
Collective Memory and Political Authority

Enas Mohammed Hasan¹ and Prof. Dr. Asawer Abdel-Hussein Abdel-Sada

Department of Sociology / College of Education for Women / University of Baghdad / Baghdad /
Iraq.

Corresponding author Email: nosa2679@gmail.com.

Abstract :

The collective memory is one of the most important topics that emerged in the fifties of the last century, it represents the feeling of individuals and social groups in various forms in particular, which leads to the formation of a common national identity, each social group has a collective memory that specializes in and represents it, while the collective memory is the memory of social groups, the purpose of which is to recognize the other and search for commonalities in multiple societies and melt these groups in the crucible of citizenship, which leads to building a national identity.

Keywords : (Collective memory, The functions of collective memory, Collective memory and political authority).

Introduction :

Memory is a repository for historical events and the experiences of groups, peoples and nations in all their social, political and cultural forms, because it is considered a cultural heritage for any group, people or nation. And it takes forms, images, and representations as expressive formulas about it, embodied in an identity or a group of identities that reflect and express that legacy or heritage, as the acquired identity is affected by many factors, including the cultural heritage of the group itself and how that group views itself, according to an imaginary vision that it adopts, as well The acquired identity is affected by the shape of the political system and the type of dominant authority and how it deals with the types of memory that exist in society in terms of respecting the existing cultural diversity and creating a multiple collective memory, or re-creating and directing collective memory, that is, in the sense of internalizing it in the interest of the ruling authority, and the resulting Politicization of memory and cultural manipulation deliberately to erase the memory of social groups, at the level of religions, nationalities and nations, so we will work to identify this by dividing this research into two axes, the first includes the concept of collective memory and its functions, while the second axis includes collective memory and political power.

First: Collective memory and its functions.

1- Collective memory.

The term "collective memory" is still understood as a metaphorical term only, its aim is to bring a certain meaning closer to our minds, while Western studies have confirmed for decades that it is a

¹ Master's student at the University of Baghdad, College of Education for Girls, Department of Sociology.

societal phenomenon and therefore it has been and is being researched as a tangible collective reality in theory and practice in all social and human fields. Although the human interest in the theme of “memory” has been advanced, especially from a philosophical point of view, represented in the writings of Plato, Aristotle and Augustine, who dealt with human memory in its personal form and as an integral part of the individual, it is a philosophical tradition adopted by the psychological and social sciences until the beginning of the twentieth century. The scientific dealing with human memory in its collective dimension as a societal phenomenon that requires careful and careful observation did not appear until late, specifically in the last decades of the last century, as a result of the rediscovery of the writings and studies of the French sociologist (Maurice Halbwachs) 1877-1945, which constituted the first real breakthrough. For the sober scientific work with the phenomenon of collective memory ⁽²⁾. It soon attracted academic attention in the social and human sciences, leading to a promising theoretical opening in recent decades, which has become known as the "memorial turn".

Contrary to the classical scientific perceptions, which saw the process of remembering as a personal and internal process and therefore of a purely biological mission, Maurice Halbwachs warned that there is a strong relationship between the personal recollection of the individual and the society to which he belongs. In order to remember we need others ⁽³⁾. In the framework of this, Maurice Halbwachs says in his book *Social Frameworks of Memory* in 1925: “When we read the most important books in psychology that deal with the issue of memory, what surprises us is that the person in them appears as an isolated being” ⁽⁴⁾. Our memories remain collective, others remind us of them, even though they are events that we concerned ourselves with alone, and things we saw alone, that I am not really alone in it” ⁽⁵⁾. This is because the personal memories themselves were never confined to the individual’s self, but rather they have a place within the social system as a natural result of the individual’s interaction with his social environment. Through dialogue with the other, for example with family members, friends, or others, one can remember important stations and experiences in his life ⁽⁶⁾.

Concluding that the process of individual recollection, despite its biological nature, cannot be achieved without a social framework that surrounds it, and that this social framework establishes a collective system that makes the experiences and subjective experiences of the individual subject to remembering and interpretation in a collective way called (Maurice Halbwachs) on this collective memory system. "collective memory" ⁽⁷⁾.

² Zuhair Soukah, *Collective memory theories and their development in the fields of human sciences*, Dragoman Magazine, Issue 5, Boxel, Belgium 2015, p. 128.

³ Paul Ricor, *Memory, History, Forgetfulness*, translated by: George Zenani, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Jadeed, Beirut, Lebanon, 2009, p. 190.

⁴ Jamal Shehith, *The Memory in the Contemporary Arabic Novel*, The Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, Lebanon, 2011, p. 52.

⁵ Maurice Halbwachs, *Auditory Memory*, translated by: Nisreen Al-Zahr, 1st Edition, Citizen House for Publishing and Distribution, Damascus, Syria, 2017, pp. 45-46.

