

*The October Uprising and Reform in Iraq: An Analytical Study of
a Popular Uprising Phenomenon*

**انتفاضة أكتوبر والإصلاح في العراق: دراسة تحليلية لظاهرة انتفاضة
شعبية**

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Abstract:

The study's aim depends on the theoretical hypothesis's statement: reform in Iraq comes from the bottom to the top, not the opposite. In most countries, reform comes according to a deliberate governmental program. Whereas in Iraq, reform comes from people's discontent toward political corruption. Thus, reform in Iraq is not a vision presented by the Government to act upon, but rather, it is relatively a government's reaction to diminishing the uprising of the masses.

This study presents the popular uprising values in reforming Iraq's path and the Government through an analytical approach. We look into the Iraqi reality that almost reached a dead end and relied on the masses to change the parties' equation of consensus. The study expresses the extent of the manifestation of "national identity" during the October Popular Uprising as a reforming act and the masses' goal of "building a nation."

This study presents an analytical vision for Iraq's future and its national identity, which brings back the people's voice after being suppressed by the "Ethnic" and "Sectarianism" parties.

المخلص:

هدف الدراسة لبيان الفرضية النظرية: "الإصلاح في العراق يأتي من الأسفل إلى الأعلى وليس العكس"، حيث يأتي الإصلاح في معظم البلدان وفق برنامج حكومي مدروس. بينما في العراق، يأتي الإصلاح نتيجة استياء الناس من الفساد السياسي. وبالتالي، فإن الإصلاح في العراق لم يأتي رؤية قدمتها الحكومة للعمل على أساسها، بل جاء كرد فعل نسبي للحكومة على تقليص انتفاضة الجماهير.

عرضت هذه الدراسة قيم الانتفاضة الشعبية في إصلاح مسار العراق والحكومة من خلال نهج فلسفي تحليلي، حيث قمنا بتحليل الواقع العراقي الذي كاد أن يصل إلى طريق مسدود واعتمد على الجماهير لتغيير معادلة التوافق بين الأطراف، كما أوضحت الدراسة مدى تجسيد "الهوية الوطنية" خلال انتفاضة أكتوبر الشعبية كعمل إصلاحي وهدف الجماهير

المتمثل في "بناء أمة"، وقدمت هذه الدراسة رؤية تحليلية لمستقبل العراق وهويته الوطنية؛
تعيد صوت الشعب بعد قمعه من قبل الأطراف "الاثنية" و "الطائفية".

الكلمات المفتاحية: العراق، انتفاضة أكتوبر، الإصلاح في العراق

1. Introduction

Reform represents an intellectual vision expressed by thinkers according to their intellectual or ideological orientation. Reformation starts from reality, and the more devastation in a society, the more advocates of its reform. The problem in Iraq centers around the Government, and all its allied parties are fighting corruption in their rhetoric, but in actual reality, they are creating corruption on the ground.

The demonstrators raised the slogan of reform as a form of (democratic) change that occurs gradually to correct the course of Government, state, and society. This is done through attempts to present problems and possible solutions under the existing political or administrative system.

When the decision-maker does not take genuine steps to address the devastation and corruption in state institutions, then reform will evolve from a demand for correction to a demand for change or a demand to "overthrow" the entire political system. This requires reform advocates (demonstrators) to adopt the revolutionary (radical) path of change. The more devastation intensifies, we find a shift in reform discourse from correction to change and results in a disturbance in the state and the Government's existence. In the event of stubbornness between the two parties: the opposition party (i.e., Protesters) and their public base and the Government and its parties (the governorate or the benefactor) attempts to betray and eliminate the other, which leads to a war between the opposition and the parties in power.

Revolution is derived from the Latin word "**revolver**," which means *to revolve or rollback*. It also means to return to the old regime, which is similar to the type of reform that advocates are hoping to achieve by connecting again to a better model for government and state administration.

The October uprising events are considered as reform more than revolution, generally speaking. The demonstrators' goal was not to change the entire political system, and rather, they were seeking demands and services.

In totalitarian regimes, reforms come from the top down; however, these reforms are enforced by the vision of the "leading party" or "necessity leader" who rules the people with an "iron fist" policy where people have no options to participate in governmental reform or its plans. In Iraq, the government system of so-called "Consensual Democracy," which is a form of the "Quota System," is one in which the nation is absent, and patriotism recedes. So that, ethnic (nationalism) or sectarian (doctrinism) becomes present, which results in the absence of the nation and national identity in favor of the presence of "communality" and "sub-identity."

In both totalitarian and consensual governments, the cabinet, a close group to the authority, supports its policy and defends its interests. This cabinet does not tend reform, perhaps only to the level that reflects the extent of the public alertness and awareness of the national identity and its benefits towards the external challenge that threatens the existence of this "identity."

