Contemporary Readings in Law and Social Justice ISSN:

1948-9137, e-ISSN: 2162-2752

Vol 17 (1),2025 pp.172 - 184



# The Role of Algerian Diplomacy in Achieving the PalestinianNational Unity; Algiers Declaration in 2022

# Abdelhamid Feredj, Mekki Hafidha

abdelhamid-feredj@univ-eloued.dz

University of El-Oued

mekkihafidha39@gmail.com

University of El-Oued

#### **Abstract**

This study aims to shed light on the role of Algerian diplomacy in achieving Palestinian national unity. The study discusses the efforts of Algerian diplomacy in reaching an agreement between the conflicting Palestinian factions and examines the reunification initiative announced by Algeria. The Algiers Declaration is the official document that culminated the Palestinian reunification conference held in Algiers in October 2022. The Declaration aims to rebuild Palestinian national unity as the official legitimacy of the Palestinians. It contains nine articles, including a call for the factions to meet under the umbrella of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and to hold presidential and legislative elections. While the Algiers Initiative has received widespread support, it faces challenges to its success. The study recommends the need for realistic follow-up mechanisms to implement the initiative and stresses the importance of the political will of Palestinian faction leaders to achieve Palestinian national unity.

**Keywords:** algerian diplomacy, palestinian national unity, algiers declaration, palestinian factions, reunification initiative

**Received:** 09/02/2025 **Accepted:** 12/04/2025 **Published:** 06/05/2025

#### Introduction:

The Algerian diplomacy has undergone a noticeable transformation with the advent of the current president, AbdelmadjidTebboune, particularly marked by his firm adherence to the principles of this diplomacy and its relations with neighboring and other countries, not to mention the strong bond that unites the two brotherly countries, Algeria and Palestine.

#### The Problematic:

How can Algeria contribute to achieving Palestinian national unity through the Algiers Declaration 2022?

## **Hypotheses:**

In order to answer the above question, the following hypotheses are put forward

- 1- Algerian diplomacy can contribute to the unification of Palestinian factions as a first step towards the independence of Palestine
- 3- Algeria's ability to obtain the acceptance of all conflicting Palestinian parties will help the success of the Algerian initiative.

**Methodology**: The methodology adopted to conduct this study is the descriptive-analytical approach based on qualitative research. In this regard, the study analysed the Algiers Declaration to understand the Algerian initiative on the internal Palestinian rift.

## The first Topic: The Algerian Diplomacy

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- The Determinants of Algerian Diplomacy

**Geography** is one of the pivotal factors in determining diplomatic exchanges and shaping the foreign position of countries, and Algeria enjoys a diverse strategic location that contributes to international trade (Duverger, 2009, p.61-62).

The human determinant encompasses the human resources of countries and their diverse human characteristics. These resources depend on the availability of natural and technological capabilities that allow states to capitalise on the size of the population (Duverger,2009,p.55).. Human resources do not directly affect a country's diplomacy unless they are associated with other factors. In Algeria, the population increased from 22.6 million in 1987 to about 39 million in 2014(Youcef,پوسف,2014,p.150-151) and 40 million in 2015. The rate of natural increase of the population started to increase from 2009 and continued to rise in the following years(Kharez, خراز, 2019). These figures show the importance of matching population to available economic resources.

The economic determinants are natural resources such as oil, gas, coal, and nuclear materials, as well as food resources such as wheat, barley, cotton, and cereals (Salim, 1998,p.155); Algeria has enormous natural resources that contribute to regional and international trade. Intra-Maghreb trade has been reflected in intra-Maghreb co-operation, which declined sharply from 1964 to 1970. This trade exchange represents about 1.67 per cent of total imports and 1.25 per cent of total exports for the Maghreb countries. Total exports ranged between 37 million, 26 million and 38 million in the same period (Bakhouche, بخوش, 2011,p.143-145).

Military Determinants The military, and in general the army, has played a pivotal role in determining diplomatic interaction between states. This role depends on the type of ruling regime, as it is necessary to analyses the relations between the various parties, whether civilian or military, in a totalitarian or democratic regime. The more a country has a solid and powerful military force, the more it can make national decisions independently, and a large military force is a clear indicator of a nation's greatness and awareness. For example, the military factor played a decisive role in Algeria's diplomatic relations, as the development of military policy and cooperation with other nations, such as China, contributed to building a strong military force (Hetty, عني, 1985, p.204).

