



جامعة الموصل  
كلية التربية للعلوم الانسانية  
قسم التاريخ

**الشعارات الحزبية والهتافات الجماهيرية في  
العراق 1920-1968: دراسة تاريخية في جدلية  
العلاقة بين السلطة والجماهير**

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## المستخلص بلغة الرسالة

شكلت المرحلة التاريخية 1920-1968 أهمية كبيرة في تاريخ العراق المعاصر تلك المرحلة التي عرفت متغيرات سياسية واندلاجات عسكرية وتحولات فكرية وأيدولوجية شهدتها الساحة العراقية، على الرغم من الثوابت التي وضعتها القوى الاستعمارية الكبرى وبالذات بريطانيا الراعي الرسمي والقانوني للنظام السياسي في العراق خلال العهد الملكي.

وبذلك تعد فترة الدراسة 1920-1968 من الفترات المهمة حيث انما جمعت تاريخ العراق في العهدين الملكي والجمهوري وما صاحب تلك الفترة الطويلة من تاريخ العراق مؤامرات واندلاجات ومعهادات وبرزت احزاب سياسية التي كان لها الدور القيادي في تحريك الجماهير وبرزت عيوب الحكومات وبذلك اصبح للاحزاب القاعدة الشعبية وارتفاع مكانتها لدى الشعب العراقي وفي انتظار الجماهير وبالتالي ازدياد انتصاره ومؤيديه الى درجة كبيرة.

لذا كان لا بد أن تجد تلك المتغيرات على اختلاف أوجهها صدى لدى القوى السياسية الحزبية والجماهيرية التي يمكن أن نسميها بالرأي العام العراقي الشعبي فضلاً عن الاحزاب والجماعات السياسية التي لا يمكن تصنيفها ضمن هذا الاطار لكونها شكلت ادوات تابعة للحكومات المتعاقبة على إدارة أمور الدولة العراقية منذ تأسيسها عام 1921 وحتى نهاية حكم الاخوين عبد السلام محمد عارف وعبد الرحمن محمد عارف في 17 تموز 1968.

إن الثورات والانتفاضات التي قامت في العراق والوقوف في وجه المستبدين لا تصنع بذكاء الفرد ولا بجهد وحده وانما تصنع بذكاء الكثيرين وبدم الكثيرين وتضحياتهم. وإن الشعارات والفتنات التي عادة ما كانت مركزية من خلال الاحزاب والتي تطلقها في المظاهرات واحياناً من خلال المظاهرات تطلق بعض الهتافات والشعارات عفوية من خلال الافراد ويوددها الجماهير وكانت هذه الشعارات والفتنات لا تقل فتكاً عن سلاح قاتل في مواجهة الحكومة ولعبت دوراً كبيراً في اسقاط وزارات ووزراء وادت الى زعزعة وضع الحكومة السياسي.

وانطلاقاً من هذا الفهم كان لابد من أفراد دراسة أكاديمية تتناول أهمية الدور الذي لعبته الشعارات والفتنات الجماهيرية في العراق لكونها كانت تمثل سلطة يمكن أن تشكل عامل توازن في القضاء السياسي العراقي آنذاك إذا ما عرفنا أن العراق كان وخلال حقبة تاريخية معروفة ساحة صراع سياسي - ايدولوجي - من خلال ظهور احزاب وجماعات ضغط تتبع لمدارس ايدولوجية - شرقية وغربية.

ونأتي أهمية الموضوع في كون الخارطة الحزبية في العراق كانت واسعة وكبيرة وعلى اختلاف مسياتها وطبيعة مناهجها وتوجهاتها لذا كان لابد لهذه الاحزاب أن تطرح شعارات بعضها مرحلي يتناسب مع طبيعة المرحلة التي قامت فيها وبعضها دائمي يعبر عن رغبتها في ممارسة نشاطها وتحت كل الظروف، اما الجماهير فهي وعلى الرغم من اختلاف قياداتها السياسية والعسكرية والمشاركة والطلابية إلا أنها كانت تطرح مفاهيم وآراء وحلولاً للمشاكل التي مر بها العراق او لبعض القضايا الداخلية والخارجية، هذه المفاهيم يمكن أن نلمسها من خلال هتافات تلك الجماهير وعلى امتداد مراحل تاريخ العراق السياسي المعاصر.

تأييد المشرف

أفيد ان المستخلص في الاستمارة مطابق للمستخلص في الرسالة  
الاسم: أ.م. د. مجول محمد محمود

توقيع مسؤول الدراسات العليا  
أ.م. د. صفوان تاج الدين علي

## **Abstract**

The historic phase of (1920-1968) was of great importance in Iraq's contemporary history, as it witnessed political variables, military coups, intellectual and ideological transformations in Iraq. Despite the constants established by the super colonial powers ,in particular Britain ,which was considered the formal and legal sponsor for the political system in Iraq during the monarchy; so those variables of the different aspects had impacts on the political parties and the masses that we can call the popular Iraqi public opinion. Thus, the study discussed the significance of the role played by the masses in Iraq as it was the power that could be as a balance factor in the Iraqi political situation at the time.