⁶ Zuhair Soukah, *Politics and Collective Memory, Relationship of Dissonance or Attraction*, Al-Naqid Journal for Political Studies, Issue 1, Biskra, Algeria, 2017, p. 37.

⁷ The same source above, pg. 29

In light of this, the great gain achieved by (Maurice Halbwachs) "by the bold intellectual decision that he attributed memory to a collective entity that he calls the group or" the society according to Paul Ricoeur's expression, does not lie in the unilateral focus on the collective dimension of memory in complete separation from its individual ground or exclusion from it, which Maurice Halbwachs did not aim at anyway, but rather to clarify the complete mixing between the two types of individual and collective recollection, as we cannot separate them or prefer one over the other, for collective memory itself is the product of the interaction of individual memories, and memory Individualism itself is nothing but the product of the interaction of the "individual" with the "collective." They are therefore two aspects of remembering, and this is what Ricoeur refers to in his turn by saying, "If the collective memory derives its strength and permanence from the fact that its foundation is a group of people, yet it is the individuals who remember what they are members of." in the group (⁸).

The human society consists of different social groups, each of which possesses separately an internal and common balance between its members for memory and knowledge. Remembering this collective identity is then a result of the joint interpretation of the past of this group. In other words, the supra-individual identity is formed when the joint recall of the past of that social group. On this basis, it can be said that the collective memory is the memory of the collective memories or the sum of the memories in a human society, and here too The function of collective memory, as seen by Maurice Halbwachs, is clearly evident, namely, the establishment of a community's "identity" and ensuring its process. On the other hand, it should be noted that most of the few Arabic texts that dealt with this issue confuse the concepts of collective memory and collective memory, Differentiating between the collective and collective levels of the concept of memory in these texts is an absurdity.

This terminological inaccuracy seems to be due to the lack of reference writings or in-depth translations about the socio-cultural nature of the concept of memory in Arabic. As for the collective memory, it is a shared memory between the various groups that make up the society, in other words, the collective memory is the sum of all these collective memories, as Maurice Halbwachs stressed that it is not possible to confuse history and memory, emphasizing the expression " The historical memory "was not well chosen, because it connects two phrases that contradict each other in more than one point, and this is an idea of great importance, given the inaccurate, even confusing, usage in many Western literature from which Arabic texts are derived from what is known as the "historical memory" and justifies He rejected this term by saying, "If the fabric of collective memory were just a series of dates and lists of historical facts, then it would not have played anything but a secondary role in consolidating our individual memories" (⁹).

⁸ Zuhair Soukah, Politics and Collective Memory, Relationship of Discord or Attraction, a previously mentioned source, p. 38.

⁹ Maurice Halbwachs Collective Memory, a previously mentioned source, p. 77, p. 98.

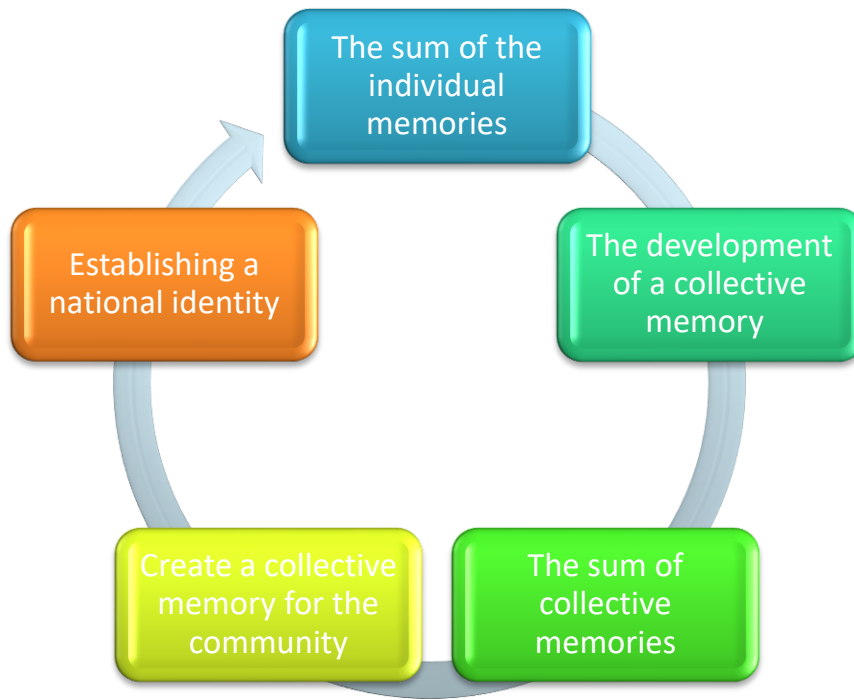


Figure No. (1) designed by the researcher shows how the collective memory is formed and the establishment of a national identity

