



## BALTIC JOURNAL OF LAW & POLITICS

A Journal of Vytautas Magnus University

VOLUME 16, NUMBER 2 (2023)

ISSN 2029-0454



Cite: *Baltic Journal of Law & Politics* 16:2 (2023): 356-368

DOI: 10.2478/bjlp-2023-0000027

### **Documenting the popular uprising in Iraq in 1991 - an analytical study of the articles published on the Al-Hiwar civilized website**

**Mortada Hassan Ali Al-Shamry**

Department of Mass Communication / Al-esraa College – Baghdad/Iraq

[mruru995@gmail.com](mailto:mruru995@gmail.com)

**Isra Shakir Hassan Al Jouani**

Department of Mass Communication / Al-esraa College – Baghdad/Iraq

[isramasar@gmail.com](mailto:isramasar@gmail.com)

**Rana Ahmed Rajab**

Department of Mass Communication / Al-esraa College – Baghdad/Iraq

[Rana.ah@esraa.edu.iq](mailto:Rana.ah@esraa.edu.iq)

Received: December 13, 2022; reviews: 2; accepted: January 07, 2023

#### **Abstract**

Electronic documentation is among the references that many researchers and academics resort to complete their research. For this reason, the electronic civil dialogue website was chosen to monitor the documentation of the 1991 popular uprising, through what was published on this site during the last period. From this point of view came our research tagged (documentation of the popular uprising 1991 in the civil dialogue website), and it was in three sections: The first (research methodology), which included (research problem, importance of research, research objectives, research methodology and sample, previous studies). As for the second topic, it was (titled: The People's Uprising.. Causes and Methods of Repression), which included the following topics: The People's Uprising, the reasons for the establishment of the popular uprising, the uprising governorates and methods of suppressing the uprising (the spark of the uprising, the role and participation of the reference in the uprising, the suppression of the uprising, the declaration of Shiites Iraq). As for the third and final topic, it came (titled: Documenting the Shaabaniyah uprising in 1991 AD on the civil dialogue website), which included an introduction to the civilized dialogue website and the topics of the popular uprising in the civilized dialogue website. At the end of the research, the researchers put the most important conclusions that they reached through their research, which were reached after reading and

following the topics that appeared on the site of the civil dialogue.

### **Key words**

(the popular uprising - the site of civil dialogue)

### **Introduction**

Documenting historical events in the lives of peoples is one of the most prominent signs of the development of states. Perhaps the popular uprising that Iraq witnessed in March of 1991 AD was one of the most prominent events that had a clear and significant impact on the political, economic and social map of Iraq. Because it came between two defeats of the former Iraqi regime, namely: its defeat in the Gulf War after its invasion of the State of Kuwait in 1990 AD, and then the imposition of an economic blockade on Iraq leading to the defeat in the war launched by the United States of America and its allies in the flag of 2003 AD, which ended with the fall of the rule of the Baath Party led by Saddam Hussein and the occupation Iraq.

From this point of view, our research came marked (Documentation of the Shaaban uprising of 1991 on the website of the electronic dialogue), and it was in three sections: the first (research methodology), which included (the research problem, the importance of the research, the research objectives, the research methodology and its sample, previous studies).

As for the second topic, it was entitled: (The Sha'abani Uprising..Causes and Methods of Repression), which included the following axes: The Sha'abani Intifada, the reasons for the rise of the Sha'abani Intifada, the uprising governorates and the methods of suppressing the uprising (the spark of the uprising, the role and participation of the reference in the uprising, the suppression of the uprising, the declaration of the Shiites Iraq) . As for the third and final topic, it was entitled: (Documentation of the Sha`baniyah uprising in 1991 AD, on the site of the civilized dialogue), which included an introductory overview of the site of the civilized dialogue and the topics of the Sha`baniyah uprising on the website of the civilized dialogue.

At the end of the research, the researchers put the most important conclusions that they reached through their research, which were reached after reading and following the topics that were mentioned in the civil dialogue site.

