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الدراسات اللغوية

LINGUISTIC STUDIES

The Role of Political Parties in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: The Challenges and Opportunities

دور الأحزاب السياسية في بناء السلام بعد الصراع: التحديات والفرص

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الملخص

بعدها عوامل رئيسية لإدارة الصراع، ينبغي للأحزاب السياسية أن تلعب دورًا حاسمًا في بناء السلام. ولكن على الرغم من الإجماع الواسع النطاق على أهمية الأحزاب في التنمية السياسية والاقتصادية، فإن التدخلات الدولية في دول ما بعد الصراع غالبًا ما يكون لها تأثير في تقويض، بدلا من تعزيز، تنمية الأحزاب القوية والأنظمة الحزبية المستقرة. في حين أن كلاً من الأدبيات العلمية والكثير من الممارسات السياسية المحلية تفضل تطوير أحزاب جماعية ومركزة على المستوى الوطني، فإن جهود بناء السلام الدولية في مرحلة ما بعد الصراع – وخاصة الحالات التي تشارك فيها الأمم المتحدة – غالبًا ما تفضل التمثيل الوصفي والشمول على الأهداف الأخرى، مما يؤدي إلى تجزئة وتفكك الأنظمة الحزبية على أساس عرقي. وقد ساهم هذا الإهمال في بناء الأحزاب بشكل منهجي في حدوث تصلب سياسي شديد في التدخلات الدولية البارزة مثل أفغانستان والعراق والنيبال وغيرها.

لذا، يتناول هذا البحث العلمي دور الأحزاب السياسية في بناء السلام في مجتمعات ما بعد الصراع، وتوضيح أهم التحديات التي تواجه ذلك الدور، والفرص التي من شأنها تعزيزه.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الأطراف، الأنظمة، بناء السلام، التحديات، الفرص.

Abstract

As key agents of conflict management, political parties should play a critical role in Peacebuilding. But despite a widespread consensus on the importance of parties for both political and economic development, international interventions in post-conflict states often have the effect of undermining, rather than promoting, the development of strong parties and stable party systems. While both the scholarly literature and much domestic political practice favor the development of aggregative and nationally focused parties, international post-conflict Peacebuilding efforts – particularly cases where the United Nations is involved – often privilege descriptive representation and inclusion over other goals, resulting in fragmented and ethnically based party systems. This neglect of systemic party-building has contributed to extreme political sclerosis in recent high-profile international interventions such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Nepal, amongst others.

Therefore, this article examines the role of political parties in Peacebuilding of post-conflict societies, and to clarify the most important challenges facing that role, and the opportunities that would enhance it.

Keywords: Political parties, political system, Peacebuilding, internal conflict, political conflict, political development.

Introduction

International Peacebuilding actors have so far been wary of engagement with political parties. However, there is growing recognition of the importance of working with local political systems, institutions and parties in the promotion of peace. It is therefore important that international actors strengthen their understanding of political parties in conflict-affected contexts and how such parties relate to conflict and peacebuilding, as well as examine how best to deepen engagement with them.

Indeed, parties are unique among political institutions in their potential to give political expression to grievances that may otherwise be expressed through violence and to aggregate and articulate the interests of citizens during both peace negotiations and transition processes, as well as more broadly in post-conflict political governance and state-building. However, in practice political parties frequently do not play such a positive role and in some contexts actively undermine peace. Such failure is due both to constraints imposed by the broader political and institutional context and to the internal weaknesses of parties themselves.

The role of political parties in building peace includes performing several basic tasks, especially their role in writing a post-conflict constitution, building state institutions, imposing the rule of law, achieving national integration, promoting democracy and political participation, as well as their role in managing political conflict, and the success of the political parties in achieving these points would contribute to achieve political development in society and consequently strengthening the peace building process.

Therefore, this article examines the role of political parties in Peacebuilding of post-conflict societies, and to clarify the most important challenges facing that role, and the opportunities that would enhance it.

Study problem

To what extent can political parties contribute to building peace in post-conflict societies? Also, the study attempts to answer the following questions:-

1. What are the roles of political parties in writing post-conflict constitutions?
2. What are the roles of political parties in building state institutions?
3. What are the roles of political parties in enforcing the rule of law?
4. What are the roles of political parties in achieving national integration?
5. What are the roles of political parties in democracy and political participation?
6. What are the roles of political parties in managing conflict within society?

Research hypothesis

Political parties can play an important role in brokering an end to conflict, mediating bargaining over the nature of the political settlement and shaping the post-conflict state. Therefore, political parties can contribute to building peace in post-conflict societies

Research Methodology

In our study, we will use the descriptive analytical method and the inductive method, due to scientific necessity.

I. The role of political parties in writing a post-conflict constitution

Constitutional rules clarify the way in which political power is exercised. Therefore, constitutions have had a political meaning since their beginning, as they were used as a means of perpetuating the authority of an individual, party, class or group in accordance with specific contexts. In addition to the fact that the constitution is a means of consolidating the dominant power in the state, it represents a means of political balance as well, as the authority is not usually exercised by one person, but rather there is a common contribution to exercise it, and this practice is regulated by the constitutional rules so that it becomes the rules of political balance, as the constitutional rules are rules that regulate the relationship between those who exercise power and indicate the limits of each of them in the field of their contribution to the exercise of their authority[1].

