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**The Role of Algerian Diplomacy in Achieving the Palestinian National  
Unity: Algiers Declaration 2022**

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
Master's Degree in Public Policies**

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In the name of God, the most gracious, the most merciful

وَأَنَّ لَيْسَ لِلْإِنْسَانِ إِلَّا مَا سَعَى ﴿٣٩﴾

And that man shall have nothing but what he strives for- (39)

وَأَنَّ سَعْيَهُ سَوْفَ يُرَى ﴿٤٠﴾

And that his striving shall soon be seen- (40)

صدق الله العظيم

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this work to my paradise "mom", who was the primary support for continuing my studies and obtaining my second Master's degree, as well as to my father, who put his trust, and his full confidence in me.

To my brothers (Wael, Koussai, Mohammed), and sisters (Amira, Touka, Assil).

To everyone, who believed in me, and I was the first of them. I dedicate this work to myself.

## **Acknowledgement**

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I also extend my sincere thanks to the administrative and pedagogical staff for their valuable efforts during the five years of study.

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## **Abstract**

This research is entitled “the Role of Algerian Diplomacy in Achieving the Palestinian National Unity; Algiers Declaration in 2022” It is essentially historical, analytical study with political and scientific significance. The study tackles the efforts of the Algerian diplomacy in conducting an agreement between the Palestinian conflicting factions. Therefore, Algeria has recently launched a reunion initiative to restore the Palestinian national unity, which has been destroyed since the 2006 split. The “Algiers Declaration” is the official document which crowned the Palestinian reunification conference, which took place in Algiers in two-day discussions (11<sup>th</sup>to13<sup>th</sup>), October, 2022. This document emphasizes on the same principles of previous initiatives, such as Egyptian and Russian agreements. Moreover, the declaration includes nine articles such as asking the different factions to gather under the PLO’s umbrella concerning it is the sole legitimate representative of Palestinians, and conducting presidential and legislative elections as soon as possible. However, Algeria has received several blessings from a plethora of countries, but it may face a set of challenges, which impede its initiative’s success. Hence, Algeria is recommended to follow mechanisms for a realistic monitoring of the outcomes of the initiative. Additionally, the Palestinian factional leaders’ political will is the crucial element in achieving the Palestinian national Unity, which is considered as the majesty factor for expelling the Israeli occupation.

**Keywords: Algiers Declaration, Algerian Diplomacy, Initiative, Palestinian national Unity, Restore , Split.**

## **List of Acronyms**

<b>DFLP</b>	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
<b>HAMAS</b>	Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyyah
<b>PFLP-GC</b>	The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine –General Commons
<b>PIJ</b>	Palestinian Islamic Jihad
<b>PLO</b>	Palestinian Liberation Organization
<b>PNC</b>	Palestinian National Council
<b>UN</b>	United Nation
<b>UNGA</b>	United National General Assembly

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## **General Introduction**

### **1. Background of the Study**

Algerian diplomacy has adopted a plethora of principles for aiding the enslaved people, such as Palestinians, and bringing them out from the darkness of colonialism. The Algerian Palestinian relationship is long-standing. Algeria consistently advocates for Palestine's freedom, and independence. Thus, Algeria intensifies its efforts to support the Palestinians in their dispute against the Israeli entity and promote the unity within their community by overcoming the intra-Palestinian split. Therefore, Algeria has conducted an initiative to achieve the Palestinian national Unity, known as the "Algiers declaration": an official document emanating from the Palestinian reunification conference. This study attempts to provide an overview of Algerian diplomacy and, Palestinian national Unity and to analyze the articles of Algeria's initiative for achieving Palestinian national reconciliation.

### **2. Aims of the Research**

This study aims to explore the crucial role of Algerian diplomacy in promoting Palestinian national unity. In addition, this study aims to investigate the underlying reasons that led to the "Algerian declaration". Furthermore, it seeks to highlight the potential challenges and opportunities that are linked to this particular initiative.

### **3. Motivations for Research**

The main motivations for this research are to shed light on the issue of Palestinian national unity, including the challenges and obstacles that hinder it and to investigate the potential success's indications and consequences of Algeria's initiative to renew the national unity of Palestine.

#### **4 . Research Questions**

The main question: How can Algeria contribute in achieving the Palestinian national unity through "Algiers declaration "2022?

Additionally, The present study seeks to provide answers to the following questions:

- 1.How did Algerian diplomacy deal with the Palestinian national unity, and what are its most prominent historical stages?
- 2.What are the chances of Algerian diplomacy succeeding in achieving Palestinian national unity?
- 3.What are the main challenges facing Algeria's initiative to achieve Palestinian national unity?

#### **5. Research hypothesis**

To answering the above questions, the following hypotheses are assumed:

- 1.Algerian diplomacy may contributes to shed light on the Palestinian cause internationally
- 2.Algeria would considers the unification of the Palestinian factions as a first step toward the independence of Palestine
- 3.Algeria's obtaining would have the acceptance of all the conflicting Palestinian parties helps in the success of the initiative.

#### **6. Research methodology**

The methodology adopted to conduct the present study is a descriptive-analytical approach based on qualitative research. In this regard, the study has provided an analysis of "Algiers declaration" to grasp the Algerian initiative concerning the intra-Palestinian rift.

## **7. Structure of the Study**

The dissertation is divided into three main chapters: two theoretical and one practical. The first chapter overviews Algerian diplomacy, its determinants, principles, and the major implementations in the Palestinian issue. Furthermore, the second chapter tackles the historical evolution of Palestinian national Unity's concept, the essential Palestinian political system's stages, the resistance factions, and the pivotal reasons behind the Palestinian factional split. Finally, the third chapter analyzes the provisions of the "Algiers declaration" attachment, mentioning the motifs and procedure of the conference, hindered challenges, and the proposed mechanism for the success of the Algerian initiatives.

## **8. Literature Reviews**

Several studies have been conducted on the subject of the role of Algerian diplomacy in the Palestinian issue. It is worth highlighting several studies that have garnered significant attention in this regard to better analyze the present dissertation. The most prominent studies are the following:

The first study is entitled: *Algeria's Role in the Palestinian Cause* in (1962-1978), submitted for obtaining a master's degree, prepared by Lamin Wasila and Kattaf Zeineb. The study conducted a histo-analytical approach to trace and arrange the events chronologically, as well as to analyse the essential Algerian efforts toward the Palestinian cause. The above-mentioned information will aid in conducting the study under investigation, although it focused on the Algerian economic and military diplomacy in the period (1962-1978), whereas the current study will focus on the Algerian diplomacy of principles in solving the Palestinian dispute (2006-2022).

The second study is *the Reality of the Palestinian National Action between Division and Unity* 2006-2017 an analytical study prepared by Moath Ahmad Mohammed Al-Atshan. Although the study overviewed the real possibility of ending the split between Fatah and Hamas during the period (2006-2017), the study assumed that there is an associative relation between

the different factional leaderships and the end of the rift. Therefore, the study will provide the present study with the actual scene of Palestinian national Unity, but the aforementioned study needed to highlight the role of Algerian diplomacy in solving this conflict. Besides, the previous study has manipulated a different period (2006-2017) from the current one (2022).

The third study is *Algerian Policy towards the Palestinian Cause (2006-2016)*, a dissertation submitted to obtain the master's degree prepared by Abdullah Muhammad Sweilem Abu Darbi. It dealt with the influence of Algerian policy on the Palestinian issue during the period (2006-2016). Moreover, it examined the changes in that period and the impacted extent on the Palestinian file. This may provide the present study with an overview of the subject, but it tackled foreign policy, not diplomacy. Thus, it is more general and treats a different period (2006-2016) of the studying one.

## **CHAPTER ONE:**

### **The Algerian Diplomacy**

## Chapter One: The Algerian Diplomacy

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## **Introduction**

The diplomacy is the soft tool in executing the foreign policy, and conducting the international relations. The concept of diplomacy develops throughout the history, but its glorifies in '80s and '90s of the 20th century. However, the diplomacy has a plethora of functions such as presenting, hosting, negotiating, and promoting friendly relation with the hosting States. Accordingly, Algeria draws its diplomacy aftermath the independence, which underlines the primary determinants and principles toward dealing and interference in the global issues such as, the Palestinian cause. Since 1948, Algeria sports, fosters, and defenses about the Palestinian rights and freedom. In this sense, the first chapter overviews the concept of diplomacy and its functions; it focuses on the Algerian diplomacy, mainly its determines, principles, and its implementation in the Palestinian file.

### **1.1 Definition of Diplomacy**

The concept of diplomacy has originated from the Greek word , "Diploo", which means "folded into two", and the suffix "ma" means an object. Thus, the term indicates the documents which kings, princes and nobles hold with. The '80s and '90s have been the golden age of international relations among states. This period witnessed a plethora of agreements which attempted to settle problems as well as to conduct peace through negotiation such as the "peace of Westphalia" in 1648 (Westhill,2006).

In fact, there is no consensus upon the definition of diplomacy. Diplomats, authors, politicians and even philosophers defined it from the angle of his knowledge. The German diplomat, Ernest Mason Satow, asserts that the peaceful conduct of relations between states is called diplomacy. In this, diplomatic function must be completed (Barratt, 1985). Accordingly, he stresses that the diplomatic exchanges are highly required for smart, peaceful, and soft



applications between nations for conducting relations, business, and even solving troubles in friendly contexts (Satow,1922).

John Adam Watson, a British International theorist and researcher , defines in his book: "*The Dialogue Between States*" (1982), diplomacy as "negotiation of political entities which acknowledge each other's independence" (p.5). Hence, negotiation is a cornerstone in conducting diplomacy and it is an official acknowledgment among nations.

Henry Kissinger, an American diplomat, geopolitical consultant, and politician, added a crucial opinion to the definition of diplomacy. He acknowledges "diplomacy is a new world order and modern diplomacy is the balance of power between the forces of war and peace"(Kissinger, 1994.p.710). In the same vain, the French politician Armand Jean Du Plessis de Richelieu greatly contributed in the evolution of diplomacy theory and he emphasizes on the necessity to make a stable relations as salient actor in diplomacy ( Marks,2019)

From a philosophical viewpoint, Niccolo' Di Bernardo Machiavelli asserts that the existence of diplomacy is important for a nation to keep power and create a reputation on the international level. He explains, in his book titled "*The Prince*"(1532), that diplomacy is a means to cheat and make hypocrisy among states as well as he considers diplomacy as a new policy.