# 2- Principles of Algerian Diplomacy

Algeria's foreign policy aims to improve the colonized world, promoting freedom, independence, justice, and sovereignty. It relies on international law and its Constitution as the main sources of its principles. Algerian diplomacy is based on key charters from its revolutionary history, including the outbreak of the Algerian Revolution in 1954, the Soummam Platform in 1965, the Tripoli Program in 1962, the Charter of Algiers in 1964, and the National Charter of 1967 (Discours Du PrésidentBoumediene: 19 Juin 1965-19 Juin 1970. Tome II, 1970). These charters form the foundation of its diplomatic principles. Algeria's independence was a significant setback for French colonialism and inspired other nations to seek freedom. After independence, Algeria became a symbol for revolutionary movements. (Malek,1995). The 1963 Constitution recognized Algeria's place in the Arab and African worlds, while the 1996 Constitution stated that foreign policy reflects internal policy, highlighting the influence of its revolutionary heritage. Algeria upholds five main diplomatic principles. "(Algerian Constitution,1996).

- Respect of the Frontiers Inherited from Colonization
- Support of Self-Determination
- Fostering the Non Interference in Countries' Sovereignty and Internal Affairs
- Unwavering Solidarity with Neighboring Countries

- The Implementation of the Algerian Diplomacy in Palestinian Issue.the president HouariBoumedienne's 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 PrésidentBoumediene: 19 Juin 1965-19 Juin 1970 Tome· I, 1970, p.483)

Since independence, Algeria has endeavoured to draw up its diplomacy and to define its military, economic, human and geographical parameters. Algeria also relied on principled diplomacy, which enabled it to express its opinion and unconditional support for countries under colonisation. The Algerian-Palestinian relationship is strong and historical. Algeria has always encouraged the Palestinians in their unjust struggle against the Zionist entity. It has supported the Palestinians by holding forums, summits and conferences. For example, the recent conference to achieve Palestinian national unity in Algeria in 2022.

## The second Topic:Palestinian national unity

The Palestinian issue is divided into two parts, firstly, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and secondly, Palestinian-Palestinian conflict: The Palestinian-Palestinian conflict. However, ending the Israeli occupation largely requires ending the latter conflict, which can only be achieved through genuine Palestinian national unity. Therefore, this chapter deals with the development of the concept of Palestinian national unity in Palestinian history, and the second chapter reviews the stages of Palestinian political systems.

Palestinian national unity has a long history, dating back to the British Mandate period, when the Muslim and Christian Association was established in 1918. This association aimed to unite Palestinians regardless of religion, and opened the door for the Jewish community to join as well. However, this initiative led to an increase in Zionist immigration. In 1936, Palestinians revolted against the British occupation and Zionist attacks. Despite these attempts, they did not succeed in achieving effective Palestinian unity. Several Palestinian national fronts were established between 1948 and 1964, but they did not last long. However, these fronts were reflective of the history of the Palestinian state and the exceptional circumstances that forced them to overcome internal differences to achieve a common national goal. (Abderkader, عبد القادر, 2002,pp 210-264).

After the victorious Battle of Karameh in 1668, the Fedayeen became the crucial and historic part of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), a turning point in the unity of the Palestinian people. (Barahman,2014,p.13). It has been pointed out that declaring Palestinian identity no longer means being a refugee or a second-class citizen, but being a fedayeen or a revolutionary with a gun. The Palestinian people want to form collective fronts and a strong organisation for liberation, despite the existence of ideological and religious differences. However, the verification of Palestinian national unity remains just slogans and meetings. Reaching an agreement between Palestinian factions is crucial to the realisation and operationalisation of Palestinian national unity(Sayigh,1997,p.195).