Accordingly, the constitution is the platform for political action that the rulers intend to implement it through the exercise of power. On the other hand, the constitution is considered the supreme law in the country and is superior to all laws and the duty of everyone to abide by it - as it explains the exercise of power for the rulers and the ruled - especially since the people are the source of their power, and it is usually written through consultation and cooperation between the various political groups and active individuals in society. In the absence of the constitution, chaos prevails among members of society, conflicts spread between its various parties, and force and violence are used instead of resorting to peaceful means. The constitution must express the conscience, beliefs and needs of the people, otherwise it is not a sacred writing that cannot be changed. Whenever the constitution is inappropriate to the developments in life, it must be changed or replaced, and the search for a better formula for coexistence between the spectrum of the people and the method of exercising power with a new constitution, but with the existence of the constitution, the legitimacy of the authority depends on its adherence to it.

In the post-conflict stage, a new constitution is usually written, which serves as a socio-political contract between the different parties to overcome the conflict stage and not return to it again, by negotiating divisive or disputed issues that led to the conflict and the use of violence, and that negotiating the writing of the new constitution would constitute a means to educate individuals about democracy and prepare the appropriate ground for initiating a constructive societal dialogue. Moreover, the constitution's emphasis on broad and inclusive representation of all parties to the conflict and the increase of political equality, social justice, human rights, and democracy will affect the country's chances of peace in the long run. The importance of the constitution at this stage lies in the fact that it is the contract under which the parties to the conflict give up violence and replace it with the peaceful means that they agreed upon in the new constitution. It contains the rules by which the status of individuals and groups is determined in the new era, and therefore it is said that the peace agreement is (writing the history of the future) and the constitution should be this book.

In addition to the above, the post-conflict constitution is more important than forming governments and regulating relations between government and citizens, as constitutions become important tools for crisis management, reconciliation between groups, addressing unacceptable injustice and preventing further deterioration. Writing a constitution includes[2]:

A. Establishing new structures and the development of existing structures in the state or society.

B. Developing and legitimizing governance and order.

C. Reducing exclusivity.

For example, in Iraq after 2003, the goal of writing a new constitution was reconciliation between the conflicting parties, support for national unity through a comprehensive process that reflects the diversity in Iraqi society, a sense of identity that brings all parties together, and the people's participation in public affairs, support and provision of capabilities and knowledge to exercise and protect their rights, paying attention to the interests of the public, not just the elite, and spreading a culture of respect for constitutional principles, and through popular participation and the citizen's sense of ownership of the decision, this would legitimize the political authority. It also required changing the shape of the state according to the new socio-political contract, as Iraq turned to the federal form in response to the demands of the Kurdish side after more than eighty years of simple central state rule[3].

The conflict may be between political parties or between different ethnic groups, but the ethnic groups by the conflict become more like a political party as they become an organized group with specific goals and seek to control or participate in power, whether this power is local or statewide, and it has either a particular ideology or values they seek to defend, in the sense that political parties are in one way or another involved in the conflict[4]. After years of conflict within the state and resentment, hatred and mistrust prevailing between the parties, the political parties must resort to open dialogue and cooperation to resolve the main differences related to the future of the country, and there is no more solid mechanism than agreeing to resolve differences according to constitutional frameworks, and to carry out political, economic and

social reforms. Since the constitution is the supreme law in the country and it regulates political power and affects the nature of relations between the components of society, and often the constitution plays an active role in ending the conflict, restructuring national interests, defining identity and establishing foundational laws, whether in the case of a new constitution or amendment of the old constitution[5]. The political parties play an important role in negotiating the new phase as they represent the groups of the people and defend their rights. Examples in which the partisan dialogue in the post-conflict phase helped to reach consensus on writing a new constitution are: Kenya, Zimbabwe, Nepal, Ecuador, and Bolivia[6].

Among the problems faced by the constitution-writing process in plural societies is the feeling of belonging to the sub-group and the desire to preserve cultural or religious privacy. Therefore, the constitution takes into account the existence of constitutional institutions based on pluralism in society and recognizes them so that the constitution becomes a deal between sects, while there are Constitutions that ignore this pluralism and try to accommodate the division by marginalizing the rights of different groups, such as the constitutions that were written after the French Revolution, whether the French constitution or the constitutions of Spain, Italy and Austria, which did not refer to the rights of ethnic groups, but rather included expressions of equality between citizens of the state regardless of national differences or religious or doctrinal to form a single nation[7].

Therefore, it is inevitable that political parties participate in writing the constitution as one of the parties of the conflict on the one hand, and as representatives of groups of people (in pluralistic societies) from other hand, as they can mobilize public support for this document, each party of the sect it represents, and if the new constitution gains the approval of all the parties, this will make it a document representing the will of the people, and since the constitution is a means of exercising political power, this means giving legitimacy to the authority as long as it is based on a legal system (constitution) stemming from the will of the people[8].