In all, diplomacy can be defined as an art of conducting, persuading, making and creating negotiation among states. Thus, it is considered as a peaceful face to settle down political insurmountable between disputing countries and powers. Diplomacy uses negotiations as the focal, salient, crucial feature conducting peace as well as settling and solving disputes which occur between nations

## **1.2. Functions and Roles of Diplomacy**

The diplomacy firmly aimed to upkeep, maintain and, foster peaceful relations among nations through playing vital rule and performing such varieties of functions. Accordingly, the

Vienna conventions on diplomatic relations in 1961 was highly created, explained and clarified five functions of diplomacy in conducting, keeping and existing of peaceful friendly communication between countries (Wickremasinghe,2010) .

The aforementioned functions are presented in ceremonial or symbolic functions, representations, negotiations, reporting and protecting of interests. However, some scholars such as (Berridge,1995) and (O'Callaghan, 2002) have divided the functions of diplomacy into two salient functions ; communication and negotiation and intelligence gathering, image management and policy implementation.

Moreover, the functions of diplomacy in conducting peace among or with nations are carried out by diplomats. Generally, they are undertaken to perform, present and be responsibly resolving disputes without force. Hook (2005) declares the sending diplomats are responsible to be as eyes and ears of their home state as well as they are required to provide their government with the updated information about the receiving nation. Therefore, according to article 3 of Vienna convention of 1961 on diplomatic relations, the functions of diplomatic mission consists of the following points.

### **1.2.1. Representation**

Diplomats are official representatives of the interests of their state. They represent, express and even communicate with other diplomats of the receiving state. Without communication, international relations would be destroyed as well as wars may invade the world (Shaw,2008).Thus, a diplomat must be an expert generalist in order to represent the sending state effectively and win the support of the interlocutors (Siddiqui & Alam, 2009,pp.6-7), the diplomatic representation should include ceremonial, symbolic, legal, and political representations.

### **1.2.2. Protection Rights**

The limitations of the International law clarify how diplomats are requested to protect the sending state's people living in a receiving nation. In fact, diplomats are responsible to protect citizens, property and interests of people living abroad. It is their duty even to prevent any kind of insult, apartheid and discrimination which the state may expose them to. Essentially, their work lay in providing security, reconciliation and a peaceful coexistence among people from different nations and origins. Therefore, the protection of interest is considered as the "bedrock of the practice of diplomacy" (Satow,1979,p.114) .

### **1.2.3. Negotiation**

Negotiation is a diplomatic underpinning. Hence, the diplomats are negotiators who attempt to deliver peaceful messages from the parent nation to the host nation. Additionally, contacting negotiation can play an influential role in the negotiation course as G.R.Benridge (2001) confirms that negotiation "can produce the advantages obtainable from the cooperative pursuit of common interests; and it is only this activity that can prevent violence from being employed to settle remaining arguments over conflicting now ones" (p.1).Negotiations upkeep, secure and avoid conflicts among states as well as protect home states' rights and property.

### **1.2.4. Reporting**

Diplomats are highly required to report, gather and collect all information by lawful tools or advice according to the condition, requirements and developments of the receiving nation for the sending's high authority. They are paving the way for their native State's foreign minister to analyze the collected data for drawing, deciding, and determining which foreign policy should enact. Hence, Ameri (2009) asserts "the gathering of information and subsequent identification and evaluation of the receiving State's foreign policy goals" (p.1).Moreover, reporting or gathering information should involve observation of political, military, social and even the

economic conditions of nations in order to provide the home country with essential, important and crucial data.

### **1.2.5. Promoting Friendly Relations**

The diplomats promote, foster, and activate the cultural, commercial, economical and scientific exchange among both States. These exchanges have highly contributed to enhance, build and construct friendly relations between two given countries. Ameri (2009) confirms that diplomacy is expansion of political, economic and cultural ties between two states (p.2).

All in all, diplomacy plays a crucial, vital and focal role in conducting relations among states as well as settling peace in the world. Chiefly, representation, protection, negotiation, reporting, and promoting friendly relations among both home and host states are fundamentally the five functions of diplomacy.

## **1.3. The Determinants of Algerian Diplomacy**

### **1.3.1. Geographical Determinants**

Geography is highly considered as a primary, permanent and financial factor in determining the diplomatic exchanges among nations as well as it plays a pivotal, focal and principal role in shaping the external position of such a country in a regional and the international systems. Nowadays, even the technological, communicational evolution and modern war have strongly minimized its importance but its impact still exists (Duverger,2009,p.61-62).Algeria owns a privileged, diverse and strategic location where it mediated four continents: Africa, Europe, Asia and America as well as it is related to both the northern and Southern sides of Mediterranean sea. Its openness on the Mediterranean with its stretch in Africa has made it a link between Africa and Europe. As a result , Algeria has become a majestic path for all merchant ships from and to a variety of international regions. Thus, Algeria has significantly contributed in international trade ( Elaib, العايب ,2011,p.28).

### **1.3.2. Human Determinant**

Human determination includes the human resources of such nations as well as their diverse human characteristics according to their volume and distribution. These human resources are basically linked to the availability of natural, technological capacity that allows nations to benefit from population size. Human resources do not directly impact the diplomacy of countries unless it's related to other factors. From that point, population's scholars declare that the appropriate population size is which maintain the balance between population and the available economic resource (Duverger,2009,p.55).

In the Algerian case, the demographic outcome revealed the result of the statistics of the national office of statistics that Algeria reached 22.6 million people in 1987 and increased in 2008 approximately to 33.9 million (Youcef, يوسف,2014,p.150-151). In 2014, it reached about 39 million people according to the figures of the national office of statistics. The natural ratio has started to increase since 2009 by 19.2% in 2009, 20.3% in 2010 and 20.4% in 2011. As for the 2015 statistics, they indicated that the total population has reached nearly 40 million. (Kharez, خراز, 2019) .

### **1.3.3. Economic determinants**

Economical determinants are generally embodied in natural energy resources such as oil, gas, coal and nuclear material. Additionally, food resources such as wheat and barley cotton and cereal (Salim, سليم, 1998,p.155). Hence, Algeria owns a huge amount of natural resources which enhance conducting multi, variety and huge commercial exchanges at the regional and international level.

Accordingly, the Meghribian commercial exchange was clearly reflected in the cooperation situation among them. To mention but a few, the structural changes in commerce was inevitably subjected to the political mood of this stage. Therefore, it was highly weakened

during 1964 to 1970. It presented about 1.67% of total imports and 1.25% total exports to the Maghribian nations. Moreover, in 1964, the total exports dramatically decreased from 37 million to 26 million in 1966 whereas it was raised to reach 38 million in 1970 (Bakhouch, بخوش, 2011,p.143-145).

#### **1.3.4. Military Determinants**

The military or army institution generally has played a pivotal role in determining the diplomatic dealings among countries. It depends on the kind of governments where it's necessary to analyze the relation between different sides whether civil or military in a totalitarian or democratic system. Consequently, whenever the state has solid, strong and huge military power, it is highly facilitated to make its own national decision as well as it is considered as an obvious indication about the nation's greatness and the awareness (Tachtouche, طشطوش, 2014,p.58). In the same vein, the military factor has had a crucial role in the Algerian diplomatic relations. Thus, it significantly encouraged Algeria to develop its military policy as well as exploited its firm relations and the cooperation with the expert Nations as China to create, build and construct such a great military power. (Hetty, حتي, 1985,p.204).

#### **1.4. Principles of the Algerian Diplomacy**

Algeria has inspired its foreign policy according to the basics, mainstays and the principles that aim to contribute in the enhancement of the colonized world where people enjoy their liberty, independence, justice and sovereignty. Besides, Algerian diplomacy is highly based on rules and principles of international law rules to draw its own principles at both regional and international levels. In the same vein, Algerian diplomacy is firmly attached to the aforementioned law as well as the articles of the Constitution that are considered as the primary source for Algerian diplomacy.

Meanwhile, the Algerian diplomacy has shaped its own principles based on the charters contributing to the outbreak of Algerian Revolution November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1954, the platform of Soummam in 1956, the program of Tripoli 1962, the charter of Algiers in 1964 and the national charter of 1976. The aforementioned charters are mainly involved in the cornerstone of Algerian diplomacy principles. Accordingly, Algerian independence is highly considered as a huge blow to French colonialism and stimulates other dependent nations to reject this domination.

After the independence, Algeria has been considered as the Mecca of revolutionaries. Thus, it became a contributor, motivator and foster for colonial countries to fight against and attack as well as demand their freedom's rights (Malek,1995).In 1963, the Algerian Constitution declared that in its second article: "Algeria is an integral part of the Arab, Maghreb, Arab world and Africa" (Discours Du Président Boumediene: 19 Juin 1965-19 Juin 1970. Tome II, 1970).Thus, Algerian diplomacy was intended in Megribian , African and Arabian issues such as Saharan, Malian and Palestine struggling to gain their independence.

The Algerian Constitution of November 28<sup>th</sup>,1996 was considered as the official document declares that "the foreign policy is the reflection of the internal policy. It is worth noting that the historical and the ideological heritage of revolution mainly appeared in Algerian diplomacy principles"(Algerian Constitution,1996).Accordingly, Algeria has five main principles;

#### **1.4.1. Respect of the Frontiers Inherited from Colonization**

After independence, Algeria sought to delineate its borders with neighboring countries in order to apply the principles of good neighborliness, especially when the first border problem occurred between Algeria and Morocco; according to the agreement of Tlemcen 27/05/1970 then the Rabat treaty on 15/06/1972.

After these both treats, the Algerian-Moroccan conflict has been solved. Immediately after that, Algeria has turned to demarcation its frontiers with other neighboring countries. Therefore,

it signed an agreement with Tunisia on 06/01/1970, additionally to an agreement with Mauritania on 13/12/1983 as well as with Niger on 05/01/1983. Approximately, after three months, Algeria signed another agreement with Mali on 08/05/1983 (Elaib, العايب,2011,p.29).

Concerning the Algerian-Libyan boundaries, it has already delineated according to the French-Libyan treaty in 1856. In the same vein, Algeria aims to embody the principle of "good neighborliness" as well as to eradicate all the reasons of dispute. Additionally, Algeria sanctified respectful, peaceful and positive relationships around and abroad its boundaries .