The study's aim depends on the theoretical hypothesis's statement: reform in Iraq comes from the bottom to the top, not the opposite. In most countries, reform comes according to a deliberate governmental program. Whereas in Iraq, reform comes from people's discontent toward parties' corruption that forms the Government. Thus, reform in Iraq is not a vision

presented by the Government to act upon, but it is relatively a government's reaction to diminish the masses' uprising.

This study presents the popular uprising values in reforming Iraq and the Government's path through an analytical approach. We look into the Iraqi reality that almost reached a dead end, which left it up to the masses to be heard to change the parties' equation of consensus.

The study expresses the extent of the manifestation of the "national identity" during the October popular uprising as a reforming act, and at its base, "the masses" and its goal of "building a nation." Our study presents an analytical vision for Iraq's future and its national identity, which brings back the people's voice after its absence by the "Ethnic" and "Sectarianism" parties.

To discuss the study's hypothesis: "Reform in Iraq comes from the bottom to the top, not the opposite," we have put forward a set of concluded questions that we will answer according to our understanding of the October uprising role. The most important of these questions are:

- 1) Do we consider these demonstrations just uprising or a revolution?
- 2) Are these demonstrations an expression of misery and poverty? Are they unjustified demonstrations?
- 3) Are these demonstrations a conspiracy against the uprising masses? Are they justified in Iraq's social and political reality after 2003?
- 4) Could these demonstrations present a new vision for the upcoming political system that rules Iraq according to a national vision with free influence by the regional countries?

"Uprising" (الانتفاضة) in the Arabic language is linked to *fear* and *dread*. According to a political convention, it means *fear of the regime* and the state administration's nature, which is linked to popular gatherings that are dissatisfied and fear as much as they have strength. Fear is an internal human feeling that an individual possesses when he/she does not know or cannot estimate the extent of his/her enemy or opponent's reaction. This is especially true if this enemy is the ruling regime with a repressive apparatus capable of responding with all its strength. The regime has the right to monopolize violence because it has not lost its legitimacy yet.

In his book *Lisan al-Arab* (Ibn Manzoor, 1969, P109), Ibn Manzur discussed the meaning of revolution as it is similar to the meaning of an uprising. Both revolution and uprising have similar meanings in well-known Arabic dictionaries.

One of the uprising meanings is "*removal*," so it is said "uprising clothes," moving it to remove the dust from it. In contrast, the corrupt Government's actions are the *dust* that the uprising masses must work to remove. In Iraqi dialect, we have a popular saying ("نفضت شللي منهم" or *NoFathit ShiLiLi MiHom*; meaning *Shake off my dress off them*. As an example, this is said when a father finds no good in his children, meaning that he is desperate to fix them. To find what we have explained about the uprising's meanings, please refer to the Arabic language dictionaries (lexicon) such as the *Lexicon of Lisan Al Arab*, *Al Waseet*, *lQamus AlMuhit*, etc. for more details.

The act of uprising includes movement, vigilance, and awareness on which the pursuit of change, alteration, and removal of the previous state is the goal. Consequently, the uprising of a people means its awakening from its slumber and its serious endeavor to remove the ruling authority's

corruption and its problematic parties. The act of uprising against the ruling system may be accompanied by acts of violence or civil disobedience, which needs an organization adopted by the (intelligentsia) forces representing the uprising masses.

The meaning of the uprising does not differ from the meaning of the revolution. When people rise, this means they flare up and revolt. The concept of the "Intifada" has been linked to the Palestinian people's rejection of the Israeli occupation forces, which practiced all kinds of violence in expressing this rejection. Therefore Tharwat Badawi (Al-Ta'an, 1980, p. 108) defines revolution as "a popular movement based on the whole or the majority of the people and relies on its strength to destroy the existing system from its roots and build a system on new foundations." We can say uprising is a revolution that has not yet been completed. The revolution is an uprising that has achieved its goals and accomplished what it intended. The uprising may end without overthrowing the regime, but it is a revolution that has not reached its end." In other words, the uprising may pave the way for the revolution and achieve some of the revolutionaries' demands. The uprising is the revolution in its early stages.

Azmi Islam mentions a group of concepts related or overlapped with the concept of revolution, such as "exit," meaning going out to seek rights or fighting injustice. Also, this along with the concept of "leap," "uplift," and even "stand," all of which are overlapped concepts with revolution's concept, which requires rapid "emotional" movement that includes the verb "to rise." To some extent, it overlaps with the concept of "coup" in the Arabic sense with the concept of revolution because it is an act of a specific group that comes from the top to the bottom (or from the top to the base), which is more like Plato's concept of the "descending debate." However, revolution comes from the base and moves up to the top; thus, it is more like a "rising debate,"

but the act of "coup" may be followed and supported later by public sympathy, or an act that comes to fulfill demands of the public masses. Then perhaps the "coup" will turn into a "revolution." (Bishara, 2013, p. 14-30).