## An overview of the Palestinian political and social reality:

The period from 1948 to 1967 in Palestine was marked by a lack of political representation for Palestinians and the challenges faced by refugees attempting to rebuild their lives post-occupation. (Abderkader, عبد القادر, 2002,pp 210-223). Notably, a significant political figure emerged in 1952, advocating for scientific thought and political opposition. The period also saw a rise in armed conflict, (Abderkader, عبد القادر, 2006,p.264) with over 1,176 fatalities recorded. Additionally, the Arab Spring, which initiated widespread uprisings in the region, faced strong resistance from established leadership,

particularly in Egypt, (Moubark,مبارك,1997,p.49). where President Hosni Mubarak was forced to confront demonstrators(Mohcen, pp.236-237).

- **Political Representation**: The initial years of occupation saw no effective political entity for Palestinians, leaving refugees without a voice.
- **Refugee Struggles**: Refugees faced numerous obstacles in attempting to rebuild their lives and properties after fleeing their homes.
- **Emergence of Political Figures**: A notable political figure emerged in 1952, advocating for political opposition and scientific thought.
- **Escalation of Conflict**: The Palestinian territories experienced significant armed conflict, with 1,176 fatalities recorded between 1948 and 1956.
- **Impact of the Arab Spring**: The Arab Spring led to widespread uprisings but was met with resistance from regional leadership, notably in Egypt under Hosni Mubarak.

## **Division of Palestinian Political System:**

The Palestinian political system has been fragmented, with two competing authorities each claiming to be the legitimate representative. Historically, the system went through three phases: military resistance before the creation of the PLO in 1964, the expansion of political movements under the PLO's umbrella, and the Oslo Accords which led to the division of Palestinian territories into the Nationalist-controlled West Bank and the Islamist-controlled Gaza Strip.

**Factions within Palestinian Resistance:** Palestinian resistance groups are divided into Nationalist and Islamist factions. (Hoigilt, 2015,p.460). Nationalists, mainly represented by the PLO and its factions like Fatah, pursue a secular, political path. Islamists, such as Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), focus on an Islamic approach to liberating Palestine. These factions have engaged in ideological rivalry and internal conflict.

**Nationalist Factions:** The PLO, established in 1964, represents the Nationalist movement, and it has included various factions like Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command (PFLP-GC), and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP). These groups have different ideologies but share a focus on Palestinian nationalism(Katzman,2002). Fatah, led by Yasser Arafat, played a central role in the PLO, while other factions like PFLP-GC and DFLP followed Marxist ideologies.

**Islamist Factions:** The main Islamist movements are Hamas and PIJ. Hamas, founded in 1987, emerged as part of the Muslim Brotherhood and opposes a two-state solution with Israel. (Pina,2005,p.p 3-5). PIJ, also founded in the 1980s, shares a similar ideology, advocating for a theocratic Palestinian state and rejecting peace negotiations with Israel.

**Tension BetweenNationalists and Islamists:** Tensions between Fatah and Hamas escalated after Hamas won the 2006 Palestinian elections(Brenner, 2007,p.41). This led to violent clashes in 2007, resulting in the division of Palestinian territories—Hamas controlled Gaza, and Fatah controlled the West Bank. This split continues to cause political fragmentation.

**Reasons for the Split:** The Palestinian factional split is driven by historical (McGreal, 2006), ideological, (Brown,2003). and political factors. Hamas rejected the Oslo Accords and opposed Fatah's approach of negotiating with Israel, preferring military struggle. Ideologically, Fatah is more secular and nationalist, while Hamas follows an Islamist ideology.

The political split between the two factions has resulted in the division of Palestinian territories and a complex situation for any future reconciliation.

**Conclusion:** Palestinian unity remains a distant goal due to deep ideological and political divisions. Despite various attempts at reconciliation, the rift between Nationalist and Islamist factions, particularly

after the 2007 split, continues to pose significant challenges to Palestinian political cohesion and peace efforts.

# The Third Topic: Algiers Declaration; Analytical Study

In this final section of the study, we aim to focus on the reconciliation initiative led by Algeria. However, before doing so, it is necessary to examine the reasons behind the failure of the initiatives that preceded Algeria's initiative, in order to delve deeper into the causes of their failure. In contrast, we will present the motivations behind Algeria's hosting of the initiative for Palestinian factional reconciliation. (However, we reserve the use of the term 'factions,' as it is derived from the verb 'to divide,' which implies separation and exclusion, and this contradicts the goals of the initiatives.)