#### **1.4.2. Support of Self-Determination**

Supporting people to achieve their self-determination is highly considered as a primary element in the Algerian concept of "good neighborliness". Thus, according to all characters of regional and international organization as well as Algeria inspires this principle from its long, historical and violent struggle against all kinds of occupation. According to 88 article from the Algerian constitution in 1976"achieving the targets of African unity's organization as well as advancement of people's continent is considered as a continue of the Algerian revolution's policy" (p.16)

Algeria has practiced this principle with Mauritania when Morocco wants to include it. Also, it has been used with Tunisia when faced a foreign harassment. Nowadays, Algeria still supports, prompts and fosters colonized people to attain their self-determination as Saharawi people and Palestine issue.(Salim, سليم,2011 ).

#### **1.4.3. Fostering the Non Interference in Countries' Sovereignty and Internal Affairs**

Algerian foreign policy adopts, commits and adheres with the principles of the United Nations and regional organizations which belong to them, for instance African unity's organisation, the Arab League and others (Algerian Constitution,1989).Hence, the principle of respect for both neighbour countries' sovereignty and independence cannot be obtained unless a



couple of primary conditions are pluperfect; the first, refrain from using forces and power or threaten the regional safety as well as the political independence of neighbouring nations. Secondly, the acknowledgment of neighbouring countries' sovereignty means, there is neither control nor requisition. ( Kadjali, قجالي, 1990,p.175).

#### **1.4.4. Unwavering Solidarity with Neighbouring Countries**

Since the independence arena, Algeria has strongly supported movements which fight for unity as well as has shown huge solidarity with them, especially African countries that are still under the occupation. This solidarity was effectively depicted by the pivotal role which Algeria played as "president of 29<sup>th</sup> session of United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 1974 in the expulsion of apartheid regime regime from United Nation (UN) general assembly and also in the invitation of the president of Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) to address the (UNGA) (UN Security Council Candidate 2024-2025, 2022).

#### **1.5. The Implementation of the Algerian Diplomacy in Palestinian Issue**

For almost a century, Algeria could not have any lawful, legitimate and rightful interaction towards the outside or international issues due to the French colonization. It is regarded as an isolated nation. Therefore, it was impossible to make any contribution to Palestinian issue. Even so, Algeria was dramatically struggled to gain its independence from the French occupation. Algerian constitution is highly asserted that "Algeria has an ideological duty to assist, and conditionally and comprehensively, people fighting for their independence" ( Fédération de France Au C. N. R. A. Projet de Programme: Session de Tripoli, Mai- Juin 1962, 1962,p88).

After the independence, Algeria's first president Ahmed Ben Bella declared that "our peoples' independence is bogus unless Palestine is liberated"(Khalifa, خليفة, 1985,p.205).The aforementioned speech depicted the solid, deep and strong link between both Algerian and Palestine people. Moreover, in the president Houari Boumedienne's mandate, Algerian

diplomacy has been adopted the principal of assisting the colonized and oppressed people to be free from all kinds of occupation and the torture especially Palestine people. He stated that:

"The Palestinian question is part of Algeria's anti-colonist fight and effort against the imperialist zone of influence in the Middle East. Our policy is well-defined and is based upon the objective analysis of the factors that are of the origins of the Palestine invasion and the occupation of the Arab territories. it also stems from Algeria's revolutionary experience and understanding of specific circumstances, including the international situation"( Discours Du Président Boumediene: 19 Juin 1965-19 Juin 1970 Tome· I, 1970, p.483)

Accordingly, Boumedienne explained the Algerian vision towards supporting both security ups and the world. Hence, in the middle east region, there are two major concerns which Algeria has been interested in; the former was the intentions of Zionism to occupy the Arab world and the latter was the eradication of Palestinian identification . Houari Boumedienne was well-known for his famous saying "with Palestine whether oppressed or oppressor "(Balta & Rulleau,1978,p.286).

All in all, Algerian diplomacy's role towards the Palestine issue was comprehensively manifested in its status at the international forums, starting from the Arab summit conference in Algeria in 1973 then the African unity's organization to Non-Aligned movement to the United Nation.

In November 1973, Algiers held one of the most crucial Arab summits which was hosted and presented by the president Houari Boumedienne. The summit shed light on the diversity of issues especially the Palestinian one where it has been considered as an official acknowledgment of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) as a legitimate representative of Palestinian citizens. He admitted that: "Algeria, in truth, had called for the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the PLO as the only representative of Palestinian people at the Algiers summit and

it reasserted it during the Arab summit in Rabat"( Khitaab Al-Raiis Huwāri Boumedienne, 1973,p.326).

Moreover, after the October war in 1973, the PLO became " an observant member" in the African Unity's organization even though it has been considered as an Asian issue. Boumedienne believed that the Palestinian struggle shared common targets with the African liberation movement, both of them seeking for human dignity, self-determination as well as independence.

Therefore, Algeria sought to raise its diplomatic representation in Africa. In 1968, it owned only three embassies in Tanzania, Nigeria and Ghana (Mouchoukhi, المشوخي, 1972,p.441). In the meantime, after a few years, Algeria owned more than 13 embassies such as in Uganda, Senegal and..ect (Naoufel, نوفل, 1971,p.208-209). These help Algeria to gain more support and aid for the Palestine cause in Africa.

Concerning the United nation, Algeria highly defended Palestine's issue especially in 1974 when Algeria became head of the general assembly of the United nation in its 29th session. Besides, the Algerian diplomacy has firmly condemned the Israeli conquest practices and has considered it as a racist movement.

On the other hand, Algeria acknowledged the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The aforementioned acknowledgment had made Palestine as "an observant member" in the general assembly since that day till now.(Speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs under President Houari Boumediene Rule, Abd Al-Aziz Boutfliqa, 1965)

Noticeably enough, since the independence Algerian diplomacy was well-known by its unconditional support to the world people who suffer from colonization and occupation especially the Palestine issues where Algeria viewed that there was a resemblance among both Palestine's revolutionary approach and the venerable revolutionary flavour that featured the history of Algeria.

## **Conclusion**

Since the independence, Algeria sought to draw its diplomacy, and depicted its determinants whether military, economic, human, and geographical ones. Furthermore, Algeria has adopted the diplomacy of principle, which enabled it to express its opinion and unconditional support to countries under the colonization. The Algerian-Palestinian relation is strong, solid and historic. Algeria was always encouraging the Palestinian in their unfair struggle against the Zionist. Therefore, it supported Palestinian through conducting forums, summits and conferences. For instance, the last conference for achieving Palestinian national unity in Algeria in 2022.

## **CHAPTER TWO :**

### **Palestinian National Unity**

## Chapter Two : Palestinian National Unity

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## **Introduction**

The Palestinian issue divides into two parts the first, the Palestinian-Israeli struggle; the second the inter-Palestinian conflict. However, the liquidation of the Israel occupation highly requires at the end of the latter conflict. hence, these can be happen only through real Palestinian national Unity. in this sense, chapter two tackles the evolution of the Palestinian national unity's concept in Palestinian history as well as, it overviews the stages of Palestinian political systems, and Palestinian resistance factions, which are mainly categorize into two groups: nationalists and Islamists, each one is an umbrella term for several of factions. Moreover, this chapter sheds light on tension paths between the two categories and the pivotal reasons behind their split.

### **2.1. Palestinian National Unity**

Palestinian nationality has been a long standing presence in Palestinian scene, dating back to the British mandate or at the end of the ottoman empire. In1918, Palestinians created a Muslim-Christian association in their various cities. Moreover, this association allowed the Jewish community to exist alongside (Abderkader,عبد القادر,2006.p259).The aforementioned association is considered as a branch of the Palestinian National Front, given the absence of political parties as result of the occupation.

This initiative marked a significant stride toward Palestinian national Unity, but it also marked the beginning of waves of Zionist immigrations. In 1936, the Palestinian launched a revolution against both British occupation and Israeli attacks, which entailed a series of demonstrations, protests and even strikes, such as the general strike, which aimed to dissuade British support for the discrimination movement (Kadi,1969,p.11).

However, the previous attempts were not successful in developing a clear and effective concept of the Palestinian national Unity. It precisely expressed the socio-history of the Palestinian State as well as the exceptional conditions which obliged all branches to relinquish their intellectual differences to achieve the standard, shared, and the national target.Between1948

and 1964, a plethora of Palestinian national forces emerged in Jordan and established a short-lived front. For instance, in 1950 the national front had been founded in Jordan but it did not obtain the government license (Abderkader, عبد القادر, 2002,pp 210-223).

Furthermore, in 1964 the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was established and it was the sole legitimate representative for the Palestinian people. Therefore, the PLO's mandate significantly impacted the Palestinian national Unity, especially after the 4th session of the national council in Cairo which marked a turning point for the PLO's path. Consequently, the PLO allowed the commando action organization to enter the national council as well as impose their presence and influence on military, organizational, and political fields (Abderkader, عبد القادر, 2006, p.264)

After the vulnerable, catalyst, and historic victory in the battle of Karamah in 1968, the guerillas group " Fedayeen" became a joint the PLO (Barahman, 2014, p.13). Moreover, this joint is considered as a milestone in Palestine national Unity, as it marked the end of the traditional impact of the Arab system, whereas the onset of Palestinian armed struggle. In this context, the PLO commented that "to declare Palestinian identity no longer means that one is the "refugee" or second class citizen. Rather, it is a declaration that arouses pride because the Palestinian has become a Fedayeen or a revolutionary who bears arms" (Sayigh, 1997, p.195).

It is worth noting that, throughout history, Palestinian people sought for collective, organized, and effective fronts that gather under it. Besides, the emergence of PLO brings a hope for activating the national unity, expelling the occupation, and obtaining their freedom and rights regardless of their different intellectual, ideological or religious thoughts.

However, despite efforts and initiatives to unify conflicting factions, such as the recent attempt by Algeria, the reality is that the Palestinian national Unity remains trapped in slogans and conferences. All in all, the reconciliation among these factions is crucial for embodying, achieving, and activating the Palestinian national unity.



## **2.2.Overview of Palestinian Political System**

Based on the discussion in the previous section, it is vital for Palestinian national unity to be well-established, organized and explains its political system, to effectively represent people and govern the state because the system's capacity to gather and convey the voice of the people is also of paramount importance. Therefore, the Palestinian political system has encountered significant challenges and undergone transformational phases that have shaped its current form.

