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المستخلص

تُعَدُّ القَضَايَا المُتَعَلِّقَةُ بِالدَّائِرَةِ وَالهُويَّةِ مِنْ أْبْرَزِ المَوْضُوعَاتِ الَّتِي تُثَبِّرُ اِهْتِمَامَ الأُوَاسِطِ الأَكَادِيمِيَّةِ وَالسِّيَاسِيَّةِ مُنْذُ الرُّبْعِ الأَخِيرِ مِنَ القَرْنِ العِشْرِينَ، إِذْ إِنَّ الأَثَارَ الَّتِي تَرْتَبَتْ عَلَى إندِلَاعِ الحُرُوبِ الدَّوْلِيَّةِ وَالْأَهْلِيَّةِ، مِنْ حَمَلَاتِ الإِبَادَةِ الجَمَاعِيَّةِ وَالتَّهْجِيرِ القَسْرِيِّ وَالإِضْطِهَادِ العِرْقِيِّ وَالإِثْنِي، أَظْهَرَتْ لَدَى الجَمَاعَاتِ التَّقَافِيَّةِ جُمْلَةً مِنَ التَّسْأُؤَلَاتِ، مِنْ قَبِيلِ (مَنْ نَحْنُ؟) وَ(مَنْ هُمْ؟). فَكَانَتْ هَذِهِ المُمَارَسَاتُ القَمْعِيَّةُ تُعِيدُ بِنَاءِ الهُويَّةِ الفِرْعَوِيَّةِ بِصُورَةٍ مُتَكَرِّرَةٍ، الَّتِي رَاحَتْ تَبْحَثُ عَنِ أَصُولِهَا فِي غَمْرَةِ أَحْدَاثِ المَاضِي بِنَاءً عَلَى مُعْطِيَاتِ الحَاضِرِ، وَهَذَا مَا جَعَلَ مِنْ عَمَلِيَّةِ النِّبْحِ تَسْمُ بِالإِنْتِقَانِيَّةِ وَالإِجْتِزَاءِ. وَإِنَّ هَذِهِ الإِنْتِقَانِيَّةُ لِأَحْدَاثِ المَاضِي بِنَاءً عَلَى مُعْطِيَاتِ الحَاضِرِ هِيَ الَّتِي كَانَتْ تُعِيدُ بِنَاءَ الهُويَّاتِ الفِرْعَوِيَّةِ فِي ذُرُورَةِ الأَزْمَاتِ وَالظُّرُوفِ العَصِيْبَةِ الَّتِي تَتَعَرَّضُ لَهَا المُجْتَمَعَاتُ، وَهَذَا مَا أَصْبَحَ يُعْرَفُ بِالدَّائِرَةِ الجَمْعِيَّةِ.

لِذَا فَإِنَّ هَذِهِ الدِّرَاسَةَ المَوْسُومَةَ بِ(النِّظَامِ السِّيَاسِيِّ وَجَدَلِ الدَّائِرَةِ وَالهُويَّةِ: دِرَاسَةٌ خَالَةَ العِرَاقِ) تَبْحَثُ فِي العِلَاقَةِ التَّرَابُطِيَّةِ بَيْنَ الدَّائِرَةِ وَالهُويَّةِ، وَكَيْفِيَّةِ تَوْطِيفِ الفُوعَالِ السِّيَاسِيَّةِ وَالإِجْتِمَاعِيَّةِ المُتَعَدِّدَةِ لِأَحْدَاثِ المَاضِي وَالتَّارِيخِ، وَتُبَيِّنُ طَبِيعَةَ العِلَاقَةِ بَيْنَ الدَّائِرَةِ وَالتَّارِيخِ وَالهُويَّةِ وَالتَّفْسِيرَاتِ الَّتِي يَطْوِي عَلَيْهَا كُلَّ جَانِبٍ مِنْهَا. وَطَالَمَا أَنَّ الدَّائِرَةَ تَرْتَبُطُ بِالهُويَّةِ وَتُثَبِّرُ اِهْتِمَامَ وَعِنَايَةَ الفُوعَالِ السِّيَاسِيَّةِ وَالإِجْتِمَاعِيَّةِ فَإِنَّ هَذِهِ العَوَامِلَ تَرْتَبُطُ بِصُورَةٍ مُبَاشِرَةٍ بِمَشْرُوعِ بِنَاءِ الدَّوْلَةِ-الأُمَّةِ. وَهَذَا مَا يَسْتَدْعِي بَيَانَ مَسَارَاتِ مَشْرُوعِ بِنَاءِ الدَّوْلَةِ-الأُمَّةِ فِي النُّظْمِ الدِيمُقْرَاطِيَّةِ وَالشُّمُولِيَّةِ، وَكَيْفَ يُمَكِّنُ أَنْ تُؤَثِّرَ تَبِعَاتُ هَذِهِ المَسَارَاتِ عَلَى تَعَامُلِ هَذِهِ النُّظْمِ مَعَ مَوْضُوعِ الدَّائِرَةِ وَالهُويَّةِ؟ وَمَدَى تَأْتِيرِهَا عَلَى دَرَجَةِ الأَمْنِ وَالإِسْتِقْرَارِ المُجْتَمَعِيِّ فِي هَذِهِ المُجْتَمَعَاتِ المُتَبَايِنَةِ، وَهَذَا بِدَوْرِهِ يَثْبُرُ ضَرْورَةَ التَّعَرُّفِ عَلَى طَبِيعَةِ التَّقَافَةِ السَّائِدَةِ، وَدَرَجَةِ العَامِلِ المُؤَسَّسِيِّ وَالتَّسْلُسْلِ الهَرَمِيِّ فِي بُنْيَةِ النِّظَامِ السِّيَاسِيِّ، وَمَدَى مُسَاهَمَةِ المُؤَسَّسَاتِ الرِّسْمِيَّةِ وَغَيْرِ الرِّسْمِيَّةِ فِي الحَدِّ مِنْ تَبِعَاتِ إِنْبِعَاتِ الدَّائِرَةِ الجَمْعِيَّةِ وَالهُويَّاتِ الفِرْعَوِيَّةِ.