There were many initiatives that preceded the Algiers initiative in an attempt to unite the Palestinian factions. Some of these initiatives were at the Arab level, while others were at the level of non-Arab countries; As for the Arab countries that took the initiative, **Saudi Arabia** was represented through the Mecca Agreement in 2007(Black, 2009), and the Arab Republic of **Egypt** through the Cairo Agreement in 2011 and 2017(JMCC - Fateh and Hamas Reconciliation Agreement, May 4 2011, 2011). The latest initiative was issued by the State of **Qatar**through Adawha Agreements in 2012 and 2014(Rahman, 2012).

As for the non-Arab initiatives, they were represented by **Turkey**'s initiative(Turkish News - Latest News from Turkey, 2010) through the 2009 and 2017 Agreements, and **Russia**'s initiative through the 2018 and 2020 Agreements.

## 1- 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).

Algeria's diplomatic status and influence in regional and Arab issues after years of decline. Recently, the president Tebboune has also demonstrated active involvement in the Palestinian issue, (Faeyed&Nacer, 2022). The relationship between Algeria and Palestine is historically strong, with Algeria consistently supporting Palestinian causes, including hosting Palestinian factions and conferences, notably leading to the declaration of the State of Palestine in 1988. Algeria has a longstanding and robust relationship with Palestine, characterized by unwavering support for Palestinian causes at both official and popular levels. The country has hosted various Palestinian factions and organized conferences that have significantly

contributed to the Palestinian cause, including the 1988 declaration of the State of Palestine. Despite geographical distances, Algeria remains a key supporter of peace in Palestine. However, political analysts like Dr. Danya Ghanem have pointed out that Algeria's diplomatic initiatives toward Palestinian unity are influenced by regional dynamics, particularly following renewed tensions with Morocco and military agreements between Morocco and Israel, which Algeria views as a direct threat to its national security. (Faeyed&Nacer, 2022). Algeria's diplomatic initiatives aim to assist in resolving the internal and external divisions within Palestine, emphasizing its role as a peace supporter.

Algeria hopes to foster progress among Palestinian factions before the Arab summit, prioritizing the Palestinian cause

The country aims to regain its status in the Arab and regional landscape following the Bouteflika administration

Algeria's initiatives may not attract attention from key players like Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Egypt, who have been active mediatorsBut 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 meditated 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).

## 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 (Xinhia,2022).

Taboune's announcement was highly welcomed by the Palestinians, Fayez 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(Xinhia,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, TalalAwkal, 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 11th-13th 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  $14^{th}$  official faction. It includes 9 articles that interpret the endeavors of Algeria to reconcile, Unite, and end the  $15^{th}$  dispute years between the Palestinian Factions particularly Fatah and Hamas.

# **3-** Analysis of Algiers declaration 's Articles

The Algiers Declaration, issued by the unifying conference to achieve Palestinian national unity, contains nine articles calling for the unification of Palestinian factions to confront the Israeli occupation. (AbouSamra, 2022).

- Article One: Affirms the importance of national unity in steadfastness, confrontation and resistance against Israel and calls for the use of dialogue and consultation to resolve Palestinian obstacles.
- The second article encourages political partnership between Palestinian forces through national entitlements, including matters related to elections. The other articles address national solidarity and the Palestinian people, affirm the right of return, and call on the international community to support the Palestinian cause. The declaration also aims to achieve solidarity, unity and joint Palestinian struggle, and calls for joint action to achieve a peaceful solution and end the Israeli occupation.
- -The third article expresses the opportunity to achieve national reconciliation through practical measures.

Article IV: Affirms the role of the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and calls for its strengthening and development.

Article V: Calls for the election of the Palestinian National Council using the system of full proportional representation and with the participation of all Palestinian forces.

Article Six: Urges the holding of presidential and legislative elections in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine.

Article Seven: Encourages the unification of Palestinian national institutions and the strengthening of social infrastructure to support the steadfastness of the Palestinian people.

Article eight: Calls for the establishment of a mechanism for the General Secretaries of the Palestinian factions to follow up on ending the division, achieving national unity and political co-operation.