Gandhi practiced civil disobedience as a mass movement aiming to embarrass the forces of (colonialism) and challenge it with all its military entrenchment. Therefore, "disobedience" is a form of uprising and rejection of all kinds of injustice. Hannah Arendt referred to concepts such as "disobedience" and "rebellion" as concepts that interfere with the revolution, but it does not coincide with it in terms of the purpose. Maybe the "disobedience" occurs to achieve a specific demand related to a group that has not achieved some or all of its rights. And so is the case with "rebellion" since the revolution's goal is to achieve freedom for the people, not for a group (Arendt, 2008, p.55-56).

Dr. Abdel-Reda Al-Taani believes that "revolution possesses a line that expresses an intellectual power that rebellion does not possess" (Al-Taani, 1980, p. 31) since chaos may prevail in revolution, as in the uprising, rebellion, and coup. Also, all of these parties may not know the ends of their protest, some may lead to the reversal of the equation, these movements may end in suppressing them, and it is also possible that these movements become the (revolution).

There are several opinions regarding revolution. Hegel (1770-1830), for example, sees revolution as a social phenomenon that is anomalous and out of the general functioning of a society, while Locke (1632-1704) sees it as a natural social phenomenon consistent with the general functioning of human society, that is, a revolution is a legal act that people have the right to do if corruption is revealed in the joints of its Government. Marx (1818-1883) approved the latter opinion regarding the difference in vision between the

two philosophers. Marx considered revolution as the general law, which functions in nature and society, and it is the only means to solve all society's problems, especially from an economic aspect (Jamar, 1958 p. 10&14).

Revolution, every revolution, is a natural and expected reaction in societies ruled by a class that has been corrupted and persisted in corruption, or what Marx called "impoverishment," or deprivation, which is linked to the ruling authority's disregard of the fulfillment of vital needs, and above all material needs. Revolution calls for a radical transformation of the same needs, aspirations, and passions in a given culture. This transformation is against the illicit gain of a certain group of people close to the men of power, against slavery, against deprivation, and pollution (Marcuse, p. 23&24).

All concepts that we were mentioned overlap with the concept of revolution. Most of them move according to the principle of "common sense" or "collective sense," so the individual melts within the group. In his book "The Psychology of the Masses," Le Bon spoke about the concept of "collective protest" as an essential concept that oppressed (vulnerable) masses move accordingly in terms of their rapid influence on emotion and their drive (incitement). Moreover, even masses' believe in every public action without realizing (critical consciousness), as if they were moving while they were under the influence of "hypnosis" (Le Bon, 2015a, p. 3&29), which is a kind of "social hypnosis"; as named by Ali Al-Wardi where the individual self is absent for the benefit of the group, so it creates a kind of "collective enthusiasm" which is a social activity that has its pros and cons. On the one hand, this enthusiasm raises the masses' tendency of redemption and sacrifice, but on the other hand, it blocks the objective vision of the masses (Al-Wardi, 2005, p.10).

Revolution is intertwined with the concept of an uprising because both uprising and the revolution advocates seek change. The change may be completed in the form of the state and its government system. The change may be partial in some of the state's joints and some articles of the constitution. The change may end (the uprising) once the regime responds to the demands of the uprising masses.

Gustave Le Bon confirms that revolution takes place according to mental data. There is no revolution without the existence of mental and realistic causes behind the origin of its occurrence. Still, these reasons do not have the power of influence if they do not turn into emotions that the public or the revolutionary groups feel. There is no success for a revolution without “fulfilling the hearts of the masses with hopes” (Le Bon, 2015b, p. 3). Therefore, most successful revolution leaders rely on fueling religious or national sentiment for success. The revolution does not succeed,” and it does not bring its results until after it descends into the spirit of groups. The group completes the revolution, not its source. The group does not want anything, and it does not want anything if it does not have a president who leads it. All groups soon go beyond the extent to which they were incited, even if the incitement never arises from them” (Le Bon, 2015b, p. 3).

Revolution as we know it is related to the radical change of a government system, so it is not a revolution just for a mass rejection or revolution against the ruling system prevailing in their country. So when the ruling system responds to all or some of these demands, the masses will return to the situation they were in before the uprising. The reason beneath that is not the authority's response to their demands, but their fear of its cruelty, especially in those countries ruled by dictatorial regimes.

According to Hashem Al-Ta'an, the change of a political system by revolution depends on the new social relations' nature. In other words, the changing of political systems is a result of the revolution. So as far as what a revolution can change in social relations, it will reveal the political system that matches the new relations (Al-Ta'an, 1980, p. 105&106). While Kundersia defines the revolution as Henna Arennt does, " it is a word that applies only to revolutions in which its aim is freedom" (Arendt, 2008, p.55-38).