وَيُعَدُّ العِرَاقُ إِحْدَى الدُّوَلِ الَّتِي شَهِدَتْ مَظَاهِرَ عَدَمِ الإِسْتِقْرَارِ السِّيَاسِيِّ وَالإِقْتِصَادِيِّ وَالإِجْتِمَاعِيِّ وَالتَّقَافِيِّ، نَتِيجَةً بَعْضِ السِّيَاسَاتِ اللَاعَقْلَانِيَّةِ الَّتِي اِتَّبَعَتْهَا النُّحْبُ السِّيَاسِيَّةُ مُنْذُ نُشُوءِ الدَّوْلَةِ العِرَاقِيَّةِ وَحَتَّى مَطْلَعِ العَقْدِ الثَّانِي مِنَ القَرْنِ العِشْرِينَ. فَكَانَ مِنْ أْبْرَزِ تَبِعَاتِ عَدَمِ الإِسْتِقْرَارِ وَالْأَزْمَاتِ السِّيَاسِيَّةِ وَالإِقْتِصَادِيَّةِ وَالإِجْتِمَاعِيَّةِ المُتَعاقِبَةِ هُوَ تَعَدُّيَّةُ الدَّائِرَاتِ الجَمْعِيَّةِ وَالهُويَّاتِ الفِرْعَوِيَّةِ وَوَضْعُفُ التَّلَاحِمِ الوَطْنِيِّ وَالإِنْدِمَاجِ المُجْتَمَعِيِّ. إِذْ لَا تَكَادُ أَرْمَةٌ تَعَصِفُ بِالمُجْتَمَعِ العِرَاقِيِّ إِلَّا وَنَشَهُدُ خِلَالَهَا مُمَارَسَاتُ تَسْيِيسِ فُوعَالِ مُتَعَدِّدَةٍ لِلدَّائِرَةِ الطَّائِفِيَّةِ بَغِيَّةِ تَحْقِيقِ أَهْدَافِ سِيَاسِيَّةِ وَشَخْصِيَّةِ وَفَنُويَّةِ ضَيْقَةٍ، وَإِنَّ إِسْتِمْرَارِيَّةَ هَذَا التَّسْيِيسِ وَالتَّوْطِيفِ لِأَحْدَاثِ المَاضِي قَادَ إِلَى صِرَاعَاتِ هُويَّاتِيَّةٍ لَمْ تُعَدْ بِالنَّفْعِ عَلَى تِلْكَ الهُويَّاتِ بِقَدْرِ مَا كَانَتْ مُنَافِعُهَا لِصَالِحِ فَنَاتِ وَجِهَاتٍ وَقَوَى مُتَنَفِّدَةٍ.