### **The First Section: The Methodological Framework:**

#### **First: The Problem of the Study:**

The Shaaban uprising occupies a great and distinguished place in the hearts of Iraqis, especially since it included (14) Iraqi governorates at the time, but did this uprising have the same privileged status in the media that emerged after 2003? It can be summed up in the following main question: Did the civil dialogue website

contribute to documenting the 1991 uprising? From this question came the following sub-questions:

- 1- What are the forms of documentation for the articles that dealt with the issue of the Shaaban uprising on the electronic civil dialogue website?.
- 2- What are the sources used by the writers of articles on the site to document the uprising?.
- 3- Is it possible to rely on the writings that are published on the Al-Hiwar Al-Motamddin website to document the events of the Intifada?.
- 4- Who are the most prominent writers who dealt with the events of the uprising in their articles? Did they live through the days of the uprising?.

### **Second: The Aims of the Study:**

Our research, tagged (documenting the 1991 Shaaban uprising on the website of the electronic civil dialogue), aims at the following:

- 1- An explanation of the forms of documentation for the articles that dealt with the issue of the Shaaban uprising on the electronic civil dialogue website.
- 2- Knowing the sources used by the writers of articles on the site to document the uprising.
- 3- Realizing the possibility of relying on the writings published on the Al-Hiwar Al- Motamddin website to document the events of the Intifada.
- 4- Getting to know the most prominent writers who dealt with the events of the uprising in their articles, especially those who lived through the days of the uprising.

### **Third: The Significance of the Study:**

The importance of our research is summed up in monitoring interest in the Shaaban uprising, and due to the lack of studies that dealt with this uprising, the researcher hopes that her research will be in addition to previous studies, seeking to recall it and working on interest in documenting it fairly and within the conditions of the scientific method in research.

### **Fourth: study methodology and sample**

Our research relied on two types of scientific research methods, namely: the historical approach in presenting the events of the Shaabanite uprising, with the aim of identifying the real details and stating opinions about the uprising from its inception until its suppression, leading to the declaration of the Shiites of Iraq in 2002 AD, and the occupation of Iraq in 2003 AD, and the events that followed. Nor did we neglect the site of civilized dialogue in terms of origin and development.

As for the second approach, it is: the (qualitative) content analysis approach by limiting the topics that were published on the site of the civil dialogue that dealt with the Shaaban uprising, reading it carefully and clarifying the most prominent contents that it contained. The research sample included more than (100) articles

published on the site during the years past, However, the researchers neglected the articles in which references and events were not proven when they tried to verify their credibility so that the actual number of the sample is (40) articles for different writers individually or in the form of parts.

### **Fifth: previous studies**

The researchers could only find one academic study that dealt with the issue of the 1991 uprising, as most of what was published were either separate books from different points of view, or lectures and seminars that were given on the anniversary of the uprising, so we will suffice with mentioning the academic study that we found, which is: Hammoud's study (2017), Badr Forces 1982-1991 (historical study)(1) (Hammoud, Marwa Mahmoud Hammoud, 2017AD, p.2) .

The study dealt with the historical role of the Badr Forces in fighting the former regime during the rule of the Baath Party headed by former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, and establishing a democratic system that includes different religions, nationalities and sects. Class participated in the uprising and not all spectrums.

### **The Theoretical Framework: The Shaaban uprising...causes and methods of repression**

#### **First: the Sha'ban uprising:**

It is an uprising by the Iraqi people against the government of the former president of Iraq, Saddam Hussein. This uprising coincided with Sha'ban 1411 AH, in the year 1991 AD. It started in Basra Governorate and the uprising lasted for nearly a month, and it was successful in the first two weeks of its emergence.**(2)(Awad, Abdel-Reza, 2009, p. 34).**

The Shaaban uprising represented a group of several manifestations of unrest and instability in the regions of southern and northern Iraq. It took place immediately after the second Gulf War and began on March 3, 1991 AD. With operations to suppress citizens, the matter turned into an uprising in which armed men and members of the Iraqi army (with its weapons and military vehicles) participated, led by the Republican Guard.**(3) (Al-Sha` baniyah Uprising, 13/6/ 2020).**