II. The role of political parties in building state institutions•

The post-conflict society suffers from the collapse or weakness of institutions, and the search for peace building requires rebuilding the institutions through which society is managed and controlled, as institution building reflects its behavior of moral consensus and the common interest of people who are not subject to social harmony without the presence of institutional activity that leads to a political union based on the strength of political organizations and procedures within society, and this cannot happen without relying on the depth of institutions and their procedures[9]. Institutionalization is considered the process through which organizations and procedures acquire inevitability and stability, and institutions are supposed to work through unitary cohesion far from the division in the organization, giving importance to coordination and discipline because they are necessary qualities to engage in various activities in the political field, and this means that institutions can crystallize public interests, here it is possible to distinguish between developed societies and undeveloped societies, as the governance that is based on a low level of institutionalization is weak but rather mediocre, and does not find satisfaction, acceptance and respect by the people, while the absence of political institutions pushes individuals towards loyalty to sub-identities. Therefore, institutions are very important to avoid fragmentation and division within society and thus conflict, as there are no frameworks that organize society without efficient and professional institutions[10].

In post-conflict societies, building institutions is often arduous and takes a long time due to the collapse of buildings, systems and public facilities and the loss of employees, in addition to the lack of trust between the different parties, so it is useful to use international expertise with national staff to provide the necessary needs and find appropriate plans for the path of the peace agreement, which may include the formation of transitional institutions that help political stability• (something like this happened after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 when a Governing Council was established for the transitional phase), and the identification of high-priority institutions that need to start working as quickly as possible according to the needs of the country, and develop plans for other sectors that need recovery, and strive to

reach agreement between national agencies and donors on issues related to donor policy that will affect the building of national institutions, and work to build institutions and develop their capabilities in cooperation with international agencies to ensure the provision of necessary services during the transition period[11].

One of the most important obstacles in post-conflict societies that prevent the institution-building process and the application of democracy and good governance is the presence of armed groups that are not fundamentally convinced of the peace process as a result of political divisions and intense competition among them. Accordingly, the warring factions, even if they are not political parties, can integrate into the political process and turn it into parties with the help of international and local actors, as experiences have proven that institution building in the post-conflict phase is not successful when parties are ignored and not included as actors in new institutions. Therefore, it must be persuaded of the incentives to share power and create trust between them and work to prevent external parties from providing them with military support, and It is necessary to take into account the differences that exist between post-conflict countries in terms of their social structures and the history of conflict between their parties, and this is of course reflected on the nature of political groups and parties in those societies[12].

Therefore, It is clear that the presence of political parties as actors in the conflict will negatively affect the peace-building process if their fighters are not integrated into state institutions because they will not agree to participate in sustaining peace, and the peace agreement will become empty of content by ignoring an influential party or parties in the conflict. It is clear that the presence of political parties as active parties in the conflict will negatively affect the peace-building process if their fighters are not integrated into state institutions, because they will not agree to participate in sustaining peace, and the peace agreement will become empty of content by ignoring an influential party or parties to the conflict, and on the other hand, employing fighters in state institutions is a vital issue in the post-conflict phase to avoid their resort to organized crime and a threat to stability[13].

III. The role of political parties in enforcing the rule of law

Although there are differences about the concept of the law state, there is agreement at the minimum that it is the state in which all individuals, rulers and ruled, are subject to the rule of law, with the crystallization of democratic ideas that attribute sovereignty to the group and make the ruler based on its affairs while he is bound by the provisions of the law and subject to Judicial oversight, and the political system is based on the separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers so that each authority can stand up to the abuses of the other authority. This would simplify the rule of law and ensure respect for the rights of individuals in society[14].

The general concept of the rule of law can be defined as the state that in all its activities is subject to the provisions of the law and does not exceed it, meaning that every state authority, whether legislative, executive and judicial, can only act within the limits of the stipulated legal provisions, as long as these provisions are not subject to cancellation or modification according to the contexts Formal and procedural specified by the text of the law itself[15].

In 2004 the international community agreed on the scientific definition of the rule of law as "one of the principles of governance, whereby all persons, institutions, and public and private entities, including the state itself, are accountable to laws, which are publicly issued and applied on the basis of the principle of equality, and they shall be adjudicated independently, and shall be consistent with international principles and standards of human rights. It entails taking the necessary measures to ensure compliance with the principles of the rule of law, equality, responsibility towards the law, justice in the application of the law, separation of powers and participation in the decision-making process, legal certainty, avoidance of arbitrariness, and the presence of procedural and legal transparency[16].

Among the most important rationales for reforming the rule of law in post-conflict societies are[17]:

- ***Economic Development:*** The rule of law is necessary for an economy based on development because of the need for explicit

laws capable of implementing development projects, and this encourages foreign and local investment.

- ***Strengthening Democracy:*** the rule of law protects human rights and activates government accountability mechanisms.
- ***Poverty Reduction:*** Reforming the rule of law is a necessary basis for poverty reduction, as the poor suffer from crime and its effects on their livelihoods appear more than others, while their ability to access justice is less.
- ***Peacebuilding:*** Imposing the rule of law is extremely important in settling disputes and implementing legislation to remove sources of conflict and lift grievances within society.

This means that the rule of law has a pivotal role in reaching the stage of peacebuilding in post-conflict societies.