Revolutionaries are working to offer a vision of reform based on rebuilding the state and establishing a new governmental system that preserves people's beliefs. They are their dignity and security, guarantees their freedoms, and works to provide the necessary infrastructure. Revolution is a form of social change, so to speak, and could also be considered a form of persistent violent behavior (Al-Ta'an, 1980, p. 170). As we mentioned before, there are a few "white revolutions" in global history because violence may appear within the revolutionary agitation and collective enthusiasm, and violent practices may occur, whether directed or undirected, in revolution and uprising. Of most importance in this analysis is an attempt to understand what happened in Iraq in October 2019.

In his book "The Revolution - Its Elements, Analysis, and Results," Crane Britton has provided a comprehensive study targeting four great Western revolutions (French, Russian, American, and British) that did not occur - for the most part - as a result of "the spread of misery or economic depression." Rather, Britton posits that these revolutions occurred because there was a sensation among the revolutionary group that "prevailing circumstances had limited and delayed its economic activity" (Britton, 1967, p. 53-59), which can be applied to what happened in Iraq. The Iraqi people know how much money Iraq receives from oil, but the corruption of the

ruling authority and its supporters have caused a loss of more than a thousand billion dollars. In addition, there is also the influence of some armed forces which are out of governmental security control and have an influence on all aspects of the country's economic and financial health, which has increased unemployment and poverty rates in a country that should be in the ranks of the richer countries.

2. Uprising and Intelligentsia

Every revolution made by people is an expression of their rejection of the form of misery practiced by that society, so there is no revolution in societies that live in a state of prosperity and contentment, and if it were an example found, it would be an exception rather than a rule (Al-Ta'an, 1980, p. 17).

Every revolution occurs, usually along with some violent forms of practice, as we referred to earlier. In most cases, this social event (revolution) is accompanied by violent practices, even if there are "non-violent" revolutions that have occurred in our world, like Gandhi's revolution. "

In his book "The Intellectuals and the Revolution," Nadim Al-Bitar confirms that "this role that is played by intelligentsia does not confer on it - at least in the meaning that any superiority distinguishes it in terms of social value or terms of intelligence necessary for work. Only a kind of work that exceptionally requires the exercise of intellectual judgments that requires, in turn, the previous obtaining of some serious and responsible knowledge of thought and mind (Nadim Al-Bitar, 2001, p. 12).

People do not seek revolution just for the sake of revolution, but the revolting area was asking for freedom due to the increased corruption that

has made some government leaders and their parties wealthy while their people are tasting the hard-living and (tightening the belt).

Culture can be for the sake of culture or art for the sake of art or thought for the sake of thought, but revolution cannot be only for the sake of revolution because the act of revolution is not a desire. Rather, it is an act of social change required by the dynamism of the burdened people and deprived of wealth and live with dignity. Therefore revolution is expected to happen in a country where corruption has been widespread and acquired its leaders and followers. Revolution can produce both art and literature.

All revolutions that witness active participation of the educated classes have witnessed a clear change like the revolution's cultural speech and also administrative discourse at the level of the system of Government and even can lead to the fall of a ruling class and the rise of another alternative one to take power in its place. When it comes time for decisions to be made by the new men of power against the former men of power, here the role of the educated is to alert the revolutionaries or uprisings regarding the danger of violent practice towards men of the former regime, especially the personal acts of revenge between the new and old rulers.

Usually, the revolutionary sense is an exclusionary sense towards the former power and its men. Here, another role will appear for the "revolutionary" intelligentsia, which is to ensure the success of the revolution by entering into negotiations with some of the leaders in the former regime. For every revolution that occurs, compromises should be made with some of the former regime leaders. (Abdul Jalil Al-Taher) calls these people caretakers "the Sidana," who are a group whose incorporeal and physical existence is linked to the existence of the divinity (Al-Taher, 1956) if they who made it anyway. A colorful chameleon behavior distinguishes

them. The caretakers are a group that always shows its belief in the divinity, fights everyone who dissents their thoughts, but at the same time does not believe in the holiness of the divinity so you can recognize them to show themselves in front of strong opponents and those who were thought to be one day at the head of power. Yet, we recognize caretakers tending in their dealings with these opponents to be soft, balanced, and convenient in the situation (Al-Taher, 1956). Thus, gaining such people is one of the (possible) success strategies of the revolution.

Every thought may decline as soon as its owners are driven out of power, but it cannot be erased if there was in some of its ideological product a theoretical vision adopted by a group of thinkers or intellectuals who formed the vision of the old system.