### **2.2.1. The First Phase (19 48 -1967)**

During the first year of occupation, there was no established Palestine political system in Palestine. It was just a random and arbitrary attempt made by the displaced refugees who tried to get back some of their lost possessions and properties. This gave rise to significant political activity, and various ideologies surfaced in 1952, which in turn fueled the resistance movement. For instance, in the same year more than 1,533 operations have been carried out by the Jordanian side; moreover, in 1953, the operations become more aggressive, effective and well-organized with the involvement of a newly-formed, military organization called "Fedayeen" (Mohcen,p.236). In the same vein, from 1948 to 1956, the West Bank and Gaza Strip established a plethora of political groups that increased the death toll in Israel by approximately 1,176(Mohsen, 2005,p.237).

The above-mentioned damages to infrastructure and people forced Israel to respond aggressively by making excessive massacres, such as in Qibya, the Qalqilya, and Gaza to compel the Arab leaders to cease attacks by the Fedayeen. As a result, the last massacres forced the Egyptian leader "Djamel Abdel Nacer " to formulate the first Palestine military and political organization PLO(Mohsen, 2005,p.237).

Furthermore, a group of young activists became frustrated with the rhetoric and meaningless talk of Arab Unity and decided to take matters into their own hands and retrieve their rights. Therefore, they launched more than 200 attacks against the Zionist between 1965 and 1967 (Mohsen, 2005,p.237).Overall, this phase has been characterized by the emergence of

some milito-political activities and organizations, such as Fedayeen and the PLO, which sought to establish a concrete and effective political system.

### **2.2.2. The Second Phase(1967-1993)**

Following the Arab defeat in 1967, the Palestinian political sphere dramatically shifted from Arab Unity to Palestinian Unity. Therefore, the 1967 defeat decreased The credibility of the PLO among Palestinians. Particularly after the impressive at victory at Al Karama battle in 1968 (Kadi,1969,p.25)Additionally, the aforementioned triumph gained widespread support and was viewed as the last hope for independence. In contrast, the authority, particularly the Jordanian government, experienced a significant decline after signing a peaceful settlements agreement for the Arab- Israeli struggle on November 2nd, 1967 (Kadi,1969,p26).

As a result of these new authentic and national circumstances, the PLO rationally recognized its dominance and legitimacy as the only representative of Palestine. Thus, the PLO became an umbrella organization which gathered all the Palestinian groups(Sayigh,1997,p.101). This step created a new political system which the PLO entitled as "the quota system", this system entails that each faction leader was responsible for negotiating their assignments and remained in charge of their respective factions(Hilal, 1993,p.55).

The 1980s has witnessed another political shift, especially when the Arab frontline countries' closed their borders to Palestine resistant. Thus, the PLO became a democratic organization even though it had established its headquarters in Tunisia, it seemed a meaningless step due to the distance to the occupation (Mohsen, 2005, p.241).

Meanwhile, the PLO's fighters dispersed around countries such as Jordan, Syria, and Algeria, attempting to revive the military resistance again. Conversely, the Islamic Trend emerged in the world and was influenced in Palestine under the name "Hamas" and the "Palestinian Islamic jihad"(Mohsen, 2005,p.241).

However, the circumstances fostered the Palestinian people to take offensive action to pave the way for the uprising of "the first intifada" on 8th December 1987, which lasted until 1993

under the Oslo agreement (“The Origins and Evolution of the Palestinian Problem: Part5(1989-2000),” 2014,p.271).

All in all , the second phase was characterized by the political change within PLO, in which it became the sponsor for Palestinian factions. This period also witnessed the emergence of the Islamic trend, which contributed to the outbreak of the stone uprising, “first intifada”.

### **2.2.3. The Third Phase(1993-Now)**

In the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Middle East has historically witnessed the first peaceful agreements between Palestinians and Israel. Hence, "the Oslo accords", which were announced in September 1993, provided Israel and the PLO with mutual recognition and also authorized the creation of a ruling Palestinian Authority(PA) in some areas of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank in 1994 (“Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area,” 1994).

Meanwhile, this agreement was considered as an official acknowledgement for Palestinian authority autonomy from the Zionists. In this regard, the PA has established a reference to the PLO(Moubark, مبارك,1997,p.49).It was necessary to establish a democratic government that would accurately represent the Palestinian political system; however, it indicated the marginalization of PLO's organs. Most notably, the Palestinian national council (PNC) was not consulted or given the opportunity to approve the agreement between Israel and the PLO that led to the establishment of the PA (Brown, 2003).

Despite efforts towards peaceful settlements, movements such as Islamic Jihad and Hamas continued their military resistant struggle. Yasser Arafat was killed in November 2004 after the PLO dominated the PA for three decades, and this death contributed significantly to Hamas's rising power and force. Moreover, Hamas won the parliamentary election in 2006, which was considered a surprising victory because of its independence from the PLO. Consequently , a fully- scale broke out between the PLO, which ruled the West Bank and Hamas that established its own government in Gaza Strip (Kabha,2014,p.7).

Therefore, the Palestinian political system became divided, fragmented and dispersed since there are two official authorities, each claiming to be the legitimate representative of the political system. It is worth noting that the Palestinian political system historically witnessed three critical stages: each has its own intrinsic, heated and different. The first concluded in some random military movement to defend their right with tangible organization; this was continuous till 1964 when the PLO was founded and considered as the Palestinian's legitimate representative. The second was distinguished by joining a plethora of political movements, such as Fedayeen into PLO's umbrella. Moreover, the third one was well-known as the "Oslo Accords" , considered as the peaceful agreements between Israel and the PLO. It was the spark for the Palestinian split. Hence, it divided the Palestinian territories into the Nationalist' West Bank and the Islamist 'Gaza Strip.

### **2.3. Palestinian Resistance Factions**

Factionalism refers to the interactions and rivalry among the numerous Palestinian resistance ideological groups, including Nationalists and Islamists Factionalism is most evident and pertinent in the war between the Nationalists and Islamists. The former supporters and members in the West Bank fear intimidation and arrest; this explains the fact they maintain a very low profile in the terms of their political allegiance (Hoigilt, 2015,p.460).Palestine factions have evolved into sophisticated civil, military, and political entities, with many of which supporting either Palestinian Nationalists or Islamists.

#### **2.3.1. Nationalist**

This category is mainly presented by PLO, which is highly considered as the mother organization for a plethora of factions.

#### **2.3.2. Background on the PLO**

On August 24th, 1929 Muhammad Abdel-Raouf named Yasser Arafat in the press. He established the League of the Palestinian students while he was a student in 1944, and he later

graduated with an engineering degree from King Fuad University. Arafat served in the Egyptian army as a demolition during the 1956 Suez war between Egypt, Britain, France and Israel. He participated in the establishment of the Palestinian National Liberation movement, popularly known as "Fatah" in 1957; as soon as Fatah joined the Palestinian Liberation Organization(PLO) that has been legally founded in 1964, it took control of the movement. Besides, Arafat was appointed the executive leader of the PLO in 1969.

Moreover, the PLO is a diverse organization that represents Palestinian throughout the world. It is headed by an executive committee of 18 people elected by a central council of 124 members. Hence, it is chosen by the (PNC) 400 members since the PNC is the PLO's top decision-making body(Pina,2005,p.3).

The PLO has been a prominent organization since 1964, with various leaders throughout its history. The first was Ahmed Shuqairi from 1964 to 1967, followed by Yahya Hamouda from 1967 to 1969. The third leader was Yasser Arafat, had a long tenure, and the fourth one is Mahmoud Abbas, who considered as the second leader of PLO after Arafat due to his long leadership period. Abbas remains the executive leader of PLO despite his constitutional mandate expiring after the Palestinian split in 2006. Furthermore, the PLO alliance has included a variety of diverse factions, each with its own renowned founders and organizational structure. Some of the leaders of these PLO member factions have been rivals or competitors of others(Katzman,2002).

### **2.3.2.1. Fatah Party**

Fatah was a significant source of power for Arafat's within the PLO, and it continued to hold influence on the political scene in the lands under Abbas. Hence, the founders of Fatah preferred a specific Palestinian national over general Arab nationalist philosophy(Pina,2005,p.3).In the same vein, until the 1990's, Fatah officially sanctioned political violence against Israel as part of their Nationalist ideology, utilizing three militant Fatah's wings : Force17,Tanzim, and Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades(Pina,2005,p.4).

### **2.3.2.2 . The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine -General Commons**

(PFLP-GC) separated from PFLP was founded by Dr.George Habbash in 1968(Pina,2005,p.5). Moreover, a Marxist party withdrew from the PLO following the Oslo Accords, claiming it wanted to focus on fighting rather than politics(Katzman, 2002,p.2). Thus, PFLP-GC is presently led by Ahmed Jibril, a member of a Damascus-based faction politically aligned with Syria and a Marxist organization that has ceased its participation in the PLO(Pina,2005,p.4).Additionally, PFLP-GC achieved notoriety in the 1970's for a series of hijacking operations led by Wadi Haddad. Fatah has been seeking reconciliation with the PFLP(not GC) and other "leftists" since 1999. Thus, in 2005 Abbas hunted for possible collaborations between Fatah and PFLP to counter Hamas's rising political legitimacy (Amayreh, 2005).

### **2.3.2.3. Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)**

Following a leadership conflict within the PFLP, the DFLP was an ideological Marxist - Maoist group that emerged in 1969, that is currently led by Nayef Hawatmeh. Based on the PLO political agenda, the DFLP grossly conceptualized a democratic Palestinian state (both States' solution with the same rights).

In brief, the nationalist movement in Palestine has been heavily influenced by Arab nationalism and has adapted its principles accordingly. Thus, it was firmly represented through PLO, which was considered as the sole national representative of different segments of the Palestinian people. As a result, a plethora of parties have been known as a part of the aforementioned organization despite their different ideologies such as the PFLP, which focused on fighting more than politics. Additionally, the DFLP is a Marxist group that sought to promote democracy and protect the rights of struggling states based on the agenda of PLO.

### **2.3.3. Islamists**

The Islamists categories are highly adopted by a couple of movements which embraced the Islamic ideology for demanding their freedom rights as well as fighting and struggling against Zionists.

#### **2.3.3.1. Hamas**

Hamas is an acronym for Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyyah (the Islamic Resistance Movement) ; it was created as a Palestinian branch of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in 1987. Hence the first intifada in 1987 highly contributed to the emergence of Hamas by Sheikh Ahmed Yasin. Additionally, Hamas was established to liquid Israel's occupation and found an Islamic Nation. In opposition to Fatah, Hamas rejected the prospect of a two-State solution( Mishal & Sela, 2007) .