The process of writing the constitution and building institutions in post-conflict societies will not be feasible if the rule of law is not imposed, and that the existence of the constitution and institutions does not necessarily mean the application of the law, and political parties may play a pivotal role in this regard, both negatively and positively. In Iraq, the law was violated by seizing more than 32,000 residential and commercial buildings, and all the takeovers were carried out by active political parties, influential politicians and militia leaders, without the relevant authorities being able to implement and enforce the law to prevent these abuses[18]. On the other hand, despite the Iraqi constitution prohibiting militias outside the framework of the state, and the political parties law prohibiting the association between the political party and any military force, Iraq has not yet rid of the problem of militia presence[19], even with the existence of the Popular Mobilization Authority Law, which tried to integrate the militias In the armed forces, where there are still militias that are not subject to the law, whether by their behavior outside legal frameworks or by their subordination to a particular political party. This confirms to us once again that the interaction of political parties with the logic of the rule of law in a positive way would strengthen the law, and on the contrary, the government that is composed of political parties will not be able to enforce the law if the political parties themselves are outside the law, especially in the post-conflict phase that is in which loyalty to the sect,

ethnicity or party that has not yet been able to establish the concept of citizenship•[20].

Accordingly, the contribution of political parties to the commitment to the rule of law supports the government's ability to implement the law and implement its policies in all parts of the country as long as all individuals and institutions are subject to the law. That is, political parties can contribute to solving the penetration crisis and achieving political development goals• when they adhere to the rule of law.

IV. The role of political parties in achieving national integration

The concept of national integration refers to the integration of social, economic, ethnic, religious and geographic elements into a single nation-state. This concept includes two main aspects: the central government's control over the territory under its legal sovereignty, and the second basis is the availability of a set of trends among the people towards the concept of the nation, including loyalty and sincerity and prioritizing national interests and considerations over regional, ethnic or personal considerations[21].

If sub-loyalties are not overcome in the process of political development, separatist tendencies will evolve and lead to a crisis of integration unless a sense of a comprehensive national character is created through the unification of independent social, cultural and political entities[22], and the demand for the right to self-determination by ethnic groups becomes a reality as a result of the failure to reconcile the different political and economic values[23], beliefs, and interests, which results in a failure in nation-building, which is a deviation in the path of political development as a result of the failure to solve the integration crisis, which is one of the crises of political development[24].

National integration is one of the most important functions of political parties in countries that suffer from divisions related to ethnic, linguistic, religious, sectarian and regional foundations, or in the event of a social, class or economic rift, where the process of national integration is linked to a higher and greater goal, which is nation-building on the one hand, and state-building on the one hand, in a way that the citizen's first loyalty is directed to the state and not to other

entities that lie below it, such as the sub-identity or above it, such as joining a nation whose part is outside the state[25].

One of the justifications for the existence of a one-party system in a number of third world countries is to achieve national integration, as the ruling political parties in most of the newly independent countries in Asia and Africa have been interested in the two elements of national integration in terms of tightening control over all parts of the state territory, and limiting narrow self-loyalties[26]. From this point of view, the authoritarian one-party system justified the repression that it exercised against tribal, religious and regional parties because of the threat of these parties pose to national integration, and the ruling parties, whether in pluralistic or non-competitive systems, are interested in highlighting national symbols that help to develop a sense of national loyalty and achieve national unity[27].

In the post-conflict phase the issue of national integration is usually dealt with through the constitution. The 1996 South African constitution went to recognize linguistic and cultural pluralism but insisted that the people of South Africa were one and that their cultural and linguistic diversity did not diminish the strength of this people and their unity, although there were calls for the country to be bi-racial or ethnic, the federal units were not formed on the basis of nationality, ethnicity, or language. The Iraqi constitution also recognized national, religious and sectarian pluralism, and made Arabic and Kurdish the official languages, while recognizing the right of other components to teach their children in the Turkmen, Syriac and Armenian languages. But the lesson does not lie in the constitutional texts to achieve national integration. In other words, in Iraq, there is a weak interaction between the political parties, and each of them seeks to achieve its interests separately from other interests, and this may be under the influence of regional countries and other countries that seek to achieve their interests and that do not necessarily correspond to the Iraqi national interest. That is, the interest of one party contradicts the interests of the other parties, and that the Iraqis were not able to combine their interests in one integrated melting pot, and this is what made achieving national integration difficult[28].

Therefore, it can be said that political parties play a prominent role in the post-conflict phase with regard to achieving national integration or not, as post-conflict societies usually contain more than one party that was formed on the basis of a subsidiary identity or became so after the conflict, These parties either agree on a general national framework that preserves unity through diversity, as happened in South Africa, or that these parties keep society fragmented by insisting on adhering to subsidiary identities and preferring them to national identity, as happened in Iraq after 2003, as most of the effective Iraqi parties remained loyal to the sect and to those who share this sectarian identity, even if outside Iraq. Therefore, the Iraqi society was not able to overcome the identity conflict, but until recently there was a killing on identity between the various Iraqi parties.