Article IX: Refers to the formation of an Algerian-Palestinian working group to monitor the implementation of the declaration and achieve realistic results. The declaration aims to end the division and restore the rights of Palestinians and their land from the Israeli occupation.

# **4-** The challenges facing the Algiers Declaration:

The challenges facing the Algiers Declaration include the unresolved political dispute between Fatah and Hamas, (Makled, 2022). the influence of other regional powers, (Dmour, 2022). and the lack of a clear mechanism for implementation. These factors may hinder the success of the initiative.

# 5- Formation of a follow-up committee

Palestinian journalist Muhammad Daraghmeh said the Algiers declaration was considered an important advance by the Palestinian factions. He added that the establishment of an Arab committee led by Algeria to follow up on the implementation of the agreement was a decisive step towards its realisation on the

ground, provided there were genuine intentions from all parties (Palestinian Unity Conference: Praise for Algerian efforts, 2022).

Therefore, Algeria is required to expedite the formation of a committee abroad under its supervision to follow up, supervise, and monitor the actual progress of its initiative.

## **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.

#### **Demand of Political Decision**

According to TalalOkal, 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.

#### Conclusions

Palestinian national unity is the cornerstone of the Palestinian resistance. Algeria seeks to achieve Palestinian national reconciliations through a conference of the factions in 2022. The Algiers Declaration calls for rebuilding the Palestinian house and organizing elections within the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Palestinian National Council."

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.

#### References

## 1- Books

Siddiqui, K, & Alam, A. (2009). Diplomacy and statecraft. Academic Press And Publishers Library.

Ameri, H. (2009). The functions of Diplomacy. Webster University Geneva.

Barratt, J. (1985). South African Diplomacy at the UN. Palgrave Macmillan, Londra.

Benridge, G.R. (2001). Diplomacy the Dialogue between states. McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Berridge, G. (1995). Diplomacy: theory and practice. Palgrave Macmillan.

Brenner, B. (2007). Gaza Under Hamas: From Islamic Democracy to Islamist Governance. I. B. Tauris.

Duvergey, M. (2009). Introduction to Politics. El-Atassi, J, Droubi, S  $\ .$ 

Hook, S. (2005). US Foreign Policy. D. C. CQ press.

Kabha, M. (2014). The Palestinian people: seeking sovereignty and state. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

Kadi, L. S. (1969). Basic Political Documents of the Armed Palestinian Resistance Movement. Research Center.

Kissinger, H. (1994). Diplomacy. Simon & Schuster.

Machiavelli, N. (1532). The Prince. Antonio BladoD'Asola.

Mohsen, M. S. (2005). History Of Palestine:Amethodological Study Of Acritical Issue. Al - Falah for Translation Publishing Distribution.

O'Callaghan, T. (2002). International Relations: The concepts. Routledge.

Satow, E. M. (1922). Satow's Guide to Diplomatic Practice. London; New York: Longman.

Shaw, M. N. (2008). International law (8th ed.). Cambridge, United Kingdom New York, Ny Port Melbourne, Vic Delhi Singapore Cambridge University Press.Watson, A. (1982). DIPLOMACY: the dialogue between states.Routledge.

Westhill, J. (2006). What is the significance of the treaty of Westphalia in the evolution of International relations. Columbia Encyclopedian Publisher.

#### 2- Articles

Mishal, &Sela, A. (2007). The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence. Columbia University Press. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1163/2468-1733">https://doi.org/10.1163/2468-1733</a> shafr sim220070066

Accord Brings New Sense of Urgency to Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. (2011). New York Times.

Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area. (1994). Security Dialogue, 25(3), 359–364. https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010694025003015

Amayreh, K. (2005). Palestinian Politicians Eye Alliances. Al-Jazerra,

Barahmeh, S. (2014). The Palestinians, the PLO, and Political Representative: the Search for Palestinian Self-Determination. The Atkin Paper Series.