Over the last three decades, Hamas has been well- organized; thus, it provided the Palestinian with social, educational, food, healthy care, and military protection. As a result, from 2000 to 2005, Hamas' military offshoot perpetrated attacks on Israeli citizens and soldiers, accounting for more than 40% of Israeli casualties (Jaeger et al., 2015). These attacks were implemented by Hamas's military wing the Izz Eddin al-Qassam. Thus, the military orientation of Hamas promotes the creation of other movements which share the same Islamic jihad concept.

#### **2.3.3.2. Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)**

PIJ is the sister-movement to Hamas, which calls for conflict with Israel to establish a Palestinian theocracy. PIJ was founded by Fathi Shiquaqi in the mid-1980s, whereas militarily developed after Oslo, Accords the PIJ refused a diplomatic relationship and settled peace with Israel. Since 1993, both current Hamas and PIJ have supported violence against Israel and called Islamization in either the West Bank or in Gaza Strip. because they shared similar ideological tendencies(Pina,2005,p.6).

All in all , Hamas and the PIJ are Islamic movements that seek to liberate Palestine territories from Israeli occupation as they refused the two-State solution. In addition, they considered the Zionists as the enemies of Islam. Therefore, Islamists caused significant financial losses as well as a considerable amount of facilities for Israeli civilians or soldiers.

On the other hand, the Islamists had developed an opposing perspective against the nationalist. The Islamists refused to make peace or engage in diplomatic relations with Zionists. Moreover, they called for the demolition of Israel and Islamic Palestine. In contrast, the Nationalists were amenable to peace and established a diplomatic relationship with Israel. Furthermore, the nationalists sought to establish a nation that gathered all the Palestinians despite their doctrine, ideology, religion or origin. As a result, these contradictory ideologies led to a split and ongoing dispute within the Palestinian community.

#### **2.4. Tension Paths between Nationalists and Islamists**

Historically, there have been factional splits between nationalist (Fatah) and Islamist(Hamas), which dates back to 2006, when Hamas finally decided to participate in PA elections for the first time from its foundation. As was not expected, Hamas won the majority votes in the PNC in PA, and it was the beginning of an internal political and geographical split in PA(Brenner, 2007,p.41).

However, Fatah, Israel and the United States attempted to restrain the newly established Hamas, which led to conflict between the two factions in 2007. As a result of the 2007 violence, PA's territories have been divided into two entities: Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip, and Fatah controlled the West Bank(Jaeger et al.,2012). This split did not suddenly happen, and it was highly referred to concise and precise factors as well as a set of historical, ideological, and political reasons.



## **2.5. Reasons Behind the Palestinian Factional Split**

### **2.5.1. Historical Reasons**

The Palestinian factional split was rooted initially in the first intifada and its circumstances when it ended with the Oslo Accords. Hamas has refused to accept such a deal as a result of this contrast with Fatah's plans to apply this principle of accord (McGreal, 2006).

### **2.5.2. Ideological Reasons**

The conflicts between Fatah and Hamas relied on ideological differences; the former is more disposed to a nationalist ,secularist philosophy, while the latter espoused to the Islamic doctrine (Brown,2003).

### **2.5.3. Political Reasons**

Fatah-Hamas's political point of view is contradictory. Hence, Fatah claims that the Palestinian issue can be solved through peaceful, diplomatic negotiation with Israel. In contrast, Hamas believes in military struggle as well as refuses to share the Palestinian land with Israel("Accord Brings New Sense of Urgency to Israeli-Palestinian Conflict", 2011).

## **Conclusion**

The Palestinian national Unity was a historical dream for Palestinians. Although, the plethora of attempts and efforts to find the neutral side, which gathered all. It was impossible. Especially after 2007's rift between Nationalists and Islamists which complicated the mission of achieving the Palestinian reconciliation, and unifying the Palestinian offers to overcome the political, historical, and ideological obstacles.



## **CHAPTER THREE:**

### **The Algiers Declaration; Analytical Study**

## Chapter Three: The Algiers Declaration; Analytical Study

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## **Introduction**

The ending of intra-Palestinian split between Fatah and Hamas considers as the key and influential factor to restore the Palestinian national sovereignty. Therefore, a set of Arabian and non-Arabian countries conduct initiatives to solve and rebuild the Palestinian home. The last one is the Algerian initiative for achieving the Palestinian national Unity, which emanates from it the "Algiers Declaration". Therefore, chapter three deals with the Arab and non-Arab initiatives that aim to achieve the Palestinian national Unity, and the crucial reasons behind their failure. In addition, this chapter analyzes and examines the Algerian initiative, which ends by this declaration as an official document that clarifies the articles of this deal, as well as it talks about the motifs, procedures that precede the initiative. Moreover, it mentions the challenges and proposed mechanism for gaining Algiers declaration's success.

### **3.1. Initiatives Preceded the Algiers Declaration**

The Palestinian resistance to reject the Israeli occupation has faced obstacles due to the factional rift of 2007. Hence, a plethora of initiatives, either Arabic or non-Arabic, have been conducted to resolve this and achieve their goals, and dreams.

#### **3.1.1. Arabic Initiatives**

Arab regimes enormously participated, prepared and engaged in the reconciliation agreements among the fighting factions respectively: Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Qatar, and Algeria. They have made the initiatives, which aimed to form a combined national administration of technocrats led by President Mahmoud Abbas, as well as to organize the parliamentary and presidential election in the Palestinian authority.

### **3.1.1.1. Saudi Arabia's Initiative (Mecca agreement 2007)**

Based on the generous effort issued by King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz and under his sponsorship, the Fatah and Hamas factions held a Palestinian reconciliation and agreement negotiation in Holy Mecca from February 6th to 8th, 2007 (*JMCC - Mecca Agreement, 2007*) .

This agreement has been conducted to cease the military struggle among the functions and to achieve the National Unity government. In this regard, the Saudi government has always partnered with Fatah. It saw Hamas's closeness to Iran as a dangerous threat to its geomorphic status in the area ( Lister, 2010).

Saudi Arabia has urged Hamas to engage and unite with the Fatah, believing that this will have a moderating influence on the organs. (Black, 2009). Besides, the Mecca agreement succeeded in ceasing the fighting between the two factions but failed to embody the National Unity government or end the Palestinian division. Thus, this mediate encourages other Arabian countries to take action toward the intra-Palestinian dispute, especially neighbouring countries such as Egypt, which plays a pivotal role through a series of initiatives.

### **3.1.1.2. Egypt's Initiative (Cairo 2011 and 2017's agreements)**

Following the 2006 rivalry between factions in Palestine, Egypt's government under Mubarak attempted to mediate and conduct an agreement for Palestine's national unity. As a result, on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 2011, the two main Palestinian factions and the necessary minor organization signed the agreed-upon document, which was entitled "Palestinian national recognition agreement" in Cairo (*JMCC - Fateh and Hamas Reconciliation Agreement, May 4 2011, 2011*) .

Moreover, the agreement required forming a Palestinian electoral commission and monitoring the new temporary independent government. The government's duration may last up to six months while preparations for the reconstruction of the Gaza Strip 's election (Ateek, 2012). Although Egypt has made significant attempts to resolve the Palestinian conflict since

2012, no formal agreement has been reached. They almost reached an accord in Cairo in October 2017, but disagreements among Fatah and Hamas leaders quickly reappeared (Abou Jalal, 2019).

On October 11<sup>th</sup>, 2017, the two main sides of the factional schism signed a recognition agreement under Egyptian auspices. The agreement is highly predicted to abolish the geographic separation of Palestinian territories (Jahshan, 2017).

Therefore, the 2011 and 2017 reconciliation agreements conducted under the Egyptian sponsorship can be considered the most prominent in the Egyptian efforts and initiatives to unify rival factions and end the inter-Palestinian rift. Even though there are a series of talks, meetings, and invitations to make more agreements, particularly the last one in 2021 Sisi auspices was postponed. Egypt became the majestic regional player in the Palestinian file since it was a historical path in initiatives.

### **3.1.1.3. Qatar's Initiative (Doha 2012 and 2014's agreements)**

In 2011, Egypt made an initial effort to reconcile the two political parties in Palestine. Qatar subsequently became engaged in aiding negotiations, which showed the Gulf nation's significance in regional politics. However, Egyptians have faced obstacles in the year following their revolution (Rahman, 2012). As a result, the two leaders of the political factions Fatah, represented by "Mahmoud Abbas", and Hamas, represented by "Khaled Meshaal", marketed a Palestinian reconciliation agreement in Qatar in 2012. Moreover, the document called for the formation of a committee to examine reforms with the PLO, and PNC (Rahman, 2012).

However, this agreement has allowed Qatar to contend with Saudi Arabia, and Egypt as a peacemaker in the Middle East region. Qatar was not the last Arabian initiative to unite, reconcile and end the Palestinian split, but it made an additional effort to portray the Palestinian scene for the upcoming initiatives.

### **3.1.2. Non-Arab Initiatives**

#### **3.1.2.1. Turkey's Initiative (2009 and 2017's agreements)**

Turkey has made an international effort to place itself at the core of the Israeli-Palestinian mediation efforts in recent years. This is anticipated given Turkey's evident ambitions as an important regional actor in the middle. For instance, the role of mediation in the present dispute is a source of diplomatic prestige. Therefore, the Turkish government believed that solving the intra-Palestine split was the primary step to achieve a Palestinian independence. Additionally, Turkey's ruling justice and development party has been attempting to broker a compromise between Fatah and Hamas since 2009, the party asked Egypt's dictatorship "Mubarak" and formally enabled Turkey to take over reconciliation (“Turkey Wants to Mediate Hamas-Fatah Reconciliation Talks,” 2009).

In 2010, Ahmed Davutoglu, Turkish foreign minister, discussed with Meshaal about such a pact. Due to their meeting in Damascus, but were unable to persuade Abbas to agree (*Turkish News - Latest News from Turkey*, 2010) .

The Turkish government started preparing for the unity deal between Fatah and Hamas on May 21<sup>st</sup>, 2011. Turkish President Abdullah Gul declared he could encourage Hamas to accept this deal (Champion, 2011) .

This clarified the struggle between Turkey and Egypt concerning the Palestinian file and rebuilding the Palestinian home. In 2011, two initiatives were conducted in the same month (May). However, the Arab Spring impacted and distracted the Turkish effort, particularly the Syrian crisis on its frontlines. Thus, it created the Turkish doubt that it would heavily participate in the Palestinian issue in the near future.