The uprising resulted in the liberation of nearly fourteen provinces (Shiite and Kurdish) from the authority of the previous regime, and the regime was able to suppress and liquidate them through the use of excessive military force and genocide. Shiite Islamists in exile began to call it the Shaaban uprising since June 1991, that is, three months after its outbreak, as stated in the newspaper Nidaa Al-Rafidain, whose editor-in-chief is Bayan Jabr in Syria in its issue number On (27) June. While some writers - especially the communists - call it the popular or Azhar uprising, in reference to the month of March in which it erupted within the Gregorian

calendar. We have opted for the choice of naming Shaabanism because it is prevalent among the majority of Iraqis, although it is better and more correct to call it the popular uprising, because it is more expressive of the reality that happened at the time and more neutral in terms of general release. He initially called it "The Mob," and it seems that he felt that this name did not contain extremist or heinous abuse against it, so he changed it after a few months to another name, which is (The Page of Treachery and Treason). It deliberately distorts and undermines them in the media, socially and psychologically.**(4) (Al-Hilali, Salman Rashid Muhammad, 3/10/2019).**

### **Second: The reasons for the rise of the Shaaban uprising**

Many believe that there are several direct and indirect fundamental reasons that led to the 1991 uprising, the most important of which were: the poor economic situation and the collapse of the economic infrastructure in Iraq following the Iran-Iraq war; The loss in the war is one of the most important reasons that led to the occurrence of this general uprising against Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, so the rapid collapse of the Iraqi armed forces in Kuwait, the interruption of communications and the destruction of most means of transportation and mechanisms, and the flight of many leaders of those forces and leaving these forces in the open, and the withdrawal In an unorganized manner, those forces are under the barrage of aerial bombardment of the international coalition forces, and those who were killed were killed and those who were injured, bringing those who remained alive to southern Iraq, Frustration, hunger, fatigue and terror dominated them, and it was reflected in hatred for their leadership that left them in that tragic state.**(5) (Alewi, Hadi Hassan, May 19, 2016).**

Some believe that the main reason for the outbreak of the uprising was the Iraqi army's invasion of the State of Kuwait on the orders of Saddam Hussein, considering it the 19th province and naming it the Al-Nida Governorate, and then issuing international laws obligating Iraq to leave Kuwait, which Saddam Hussein did not attach importance to, and then forming an international force that participated Most of the Arab countries. **(6) (Al-Jubouri, Hamed Kaid, 6/3/2019)**

Saddam Hussein entered the trap set for him by US President George H.W. Bush, who, along with the coalition forces, hastened to send the armies of 32 countries led by the United States, Britain and France to the region to wage a war the likes of which had not been witnessed in history against a small third world country such as Iraq, which He just came out exhausted from his war on behalf of the United States against Iran, and he is thick with wounds.**(7)(Al-Hamdani,Hamid,01/19/2018).**

The international coalition, which included many Arab, Sunni and Western Islamic countries, led by the United States of America, announced; On the night of January 16/17, 1991, when direct military operations began to expel the Iraqi army from Kuwait, it was called Desert Storm. During which the country's infrastructure

and all economic, military and educational joints and return it to the pre-industrial era. After the international coalition launched a ground attack in late February of this year, the officers loyal to the ruling regime left their headquarters and commanders and defeated Kuwait into Iraq and fled from armed confrontations, And left their soldiers and deputies officers at the mercy of warplanes that killed thousands of them on the road linking Basra and Kuwait. (8) (Al-Hilali, Salman Rashid Muhammad, the Shaaban uprising in Iraq in 1991, 3/10/2019)

