has led to the entry of extremists as producers of religious sectarian, controversial, and violent speeches via net sites or Facebook (FACE BOOK), thus turning their speeches into a weapon to confront the state and challenge its authorities.

**Second:** The transformation of rhetoric of extremism, fanaticism, and religious doctrinal ideological religious fanaticism into a mechanism for building status and influence for religious goods within the open religious market, national, regional or global and then militancy and polemical tendency has become a popular tool, and the most dangerous of which is the expansion of perceptual gaps between Shiite Sunni Muslims and others.

**Third:** The increasing demand for controversial religious discourses has increased with the increasing weight and influence of the Salafi movement on the public sphere within countries, and the increased consumption of this discursive pattern in Iraq, for example, by some Sunnis especially the takfiris among them at home or in the diaspora as a tool for balance on the symbolic and rhetorical level.

**Fourth:** The emergence of some religious-sectarian polemics about some sectarian beliefs, as one of the manifestations of the regional struggle between the so-called axis of resistance, which includes Iran and its regional allies: Syria, Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and the axis of moderation consisting of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and the UAE.

11. Since the Iraqi government contains several political components, some of which have relations with foreign countries that sponsor terrorism and develop sectarianism in Iraq; Therefore, it is the duty of the Iraqi government to expose those conspirators to the security of Iraq from time to time after each incident of conspiracy against the country, as well as mentioning the names of the countries in which the conspiracies took place, such as Saudi Arabia, for example, by name, and not merely indicating that what happened was planned in one of the neighboring countries. Because such cover-ups do not serve the interest of the country, so they are supposed to be exposed in front of public opinion so that the people will find out about their plots. In order to close the door to those who claim that the Shiite prime minister wants to rule alone or control the country's capabilities, and the last measure taken by the Iraqi government against the criminal Tariq al-Hashemi was a sound measure that it must take against all the conspirators against this poor people, and to be a lesson for everyone who was considered.

These means are in the short term, but in the long term, pressure must be made for the following:

1. Reviewing the articles of the constitution in a way that ensures that all citizens of the country enjoy the same rights and duties, lifting any discrimination on a sectarian basis, and ensuring real equality of opportunity. The American administration to Iraq, it was not without foreign interference in the development of some of its provisions, so it needs to be formulated with more patriotic hands than those who preceded it, even if we were not accused of those who put him in employment, but we say that he was put under certain political pressure.

2. The formation of national committees to examine and purify laws against everything that restricts the citizen's right to the inviolability of belief and the practice of rituals, and this in turn contributes to the decriminalization of imposing beliefs by coercion and force, whether by the state, organizations or individuals because this is in accordance with the command of heaven "there is no compulsion in religion" (Al-Baqarah: 255).

3. Actions of a package of strict administrative interventions to eradicate religious intolerance from educational institutions. Through strict criteria for evaluating the performance of teachers, teachers and university professors, including introducing them to human rights and their international standards, and their commitment to clear rules in teaching, as well as holding them accountable for the behaviors they practice in the classroom with an obligation everyone has to stick to it.

4. Putting all educational institutions, whether national or international, especially in their early stages, under the supervision of the responsible educational ministries, with a focus on beneficial education that benefits the individual and society, and this in turn educates generations on the culture of the age and opens up horizons of knowledge for them. For national reconciliation, recognition of others, mutual understanding and trust between peoples, and this in turn contributes to the graduation of a responsible and active citizen as well as focusing on university research, which in turn contributes to the advancement of (Education to Live Together) programs, taking into account cultural diversity in all educational activities.

5. Settling differences between countries of the world, especially the Islamic world and the Arab world: because this contributes to eliminating citizens that sow sectarian strife and sponsorship in neighboring countries, and to appeal to the principles of international law to settle disputes and establish strong fraternal relations based on mutual benefits.

6. Laying down basic principles for building coexistence, and among these things:

A. Exiting the debate of history and focusing on the lived present, so there is no room for discussing the oppression of another race or religion for others - even if they are unforgettable events - but history can be used to highlight the honorable attitudes and the joint cooperation that has been achieved at the level of the people of the same nation, which represents an inexhaustible historical stock. Tolerance and understanding, provided that this is not the only way to settle the situations raised.