Furthermore, after the failure of a plethora of initiatives from 2011 to 2017, Turkey has re-launched another initiative in 2017, which urged the Palestinian factions to end the rift and unify the effort to expel the Zionists. Due to Turkey's political change in 2017, the new president Rajab Tayeb Erdogan sought to portray a positive image of his regime; therefore, Ankara has recently strengthened its relationship with Fatah, despite Fatah's hatred of Ankara's friendly alliance with its opponents Hamas. Consequently, the Fatah's leaders supported the Turkish suggestion of the June 2017 Hamas-Fatah talks (Gurbuz, 2023).

In short, Turkey has played a pivotal role in the Middle East region as a peacemaker or mediator in solving the most prominent issues, particularly the intra-Palestinian schism. It firmly conducted initiatives that fostered Fatah and Hamas to end the split. After the 2009 and 2017 initiatives, Turkey attempted to take more initiative to keep its majesty role as protector of rights.

#### **3.1.2.2. Russia's Initiative (2018 and 2020's agreements)**

Russia historically crowned itself as the majesty side in peacemaking worldwide, especially issues involving the US. Hence, as Turkey struggled to keep its position in the Middle East through the interface in the Palestinian attachment, Russia conducted a set of initiatives to abolish the intra-Palestinian rift.

From 2011 to 2020, Russia requested the Palestinian factions to overcome the obstacles and unite the efforts to restore their sovereignty. In January 2018, Moscow gathered several of the two competing parties' representatives and other Palestinian factions to explore how to heal the Palestinian internal conflict (Rasgon,2018).

The meeting was conducted after the faction leaders received an official invitation. In this regard, Sergey Lavrov, the Russian foreign minister, declared that Moscow is ready to be the place which gathers the Palestinian factions (Al-Saidi,2018).

Moreover, Russia hoped its initiative would be crucial at the loggerhead of Factions; unfortunately, it faced the same destiny as its sister-attempts. However, Moscow failed to achieve Palestinian reconciliation in the 2018 talks.

In 2020, Russia initiated a new initiative to cease the US planning or Trump's decision about the "deal of the century", which sought to destroy the Palestinian dream about building a Palestinian state where Jerusalem is its capital (Belenkaya, 2019).

Hence, Trump's deal was refused by the Russian side as an influential actor in the Middle East; therefore, the Russian response has included a blinder of traditional and new initiatives, such as reactivating its efforts' mediation among Palestinian factions.

In brief, Russia has made efforts to unify the Palestinian home by conducting two official initiatives in 2018, and 2020. First, The Russian government sought to keep control over the Middle East, expand its diplomatic prestige, and cease the American impact since Russia considered the USA the prime competitor.

### **3.2. Reasons Behind Initiatives' Failure**

Since 2006, a plethora of initiatives have been conducted to end the Palestinian rift and recruitment of Palestinian forces to confront the Israeli enemy. Although, the massive number of these initiatives shared the same common fate as "failure". Hence, the upcoming lines will illuminate the intrinsic reasons behind these stumbling.

However, this stumbling frustrated Palestinians, and made them wonder if they could achieve the Palestinian Unity in the future. Besides, the absence of real political will and desire among the leaders of factions is grossly considered as the principal reason for failing the reconciliations. Hence, each faction's leader tried to keep authority in his region; in other words, Gaza Strips under Hamas's authority, while the West Bank is controlled by Fatah(Kayali, 2020).

It is important to note that these initiatives have shown the lack of confidence and commitment of the head of Palestinian factions, and they are unaware of their responsibility towards who chooses them for representing and defending their interest. The second reason was incompatibility about the next step; while Fatah asked to elect only the PNC, Hamas called for a comprehensive election. Additionally, the ideological, political and historical differences cannot be ignored where it is the substantial motive for the split (Kayali, 2020).

Hence, the postponement of the Palestinian national reconciliation refers to three fundamental reasons: the absence of a political determination of factions' leaders, the disagreement about the election where each faction has a different vision, it is also impossible to deny the historical, political, and ideological difference that led to conflict.

Overall, it is hard but not impossible that, the Palestinian national Unity can be achieved when the factions' leaders decide to overcome the obstacles and focus only on national interests as Hassan Abdo declared "this can only be achieved if the two movements overcome external pressure and conflicting alliances and place the national interests at the heart of their personal interests(Abou Jalal, 2016).

### **3.3. Algiers Declaration**

#### **3.3.1. Motives**

After years of political, economic, and diplomatic slump, the new Algerian president Abdul Majid Taboune firmly sought to return the Algerian diplomatic status to play a focal, active, and pivotal role in regional and Arabic issues. He hosted the meeting of neighbouring countries to resolve the Libyan crisis then made an attempt to side in the Renaissance dam between Ethiopia and Egypt. Recently, he has shown an active involvement in the Palestinian file (Fayyed & Nacer, 2022) .

He firmly prepared, organized and invited the Palestinian factions to participate in the reunification conference for achieving the Palestinian national unity in two-day dialogue from 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> October (Mohsen,2022).

Without doubt, the Algerian-Palestinian relationship is strong, solid and historic. For a long time, supporting the Palestinian issues has been considered as one of the Algerian constants either on the official or popular level . Hence, Algeria has already hosted the Palestinian factions on its territories as well as launched a plethora of conferences that supported and fostered the Palestinian cause, one of these conferences led to the declaration of the foundation of the State of Palestine in 1988 (Fayyed & Nacer, 2022) .

Hence, this is highly clarifying Algeria's endeavors to help Palestine in its inner or outer rift although the Geographical distances, but Algeria has always been the first supporter for conducting peace in Palestine either in past or nowadays.

Notwithstanding, some political analysts or observers such as Dr.Dania Ghanem, an expert on Algerian affairs at Carnegie, indicated that there are a set of intrinsic factors and motifs behind the Algerian diplomatic initiative toward the Palestinian factional split due to the announcement's timing (Fayyed & Nacer, 2022)

First of all, by the end of 2020, the Algerian-Moroccan conflict resumed after the American recognition of Rabat's sovereignty over Western Sahara. Since then, twelve agreements have been signed among Morocco and Israel. The military agreement of security one has been considered by Algeria as a direct threat for its national security. As a result, Algeria sought to promote its relation with Palestinian Factions to balance the Israeli presence in the region as well as to remind Israel that Algeria will always be a thorn in their side.

Secondly, Algeria hoped to establish a Palestinian breakthrough among the rivalry factions before hosting the Arab summit in November 2022 as, Algeria ranked the Palestinian issue as a top file in this summit (Mohsen,2022)

Finally, Algeria seeks to restore its position in the regional and the Arabic arena after Bouteflika's Era. However, Taboune's initiative may not appeal to some nations such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Egypt which actively mediated in the Palestinian attachment (Fayyed & Nacer, 2022) .

Overall, Algeria wants to achieve what the Arab countries have failed in. Therefore, Algeria competed with Egypt to have influence on the Palestine issue (Rezeg, 2021) . Thus, it planned to organize an agreement that may end the decade and half of split between factions, particularly after the Cairo agreement 2011 and 2017 which is reminiscent of ink on papers.

### **3.3.2. Procedures**

On December 7<sup>th</sup> 2021, the Algerian president Taboune declared that he would entertain Palestinian factions for talks about the internal conflict. Moreover, in July, the factional Palestinian leaders were met during Algeria's 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary, where Taboune stated that Algeria will provide Palestine with a financial contribution of 100 million dollar, which was officially and publicly accepted by the Palestinian (Xinhua,2022).

Taboune's announcement was highly welcomed by the Palestinians, Fayeze Abu Ata, the Palestinian's ambassador in Algeria Stated that "months of efforts by Algeria to achieve a consensual and inclusive vision agreed by all the parties for the Palestinian national action"(Jansen,2022)

In addition, the political analyst, Hani Al-Masri proclaimed that the Algerian initiative for unifying the conflicting factions is a significant step to arrest the Israeli expansion and the liquid it (Xinhua,2022).

He emphasized that Algeria's efforts to reconcile the Palestinian factions is the primary and principal scale of winning the battle against Israel.

Algeria aimed to solve the Palestinian dispute and unite the Palestinian factions before the Arab League summit, which took place in Algiers in November, Talal Awkal, an author for the local Al-Ayyam newspaper, declared that Algeria seeks to achieve a breakthrough in the

Palestinian file that can be submitted to the Arab League summit (Abou Jalal,2022). Thus, fourteen Palestinian factions including Islamic Jihad, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Fatah, Hamas..etc declared that they were invited by Algeria to attend two-day talks from 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> October. Hence, the Palestinian prime minister, Mahmoud Shtayyeh, stated that the "government will be ready for any step that supports the reconciliation efforts and the division"(Balousha, 2022)

Furthermore the Fatah spokesman in Algeria, Yemen Kodeih, asserted that "the meeting will discuss an Algerian draft that was prepared as the basis for this meeting"(El Atti, 2022).

Algeria has prepared a draft document, which indelged the headlines of the official one, and it has been discussed by the leaders of Palestinian factions either to accept or refuse such provisions.

Furthermore, the official of Hamas commented that the initiative has shown integrated vision for Algeria to achieve true national unity, to reach consensus on formulas that include all parties. Thus, the aforementioned saying indicates the satisfaction and acceptance of the 14<sup>th</sup> faction's Algerian invitation as well as it expressed their desire to end this split and achieve nationalism.

Therefore, the Algerian initiative was embodied in the reunification conference for achieving Palestinian national unity. This conference resulted in the "Algiers declaration", confirming the significance of the Palestinian national unity as a mainstay, cornerstone of resistance and steadfastness in front of the Zionist conquest as well as to realize the Palestinian people's legitimate aspirations ( ENTV, 2022).

Consequently, the "Algiers declaration" was signed by the 14<sup>th</sup> official faction. It includes 9 terms or articles that interpret the endeavors of Algeria to reconcile, Unite, and end the 15<sup>th</sup> dispute years between the Palestinian Factions particularly Fatah and Hamas.

### **3.3.3. Analysis of Algiers declaration 's Articles**

The unification conference for achieving the Palestinian national unity which took place in Algiers from 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> October was crowned with "Algiers declaration".

Hence, this document contains nine articles or items that called for unifying the Palestinian factions to face the Israeli occupation.

Furthermore, the following lines will explain, analysis, and clarify meaning, significance, and the purpose behind the indicated articles.

Article one "emphasizing the significance of national Unity as the cornerstone for steadfastness, confrontation, and resistance against Israel as well as adopting language of dialogue and consultation for resolving a Palestinian obstacles. in order to full-joint to PLO as the sole legitimate representative of Palestinian"(Abou Samra, 2022)

The first article of the declaration confirmed the importance of achieving national Unity through using peaceful means such as dialogues, negotiations among the different Palestinians. Additionally, it invites to be gathered under the PLO umbrella as the only representative organ of Palestinians.