The Iraqi forces were expelled from Kuwait in a humiliating manner, and the Iraqi military machine was destroyed, and the Iraqi army, the Republican Guard forces and the People's Army withdrew, and the coalition forces began bombing all groups or individuals withdrawing from Kuwait towards the Iraqi borders, in addition to Iraq signing with the commander of the American ground forces (Schwarskopf ) And the Iraqi Minister of Defense, Lieutenant General Sultan Hashem, in the Safwan tent, in the presence of the Saudi Minister of Defense, and after the Iraqis heard what happened to their army and their sons, at that time there were hundreds of thousands of Iraqis in Basra inquiring about the fate of their sons, soldiers, officers, or affiliates of what was then called the People's Army, all of these causes combined It led to the launch of the eternal spark of the March uprising, starting from Saad Square in Basra, at noon on March 1, 1991 AD. **(9)(Al-Hamdani, Hamid, 01/19/2018)**

### **Third:Declaration of the Shiites of Iraq:**

As a result of all of the above, the idea of (the declaration of the Shiites of Iraq) came about, which was the outcome of discussions and deliberations that lasted more than two years, with the participation of the most prominent Iraqi Shiite figures in the diaspora, including religious scholars, academics, researchers, thinkers, politicians, military men, and tribesmen. True is the common base on which they met. This declaration was the outcome of those efforts and a summary of the opinions presented in the aforementioned series of meetings.

This declaration sought to address the policy of sectarian discrimination in Iraq, and this issue is so sensitive that it calls for careful handling, an objective, impartial view, and a realistic scientific vision, because its aim is to build a new Iraq in which everyone lives in freedom and equality, and the Shiites, who are the majority of the Iraqi people, enjoy themselves. , their constitutional civil rights that were deliberately confiscated by the ruling authorities since the formation of the modern Iraqi state.

This declaration presented the Shiites' view of the future of Iraq, and the basic changes that must be adopted in order to achieve justice and equality, and it believes that in order for Iraq to live its future that its people aspire to, the following foundations must be adopted:

- 1- - democracy.
- 2- Decentralization.

3- Abolition of the policy of sectarian discrimination.

The declaration also focused on working to remove the conditions that created dictatorship in the Iraqi reality. Eliminating sectarianism and its factors and causes is a final elimination that is the guarantee of preventing Iraq's return to tyranny and dictatorship.(10) **(Declaration of the Shiites of Iraq, 10/3/2004).**

### **The third topic (the practical side): documenting the Shaabaniyah uprising in 1991 AD, on the site of the civil dialogue**

#### **First: the civil dialogue site**

The Civilian Dialogue is a voluntary, non-governmental, non-profit, non-profit civil society organization concerned with issues of culture and media, spreading political, social, cultural, human and progressive awareness. Secularism and democracy in the Arab world. The main website is called Al-Hiwar Al-Motamddin, and it is the first left-wing-secular daily electronic newspaper in the Arab world. **(11) Al-Hiwar Al-Motamddin website).**

#### **The first: with regard to the Shaaban uprising in 1991 AD, which are as follows:**

1- Linking the events of the uprising to the invasion of Kuwait and the setback of the Iraqi army due to the ill-considered policy of Saddam Hussein's regime, which led to exposing the army and the people to successive political and economic crises that lasted until 2003 AD and caused the occupation of Iraq by America and the coalition forces.**(12) (Declaration of the Shiites of Iraq, 3/10/2004).**

2- Considering the occupation of Iraq in 2003 as the outcome of the uprising in 1991, especially after the announcement of the Iraq Shiite document in 2002, and considering it as a starting point for the policies that will be pursued in the event of the overthrow of the regime in Iraq.

3- Emphasizing the role of religious references in the rise of the Shaaban uprising, such as Sayyid al-Khoei and Sayyid Martyr Muhammad Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr, who have been emphasizing since the spark of the uprising began, To the necessity of appointing a civilian or at least a political leader for the revolution, and matters cannot remain without a political decision after the military situation has stabilized, and we cannot be patient until a leader of the revolution comes from abroad.