The Government's concern did not come from the youth's strength and enthusiasm, but rather the awareness they possessed towards the importance of the homeland, culture, and art. Many intellectuals' significant contribution in the uprising is a role termed an "ideological struggle" by Regis Debray, which refers to a combination of psychological and artistic creativity to take back control of beauty from the ruling class. (Debray, 1968, p.174). Indeed,

“art and revolution meet together to change the world” (Marcuse, p. 123).

Therefore, the Cultural Revolution occurs within the cultural, intellectual, and academic elites. (Herbert Marcuse) mentioned the concept of “the cultural revolution,” which is a revolution in which the "intelligentsia" is concerned with emphasizing the role of culture and the arts, with all their indicators and varieties, to develop (protest) spirit through literature: whether poetry, novel or story as well as through art: theater, music, or fine art. These are, as Marcuse calls them, "higher values" since the arrogance of the ruling parties and the egotism of the authority have

diverted government attention away from the importance of "culture" and its higher values, which is the most important moral tool in the revolutionaries hands to change the state's path and to transform the aesthetic awareness in these "higher values" into a revolutionary awareness that removes the veil and exposes the falsehood of power = (the Government) and its parties (Le Bon, 2015b, p. 3).

The "intelligentsia's" task in the revolution requires getting out of isolation and a feeling of superiority to join the masses, to produce a speech that moves from reality to theory, to crop outcomes of this speech as a return to reform and change in the prevailing social and cultural structure to move some of its stillness and inactivity and to inflame the collective mind to wake up from its "dogmatic slumber" in the words of Mohammad Arkoun, to be able to produce an "enthusiastic culture" (Le Bon, 2015b, p. 3). Herbert Marcuse believes doing so breaks the prevailing conservative culture. There is no art and no awareness except an idealistic art with a theological character like authority.

"The value of literature in a revolution is superior to any other value, because the writer precedes the revolution and prepares for it with his thoughts and words the meaning of freedom and the sovereignty of the people, or comes after abstracting and raising it to general humanity" (Moussa, 1960, p. 27).

3. The Iraqi Uprising in October 2019: an analytical View

According to what we mentioned previously, it is clear that October's demonstrations in Iraq are still beyond comprehensive and prohibitive definition according to the logical definition of revolution or uprising. Still, it is closer to the media in its inception that it is demanding demonstrations, but the authority's reaction turned it into an uprising that holds a declaration

of approaching revolution. Every revolution begins with an uprising; both are expressions of rejection because the Arabic meaning of the demonstration is taken from "Dahir" "aid," so every demonstrator aids likeminded individuals in a peaceful way in a specific place due to the ruling regime's refusal to listen to his voice and the voice of the demonstrators and respond to them.

We can say that October's demonstrations at their beginnings are demanding demonstrations which were held to reform the existing political system, not displacing it from its roots, because the demonstrators hadn't reached the point of asserting an entire rejection of the government system and its headmen, as they were massive gatherings to reveal rampant corruption on the part of the state which needed to be corrected and reformed by the Government.

When the authority did not directly deal with the demands of the uprising masses and failing to think through the consequences of what the demonstrators could do, those in power underestimated the revolutionary uprisings and their strength, doubting their ability to change, and forgetting all of the consequences of their own corruption.

Climate has a role in the political game, but many of our politicians did not realize climate's effects in changing speech pattern in acceptance or rejection regarding their policies due to their excessive stubbornness and obstinacy; they did not safeguard and manage the changing Iraqi mood at the time the climate changed, especially when temperatures in Iraq reached over fifty degrees Celsius. What's more, an absence of electricity and necessary infrastructure forced the masses to express their anger with the corruption that had spread in most parts of the state.

4. Demonstration and Conspiracy

The Iraqi Government's problem in dealing with October's demonstrations lies in its isolation from the masses and their lived reality with all its devastation and corruption. Those in power often forget what the advocates of (consensual Government) have done = (the shares). Despite its inability to reveal a single conspirator, it keeps claiming that there are conspirators. It says there is a "major conspiracy" (Mahmoud, 2010), a term borrowed from (Mustafa Mahmoud) against Iraq. It suspects that the participants in these demonstrations were driven by an external factor of influence, a foreign act, or a conspiracy against the country. More than one official character declared that it was a conspiracy and know who was pulling strings! We do not deny the existence of a conspiracy, nor do we confirm it, but what we know and is known by every observer of Iraqi affairs is the Government's corruption since 2003, and that a large percentage of young people have appeared to fight corruption by trying to fix what can be fixed.

Suppose we believed in conspiracy consistent with the Government and its rhetoric. Would it have been more appropriate for those in charge of the security facilities to protect young people from falling into the conspiracy trap?

Isn't that the Government and its security facilities' responsibility, whose leaders claim to know the conspiracy clues?