2. The functions of collective memory.

Maurice Halbwachs calls this shared “memories” or the collective balance of individual experiences and experiences within the framework of a particular group a “collective memory,” considering it “an indispensable condition for the existence of this group itself, as it establishes its identity through the act of collective remembrance, the opposite result of the absence of memory.” The remembrance act is summed up by Paul Ricoeur by saying: “When we no longer form part of the group whose memory keeps a certain memory, our own memory withers due to the lack of external supports.” Here, the function of collective memory stands out clearly, as Maurice Halbwachs sees it. It is the establishment of a “collective”⁽¹⁰⁾ identity and ensuring its permanence on the grounds that this shared identity is only the result of a common interpretation of the past specific to these social groups. Collective means that the participant identifiably belongs to this group or these groups. The identity function of the collective memory does not only make it linked to the society in which the memories of individuals live, but rather it is an identity expression of a societal, cultural, and even political context characterized by selectivity and perspective.

¹⁰ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, a previously mentioned source, p. 38.

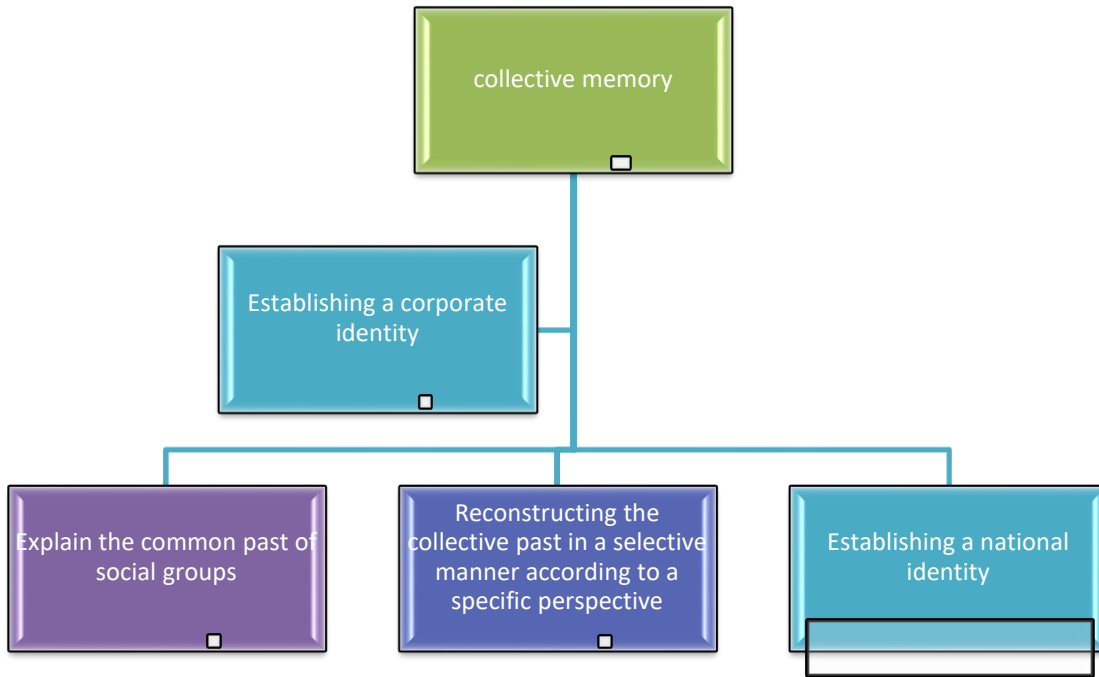


Figure No. (2) designed by the researcher shows the functions of collective memory

This is because collective memory does not evoke mirror images of the past in an aimless manner, but rather reconstructs the collective and shared past in a selective manner and according to a specific perspective. It revives the past by resurrecting the past, but rather rebuilds and shapes it in the present time. Remembering is the process of reconstructing the past with the help of the present. The table below reflects the characteristics of collective memory as conceived by Maurice Halbwachs (¹¹).

Central features	Eclecticism and perspective
basic function	Establishing a corporate identity

Table No. (1)

Collective memory features and function according to (Maurice Halbwachs)

3- Collective memory and political authority.

Each social group has its own memory, especially in culturally diverse societies, because each social group of these groups has its own history and collective memory that is not necessarily similar to the memory of others, and this indicates the existence of more than one memory, and more than multiple narratives and narrations. History can be shared and interconnected, and it may have special paths, and in this case there is no shared memory to be monopolized without the others, but rather each social group has a special memory that it possesses without conflict with other groups, and that it is as if conflict over the boundaries and scope of memory is an incoming

¹¹ Zuhair Soukah, Politics and Collective Memory, Relationship of Discord or Attraction, a previously mentioned source, pp. 38-39

matter (¹²), and since the struggle over memory and its borders, and what belongs to it and what does not belong to it is something that can happen, but it is few and limited, because the struggle usually arises over control of what is common to all. Since memory, in multi-cultural societies, each social group has its own memory, it is expected that the control of memory is not the orbit of the struggle between the groups, but rather the origin of the conflict between these groups is due to the attempt to control the public space, which explains how the memory is used and the methods used. Remember (¹³).