4- 4- The articles focused on mentioning the great hardships that befell the reference men as a result of their participation in the leadership of the uprising, which exposed them to harassment such as assassination, arrest and emigration outside Iraq, including the assassination of the martyr Mr. Muhammad Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr, and the execution of each of Mr. Muhammad Reda Al-Khalkhali, Mr. Jaafar Bahr Al-Uloom and Mr. Izz al-Din Bahr al-Uloom, where they were the

representatives of al-Sayyid al-Khoei, and the emigration of al-Sayyid Muhammad al-Sabzwari, Sheikh Muhammad Rida Shabib al-Saadi and al-Sayyid Muhammad Salih al-Khursan.

5- The uprising of 1991 was given several labels, the most prominent of which were: What writers - especially the Communists - called the popular or Azhari uprising, relative to the month of March in which it erupted within the Gregorian calendar. And there are those who believed that its name should be the popular uprising, because it is more expressive of the reality that happened at the time and more neutral in terms of general launch. The Kurds called it the national revolution, while the ruling Baathist regime called it at the beginning (the mob), and then changed it to another name. It is (the page of treachery and betrayal). It deliberately distorts and undermines them in the media, socially and psychologically.

6- There were several reasons why the uprising did not continue, because it was random and popular in the absence of a leader who leads the groups, and other important reasons are giving it a sectarian tint by leaking pictures of Shiite references by Saddam's intelligence service, as well as the lack of support for the international forces that liberated Kuwait for the revolutionaries. Some sources also mentioned that the People's Mujahedin Organization had cooperation with the Iraqi government to suppress the Shaaban uprising. In addition, the authority's media at the time linked the events of the uprising to Iran and promoted that it had a hand in the planning and implementation of its events to marginalize the role of the reference and the uprising.

The second: The Civilian Dialogue website and the most important writers on the site. We refer here to how to deal with the issues of the uprising, as well as the most prominent points that the articles published on the site focused on, which are as follows:

1- The articles on the Al-Hiwar Al-Motaddin website were distributed under several axes, namely: (Mass revolutions and uprisings, studies and research in history, heritage and languages, political topics and research, politics and international relations).

2- The disappearance of the writings and their cessation at the year 2018, on the site of the civil dialogue, where the two researchers did not find any article mentioned about the uprising after this year, and this confirms that the uprising is indeed forgotten, and we only found articles by the writer Hamid Kaid al-Jubouri in 2019 on the site.

3- Some writers stopped completing the documentation parts related to the uprising, although they mentioned that it follows other parts. For example, the series of articles by the writer Hamid Kaid al-Jubouri, who stopped at the fifth part.

4- Despite the keenness of many websites to publish the articles contained in the Civil Dialogue website, the two researchers noticed that the link attached to the articles does not exist on the Civil Dialogue website, so some articles that were not verified were not approved.

5- The Al-Hiwar Al-Motmaddin website was characterized by sobriety and actual documentation of writers and their articles, by allocating an introductory link for each writer with an index of all his writings.

6- Writing about the 1991 uprising was confined to the form of articles between medium and long-form articles in most cases, or writing them in the form of sequential parts, and this was by a small percentage.

7- The most prominent of those who wrote about the Sha'ban uprising, according to what was documented in the articles published in the articles of the Al-Hiwar Al-Motamdani website, are: The writer and journalist Abd al-Hadi al-Babi, who published the book *The Story of the Blessed Sha'ban Uprising in Karbala*, And Nabil Abd al-Amir al-Rubaie, who published his book *The Shaaban Intifada / March 1991 in Diwaniyah*, and it was implied in the articles to some of the books he wrote about the Intifada, such as the book of Sheikh Muhammad al-Yaqoubi, the second martyr al-Sadr as I know him. **(13) Al-Rubaie Nabil Abdel-Amir, September 29, 2019).**

8- The researchers noticed that writing about the Shaaban uprising, and by looking at the articles, some of them were reproduced and repeated, and the methods of writing about this uprising, which constituted a turning point in the political and social history of Iraq, were not renewed.

9- Most of the writers of the article were from those who lived through the days of the Shaaban uprising, such as the writer Ghassan al-Kateb, Abd al-Hadi al-Babi and Nabil Abd al-Amir, which contributed to documenting it properly, with an emphasis on publishing it in books that reflected the suffering of the revolutionaries in their provinces.