وَلَعَلَّ الوَعْيَ المُجْتَمَعِيِّ الَّذِي تَرْتَبَ عَلَى هَذِهِ المَاسِي وَالصِّرَاعَاتِ الخَاسِرَةِ وَالبَاهِظَةِ الشَّمَنِ، وَالدَّائِرَةُ الجَمَاعِيَّةُ الَّتِي تَجْمَعُ عُمُومَ الشَّعْبِ العِرَاقِيِّ فِي الأَحْدَاثِ الوَطْنِيَّةِ، يَثْبُرُ الحَاجَةَ إِلَى مَاسَسَةِ هَذِهِ الدَّائِرَةِ الوَطْنِيَّةِ، وَنِسْيَانِ مَاضِي الخِلَافِ وَالصِّرَاعِ، وَالدَّعْوَةَ لِلحِوَارِ المُجْتَمَعِيِّ فِي مَجَالِ عَامِ يَسْتَوْعِبُ كُلَّ الهُويَّاتِ الفِرْعَوِيَّةِ وَدَائِرَاتِهَا الجَمْعِيَّةِ، لِتَبْدِيدِ الصُّورَةِ النَّمْطِيَّةِ وَإِعَادَةِ الثِّقَّةِ بِالأَخْرِ المُخْتَلِفِ، وَاسْتِبْدَالِ نَمَطِ التَّقَافَةِ وَالقِيمِ التَّقْلِيدِيَّةِ السَّائِدَةِ بِأُخْرَى تَبْعَثُ عَلَى المُشَارَكَةِ وَالوَحْدَةِ، بَغِيَّةِ بِنَاءِ الدَّائِرَةِ الوَطْنِيَّةِ العِرَاقِيَّةِ المُؤَدِّيَّةِ إِلَى بِنَاءِ الهُويَّةِ الوَطْنِيَّةِ الجَمَاعِيَّةِ الَّتِي تَسْمُو عَلَى سَائِرِ الهُويَّاتِ الفِرْعَوِيَّةِ.

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Political System and The Dialectic of Memory and Identity
Iraq Case Study

A thesis submitted by the student

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Abstract

Issues of memory and identity have been one of the most prominent topics of interest to the academic and political fields since the last quarter of the 20th century, as the effects of the outbreak of international and civil wars, such as genocide, forced migration, racial and ethnic persecution, it's raising a number of questions among the cultural identities, such as (who are we?) and (who are they?). These repressive practices have repeatedly rebuilt the sub-identity, which has been searching for its origins in the midst of the events of the past based on the circumstances of the present, which has made the search process selective and fragmented. It was this selectivity of the events of the past based on the data of the present that was rebuilding sub-identities at the height of crises and difficult circumstances to which societies were exposed, which became known as the collective memory.

This study therefore examines the interconnection between memory and identity, and how past and history events are employed by multiple political and social representatives. And it shows the nature of the relationship between memory, history, identity and the interpretations involved in each aspect. As long as memory is linked to identity and arouses the interest and attention of political and social representatives, these factors are directly related to the state-nation-building project. So this requires a demonstration of the paths of the state-nation building project in democratic and totalitarian system, how the consequences of these tracks can affect the handling of memory and identity, and the extent to which they affect the degree of security and community stability in these diverse societies, which in turn raises the need to recognize the nature of the prevailing culture, the degree of institutional factor and hierarchy in the structure of the political system, and the extent to which official and informal institutions contribute to reducing the consequences of the emission of collective memory and sub-identities.

Iraq is one of the countries that has experienced political, economic, social and cultural instability, as a result of some irrational policies pursued by political elites from the inception of the Iraqi state to the early 2000s. One of the most notable consequences of instability and successive political, economic and social crises has been the multiplicity of collective memories, sub-identities, weak national cohesion and community integration. A crisis that plagues Iraqi society begins only and is followed by practices that politicize sectarian memory by multiple factions in order to achieve narrow political, personal and factional objectives, and the continuity of this politicization and recruitment of past events has led to identical conflicts in favor of influential groups of destinations and forces.

Perhaps the societal awareness that has resulted from these tragedies and conflicts, the loss and expensive conflicts, and the collective memory that brings the whole Iraqi people together in national events, raises the need to institutionalize this national memory, forget the past of disagreement and conflict, and advocate for community dialogue in a public space that accommodates all sub-identities and collective memories, to dispel the stereotype and restore confidence in the different other, and to replace the pattern of culture and traditional values prevailing with others that inspire participation and unity, in order to build the Iraqi national memory leading to the building of an inclusive national identity that transcends to other sub-identities.