The ability to possess the largest area of general remembrance gives the ability to define the standards of good remembrance, especially what is allowed to be remembered and what is not allowed for the act of remembrance to reach. It has an official patriotism (¹⁴). Realistically, some initiatives related to memory, and in general some of the discourses related to the past, can create and reinforce divisions within society, as this results in a feeling of marginalization, exclusion, injustice and prejudice, which leads as a result to the development of the matter and Reaching for revenge, due to the marginalization of some of the memories of the social groups that make up the society and their deportation and exclusion from the official discourses of the state in favor of a mythical and unilateral understanding of the societies' past. Which increases the feeling of not being recognized (¹⁵).

We see this clearly in the societies that fall under the control of totalitarian (totalitarian) regimes, and which are unable to impose their political and ideological platform and their claim of national unity because they are the national alternative to previous colonial experiences, except by creating or establishing a joint collective memory that is comprehensive for all components of society and transcends the origins. Nationalism, and the claim of a general history that transcends all sectarian mentalities, and thus that any expression that results in any cultural distinction or civilizational uniqueness from those groups that make up society, is considered a direct threat to the unity of society and a betrayal of its national consensus. This is because they realize that collective memory is the main ingredient for creating origin myths.

. And the evocation of the past is clearly when acute crises emerge in society, which in turn constitute a clear challenge to the normal situation in it (¹⁶). The private memory of social groups, which is in conflict with the official memory of the state, which dominates historiography, is often excluded or marginalized. And the past is often considered a major source for governments to build their values and ideals in society, that (authoritarian) governments often seek to place strict official

¹² Nima Al-Abadi, Building a positive memory in a pluralistic society towards a project to build a positive memory, the reality and problem of ethnicities and minorities in Iraq, House of Wisdom, Baghdad, Iraq, 2012, p. 163/164.

¹³ Bernie, Don Olary and John McCarry, Organizing Nations and Ethnic Groups, in: The Book of Nationalism and Rationality, Edited by: Albert Britton, Translated by Amina Amer and others, The Supreme Council of Culture, Cairo, Egypt, 2006, p. 393.

¹⁴ Nima al-Abadi, Building a positive memory in a pluralistic society towards a project to build a positive memory, the reality and problem of ethnicities and minorities in Iraq, a previously mentioned source, p. 164.

¹⁵ Cora Andreu et al., Transitional Justice in Tunisia: As We Imagined It and As We Live It, Al-Kawakibi Center for Democratic Transitions, 1st Edition, Tunis, 2017, p. 14.

¹⁶ Thamer Abbas, the ambiguous identity of the Iraqi personality and the problem of self-awareness, Dar Al-Zaman for printing and publishing, Damascus, Syria, 2012, p. 178.

control over the way in which the past is seen in society, which in turn leads to the representation of history for partisan purposes in favor of authoritarian governments. To myths and collective epics, in turn, gives legitimacy to obtain political support for these governments, which leads to the loss of social groups that make up the entire society and become victims of a wrong stereotype (¹⁷). On the contrary, we see that nation-building, as the Europeans did at the end of the nineteenth century, led to the formation of a nation-state, which deliberately carried out cultural hybridization processes to create a melting pot for all nationalities, races, and minorities that make up society, through citizenship, i.e. presenting their identity as citizens with rights and duties. As long as they are within the administrative borders of the state, and in exchange for that, their religious identity (sect) is abolished, and this matter can only be achieved through building a new memory, that is, the collective memory representing the above-mentioned operations contradicts and is different from the collective memory that currently exists in Iraqi society, and to clarify this we put Scheme as follows (¹⁸):-







A nation-  state  that results in  a collective (public) memory
 Religious  ethnicity  results in  a collective (private) memory.

Figure No. (3) of the researcher's design shows the construction of memory

We see here that the modern European state has created a cultural milieu that unites all the social groups that make up the society by developing a supreme national culture that is comprehensive and includes all the heterogeneous components under its table. Accordingly, culture appears as a "natural repository of political legitimacy" (¹⁹). After (Maurice Halbwachs), Paul Ricoeur, Jan Assmann, and Helmut König focused in their mnemonic studies, despite their divergent specializations, on the ability of collective memory as a constitutive tool for the identity of a particular group and ensuring its operation, not only on the societal level based on the desires of this gathering (Paul Ricoeur), but also on the cultural level Jan Assmann (²⁰) and the political level Helmut König (²¹), and their studies focused on the strong relationship between collective memory and identity in its social, cultural and political dimensions on the one hand, and on the other hand on the relationship "power" by memory and the consequent possible mnemonic dependency.