10- Some writers asserted that politicians, whether on the civil or religious level, had abused the approach of the religious authority and the men of the uprising after 2003 AD, likening the matter to them like a fig leaf falling from them, as described by the writer Ismail Jassem in one of his articles on the uprising and comparing them between the reality of yesterday and today. **(14) Jasim, Ismail, 20/9/2018).**

11- Some writers indicated that those who came to liberate Iraq from the oppression of the Baath leadership headed by Saddam Hussein did not learn from the mistakes of the Shaaban uprising. 2003, and it was the reason why the political and economic situation remained as it was during the era of the regime of Sadaq Hussein and the Baath Party. **(15) (Itemish, Sadiq, 6/21/2014).** The writings indicated that despite the writers documenting the events of the uprising, they still considered or described it as the forgotten revolution, as described by the writer Muhammad Hussein Jiyad, who mentioned in one of his articles, **(16)(The author, Ghassan, 3/12/2014).** "This event did not receive any attention or care, neither in the field of historical documentation nor in the field of creative inspiration, nor in The novel and the story, nor in the field of poetry and literary production, The little that we have received is not commensurate with the depth of this event in the national conscience of the Iraqi memory,**(17) (Jiyad, Muhammad**

Hussein, January 21, 2020), and there was no real desire to document it, according to what was stated in the articles of the writer Ali Qasim Al-Kaabi(18) Al-Kaabi, Ali Qassem, 3/13/2018), and it did not receive any attention in terms of documentation.

12- Some referred to the role of Iran in Iraq after 2003 AD, through its support or what is known as (enabling Islamic parties to rule in Iraq) through its continuous support for them, especially since many of the symbols of those parties owe religious and political loyalty to Iran as they were among the opponents of Saddam's rule, In addition to the participation of some of them in the uprising of 1991 AD, or they were affected by the oppression of the government in that period through the execution of their relatives or because they were forced to immigrate to Iran during that period. (19) (Elias, Firas, 6/14/2019).

13- The writers referred to major questions in their articles as they recalled the events of the uprising, and among those questions are: Is this the Iraq that the Shiites, who rose up in 1991 AD, dreamed of? And who has actually ruled Iraq since 2003, Iran, America, or the political parties that came To power after the occupation of Iraq?, And can the men of the Islamic parties rise in Iraq, and are they really able to restore security and stability to their country?, especially since Iraq has not witnessed real stability since the Iran-Iraq war in 1980 AD. (20) (Sheikh, Mazen, 5/24/2015).

### Conclusion

1- The website of the electronic civilized dialogue was able to be a general humanitarian platform open to all, especially to all leftist, secular and democratic currents, and even to the enlightened religious trends. The uprising of 1991 AD, at a time when the flags of the Islamic parties and parties and the holy shrines spread throughout Iraq are still unable to do so, especially since they did not seek to write an encyclopedia that commemorates the jihadist epics of the sons of Iraq against the regime of the Baath Party and Saddam Hussein during that difficult period, except at separate times. The idea did not mature until 2017.

2- The uprising of 1991 AD will remain immortal, although many still consider it among the essential forgotten events, but its memory is still stuck in the memory, as it dates to an era of time that cannot be erased, no matter how many years have passed, including the history of peoples' uprisings against tyrants, Where the smell of blood and corpses mixed with gunpowder, and the attempts of repression and marginalization that were inflicted on it during the reign of Saddam Hussein did not diminish its human and revolutionary value.

3- The Islamic parties in general and the Shiites in particular did not preserve the commandments of the religious authority that led the uprising in 1991 AD. Rather, some of those parties insulted the uprising and its men and did not fulfill what was stated in the declaration of the Shiites of Iraq, which emphasized democracy and decentralization and the abolition of the policy of sectarian discrimination and labor. To remove the conditions that created dictatorship in the

Iraqi reality to ensure that Iraq is prevented from returning to tyranny and dictatorship.