Brown, N. J. (2003). Palestinian Politics after the Oslo Accords. https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520937789

Hilal, J. (1993). PLO Institutions: The Challenge Ahead. Journal of Palestine Studies, 23(1), 46–60. https://doi.org/10.2307/2537857

Høigilt, J. (2015). Fatah from Below: The Clash of Generations in Palestine. British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 43(4), 456–471. https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2015.1116375

Jaeger, D. A., Klor, E. F., Miaari, S. H., &Paserman, M. D. (2012). The struggle for Palestinian hearts and minds: Violence and public opinion in the Second Intifada. Journal of Public Economics, 96(3-4), 354–368. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2011.12.001

Jaeger, D. A., Klor, E. F., Miaari, S. H., &Paserman, M. D. (2015). Can Militants Use Violence to Win Public Support? Evidence from the Second Intifada. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 59(3), 528–549. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002713516843">https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002713516843</a>

Katzman, K. (2002). The PLO and Its Factions. CRS Report for Congress, RS21235(CRS-2).

Pina, A. D. (2005). Palestinian Factions. CRS Report for Congress, RS21235(CRS-2).

PSR. (2010). The Palestinian Strategic Report 2009/10. Al-Zaytouna Centre.

Sayigh, Y. (1997). Armed Struggle and the Search for State. University Press. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198296430.001.0001">https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198296430.001.0001</a>

Speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs under President HouariBoumediene rule, Abd al-Aziz Boutafliqa. (1965.(

The Origins and Evolution of the Palestinian Problem: Part5(1989-2000). (2014). The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

UN Security Council Candidate 2024-2025. (2022).

Wickremasinghe, C. (2010). 12. Immunities Enjoyed by Officials of States and International Organizations <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/he/9780198791836.003.0012">https://doi.org/10.1093/he/9780198791836.003.0012</a>

## 3-Electronic References

[1] ENTV. (2022, October 14). Palestinian Reunification Conference: "Algiers Declaration" stresses the importance of national unity as a basis for resisting occupation . المؤسسة العمومية للتلفزيون الجزائري.