For (Maurice Halbwachs), who highlighted the features of "selectivity" and "perspective", which allow collective memory to establish a collective identity within a societal context, but without being able to identify the parties associated with it or even the benefits resulting from it, as if it

¹⁷ Cora Andrieu, and others, *Transitional Justice in Tunisia: As We Imagined It and As We Live It*, A previously mentioned source, p. 15.

¹⁸ Jaafar Najm Nasr, *The Cultivated Memory Towards Building a National Memory for Iraqi Minorities and Ethnicities, The Reality and Problem of Ethnicities and Minorities in Iraq*, House of Wisdom, Baghdad, Iraq, 2012, p. 101.

¹⁹ Faleh Abdel-Jabbar, *In Conditions and Horrors, the Social and Cultural Sources of Violence*, 1st Edition, Dar Al-Furat for Publishing and Distribution, Beirut, Lebanon, 2008, p. 51.

²⁰ Jan Assmann, *Civilizational Memory, Writing, Memory, and Political Identity in Early Civilizations*, translated by: Abdul Halim Abdul Ghani Ragab, The National Project for Translation, Cairo, Egypt, 2003, p. 55

²¹ Helmut König, *Das Politische des Gedächtnisses in ; Gedenks Eichnberg, Welcher Gedächtnis und Erinnerung. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch* Stuttgart; J.B. Metzler, 2010, P113.

were an abstract and independent tool and its will, and thus It is not within the reach of society and its spectra. Is it permissible for us here to investigate the parties that impose their “authority” on “collective memory” and their “potential” interests in that, despite being a participant in my collective memories, as confirmed by (Maurice Halbwachs) in order to answer this question that forms the core of the subject of this paper, and the consequences Additional problems must be discussed about the perceptions and ideas of the trio Asman, Ricoeur and Konish, who elaborated, each according to his specialized perspective, in analyzing this thorny and disturbing relationship between “memory” and “power” ⁽²²⁾. 'oubli Ricoeur treated most of the issues of human memory in its individual and collective dimensions, starting from the philosophy of memory and ending with the sociology of modern memory, championing Maurice Halbwachs' theory about the collective dimension of memory and its societal framework. It is a deliberate manipulation of memory and forgetting by those who have power, and the result is a memory that Ricoeur calls manipulated memory, in the sense that it is “performative memory, that is, it was treated as a tool, according to his expression ⁽²³⁾. In addition to this, Ricoeur goes on to discuss the factor that drives any political system regardless As for his nature, whether democratic or dictatorial, he used memory as a tool to legitimize its origin and justify its continuation as an imposed authority within a societal context, which is ideology, as it considers it an interfering factor in the manipulation of memory ⁽²⁴⁾.

Whether this ideology is overt or hidden, considering that its founding function is to justify “a system or authority system,” it “aims to legitimize the authority of the system or government, or what he describes as” the claim of legitimacy that every form of authority presents, whether it enjoys With charisma, as if it were traditional or bureaucratic”, and thus Ricoeur concludes that “ideology revolves, in the end, around power”, because it adds a kind of surplus value to our spontaneous faith and this can very well satisfy the demand for power by recognizing its legitimacy, “adding that everything revolves About the knot that binds the claims to legitimacy that the rulers raise with their oath to this authority on the part of the governed ⁽²⁵⁾.

Ricoeur believes that this same complex constitutes what he calls the "paradox of authority". Not only on the part of the rulers, but also on the part of the ruled, saying: “The ideologization of memory is possible through the diversification resources offered by the work of narrative photography. In this context, Ricoeur explains this narrative function” of the ideological memory by saying, “The surplus value that ideology adds to The confidence that the governed give in order to respond to the demand for legitimization put forward by the rulers also represents a narrative plot: foundational stories and stories of glory and humiliation give rise to discourse of adulation and fear, and thus it becomes possible for us to relate the intended abuses of memory to the distortion and distortion effects that come from the apparent level of ideology on this apparent level. The imposed

²² Zuhair Soukah, Politics and Collective Memory, Relationship of Discord or Attraction, a previously mentioned source, p. 40.

²³ Zuhair Soukah, Theories of collective memory and their development in the fields of human sciences, a previously mentioned source, p. 136

²⁴ Paul Ricoeur, Memory, History, Forgetting, a previously mentioned source, p. 139.

²⁵ Zuhair Soukah, Politics and Collective Memory, Relationship of Discord or Attraction, a previously mentioned source, p. 43.

memory shall be armed with a permissible history, which is the official history, the history that is known and celebrated publicly in front of everyone (²⁶).

Here, with Ricoeur, we arrive at the conclusion that the ideologized memory is chosen by the regime as an expression of its identity and imposes it not only as an official memory of its authority, but on the basis of it being a single memory that must be validated and believed in its historical contents that have become, as a result of ideologization, normative contents, and it is the same idea that we find with Asman and Lu He referred to it in passing by saying, "In this official functional framework with a political ideology, almost everything that has come down to us from historical sources from the ancient East enters (²⁷).