It happened, and those who were killed were killed on 1/10; Why didn't the security facilities take any steps to dismantle conspiracy networks?

If security facilities, with all their capabilities, were unable to know that snipers were in an area that could kill protesters with the alert of all the leaders, then how can they be so certain of the existence of a conspiracy?

In front of all these unanswered questions by the security facilities, demonstrations have been brewing for a long time; do these facilities bear the responsibility for killing demonstrators and failing their security plans?

Is it the right of the protesting masses and families of the martyrs and the wounded in the uprising to bring lawsuits against the Iraqi Government in the Iraqi and even international courts? The Government continues to claim the existence of a conspiracy targeting Iraq in spite of not providing evidence of such.

In his book (The Rebel Man) Albert Camus states: "The truth is that if an individual accepts his death and dies at a consistent time in his rebellion movement, indicating that he is sacrificing himself for a good basis that he considers beyond his own destiny" (Camus, 1983, p.21) (as an individual). If he prefers death and does not accept the right denial for which he is sacrificed, that is because he places the truth over himself and elevates it to the rank of generosity in the soul, which is the highest goal of generosity, as it is said.

A class of religious men, "Al-Mutafiqin" or what Dr. Ali Al-Wardi called "preachers of sultans" has emerged, who benefit and make a living from religion. Thus they are fighting every change in society or Government because the change in principles requires new men and a transfer of power and livelihood from an old class to a new one.

Thus, religious men have always been conservative. There cannot be a revolt among them, and if someone was found, he will be taken out of their fold or be executed." (Moussa, 1960, p. 27)

Doubt is defined as "ending to issue a judgment," meaning when you cannot judge if something is wrong or correct, you hesitate to adopt or reject

it, which is something that often happens in our daily life, so you remain neutral. Without clear evidence, we can't accept it as a certainty the presence of infiltrators.

The main problem in some people lies in their suspicion of the reason behind the demonstrators' aggression, which is corruption. Many contests the right to demonstrate against this corruption because the demonstrations conflict with their individual interests or self-aspirations.

Let us return to the epistemological doubt or what "Descartes" called "the methodical doubt" that a rational person builds on the rule which Descartes mentioned in his book "An Essay on the Methodology, which is that one shouldn't accept anything as true unless it is evident that it is so. One's judgment on an idea or issue as being false or true can only occur if one has made sure to use inductive or inactive methods to arrive at one's own judgment.

No sane person in our society doubts evidentiary (theoretical) or inductive (experimental) methods that corruption in Iraq is a rampant phenomenon. It was said in the definition of politics that it is "the art of the possible," that a successful politician does not look for enemies as much as he searches for supporters, and at least he strives to neutralize his opponents, these are things considered today as famous in political work, but we find our politicians running the country with the enthusiasm of teenage boys, not according to the logic of politics. The more demonstrators intensify and insist on staying in the demonstration and settled in squares, we find the Government, its apparatus, and power parties insist on distorting and abusing them and overlooking the kidnapping or assassination of activists among them, even though most of the activists are conscious and promising youth,

possessing a national culture and human awareness that Government and its parties should be proud of.

The uprisings raised the slogan (*We Want a homeland*), they have succeeded in supporting and developing the national industry, they have sent positive messages to the Government and the security facilities through their insistence on peaceful behavior, whether in their cultural demonstrations or in their artistic (aesthetic) works in art and fine art or in their altruism and cooperation in spite of all their different backgrounds and diversity.

After the uprising sacrificed their most valuable assets, doubts about their intentions were no longer sensible, especially after the (Supreme Religious Authority) represented by the authority of (Sayyid Ali al-Sistani) worked to bring them justice and defend their right to peaceful protest, it is no longer beneficial for the Government to search for mistakes here and there. In order to ridicule or underestimate the value of the political, social, and cultural awakening brought by the uprising youth, it embarrassed and tested the Government to return to patriotism or to obey the directives of the parties and their armed forces supported regionally.

The goal of Government (as Thomas Benn says) is to “protect the freedom and tranquility of the human” and as Salameh Musa says in the words of US President Lincoln, “The people have the right to change the government by constitutional means, and if they are unable to do so, they can change it by force.” (Moussa, 1960, p. 50).

It is good and happy that we find all the government security services alerted about the killing of the young man in Al-Wathba Square in which the demonstrators (the uprisings) were accused. Well done by revealing the murderers of this deceased martyr, who was killed by some ignorant and degenerate ones who were counted on the peaceful demonstrators who

showed hundred even thousands of pieces of evidence regarding altruism, sacrifice, cooperation, or shaping life with the color of love in works, drawings, sculpture, photography, theater, cinema, dancing, crying, poetry, medical aid, nursing made by medical and health professionals, and the participation of mothers and daughters of the age of roses to create a homeland in which all Iraqis live.