- https://www.entv.dz/palestinian-reunification-conference-algiers-declaration-stresses-the-importance-of-national-unity-as-a-basis-for-resisting-occupation/
- [2] Abou Aisha, N., & AbouSamra, Q. (2022, October 13). مسودة الجزائر".. فرصة لمصالحة فلسطينية في انتظار آلية مسودة الجزائر".. فرصة لمصالحة فلسطينية في انتظار آلية (تحليل AL ANADUL. <a href="https://www.aa.com.tr/ar/2709749">https://www.aa.com.tr/ar/2709749</a>
- [3] AbouJalal , R. (2016, March 8). Why does Hamas, Fatah reconciliation keep failing? Al-Monitor: Independent, trusted coverage of the Middle East. Www.al-Monitor.com. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2016/03/palestinian-hamas-fatah-reconciliation-doha.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2016/03/palestinian-hamas-fatah-reconciliation-doha.html</a>
- [4] Abou Jalal, R. (2019, July 19). Egypt takes another stab at reconciling Hamas, Fatah Al-Monitor: Independent, trusted coverage of the Middle East. Www.al-Monitor.com. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2019/07/egypt-new-vision-palestinian-reconciliation-hamas-fatah.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2019/07/egypt-new-vision-palestinian-reconciliation-hamas-fatah.html</a>
- [5] Aboujalal, R. (2022, January 24). Can Algeria succeed in Palestinian reconciliation file, where others failed? Al-Monitor: Independent, trusted coverage of the Middle East. Www.al-Monitor.com. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2022/01/can-algeria-succeed-palestinian-reconciliation-file-where-others-failed">https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2022/01/can-algeria-succeed-palestinian-reconciliation-file-where-others-failed</a>
- [6] AbouSamra, Q. (2022, October 14). 3 عوامل تضمن نجاح "إعلان الجزائر" للمصالحة الفلسطينية. AL ANADUL. <a href="https://www.aa.com.tr/ar/A9/2711471">https://www.aa.com.tr/ar/A9/2711471</a>
- [7] Al-Quds News Agency. (2022, October 11). Al-Quds News Agency The Palestinian Dialogue in Algeria: Any Opportunities for Reconciliation and Ending the Division? 26 2023 مايو, W6nnews.com. <a href="https://w6nnews.com/al-quds-news-agency-the-palestinian-dialogue-in-algeria-any-opportunities-for-reconciliation-and-ending-the-division/">https://w6nnews.com/al-quds-news-agency-the-palestinian-dialogue-in-algeria-any-opportunities-for-reconciliation-and-ending-the-division/</a>
- [8] Al-Saidi, H. (2018, December 22). Hamas hails Russia offer to host talks with rival Fatah. Aa.com.tr. <a href="https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/hamas-hails-russia-offer-to-host-talks-with-rival-fatah/1345470">https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/hamas-hails-russia-offer-to-host-talks-with-rival-fatah/1345470</a>
- [9] Ateek, M. (2012, May 29). Egypt-mediated Palestinian reconciliation deal draws mixed reaction. Al Arabiya English; Alarabiya. <a href="https://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012%2F05%2F29%2F217340">https://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012%2F05%2F29%2F217340</a>
- [10] Balousha, H. (2022, October 4). Little success seen in Algeria dialogue for Palestinian reconciliation. Arab News. <a href="https://www.arabnews.com/node/2175036/middle-east">https://www.arabnews.com/node/2175036/middle-east</a>
- [11] Belenkaya, M. (2019, February 15). Moscow keeps calm with Palestinian reconciliation, undermines Trump's "deal of the century" Al-Monitor: Independent, trusted coverage of the Middle East. Www.al-Monitor.com. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2019/02/russia-palestine-talks-us.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2019/02/russia-palestine-talks-us.html</a>
- [12] Black, I., & editor, M. E. (2009, January 1). Saudis blame Hamas amid calls for talks with Fatah. The Guardian. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/01/saudi-arabia-hamas-gaza">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/01/saudi-arabia-hamas-gaza</a>
- [13] Dmour, H. S. (2022, October 23). "Algiers Declaration": Faint Chances of Success and Low Expectations. Strategiecs.com. <a href="https://strategiecs.com/en/analyses/algiers-declaration-faint-chances-of-success-and-low-expectations">https://strategiecs.com/en/analyses/algiers-declaration-faint-chances-of-success-and-low-expectations</a>
- [14] El Atti, B. (2022, October 5). Palestinian factions hold talks in Algeria next week. Https://Www.newarab.com/. <a href="https://www.newarab.com/news/palestinian-factions-hold-talks-algeria-next-week">https://www.newarab.com/news/palestinian-factions-hold-talks-algeria-next-week</a>
- [15] Fayyed, S., &Nacer, S. (2022, January 19). عربي BBC News الماذا تستضيف الجزائر حوار الفصائل الفلسطينية؟ https://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast-60057174
- [16] Gurbuz, M. G. (2023, March 1). BetweenIdealism and Realpolitik:Erdoğan'sQuest for Palestine. Arab Center Washington DC. <a href="https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/between-idealism-and-realpolitik-erdogans-quest-for-palestine">https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/between-idealism-and-realpolitik-erdogans-quest-for-palestine</a>
- [17] Jahshan, K. E. (2017, September 3). Is Palestinian Reconciliation Viable This Time? Arab Center Washington DC. <a href="https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/is-palestinian-reconciliation-viable-this-time/">https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/is-palestinian-reconciliation-viable-this-time/</a>