Therefore, the map of parties in Iraq was wide and large ;although they differ in names, the nature of curricula and trends ,rather, they were presenting slogans some of which were temporary that commensurate with the nature of the stage in which they were carried out and some of them were permanent that expressed the desire of parties to be effective.

The masses, in spite of being of different political, intellectual, clan and student leadership, have been presenting concepts, ideas and solutions to the problems that Iraq had experienced through the cheers of those masses during the stages of Iraq's contemporary political history.

Thus, the period of study (1920-1968), brought together the history of the monarchy and the republic of Iraq and what happened during that long period of history of Iraq; like plots, coups, treaties and the emergence of political parties that have the leading role in moving the masses and highlighting the flaws of the governments .As a result, they became the popular base parties for Iraqi people .So, the slogans and cheers were no less than a lethal weapon in the face of the government and played a major role in overthrowing ministries and ministers and led to destabilize the political situation of governments.

The study was divided into a preface, three chapters and a conclusion. The preface focused on tracking the nature of political, economic, social and cultural conditions and the slogans and cheers that rose since the late 19<sup>th</sup>. century until 1919.

While the first chapter followed the party slogans and public cheers during the historical stage (1920-1941) and included many parts the most important of which was the slogans and cheers towards the Iraqi-British treaties (1922-1927).

As for the second chapter (party slogans and mass cheers 1946-1956), it was divided into three parts (Iraq's general and Arab issues, and the partisan slogans and public Cheers during (1946 - 1956) and included several parts dealing for example (the Kirkuk oil workers ' strike and the 1946 Kawrabaghi massacre ) ,(the case of the Bortsoth Treaty of 1948). The second one dealt with the slogans and cheers during the 1954 Algerian Revolution, the 1955 Baghdad Pact and the slogans and cheers at that time.

The third chapter addressed (party slogans and public cheers in the republic of Iraq, 1958 - 1968) and was of three parts such as (party slogans and the mass cheers during the government of Abdul-kareem Qasim, 1958-1963) ;and the movement of Abdul-Wahab Al-Shawwaf and execution of its leaders in 1959) ,while the third one studied (party slogans and public cheers during the reign of the two brothers Abdul-Salam Muhammad Arif and Abdul-Rahman Muhammad Arif (1963-1968).

The study, on account of that, concluded that the period (1920-1968) was one of the significant periods, bringing together the history of Iraq in the royal and republican times and what occurred during that long period of Iraq's history of conspiracies, coups d'état, treaties and the appearance of political parties that had the leading role in moving the masses and highlighting the flaws of the governments as well as that the slogans and cheers were not less than a lethal weapon in confronting the governments and played a big role in overthrowing ministries and ministers and led to destabilize the political situation of the governments; and the uprising of January 1948 was as one of the battles that the Iraqi people and national forces engaged in for freedom and independence, which faced by the Iraqi people with cheers and partisan slogans against colonial domination and reactionary forces. The view of the political parties, although their various ranks ,and the Iraqi people have considered matters such as the Palestinian, Egyptian and Algerian questions as an Arab and national issues, and have chanted slogans and cheers in support of the Arab cause and that the philosophy of death and transformations in Iraqi civilization have affected the mentality of Iraqis through the succession of control , coups and political unrest that the Iraqi individual became not in good manner and took a stand of an observer and the carelessness attitude towards the disturbances and coups .

Hence, the study concluded that the period (1920-1968) was of the important periods, bringing together the history of Iraq in the monarchy and the republican times and the long-term history of Iraq, including conspiracies, coups d'état, treaties and the rise of political parties that had the leading role in moving the masses and threw light upon the flaws of governments ;and that slogans and chants were no less than a lethal weapon in the face of the government and played a major role in overthrowing ministries and ministers and led to the destabilization of the political status of the governments and the January 1948 outbreak as one of the battles waged by the Iraqi people and national forces to achieve freedom and independence, which by the Iraqi people with cheers and partisan slogans against colonial domination and reactionary .The political parties with their various ranks and the Iraqi people have considered the Palestinian, Egyptian and Algerian issues as an Arab and national questions, and have raised slogans and cheers in support of the Arab cause and that the philosophy of death and transformations in Iraqi civilization have affected the mentality of Iraqis in the running of control, coups and political unrest that the Iraqi individual himself became not in a good manner and took a stand of an observer and indifference towards the upheavals and coups that ended in coup d'état of the 14 July 1968.