B. Mutual recognition of the neighboring country. This means recognizing the existence of extremists in all religions and removing the roots of hatred and rancor in the souls of the people of one state.

C. Dealing with juveniles at their various levels and not at the level of the elites, which is no longer sufficient, especially with the arrival of the problem to the broad masses who were previously a bright example in respect of coexistence.

D. Interest in joint activities and events: for example, sport can be a reason for expanding dialogue between cultures because it is directly related to daily life in dialogue, the idea of football, for example, has become a global sport today, and has benefited from several anti-racism actions supported in Europe, for example by the European Football Association, which developed a 10-point scheme and prepared directives that respond to the aspirations of the clubs. It is possible to play together while respecting neutral and universal rules, and this prevailing principle of sportsmanship can constitute an experiment between different cultures.

E. Understanding the impact of positive market relationships. People of one state, as a result of the commercial interests of life between them, impose on them a continuous coexistence; Because individuals are aligned with their personal interests, and they may distance themselves from public concerns if they find that they negatively affect their livelihood.

F. Spreading the spirit of army and order that develops loyalty and bond with Iraq. The soldier carries two important qualities in the components of soldiering, namely order and spirit, so if the spirit is "from the command of my Lord" (Al-Israa: 85). So by applying these principles and values, and pushing the spirit in its path, and when order and spirit converge, soldierhood appears in its true meaning on which the civilizations of Iraq have grown and prospered, and by losing them the state of the country deteriorates.

G. Fear of the consequences of sedition. This fear acts as a brake on any party that continues to escalate any dispute that arises between the parties of society because the spread of sedition means the loss of lives and the destruction of property that no one appreciates its size.

H. Directing the energies of young people to useful national work instead of a vacuum that increases the rift among people and raises the level of anger they have, and resentment against the state by providing job opportunities for young people, especially those with competencies, educating those who have no qualifications, and equality between members of the same society.

These are the most important remedies that the state can take to combat terrorism and stirred sectarian strife because we have a long history and civilization, and we have sons that the homeland should protect. The reason is that it is the future that carries the hopes of its members and fulfills the aspirations of its youth, provides justice for its members, regains its rights, gets angry at the injustice of its children and seeks to respond to their grievances and their rights, and the road ahead is long but possible, and its beginning is the development of man, the individual and the state with knowledge and work so that we are not "a nation laughed at its ignorance of nations" as he said the poet, Al-Mutanabi (46).

## II. Findings and Conclusion

After this trip, through which we looked at the sites of the disease in the Iraqi body that was exhausted by wars, and destroyed by internal and external conspiracies, we try to find out the most important results of the research:

1. Foreign colonialism has a face in every time and place in which it appears before the peoples, but its unified policy remains one against all peoples, especially Islamic peoples, and it is a policy of "Divide and Conquer", as the globe today is on the verge of a third world war, but it is a cold war with another face.

2. It turns out that this sedition is not very recent, but it has roots in the first historical period of the life of the Messenger, but our guided imams have contributed to extinguishing the fire of sedition over time, and this was exemplified by the position of Imam Ali since the first signs of sedition and how he dealt with it.

3. It was found that this disease had spread to some souls and took root with them, so they tried to ignite sedition as soon as they slept and the storms subsided because they were set on evil and sold themselves for a few dirhams to a foreigner.

4. It turns out that the government today is able to lay down plans to cure the disease of sedition and get Iraq out of the bottleneck.

5. It became clear that the people of the nation today need to re-read history again in order to be able to solve all their outstanding problems if they change themselves and rely on Allah.

6. It turns out that this sedition is not a stubborn one that is not addressed, but we can treat it if we all Iraqis think after we put our hands in the hands of some and forget the wounds, and after the government seriously thinks about dealing with the issue, it is the only one who has the hand of initiative and Allah bless.

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