It is noted here that the ideologization of memory is not necessarily the creation of a totalitarian regime, as it is not a tyrannical specialty, as much as it is an expression of the nature and structure of political power per se, i.e. the ability and power to impose its political identity and calibrate it in the manner it deems appropriate for its interests, and thus market it internally and externally by benefiting from memory and history. And this is what Tzvetan Todorov points out, considering that taking possession of memory is not within the competence of totalitarian regimes. Only this important reference from Todorov makes us wonder about the fate of this interaction between political power and collective memory, as Todorov and Ricoeur reduced it to being a political hegemony. On my memories only, or is this proposition nothing more than an unjustified reduction of memory, as a complex collective phenomenon as only a mere "performance" in the hands of "power" to meet its (identitarian) needs? Just abuse? In order to answer this question, we must explore the depths of political memory as a theoretical approach that is intended by this mixture between the whole of "my memories" and "political" and its consequences. In addition to Jan Assmann and Paul Ricoeur, German researcher Helmut K onich worked on it extensively. (²⁸).

Within the framework of Kunish's analysis of the concept of political memory and its functions at the political and societal levels, Kunish makes a set of comparisons between what he calls "political memory" and collective memory with the concept of (Maurice Halbwachs), i.e., communicative memory with the Asmaan concept on the one hand, and on the other hand, he also compares political memory with cultural memory as It was interpreted by Jan Asman, and here Kunish presents the similarities and differences between all these patterns of remembrance that cannot be separated from each other despite the specificity of remembrance in the political context. without prior intentions, and this is what makes it farther from communicative memory and closer and even more like a civilized memory. Symbols and rituals associated with national identity.

This absolute reliance on mediation makes it more similar to civilized memory (²⁹). Political memory is characterized by the fact that it possesses a general and subordinate topography, just as memory is considered as a link between the political system and public opinion, to specific political

²⁶ The same source above, pg. 44

²⁷ Jan Essmann, *Civilizational Memory, Writing, Memory, and Political Identity in Early Civilizations*, a previously mentioned source, p. 120.

²⁸ Zuhair Soukah, *Politics and Collective Memory, Relationship of Dissonance or Attraction*, a previously mentioned source, pg. 45.

²⁹ Zuhair Soukah, *Politics and Collective Memory, Relationship of Discord or Attraction*, a previously mentioned source, p. 47.

guidance. Answering open existential questions such as: "What is the truth in its comprehensive concept? ", or "Where is the meaning of life", and it lies, according to Konish, in dealing specifically and thus exclusively with questions of a political nature such as: How does the current political system assess its current situation and how it looks at its past and the past of the regimes that preceded it? The totality of current and past political decisions and events ⁽³⁰⁾. With these questions and concerns that political memory expresses in its view of the present and the past, it expresses, according to Konish, the ideals of the general public who are supposed to govern themselves in a way that they see as, and for good reasons that may be acceptable. By others, which gain more plausibility and acceptance mostly through past experiences, according to Kunish's perception, and the table below summarizes the Kunish concept, its distinctive characteristics, and its basic function:

Political memory, according to Konish	
Concept	Collective memory directed by political power.
Traits	modality, normative, general.
Function	Express the ideals of the people.

Table No. (2)

Concept of political memory according to Konish

Despite this conceptual clarity that Kunish provides for what he calls "political" memory, his definition of the nature of this political memory at the collective level appears so far ambiguous, and even raises several conceptual problems, because if we consider political memory directed by the political system, and expressive About him and his normative identity, how is it permissible for us to look at it at the same time as a "public memory shared by all of the governed? In other words: Is every political memory a public memory in the sense that it is available for participation and sharing among members of society, or is it an official memory that normatively expresses the nature of the political system only?

To remove this ambiguity in which Kunish fell about the contradictory nature of political memory, from being an official and normative memory imposed and codified by the authority, and at the same time a public memory available to the governed within a particular political system, Kunish himself proposes a division that he deems necessary between two types of political systems that determine the nature of memory. political in it, and even the quality of the culture of remembrance prevailing or (not) allowed in this political system, as it talks about pluralistic democratic systems in contrast to authoritarian non-democratic political systems, and elaborates on explaining the relationship that links each of them with political memory separately, considering that the contents of memory The association of past events and experiences is presented and circulated in democratic countries in a general and fair manner, which allows each party participating in this public and sustainable discussion about the past and present of the political system within the framework of a specific society, to express its position and infer it with arguments and proofs, and here every perception is lost in this memory discussion Societal is relative, that is, of a temporary nature in the sense that it is not final and therefore non-normative, and here Konish presents concrete examples from Western European countries. Contrary to this, Kunish believes that authoritarian regimes

³⁰ Helmet Konig, Same source above, p116-117

prevent such a societal possibility to discuss my memories fairly. Here, the contents of my memories are transmitted by the political-administrative apparatus that controls the wheels of government in a unilateral and authoritarian manner, and often in a random manner and through authoritarian means of coercion that closes the door to any possibility of participation. open civil (³¹).