4- The researchers, after completing their research, believe that they say: It is possible to rely on the articles contained in the electronic dialogue website to document the events of the 1991 uprising, and if it is sometimes repeated in some of its contents in the narration, it is considered a source that can be trusted in scientific research.

## **References**

### **First: Arabic books**

- 1- Al-Hamdani, Hamed, Saddam and the American trap, the invasion of Kuwait and the second Gulf War, Cairo, Dar Al-Mahrousa for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, 2011 AD.
- 2- Awad, Abd al-Rida, The Shaabanite Uprising in Hilla, Babylon, Al-Furat Media House, 2009.

### **Second:: Theses, treatises and studies**

- 1- Al-Ta'i, Salih Abbas Nasser Hassoun, The Political Role of Sayyid Muhammad Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr in the Contemporary History of Iraq (1991-1999 AD), Karbala, a research published in the Journal of Ahl al-Bayt University, peace be upon them, No. (20), 2016.
- 2- Hammoud, Marwa Mahmoud, Badr Forces 2891-2882 (historical study), (unpublished master's thesis), Basra University, College of Arts - Department of History, 2017 AD.

### **Third: Websites**

- 1-Jassem, Ismail, The berry leaves of the traffickers fell with Imam Hussein, Al-Hiwar Al-Motamdani - Issue: 5999 - 9/20/2018, Axis: Political Topics and Research, Article Link: <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=612153&r=0>
- 2- Declaration of the Shiites of Iraq, Al-Jazeera website, published on 10/3/2004, website link: <https://www.aljazeera.net/2004/10/03/%D8%A5%D8%B9%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%B4%D9%8A%D8%B9%D8%A9->
- 3- Religious authority, Sayyid Muhammad Taqi al-Mudarresi, The Sha'abani Intifada, from the book A Nation's Aspiration, link to the article: <https://www.almodarresi.com/books/24/a20g562b.htm>.
- 4- Al-Hamdani, Hamed, Saddam and the American trap, the invasion of Kuwait and the second Gulf War / first episode, the civil dialogue - Issue: 5762 - 01/19/2018, the axis: studies and research in history, heritage and languages, article link: <http://www.>

- ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=586457&r=0
- 5- Al-Jubouri, Hamed Kaeed, The Eternal March Uprising, Its Money and What It Has: Part 1: Al-Hiwar Al-Motaddin - Issue: 6165 - 6/3/2019, Axis: Topics and Political Research, Article Link: <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=630227>
  - 6- Blocking civilized dialogue in Saudi Arabia reveals the emptiness of promises of reform - The Arab Organization for the Defense of Freedom of Press and Expression, preserved copy 3/4/2018.
  - 7- Al-Hilali, Salman Rashid Muhammad, the Sha'abani uprising in Iraq in 1991 (Al-Nasr district as a model), (Part One), Al-Hiwar Al-Motamdani website - Issue: 6169 - 10/3/2019, Theme: Studies and research in history, heritage and languages, article link : <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=630645>
  - 8- Al-Hilali, Salman Rashid Muhammad, The Shaabanite Uprising in Iraq in 1991 (Section Two), (General Approaches and Suspicious), Al-Hiwar Al-Motamdani Website - Issue: 6198 - 11/4/2019, Axis: Studies and Research in History, Heritage and Languages, article link : <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=633906&r=0>
  - 9- Al-Hamashi, Abdel-Amir, The Shaabanite Uprising Beginning of the Fall of the Tyrant, Al-Sabah Newspaper, issue issued on: 4/11/2020 AD, link to the article: <https://alsabaah.iq/24037/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%8>
  - 10- Al-Babi, Abd al-Hadi, (The story of the blessed Shaaban uprising in the holy Karbala), prepared by: Hussein Hamid al-Mousawi, published on 3/4/2020. Al-Kaabi, Ali Qassem, The Sha'abani Uprising, "The Forgotten Memory.." The Civilian Dialogue - Issue: 5814 - 3/13/2018, The Hub: Political Topics and Research, Article Link: <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=592220&r=0>

### Supplements