All these beauty aspects for making a nation were not seen by the Government and its parties' eyes because they wear black glasses and do not see reality as it should be!

The revolutionaries always die, and even their families do not reap their successes, but those who reap their sacrifices (spoils) are the cultural and political (elites) who were (suspicious), and those who can be called (people standing on the hill), so you will find them at the hour of distributing the spoils the first of those present! And political opportunists harvested it to reach power on the shoulders of revolutionaries.

"The wretched are the earth power" they will be the fuel of the revolution because they have nothing they are afraid to lose everything except their handcuffs, by (Hannah Arendt) (Arendt, 2008, p.81&91).

What drives the masses is the "revolutionary frenzy," which is considered the prelude of the revolution. Often the revolution steps are not counted in its beginnings with the revolutionaries themselves (Breton, 2009, p.106).

The French Revolution succeeded (1789) when soldiers joined in on the side of the revolutionaries (Breton, 2009, p.110).

All four revolutions: English, Russian, French, and American were the result of a struggle between the old and new, in which the regime's

proponents adopted a position rejecting the idea of the revolution and accusing the revolutionaries of being conspirators linked to external circles, while the revolutionaries and their supporters and followers attributed their victory to the credibility of their ideas that made many of the people rush to support it (Hobsbawm, 2007).

The revolution should "politically eliminate the worst harms, the worst types of deficits in the old regime." (Moussa, 1960, p. 16) But the revolution is not supposed to make an entire change to the old system. Thus you can find some or many old regime leaders who are good at adapting to the new situation and social change made by revolution so that they might be part of it. As we mentioned before, there may be compromises between the revolutionaries and some of the previous leaders.

Revolution is a conspiracy when the authority is able to suppress and eliminate it, and the people of power will disguise themselves because of their willingness to help revolutionaries. But it will be a "lifeboat" and its ship when its owners win. They will find the rest of the people who were afraid of being accused of or concerned with the possibility of the existence of a connection between them and the revolutionaries, working on clinging to a straw to help them claim that they were supporters of the revolutionaries.

Every revolution has errors, anomalies, and violent practices as much as positive aspects, and we think that it is the Government's responsibility to cleanse the demonstrations from the infiltrators as the people of authority decide to call them, and it is not one of the main tasks of the demonstrators or the protesters to distinguish between original demonstrators and the infiltrated ones who work according to an external agenda to discredit the demand of the uprising, demonstrating or revolting masses.

Perhaps someone might protest against our saying that our intention is to absolve the demonstrators of every sabotage act as if we were describing prophets or saints! The possibility of sabotage in every protest act of passionate masses is possible, and that is why Marx addresses the skeptics of the vulnerable revolts by saying: (Aren't you ashamed? Since shyness according to him was a "revolutionary sentiment") (Fanon, 2013). They are the "torture of the earth," according to Frantz Fanon

The masses move according to the logic of (the collective sense) in which the collective movement governs "revolutionary sentiment." Therefore, we do not deny the accusation that some emotional demonstrators who are motivated by strong emotions can blind them, pushing some of their friends to commit acts that are not worthy of the revolutionary tendency seeking reform, or in their pursuit of salvation from a corrupt government system.

"Revolution is a rapid and fundamental shift in the social life and consciousness categories, and the relationship of power to it within the framework of (the revolution), as a result of the widespread popular acceptance of the (utopian) alternative to the current social order." Revolution may occur without violent practices, or in order to seize state power, although violence and conflict are not surprising, given the profound transformation of power relations, and the possibility of exchanging roles between the disputants (Foran, 2003, p.35-36).

Because of this, conservative regimes consider revolutionaries as conspirators, "failing in pre-revolutionary conditions, suffering from inferiority complexes and envious of those who are better than them," but "the revolution gave them the opportunity to rise and exist" (Breton, 2009, p.106).

5. Culture and Uprising

The task of intellectuals lies in their ability to bridge the relationship between them and the uprisings so that they can formulate a clear cultural discourse that represents an action plan for the uprising, including defining the form of dealing with the authority, either through peaceful protest or civil disobedience. This process is what is known as a "velvet revolution" (Karamuza *et al.*, 2015, p.61) in which there is neither violence nor the use of force, and the discourse of the demonstrators is based on the "velvet revolutions" or "orange revolutions," which are revolutions that simply do not lead to changing State power and its geopolitical orientation" (Karamuza *et al.*, 2015, p.61).

And there is the term "rose revolution," which is the revolution that forced the president of Georgia (Edward Schaeffer Natz) to resign in November 2002, as thousands of people held in their hands' fragrant flowers and rose packages instead of automatic weapons, and it was preceded by the (Carnation Revolution) a military coup without blood in (Portugal), and there was a revolution that took place in (Czechoslovakia) a velvet revolution without victims, although it divided the country into two parts (Karamuza *et al.*, 2015, p.61).