The process of marginalization carried out by the political authority can take at least three forms:

1. The attempt of the political authority, directly or indirectly, to include the historical events and facts of those social groups that represent a clear threat as contradicting the traditions and heritage of the original state / nation.
2. The political authority ostensibly celebrates the customs and cultural heritage of the social groups that it wants to marginalize, while at the same time trying to prove that the customs and cultural heritage of the social groups, especially with regard to fashion and religious practices, are not in line with development and modernity, so these customs and traditions It cannot be part of daily life and remains confined to holidays and events, or to shows that take place in museums.
3. The political authority seeks to uproot knowledge of the historical events and facts that threaten its existence by turning a blind eye to it in official documents and oral statements of the ruling elite.

The aim of using these policies is to reduce the ability of social groups to think in anti-political ways to preserve their interests and their demise (³²).

Deliberately neglecting and marginalizing the culture of the social group and ignoring its role represents, according to Paul Ricoeur, nothing but a clear encroachment on memory, which in turn leads to the formation of several forms of memory, namely:

- A. Distorted memory.
- B. A wounded or sick memory, due to its injury or trauma, and it has often forced to face forms of loss that hinder its work.
- C. A marching memory, and it is often linked to a weak identity, the reasons for its weakness are due to its bad relationship with time, or to its confrontation with the other who represents a threat to it, or to the violence on which it was founded and inherited from its inception, and as a result the memory is internalized, used and manipulated by the political authority (³³).

Thus, we can say here that the great importance that collective memory occupies in political systems, whether democratic or dictatorial, but not as a mere ideological tool in the hands of the political authority to legitimize its existence and renew its ideas to serve its interests, but mainly as an integral part of the political action of the political systems. It is often influential on the social groups that make up society, and this appears in the collective memory policies that these regimes follow and the resulting results that are evident in the prevailing collective memory.

³¹ Helmet Konig, Same source above, p117-118

³² Eric Davis, *Memoirs of the State of Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq*, translated by: Hatem Abdel-Hadi, The Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing, 1st edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 2008, p. 20.

³³ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, a previously mentioned source, pg. 360.

Conclusion :

Collective memory is the memory of collective memories or the sum of memories in a human society, and here also the function of collective memory is clearly evident, which is to establish the society's "identity" and ensure its functioning, on the other hand,

We also find that political power has a major role in building collective memory. It can build a positive collective memory by recognizing the social groups that make up society, especially in multiple societies, by recognizing the other and creating a common vision for learning about the past with the aim of improving the quality of life in the present and the future and the existence of Dominant approaches taken by governments to develop national approaches aimed at achieving a unified national identity, as well as promoting social reconstruction and reconciliation, and alleviating feelings of past tragedies. This is supposed to lead to stability and peace, which in turn leads to the creation of a national identity.

On the contrary, the authority may build a distorted collective memory or insert a collective memory to preserve its interests, or adopt a memory for a particular social group and impose it on other social groups, which generates a sense of marginalization and exclusion among these social groups, which in turn leads to the rise of Sub-identities at the expense of national identity, as happened in Iraq. Since the establishment of the Iraqi state in a distorted manner by the British occupation, King Faisal tried to impose a collective memory on the social groups that make up society in Iraq, but these attempts failed. The Kurds, for example, realized that they were marginalized, and they staged many revolutions. And the national uprisings against the subsequent governments, and this continued until the year 1958 AD, in which the monarchy fell and the republic was proclaimed⁽³⁴⁾.

The distorted establishment of the Iraqi state and the ethnic and religious diversity, which added a great challenge in drawing the form of the regime and the features of the relationship between it and society, has led to the rise of tensions between the components of Iraqi society⁽³⁵⁾, which led to social and economic changes that made violence an essential tool in conflict between social groups⁽³⁶⁾.

These circumstances led to a rift in the facts and reality⁽³⁷⁾, which continued until after 2003 AD, just as the political leaders, who were in exile and came to rule Iraq after 2003 AD, were affected by the life of exile, so they resorted to maneuvers and political conspiracies as well. The expression

³⁴ Hamid Fadel Hassan, Iraqi national identity, crises of the past and present - causes and solutions, Journal of Political Science, Issue (49), University of Baghdad, College of Political Science, 2015, p. 70.

³⁵ Ibtisam Abd al-Qadir Muhammad Abd, The Role of Political Culture in Shaping the National Identity in Iraq Before and After the Occupation, The Role of Political Culture in Shaping the National Identity in Iraq Before and After the Occupation, Journal of International Studies, Center for International Studies, Issue (35), University Baghdad, January, 2008, p. 131.