Article two "Enshrining the principle of political partnership between the various Palestinian national forces through election which allows the wide participation in the upcoming national events either on homeland or in the diaspora"(Abou Samra, 2022).

The second article calls for conducting elections that would embody the principle of political partnership in the next occasions at the internal or external level.

The election was the pivotal reason for the rift among the rivalry factions. Therefore, most provisions would confirm its importance as well as for conducting it sooner.

Article three "took practical steps toward achieving national reconciliation through ending the split"(Abou Samra, 2022).

The third article urges the necessity to end the division through realistic application for the Palestinian reconciliation. However, the main critic for the previous initiatives was the absence of reality's procedure, which embody, follow, and apply the terms of agreements . This is what Algeria aimed to avoid through adoption of tangible steps that lead to realistic outcomes.

Article four "Prompting and evolving the PLO 's role as well as activating its institutions by participation of all factions in regard that it is the sole legitimate representative of Palestinian and there is no substitute for it".(Abou Samra, 2022).

The Fourth article stimulates the various factions to join the PLO whose role has been declined since the election in 2006. The article emphasizes that the PLO should restore its position due to it being the mother organization of the Palestinian people which has never been changed.

Article five " The PNC shall be elected at homeland or at diaspora as soon as possible, through a system of full proportional representation in accordance with the formula agreed upon and the laws adopted, with the participation of all Palestinian forces, within a year of signing this declaration"(Abou Samra, 2022).

The fifth article asks the 14<sup>th</sup> of Palestinian factions to engage in the election of PNC inside or outside Palestine at the earliest opportunity according to the familiar approved system and the laws during the year of the declaration's signing.

Article six "Expedite the holding of general presidential and legislative elections in the Gaza Strip and the West bank, including the city of Jerusalem the Palestinians capital, in line with the approved laws within a year of signing declaration"(Abou Samra, 2022).

The 6<sup>th</sup> article added attention to the previous article about the necessity of making election either presidential or legislative in the territories of Gaza Street and West bank as soon as possible due to it being the pivotal reason behind the 2006 split. In addition, on the basis of the approved laws, Jerusalem should be a part of the electoral process due to it being Palestine's capital during a year of signing this declaration.



Article seven "Unifying Palestinian national institutions and mobilizing available energies and resources to conduct rehabilitation projects and strengthen the Palestinian people's infrastructure and social infrastructure in order to support their steadfastness in facing the Israeli occupation "(Abou Samra, 2022).

The seventh article motivated the Palestinian faction to unite their national Foundation, and invested the existing energetic resources to make projects as well as restore human and social infrastructures, which would help in liquidation of Zionist.

Article eight "activation a mechanism for Palestinian factional general secretaries to follow up the division's ending and fulfill both national unity and national political cooperation"(Abou Samra, 2022).

The eighth article aimed to find a mechanism which allows general secretaries' faction to supervise ending this split and achieving national political cooperation and unity. This article sustained the responsibility to the factions' leaders to guide the reconciliation process, and carried out the results of agreement's success or failure.

Article nine "In collaboration with the Palestinian side an Algerian-Arab work team will supervise and monitor the implementation of the terms of these agreements. Algeria will oversee the team's work"(Abou Samra, 2022).

The last article promises to formulate an Algerian team in cooperation with Palestinian side, which will follow up the embodiment of the declarations article. The article undertakes to form Algerian-Palestinian group who will evaluate the progress of this agreement on grounds, and ensure that the initiative goes on the right path.

The aforementioned articles indicated Algerian keenness to succeed the declaration and again fruitful results in reality. Moreover, Algeria aims to change the Palestinian status quo by ending the factional split. Hence, this would enable Palestinian to restore their rights, freedom, and territories from Israel occupation even the "Algiers declaration" received a plethora of support, congratulations from Arabic Islamic and international organs or countries, but absolutely will face several challenges which hinder or imbed its implementation.

### **3.3.4. Challenges of Algiers Declaration**

By signing the Algiers declaration, Algeria has received several positive feedbacks from various countries particularly the Arab nations, such as Qatar, Sultanate Oman, and Jordan. This reflects the Arabs interests and keenness toward the Palestinian reconciliation since they refuse the non-Arab regional forces' interference and they consider the ending of rivalry as the Key step for the independence of Palestine (Makled, 2022).

Algeria's initiative is an attempt to shift the Palestinian split into a normal setting, but the roots and primary reasons of the two sides political disagreement were not addressed. However, this can be considered as the biggest challenges that may imbed and fail the Algiers declaration (Dmour, 2022).

whereas Fatah's insistence on building a national Unity government and a new PNC without conducting election, Hamas's demands represented in the PLO's restructure and create a government after election. Moreover, the lack of a Palestinian division's intentions and desire formulate hurdles to the initiative's success(Makled, 2022) .

The previous initiative including Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Qatar firmly challenged the Algerian one due to their regional weight. Therefore, Algeria is required to collaborate with other countries in order to promote and assist its Palestinian reconciliation's initiative (Abou Aisha &Abou Samra, 2022).

Furthermore, the agreement's terms didn't contain any realistic mechanism that would translate the theoretical and conceptual perspective. Hence, this has shown and indicated the absence of any compressive strength on the factions to commit with the Algiers declaration (Makled, 2022). Additionally, the articles missed a clear definition of a mechanism of significance for the implementation of Algeria's initiative. Even so, the sole terms in the draft document were omitted at the last moment because of the split among Fatah and Hamas concerning such Mechanism (Dmour, 2022).

In brief, the political disagreement between Fatah and Hamas concerning elections and reform the PLO; the Arab initiatives which preceded the Algerian one had huge efforts and they want to control this file due to their regional struggle; the absence of realistic mechanism for the implementation of terms are the key, pivotal, and principal obstacles or challenges which may hamper the success of Algiers declaration.

### **3.3.5. Proposed Mechanisms for the Success of Algiers Declaration**

Due to Hamas's support to the military approach and its refusal to adopt the negotiation with Israel as one of Fatah's demands to end the split.

This may create difficulties in predicting the declaration's success. However, this highly required the adoption of three mechanism, which will insure the success of Algiers declaration (Abou Samra, 2022)

#### **3.3.5.1. Formulation a Community of Following up**

The Palestinian journalist Mohammad Daraghmeh argued that the Algiers declaration was considered as a significant progress by the Palestinian faction. Moreover, he added that the creation of an Arabic community led by Algeria to monitor the implementation of the deal is a crucial and a critical milestone towards making it a reality. This surely will happen if there is a true intention by all sides (*Unification Conference of Palestinian Ranks: Algeria's Efforts Praised*, 2022).

Therefore, Algeria is required to hurry up in formation abroad under its supervision to follow up, supervise and monitor the realistic advancement of its initiative.

#### **3.3.5.2. Creation of Organizing Plan**

The Director of the Yabous Center for Studies, Suleiman Bisharat, declared that the "Algiers Declaration" created beneficial transmission in the Palestinian factional division. he stated that the manifestation of the declaration in actuality is extremely demented along three axes(Abou Samra, 2022):

First, the development of influential organizations, whether Arab countries like Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia or Islamic countries like Turkey, to drive the peace process and restore reconciliation.

Second, the significance of generating the presence of political decisions taken by Fatah and Hamas to work on the implementation and removal of impediments to the accord.

Third, it suggested a re-creation of the political surroundings in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, which would assist in the execution of the agreement's demands.(AbouSamra,2022).

The establishment of an organizing approach could simplify and pave the way for the Algerian perspective to abolish the Palestinian division.

### **3.3.5.3. Demand of Political Decision**

According to Talal Okal, an author and political analyst, the Palestinian factions Fatah and Hamas should make a political choice to carry out the Algiers Declaration. Furthermore, he argues that following this decision by a realistic plan that must clarify the time and place of implementation (Al-Quds News Agency, 2022).

All in all, the implementation of Algiers' declaration firmly required three mechanisms, which paved the way and succeeds it; they represents in the formation of a follow- up committee; creation of an organizing plan; demand or need for political decision.

### **Conclusion**

"Algiers Declaration" was the last initiative for reconciling the Palestinian factions after a series of Arab and non-Arab initiatives. This declaration included nine articles that called for restoring PLO's status, conducting elections, emphasizing the necessity of Palestinian national Unity.. etc. for confronting against Israeli conquest. Although the Algeria agreement, it may face a set of challenges which would hinder its implementation, such as the absence of real will of factions' leaders. As a result, Algeria should propose a mechanisms which guarantee the

application and success of this initiative, and avoids sharing the same destiny with its sister initiatives.

## General Conclusion

The Palestinian national Unity is a crucial cornerstone in the Palestinian factional resistance against Israel. However, a plethora of Arabic and non-Arab countries sought to solve the intra-Palestinian rift by conducting several initiatives, which aim to end this split, and achieve the Palestinian national reconciliations. In 2022, Algeria invited Palestinian factional leaders to attend a conference that aims to achieve Palestinian national Unity. Hence, this conference preceded the Arab League summit, seeking to restore the Algerian diplomacy status in the regional and Arabic arena. In a two-day talk, from 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> October 2022, fourteen Palestinian Resistance factions met in Algiers during the Palestinian reunification conference. Hence, by the end of the conference, the 14<sup>th</sup> faction had signed a document entitled "Algiers declaration". It included nine articles, which called for rebuilding the Palestinian home, conducting elections at the PLO and the PNC, and acknowledging the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. However, this attachment may face a set of challenges, such as the real desire of factional leaders to embody the outcomes of the declaration in reality. Therefore, Algeria is required to create mechanisms which may guarantee the application of the "Algiers declaration".

As conclusion, the study revealed the following points:

- 1-Algerian diplomacy played a focal role in identifying the Palestinian cause internationally by presenting it in international forums, summits, and conferences, whether in the past or now.
- 2-Palestinian political system is a hybrid and complex, which passes through different stages; each has its intrinsic features.
- 3- The Palestinian National Unity has long been a significant aspiration for Palestinians as it is seen as a crucial step towards ending the Israeli occupation.