V. The role of political parties in democracy and political participation

Democracy is one of the conflict management mechanisms in post-conflict societies because it provides an alternative to resorting to violence by allowing free competition over ideas, values, principles and interests that people aspire to within the boundaries of the democratic game, meaning that societal disputes will not be resolved through violence, but will be resorting to a rational mechanism through which each party defends its interests without violating the rights of other citizens, which includes: establishing and joining organizations, freedom of expression, participation in the voting process, holding public office, and that elections are free and fair[29].

It seems that post-conflict societies that are deeply divided on the basis of ethnic or religious identity need another democracy as long as traditional Western-style democracy will not meet the requirements and will not bring stability, because these ethnicities do not secure each other and do not accept any ethnicity to control its affairs by another, even if it was through democracy because of past experiences that led to the conflict between them, and that democracy must be a guarantee of peaceful coexistence, not a means of domination, and as it is so in harmonious societies based on citizenship[30], the matter is different when ethnicity, its values and interests are an existential issue related to

the group and not the individuals. Therefore, in such cases, the different ethnicities should be involved in power without excluding them, because the opposite of that will generate violence and lead the state towards disintegration. The President of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq has stated more than once that they are going towards independence (secession from Iraq) due to the absence of the concept of partnership and the Shiite majority's attempt to exclude the Kurds based on their population majority, which is reflected in the democratic process. Here we are talking about another type of democracy, which is consensual democracy, which may represent a solution to such deeply divided societies, especially in the post-conflict phase to avoid a return to conflict again[31].

Consensual democracy is based on four main characteristics[32]:

a. Existence of an expanded coalition government that includes all spectrums of a pluralistic society.
b. The mutual veto between the components, or the so-called mutual majority.
c. Allocating political positions and administrative positions in state institutions to all components according to their proportional representation.
d. The existence of independence for each component in the transgressive society to manage its own internal affairs, whether through federation or any other similar formula.

There are those who try to search for another formula for the solution represented in removing ethnicity from politics and replacing it with ideology or class as a basis for the formation of multi-ethnic political parties for political action, but ethnicity in divided and post-conflict societies provides a sense of security and confidence in individuals due to the distrust and certainty of strangers to the other ethnic group[33].

Although the Political Parties Law in Iraq prohibits the establishment of political parties on the basis of sectarian fanaticism, the sectarian reality cannot be denied, as Shiite parties win by gaining the votes of Shiite provinces, as well as the case for Sunni and Kurdish parties. Whereas, the experience of South Africa in the transitional period witnessed the formation of a national unity government that included all parties holding a percentage of more than five percent to

ensure the representation of small ethnic minorities and prevent the exclusivity of one party in power and remove the fears of all social-political parties, and thus, the power-sharing experiment was highly successful[34].

Based on the foregoing, political parties are supposed to manage the democratic process in a post-conflict society, taking into account the participation of representatives of all parties representing ethnicities or sects in power in order to be assured of living as partners in one country. Otherwise, relying on majority and minority democracy will result in the exclusion of some parties in a society still suffers from the effects of division, and this may be a sufficient reason to return to the conflict because political parties in divided societies represent a particular ethnicity or sect, especially if the party is of a religious nature.

As for political participation, it is the process in which an individual plays a role in political life and has the opportunity to contribute to setting public goals through appropriate means. The process of political participation takes place through direct political activity, such as an individual holding a political position, organizing a political party, nominating himself in elections, or being satisfied with voting or discussing public issues and participating in political campaigns[35]. On the other hand, participation can take place through indirect political activity, such as interest in knowing political news, standing on public issues, and affiliation with some voluntary organizations interested in raising awareness. Political participation is the basis of democracy, which must grow and develop with the expansion of voting and the right to candidacy, as well as being a means that deepens the sense of responsibility among rulers and the ruled.

The crisis of political participation appears to the surface when an increasing number of citizens are unable to contribute to public life, such as participating in making political decisions or selecting government officials[36]. The seriousness of this crisis lies in the absence of political institutions capable of accommodating the various forces desiring political participation. This negatively affects the political development process, as the low participation rate indicates the

existence of complex social, economic and political problems in society, which are[37]:

a. Existence of severe socio-economic disparity within the community.

b. Low degree of political awareness due to the spread of illiteracy and lack of experience in society.

c. Weak participation in other areas of non-political social life.

d. Weakness or absence of an effective middle social class.

e. The tyranny of the personal element over the political process.

f. Weakness or absence of political organizations that play the role of mediator between the people and the authority, such as political parties, pressure groups and interests.

Political parties can act as a means for collective participation in the management of public affairs, and the multi-party system plays an important role in expanding the political participation of the people. Moreover, this participation is permanent and stable and aims to achieve a specific goal. All of this would increase the participation of individuals in public matters because the parties, through their quest to reach power, seek to push individuals to participate in implementing their programs and obtain their support in the elections through the means available to the political party.