Perhaps the demonstrators who advocate for "velvet revolutions" and "orange revolutions" and "rose revolutions" may later turn to other types of revolution as an urgent option or may resort to pursuing civil or political disobedience pathways or armed struggles to bring down the Government. Thus, peaceful revolutions can devolve into "White revolutions" or "red revolutions," and they will not be "velvet" unless the Government corrects the situation and takes a set of serious actions to reform the state's path to build a better future.

Therefore, should we be surprised at the presence of so-called "infiltrators" or saboteurs in the demonstrations? Rather, we think that we should be surprised and astonished if they are not found, as they are popular demonstrations that can be penetrated, and we are not even surprised if we find or know that some of the honest demonstrators are controlled by their passionate emotions after the absence of reason due to the effect of the act of "collective or mass sense," participating in practices that are not acceptable to us who are observers of the event after its occurrence.

Reviewing all revolutions, you will find mistakes, and even sins, bad practices against humanity, but at the origin, revolution carries a reform vision and a practical practice of salvation from the corruption of power.

The demonstration has mental and practical motivations, especially unemployment, rampant corruption and favoritism, and the in cases where militias dominate large parts of state life.

6. Study Outcomes

- The uprisings still have not reached the level of revolution. Rather, we can say it was an "uprising" or a revolution that has not been completed yet.
- What distinguished the uprising at its beginning was that it was a "revolution without leaders," but after it had obtained national, international, and governmental recognition, the demonstrators should have found leaders to represent them in discussion with the Government, and even be the identify an official spokesperson for all the public protest.
- Despite the strength and apparent impact of the uprising, it remained within the framework of fulfilling specific demands targeting parties

and a government which the uprising itself accused of betrayal and corruption as if they were asking the corrupt to reform themselves.

- Uprisers did not present a clear vision and project that would start a solution to reform the problem, and if uprisings' service and legislative demands were fulfilled, would the state system of reform be fully proved?
- The absence of the security facilities' influence, effectiveness, and their role in the scene of the demonstration revealed that they even abandoned their basic mission, which is maintaining security generally and the demonstrators' security, particularly so that we found the security facilities even killing and wounding the demonstrators.
- The demonstration went beyond the sanctification phenomenon except for the sanctification of Allah and His divine religions, the homeland, and the patriotism.
- The demonstration transcends the idea of loyalty to a party, political current, group, regional neighborhood, or any external international powers, as its slogans and its owner's practices confirm that the first loyalty is towards homeland, working to develop a sense of national identity.
- The demonstrators were able to spoil the Islamic political project, which believed in the idea of “governance” so that they confirmed the preference for adopting the saying (separation between religion and state) and breaking (the enormous) subordination to the leadership charisma in these radical parties.
- Real participation between men and women in the demonstration, and even the emergence of a free Iraqi woman role. Whether our mothers in

their service to the demonstrators or our daughters and sisters who participated with their brothers in nursing and medicine, even farther more in demonstrating and rejecting all exclusionary forms practiced by Islamic political parties against them.

- Breaking male guardianship and the domination system strength, and even (patriarchal) control = (fatherly), so it is no longer the father alone who has the decision to build a family, nor the sheikh in building the tribe, nor the ruler in the state, for these young people are the children of (the global village). They are no longer fooled by these traditional sayings that were one of the reasons behind our backwardness.
- Awareness of art and culture's value in reform and building a better future, especially the theatrical works and fine arts produced by the uprising's young people, in addition to patriotic songs that speak about the whole of Iraq, not with centering on a political or religious figure, and were rejected by the protesters and uprisings confirming that these figures do not represent them.
- Did the October Uprising achieve its goals? The answer: Yes, it achieved some of its goals because it embarrassed political Islam parties, and it forced them to reconsider their consensus policies or the sectarian quota system. It also forced them to review the election law and reconsider the constitution, which was written in difficult circumstances.
- Is there a prospect for the uprisers to practically reap what they rose for? The answer: No, in the near future. Uprisings dreamed of a free country that is not subject to the foreign will, and this matter has not been achieved. Most Iraqi political parties are dependent on their affiliation with their majority in the Iraqi international environment. On the

ground, Iran is the strongest player that is still playing with America the game of balances on the land of Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon. Many militias and Shiite political Islam parties are still arranged and taken their orders by Iran.

- I do not think that there will be a revolution in the Iraqi political consciousness in the near future, and the political decision will remain linked to the influences of the regional powers. But the value of the uprising is that it raised the alarm and declared the ability of the revolutionary youth to face injustice and corruption.

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