- 4-The Palestinian factional split refers to historical, political, and ideological differences between factional thoughts.
- 5-The Palestinian factions' resistance is mainly divided into two categories: Nationalists and Islamists.
- 6-Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Qatar are the most prominent Arabian countries interested in the Palestinian file.
- 7-Turkey and Russia consider the Palestinian file the diplomatic weapon to fight for their interests in the Middle East region.
- 8-Algiers declaration did not provide any new ideas for Palestinian reconciliation.
- 9-The declaration manipulates the principles of the previous initiatives in a new formation.
- 10- The Algerian initiative is seen as a success for Algerian diplomacy on both regional and Arab levels.
- 11-Algeria is highly required to flow the realistic results of the initiative through precise mechanisms such as forming an Algerian-Palestinian team to follow up the successful outcomes initiative.
- 12-The true political will and desire of Palestinian faction leaders is the key to achieving the Palestinian national unity.
- 13-Achieving reconciliation in Palestine is a critical step towards ending Israeli occupation and promoting lasting peace in the Middle East. It is therefore essential to gain an understanding of the efforts being made by both Arab and non-Arab nations to resolve this long-standing division. Despite being geographically distant and lacking direct regional interests in Palestine, Algeria

remains steadfast in its support of the Palestinian cause, guided by its diplomatic principles of promoting liberation movements and providing aid to oppressed peoples across the globe.



## Appendix

### The original text of "Algiers Declaration"

"تجسيدا للمبادرة السامية التي أعلن عنها السيد عبد المجيد تبون، رئيس الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية، بعد التشاور والتنسيق مع السيد محمود عباس، رئيس دولة فلسطين ورئيس اللجنة التنفيذية لمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، خلال زيارته إلى الجزائر، في الفترة من 05 إلى 07 ديسمبر 2021، وتحت الرعاية الكريمة للسيد الرئيس عبد المجيد تبون، جرت بالجزائر، في الفترة الممتدة من شهر يناير إلى شهر سبتمبر من سنة 2022، محادثات مع ممثلي مختلف القوى والفصائل السياسية للشعب الفلسطيني وعدد من الشخصيات الوطنية الفلسطينية المستقلة.

وتأتي المبادرة الجزائرية انطلاقا من القناعة الراسخة أن الوضع الراهن الذي تمر به القضية الفلسطينية جراء استمرار الاحتلال الإسرائيلي الممنهج والاعتداءات المتكررة على الشعب الفلسطيني وعلى المقدسات الإسلامية والمسيحية، خاصة في القدس والمسجد الأقصى وكذا الانسداد والفشل الحاصل في مسار السلام بالشرق الأوسط، اللذان يشكلان خطرا جسيما على القضية الفلسطينية، فضلا عما آلت إليه القضية الفلسطينية على الساحتين العربية والدولية في ظل استغلال الانقسام داخل البيت الفلسطيني وما ترتب عنه من آثار سلبية على الجهود الرامية لاستعادة الحقوق المشروعة للشعب الفلسطيني.

وانطلاقا من المسؤولية الوطنية والتاريخية التي تقتضي إعلاء المصلحة العليا للشعب الفلسطيني وعلى ضوء التفاعل الإيجابي والانخراط الجاد للأشقاء الفلسطينيين في جهود الجزائر، لاسيما اللقاء الأخوي الذي جمع بين السيد الرئيس محمود عباس ورئيس المكتب السياسي لحركة المقاومة الإسلامية - حماس - السيد إسماعيل هنية، بالجزائر، يوم 05 يوليو 2022، بمناسبة مشاركتها في الاحتفالات المخدلة للذكرى الستين لاسترجاع الجزائر استقلالها الوطني، تركزت المحادثات بالأساس حول سبل تعزيز الوحدة الوطنية الفلسطينية عبر إنهاء الانقسام ولم شمل مختلف القوى الفلسطينية بجميع أطيافها وتوحيد جهودها لدعم قضيتها العادلة وتحقيق الأهداف المشروعة للشعب الفلسطيني.

وخلال المحادثات، عبر المشاركون عن ارتياحهم للمبادرة الجزائرية باعتبارها فرصة ثمينة لتحقيق المصالحة الوطنية داخل البيت الفلسطيني، كما ثمنوا الجهود العربية المتواصلة لاسيما المبادرات العربية وخاصة المصرية والسعودية والقطرية الداعمة للقضية الفلسطينية والجهود المبذولة التي سمحت بالتوقيع على عدة اتفاقيات لإنهاء الانقسام في صفوف الأشقاء الفلسطينيين.

وقد تكلفت أشغال مؤتمر الجزائر بالنجاح، بفضل الله تعالى ثم بفضل الجهود المخلصة لممثلي الفصائل الفلسطينية، في ظل الرعاية الجزائرية الكريمة، حيث تم الاتفاق على المبادئ التالية:

التأكيد على أهمية الوحدة الوطنية كأساس للصمود والتصدي ومقاومة الاحتلال لتحقيق الأهداف المشروعة للشعب الفلسطيني و اعتماد لغة الحوار والتشاور لحل الخلافات على الساحة الفلسطينية بهدف انضمام الكل الوطني إلى منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، الممثل الشرعي والوحيد للشعب الفلسطيني.

تكريس مبدأ الشراكة السياسية بين مختلف القوى الوطنية الفلسطينية، بما في ذلك عن طريق الانتخابات وبما يسمح بمشاركة

واسعة في الاستحقاقات الوطنية القادمة في الوطن والشتات.

اتخاذ الخطوات العملية لتحقيق المصالحة الوطنية عبر إنهاء الانقسام.

تعزيز وتطوير دور منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية وتفعيل مؤسساتها بمشاركة جميع الفصائل الفلسطينية باعتبارها الممثل الشرعي والوحيد للشعب الفلسطيني بجميع مكوناته ولا بديل عنها.

يتم انتخاب المجلس الوطني الفلسطيني في الداخل والخارج حيث ما أمكن، بنظام التمثيل النسبي الكامل وفق الصيغة المتفق عليها والقوانين المعتمدة بمشاركة جميع القوى الفلسطينية خلال مدة أقصاها عام واحد من تاريخ التوقيع على هذا الإعلان. وتعرب الجزائر، بهذه المناسبة، عن استعدادها لاحتضان انعقاد المجلس الوطني الفلسطيني الجديد والذي لقي شكر وتقدير جميع الفصائل المشاركة في هذا المؤتمر.

الإسراع بإجراء انتخابات عامة رئاسية وتشريعية في قطاع غزة والضفة الغربية بما فيها القدس عاصمة الدولة الفلسطينية، وفق القوانين المعتمدة في مدة أقصاها عام من تاريخ التوقيع على هذا الإعلان.

توحيد المؤسسات الوطنية الفلسطينية وتجديد الطاقات والموارد المتاحة الضرورية، لتنفيذ مشاريع إعادة الإعمار ودعم البنية التحتية والاجتماعية للشعب الفلسطيني بما يدعم صموده في مواجهة الاحتلال الإسرائيلي.

تفعيل آلية الأمناء العاميين للفصائل الفلسطينية لمتابعة إنهاء الانقسام وتحقيق الوحدة الوطنية والشراكة السياسية الوطنية.

يتولى فريق عمل جزائري-عربي الإشراف والمتابعة لتنفيذ بنود هذا الاتفاق بالتعاون مع الجانب الفلسطيني، وتدير الجزائر عمل الفريق.

يوجه المجتمعون التحية إلى جماهير الشعب الفلسطيني، في القدس والضفة الغربية وفي غزة الصامدة وفي الداخل الفلسطيني وفي الشتات، المنتفضة ضد الاحتلال ونظام الاضطهاد والتمييز العنصري (الابارتايد)، ويعاهدونها على تحقيق الوحدة الوطنية الفلسطينية والالتفاف حول برنامج وطني كفاحي جامع لكل مكونات الشعب الفلسطيني، ويحيون التضحيات العظيمة للشهداء البواسل والنضال البطولي للأسرى والأسيرات في سجون الاحتلال الذين تلتزم القوى بالنضال من أجل تحقيق حريتهم.

وتؤكد القوى التزامها بتطوير المقاومة الشعبية وتوسيعها وحق الشعب الفلسطيني في المقاومة بأشكالها كافة.

يتقدم المشاركون في مؤتمر لم الشمل من أجل تحقيق الوحدة الوطنية الفلسطينية بالشكر والتقدير للسيد عبد المجيد تبون، رئيس

الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية، على مبادرته ورعايته للمؤتمر وصولاً للنتائج التي تمخضت عنه ب"إعلان الجزائر".

ويدعو المشاركون الأشقاء بالجزائر لمواصلة الجهود مع الأشقاء العرب لمتابعة تنفيذ إعلان الجزائر الذي توافقت عليه القوى السياسية الفلسطينية."

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## الملخص

الدراسة المعنونة بـ"دور الدبلوماسية الجزائرية في تحقيق الوحدة الوطنية الفلسطينية: إعلان الجزائر 2022 دراسة حالة". تعد دراسة تاريخية، تحليلية ذو أهمية سياسية وعلمية، بحيث تعالج مجهودات الجزائر في اجراء اتفاقية بين الفصائل الفلسطينية المتنازعة. لذلك الجزائر أطلقت مبادرة لم الشمل لاستعادة الوحدة الوطنية الفلسطينية والتي دمرت منذ انقسام 2006. يعتبر "إعلان الجزائر" الوثيقة الرسمية التي توجت مؤتمر لم الشمل للوحدة الوطنية الفلسطينية، بحيث عقد في العاصمة الجزائرية في يومين 11 إلى 13 من أكتوبر الفارط، وأكدت هذه الوثيقة على نفس مبادئ المبادرات السابقة منها المبادرة المصرية والروسية. تضمن الإعلان تسع بنود أساسية مثل دعوة الفصائل المختلفة الانضمام إلى منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية بصفتها الممثل الشرعي والوحيد للشعب الفلسطيني إضافة الى اجراء انتخابات رئاسية وبرلمانية في أقرب وقت ممكن. بالرغم أن الجزائر استقبلت العديد من التهاني من عدة دول إلا أنه من الممكن أن تواجه العديد من التحديات المعيقة لنجاح مبادرتها، لذلك استوجب عليها اتباع آليات لمراقبة مخرجات المبادرة في الواقع. علاوة على ذلك، تعد الإرادة السياسية لرؤساء الفصائل الفلسطينية العنصر الحاسم في تحقيق الوحدة الوطنية الفلسطينية، كما تعتبر العامل الجوهري لطرد الاحتلال الإسرائيلي.

**كلمات المفتاحية:** الدبلوماسية الجزائرية، الوحدة الوطنية الفلسطينية الانقسام، استعادة، مبادرة، إعلان الجزائر