In post-conflict societies, the role of political parties is increasing in mobilizing the masses and pushing them to political participation, especially since each party is trying to obtain the greatest amount of privileges through public support for its programs and policies. In the first electoral process after the fall of the former regime, Iraq witnessed a wide public participation by the Kurds and Shiites in order to obtain gains that were denied them in the previous era. The Kurdish and Shiite political parties have exploited the grievances they were subjected to mobilize the masses and push them to vote for them in their areas of influence. It is important, as was the consolidation of the approach of participation in the political process to correct the political balance in the post-conflict phase by making room for citizens who have suffered from marginalization and exclusion. As a result, this leads to an improvement in the quality of policies and, conversely, the emergence of popular discontent and unrest, paving the way for questioning the legitimacy of the regime and returning to conflict again[38].

VI. The role of political parties in managing conflict within society

Any human society is not free from the existence of conflict within it between individuals and different groups over controversial or competitive issues in which parties seek to impose their logic or preserve their interests, albeit at the expense of the other party. The causes of conflicts within states and societies in general are due to several factors[39]:-

a. Political factors: When the cause of the conflict is over power in order to obtain sources of power and wealth.

b. Economic factors: Such a conflict occurs when there is a conflict of economic interests, whether between different social classes or groups.

c. Cultural factors: They are represented in religious and linguistic differences or values between groups, when each party tries to impose its culture and values on the other parties or the other party[40].

Since politics is the continuation of civil war within society, but by other, less cruel and brutal means of resolving social conflicts, democratic procedures in this way are considered as a favorable expression of disputes, disagreements and quarrels so that discussion replaces fighting and dialogue replaces arms, and that one of the most important functions of politics is to settle conflicting interests. Political parties are one of the most important tools through which problems are identified within society and the search for appropriate solutions to them, and thus contribute to reducing unrest and violence that results from frustration, poverty, discrimination and a sense of alienation and thus generate hatred after failing to achieve the desired goals by individuals or different groups. Here, the role of political parties begins in framing the demands of the masses by setting programs and plans for them, defending them through democratic means, spreading the spirit of tolerance and acceptance of the other, involving the citizen in various aspects of political and social activity to achieve lofty goals that serve the interest of society and achieve its well-being and advancement, instead of resorting to harming others, creating hostilities within society, spreading hatred and grudges, and resorting to violence, which causes instability in society.

VII. The role of political parties in supporting the democratic transition process

The political development of the state gradually led to the crystallization of a set of ideas related to democracy, such as popular sovereignty and political participation, then citizenship. As a result of this development, the political parties expressed their desire to defend these ideas, and were helped in doing so by their growing role in political and societal life, in line with the development of modern political systems, and thus, if parties express the development of political systems, the dynamism of the system on the one hand, and the dynamism of society on the other hand, ultimately leads to the construction of a different partisan pattern from one country to another, and expressive of historical and political circumstances specific to each country. Algeria, like other countries, experienced political development and historical circumstances, which ultimately led it to adopt a unilateral party style, which expressed its historical failure, and ended with the adoption of the idea of pluralistic democracy[41].

Most researchers focused their attention on internal and external factors in studying democratic transformation, but they overlooked the important impact that the development or weakness of the institutional structure has on this transformation, whether in terms of the ability of political parties to carry out their tasks. What is more, we find that all prevailing definitions of democracy belong to a degree Or another to the behavioral school, which reduces the value of institutions and elevates the importance of behavior in explaining political decision-making on the one hand and evaluating the ruling system and its degree of democracy and development on the other hand[42].

Consequently, the classical behaviorists' view of political life contributed to limiting research into the importance and role of parties in democratic transformation, and greatly diverted the mind from studying it with the necessary depth and comprehensiveness, so that we now find little (especially in the Arab library) about studying the role of political parties in supporting democratic transformation, up to and including To increase its effectiveness, which is directed towards its role in political life in general and in supporting democracy in particular[43].

VIII. Challenges and opportunities

Political parties play an important and major role within any political system, especially in the period of democratic transition that follows a radical change in the structure of the political system.

Therefore, the existence of political parties is necessary and indispensable, and it represents a major part of the democratic foundation of any political system, and an important aspect of political legitimacy, satisfaction, and societal consensus. However, political parties in our societies are still unable to carry out any of these main functions.

Finally, the report examines the track record of the international community in working with political parties in conflict-affected contexts. It argues that international actors must move beyond "blueprint" approaches to party support and instead develop more comprehensive and context-relevant responses to the specific challenges that such parties face.

There is growing awareness among international Peacebuilding and state-building actors of the importance of engaging more effectively with political processes and structures in conflict-affected and post-conflict states. Although political parties are frequently at the center of such processes and structures, international actors have generally been wary of working with them beyond limited capacity-building activities, seeing this as a sensitive and high-risk area[44].

Political parties can help build peace. However, they can also fuel antagonism, grievance and conflict. If international Peacebuilding and state building actors are serious about working more effectively with local politics, it is essential that they strengthen their understanding of political parties and the roles they play in relation to conflict and Peacebuilding, as well as rethink how best to engage with them[45].

Conclusion

We can note the important role that political parties can play in the post-conflict phase through the most important functions entrusted to them, which were previously referred to in this research, while giving privacy to the nature of the phase, which is naturally different from the usual situations, As it has been proven historically during the past three centuries, political parties can be effective means of resolving conflicts within societies through making deals and bargaining and conducting polling operations after the military force was the one that resolved disputes between the different parties.