³⁶ Mourouj Mazhar Abbas, Terrorism and internal displacement in Iraq (a field study in Baghdad governorate), Journal of the College of Education for Girls / University of Baghdad, Volume (30), Issue (4), 2019, p.19

³⁷ Salih Hadi Fahd, The Repercussions of the Social Clash on the Social Structure in the City of Fallujah, Journal of Arts / University of Baghdad, Appendix 2, Issue (137), 2021

of the former Prime Minister Adel Abdul-Mahdi, saying, "Most of them still act as if they are opposition in the opposition instead of building the state" ⁽³⁸⁾.

References :

- 1- Helmet Konig, *Das Politische des Gdachtnisses in ; Gudehus Eichnberg, Welzer Gedachtins und Erinnerung. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch* Stuttgart; J.B. Metzler, 2010.
- 2- Ibtisam Abd al-Qadir Muhammad Abd, *The Role of Political Culture in Shaping National Identity in Iraq Before and After the Occupation*, *The Role of Political Culture in Shaping National Identity in Iraq Before and After the Occupation*, *Journal of International Studies*, Center for International Studies, Issue (35) University of Baghdad, January, 2008.
- 3- Eric Davis, *Memoirs of the State of Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq*, translated by: Hatem Abdel-Hadi, The Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing, 1st edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 2008.
- 4- Bernie, Don Olary and John McCarry, *Organizing Nations and Ethnic Groups*, in: *The Book of Nationalism and Rationality*, Edited by: Albert Britton, Translated by Amina Amer and others, The Supreme Council of Culture, Cairo, Egypt, 2006.
- 5- Paul Ricor, *Memory, History, Forgetfulness*, translated by: George Zenani, New Book House, Beirut, Lebanon, 2009.
- 6- Thamer Abbas, *the ambiguous identity of the Iraqi personality and the problem of self-awareness*, Dar Al-Zaman for printing and publishing, Damascus, Syria, 2012.
- 7- Jaafar Najm Nasr, *The Cultivated Memory Towards Building a National Memory for Iraqi Minorities and Ethnicities*, *The Reality and Problem of Ethnicities and Minorities in Iraq*, House of Wisdom, Baghdad, Iraq, 2012
- 8- Jamal Shehith, *The Memory in the Contemporary Arabic Novel*, The Arab Foundation for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, Lebanon, 2011.
- 9- Hamid Fadel Hassan, *Iraqi national identity, crises of the past and present - causes and solutions*, *Journal of Political Science*, Issue (49), University of Baghdad, College of Political Science, 2015.
- 10- Zuhair Soukah, *Politics and Collective Memory, Relationship of Dissonance or Attraction*, *Al-Naqid Magazine for Political Studies*, Issue 1, Biskra, Algeria, 2017.
- 11- Zuhair Soukah, *Collective memory theories and their development in the fields of human sciences*, *Dragoman Magazine*, Issue 5, Boxel, Belgium 2015.
- 12- Zainab Hashem Jaryan, *Historical Paths of the Political Conflict in Iraq and its Development after 2003*, *Journal of the College of Education for Girls / University of Baghdad*, Volume (28), Issue (4), 2017.
- 13- Salih Hadi Fahd, *The Repercussions of the Social Clash on the Social Structure in the City of Fallujah*, *Journal of Arts / University of Baghdad*, Appendix 2, Issue (137), 2021
- 14- Faleh Abdel-Jabbar, *In Conditions and Horrors, the Social and Cultural Sources of Violence*, 1st Edition, Dar Al-Furat for Publishing and Distribution, Beirut, Lebanon, 2008.
- 15- Cora Andreu et al., *Transitional Justice in Tunisia: As We Imagined It and As We Live It*, Al-Kawakibi Center for Democratic Transitions, 1st Edition, Tunis, 2017.

³⁸ Zainab Hashim Jaryan, *Historical Paths of the Political Conflict in Iraq and its Development after 2003*, *Journal of the College of Education for Girls / University of Baghdad*, Volume (28), Issue (4), 2017, p. 1376

- 16- Murooj Mazhar Abbas, Terrorism and internal displacement in Iraq (a field study in Baghdad governorate), Journal of the College of Education for Girls / University of Baghdad, Volume (30), Issue (4), 2019.
- 17- Maurice Halboax, The Collective Memory, translated by: Nisreen Al-Zahr, 1st Edition, Citizen House for Publishing and Distribution, Damascus, Syria, 2017.
- 18- Nima Al-Abadi, Building a positive memory in a pluralistic society towards a project to build a positive memory, the reality and problem of ethnicities and minorities in Iraq, House of Wisdom, Baghdad, Iraq, 2012.
- 19- Jan Essmann, Civilizational Memory, Writing, Memory, and Political Identity in Early Civilizations, translated by: Abdel Halim Abdel Ghani Ragab, The National Project for Translation, Cairo, Egypt, 2003.