The political parties in post-conflict societies are able to frame the aspirations and desires of the masses and put them within the political process and demand them according to democratic methods, or consensual democracy and the search for compromise solutions away from resorting to the logic of force and the use of violence, and resolving all differences in accordance with dialogue, understanding and political mechanisms, taking into account the interests and values of all parties, and that this would stabilize society and prevent its return to the stage of conflict again. Accordingly, the ability of political parties to manage conflicts in society in a peaceful manner would contribute to creating political stability, and this means solving a crisis of political development through the functions performed by parties in the post-conflict phase.

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• Institution building means the ability to transform public administration institutions into effective, efficient, transparent, accountability-based, innovative, and citizen-oriented institutions to accomplish state tasks, including providing services, goals, and objectives of sustainable development, and promoting public sector capacity development and human resources leadership to support leadership and professional competence, as well as behavior. Ethical and commitment to public service among civil servants.
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• Political stability is the ability of the government of the people to share, access, or compete for power through non-violent political

processes and to enjoy the collective benefits and services of the state. This is based on four conditions necessary to achieve: provision of basic services, management of state resources, civic engagement and empowerment, and political moderation and accountability.

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• Citizenship: is the individual's relationship with the homeland to which he belongs, which imposes constitutional rights and stipulated duties with the aim of achieving common and mutual goals. Positive citizenship is not limited to the citizen's mere knowledge of his rights and duties, but also to his keenness to exercise them through an independent personality capable of deciding matters in his favor this country.

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• The role of parties in the process of sustainable development is referred to as a tool of political development whose effectiveness is measured on the basis

of their ability to carry out the functions assigned to them, such as expressing interests, grouping interests, political socialization, political communication, participation, etc., as they undertake many functions in countries. Democracy, by playing an active role in the field of political upbringing, through which a kind of satisfaction can be achieved for citizens, whether with the prevailing values or ideologies of a political nature, of course, by using several means, including meetings, courses, party conferences, and the media in its various forms.

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السعي لتحقيق الريادة في النشر العلمي المتميز في المحتوى والمضمون والتأثير والمرجعية في مجالات منطقة الشرق الأوسط وأقطاره .

الرسالـــة

نشر البحوث العلمية الأصيلة والرصينة والمبتكرة في مجالات الشرق الأوسط وأقطاره في مجالات اختصاص المجلة وفق المعايير والقواعد المهنية العالمية المعمول بها في المجلات المُحَكَّمَة دوليًّا.

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- نشر البحوث العلمية الأصيلة والرصينة والمبتكرة .
- إتاحة المجال أمام العلماء والباحثين في مجالات اختصاص المجلة في التاريخ والجغرافيا والسياسة والاقتصاد والاجتماع والقانون وعلم النفس واللغة العربية وآدابها واللغة الانجليزية وآدابها ، على المستوى المحلى والإقليمي والعالمي لنشر بحوثهم وإنتاجهم العلمي .
- نشر أبحاث كبار الأساتذة وأبحاث الترقية للسادة الأساتذة المساعدين والسادة المدرسين بمختلف الجامعات المصرية والعربية والأجنبية ٠
- تشجيع ونشر مختلف البحوث المتعلقة بالدراسات المستقبلية والشرق الأوسط وأقطاره ٠
- الإسهام في تنمية مجتمع المعرفة في مجالات اختصاص المجلة من خلال نشر البحوث العلمية الرصينة والمتميزة .

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يسر مركز بحوث الشرق الأوسط والدراسات المستقبلية صدور العدد **(97 – مارس 2024)** من مجلة المركز « **مجلة بحوث الشرق الأوسط** ». هذه المجلة العريقة التي مر على صدورها حوالي 50 عامًا في خدمة البحث العلمي، ويصدر هذا العدد وهو يحمل بين دافتيه عدة دراسات متخصصة: (دراسات قانونية، دراسات تاريخية، دراسات اجتماعية، دراسات علم نفس، دراسات إدارة أعمال ، دراسات اللغة العربية ، دراسات إعلامية، دراسات فنية، دراسات لغوية) ويعد البحث العلمي **Scientific Research** حجر الزاوية والركيزة الأساسية في الارتقاء بالمجتمعات لكي تكون في مصاف الدول المتقدمة.

ولذا تَعتَبر الجامعات أن البحث العلمي من أهم أولوياتها لكي تقود مسيرة التطوير والتحديث عن طريق البحث العلمي في المجالات كافة.

ولذا تهدف مجلة بحوث الشرق الأوسط إلى نشر البحوث العلمية الرصينة والمبتكرة في مختلف مجالات الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية واللغات التي تخدم المعرفة الإنسانية.

والمجلة تطبق معايير النشر العلمي المعتمدة من بنك المعرفة المصري وأكاديمية البحث العلمي، مما جعل الباحثين يتسابقون من كافة الجامعات المصرية ومن الجامعات العربية للنشر في المجلة.

وتحرص المجلة على انتقاء الأبحاث العلمية الجادة والرصينة والمبتكرة للنشر في المجلة كإضافة للمكتبة العلمية وتكون دائمًا في مقدمة المجلات العلمية المماثلة. ولذا نعد بالاستمرارية من أجل مزيد من الإبداع والتميز العلمي.

والله من وراء القصد

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- *Prof. Dr. Thomas Asbridge* — Queen Mary University of London, UK
- *Prof. Ulrike Freitag* — Institute of Islamic Studies, Belil Frie University, Germany

شروط النشر بالمجلة

- تُعنى المجلة بنشر البحوث المهتمة بمجالات العلوم الإنسانية والأدبية ؛
- يعتمد النشر على رأي اثنين من المحكمين المتخصصين ويتم التحكيم إلكترونيًّا ؛
- تقبل البحوث باللغة العربية أو بإحدى اللغات الأجنبية، **وترسل إلى موقع المجلة على بنك المعرفة المصري ويرفق مع البحث ملف بيانات الباحث يحتوي على عنوان البحث باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية واسم الباحث والتايتل والانتماء المؤسسي باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية، ورقم واتساب، وإيميل الباحث الذي تم التسجيل به على موقع المجلة ؛**
- يشار إلى أن **الهوامش والمراجع في نهاية البحث وليست أسفل الصفحة ؛**
- يكتب الباحث **ملخص باللغة العربية واللغة الإنجليزية** للبحث **صفحة واحدة فقط** لكل ملخص ؛
- بالنسبة للبحث باللغة العربية يكتب على برنامج "**word**" ونمط الخط باللغة العربية **"Simplified Arabic"** وحجم الخط **14** ولا يزيد عدد الأسطر في الصفحة الواحدة عن **25** سطر والهوامش والمراجع خط **Simplified Arabic** حجم الخط 12 ؛
- بالنسبة للبحث باللغة الإنجليزية يكتب على برنامج **word** ونمط الخط **Times New Roman** وحجم الخط **13** ولا يزيد عدد الأسطر عن 25 سطر في الصفحة الواحدة والهوامش والمراجع خط **Times New Roman** حجم الخط 11 ؛
- (**Paper**) مقاس الورق (**B5**) 17.6 × 25 سم، (Margins) الهوامش **2.3 سم** يمينًا ويسارًا، **2 سم** أعلى وأسفل الصفحة، ليصبح مقاس البحث فعلي **(الكلام)** 13×21 سم. (Layout) والنسق: (Header) الرأس 1.25 سم، (Footer) تذييل 2.5 سم ؛
- **مواصفات الفقرة للبحث :** بداية الفقرة First Line = 1.27سم، قبل النص= 0.00، بعد النص = 0.00)، تباعد قبل الفقرة = (6pt) تباعد بعد الفقرة = (0pt)، تباعد الفقرات (مفرد single) ؛
- **مواصفات الفقرة للهوامش والمراجع :** يوضع الرقم بين قوسين هلالي مثل : (1)، بداية الفقرة Hanging = 0.6 سم، قبل النص=0.00، بعد النص = 0.00)، تباعد قبل الفقرة = 0.00 تباعد بعد الفقرة = 0.00، تباعد الفقرات (مفرد single) ؛
- **الجداول والأشكال:** يتم وضع الجداول والأشكال إما في صفحات منفصلة أو وسط النص وفقًا لرؤية الباحث، على أن يكون عرض الجدول أو الشكل لا يزيد عن 13.5 سم بأي حال من الأحوال ؛
- يتم التحقق من صحة الإملاء **على مسئولية الباحث** لتفادي الأخطاء في المصطلحات الفنية ؛
- مدة التحكيم 15 يوم على الأكثر، مدة تعديل البحث بعد التحكيم 15 يوم على الأكثر ؛
- يخضع تسلسل نشر البحوث في أعداد المجلة حسب ما تراه هيئة التحرير من ضرورات علمية وفنية ؛
- المجلة غير ملزمة بإعادة البحوث إلى أصحابها سواء نشرت أم لم تنشر ؛
- تعبر البحوث عن آراء أصحابها وليس عن رأي رئيس التحرير وهيئة التحرير ؛
- **رسوم التحكيم للمصريين 650 جنيه، ولغير المصريين 155 دولار ؛**
- **رسوم النشر للصفحة الواحدة للمصريين 25 جنيه، وغير المصريين 12 دولار ؛**
- الباحث المصري يسدد الرسوم بالجنيه المصري (بالفيزا) بمقر المركز (المقيم بالقاهرة)، أو على حساب حكومي رقم : **(9/450/80772/8) بنك مصر** (المقيم خارج القاهرة) ؛
- الباحث غير المصري يسدد الرسوم بالدولار على حساب حكومي رقم : **(EG710001000100000004082175917)** (**البنك العربي الأفريقي**) ؛
- **استلام إفادة قبول نشر البحث في خلال 15 يوم من تاريخ سداد رسوم النشر مع ضرورة رفع إيصالات السداد على موقع المجلة ؛**
- **المراسلات :** توجه المراسلات الخاصة بالمجلة إلى: merc.director@asu.edu.eg

السيد الدكتور/ مدير مركز بحوث الشرق الأوسط والدراسات المستقبلية، ورئيس تحرير المجلة
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ولن يلتفت إلى الأبحاث المرسلة عن طريق آخر.

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