- [18] Jansen, M. (2022, October 10). Palestinian factions meet in Algeria to discuss reconciliation. The Irish Times. <a href="https://www.irishtimes.com/world/middle-east/2022/10/10/palestinian-factions-meet-in-algeria-to-discuss-reconciliation/">https://www.irishtimes.com/world/middle-east/2022/10/10/palestinian-factions-meet-in-algeria-to-discuss-reconciliation/</a>
- [19] JMCC Fateh and Hamas Reconciliation Agreement, May 4 2011. (2011, May 4). Www.jmcc.org. <a href="http://www.jmcc.org/Documentsandmaps.aspx?id=828">http://www.jmcc.org/Documentsandmaps.aspx?id=828</a>
- [20] JMCC Mecca Agreement. (2007, February 7). Www.jmcc.org. <a href="http://www.jmcc.org/Documentsandmaps.aspx?id=690">http://www.jmcc.org/Documentsandmaps.aspx?id=690</a>
- [21] Kayali, M. (2020, December 28). About the Failure of the Palestinian Reconciliation. The MENA Chronicle | Fanack. <a href="https://fanack.com/opinion/features-insights/failure-of-the-palestinian-reconciliation~157095/">https://fanack.com/opinion/features-insights/failure-of-the-palestinian-reconciliation~157095/</a>
- [22] Lister, T. (2010, November 29). WikiLeaks documents reveal Arab states' anxiety over Iran. Www.cnn.com. <a href="http://edition.cnn.com/2010/US/11/28/us.wikileaks.iran/index.html">http://edition.cnn.com/2010/US/11/28/us.wikileaks.iran/index.html</a>
- [23] Makled, M. A. (2022, October 18). Palestinian reconciliation under Algerian auspices SHAF Center for Conflicts Analysis & Future Studies. Shafcenter.org. <a href="https://shafcenter.org/en/palestinian-reconciliation/">https://shafcenter.org/en/palestinian-reconciliation/</a>
- [24] Marks, S. (2019). diplomacy | Nature, Purpose, History, & Practice. In Encyclopædia Britannica. <a href="https://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy">https://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy</a>
- [25] McGreal, C. (2006, January 12). Hamas drops call for destruction of Israel from manifesto. The Guardian; The Guardian. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/jan/12/israel">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/jan/12/israel</a>
- [26] Mohsen, M. S. (2022, October 27). Political Analysis: Palestinian Reconciliation in Algeria: What's Next?!AL-Zaytouna Centre. <a href="https://eng.alzaytouna.net/2022/10/27/political-analysis-palestinian-reconciliation-in-algeria-whats-next/#.ZFdiHnaZM2x">https://eng.alzaytouna.net/2022/10/27/political-analysis-palestinian-reconciliation-in-algeria-whats-next/#.ZFdiHnaZM2x</a>
- [27] Rahman, O. H. (2012, February 6). Palestinian leaders reinforce Fatah-Hamas reconciliation in Qatar. +972 Magazine. <a href="https://www.972mag.com/palestinian-leaders-reinforce-reconciliation-in-qatar">https://www.972mag.com/palestinian-leaders-reinforce-reconciliation-in-qatar</a>
- [28] Rasgon, A. (2018, December 20). Russia said to make push for intra-Palestinian reconciliation. Www.timesofisrael.com. <a href="https://www.timesofisrael.com/russia-said-to-make-push-for-intra-palestinian-reconciliation/">https://www.timesofisrael.com/russia-said-to-make-push-for-intra-palestinian-reconciliation/</a>
- [29] Rezeg, A. A. (2021, December 10). Algeria's recent proactive diplomacy on Palestine | Mena Affairs. Menaaffairs. <a href="https://menaaffairs.com/algerias-recent-proactive-diplomacy-on-palestine/">https://menaaffairs.com/algerias-recent-proactive-diplomacy-on-palestine/</a>
- [30] Suchkov, M. A. (2020, May 22). Russia's playbook on the Trump peace plan. Middle East Institute. <a href="https://www.mei.edu/publications/russias-playbook-trump-peace-plan">https://www.mei.edu/publications/russias-playbook-trump-peace-plan</a>
- [31] "Turkey Wants to Mediate Hamas-Fatah Reconciliation Talks." (2009, July 30). Haaretz. <a href="http://www.haaretz.com/news/turkey-wants-to-mediate-hamas-fatahreconciliation-talks-1.281075">http://www.haaretz.com/news/turkey-wants-to-mediate-hamas-fatahreconciliation-talks-1.281075</a>

## 4- ForeignReferences

## a- ArabicReferences

عبد القادر, ياسين. ( 2006). أربعون عاماً من حياة منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية. المركز الفلسطيني للتوثيق والمعلومات، ملفبخوش, صبيحة. (2011). اتحاد المغرب العربي بين دوافع التكامل الاقتصادي والمعوقات السياسية2007-2007. دار الحامد

. الدولي. معهد البحوث والدراسات العربية مبارك, ألخالدي أحمد. (1997). علاقة المنظمة بالسلطة بتدرج السلطات. جامعة بير زيت، رام االله

قجالي, محمد. (1990). ضبط الحدود الأقليمية و مبدأ حسن الجوار الحالة الجزائرية -التونسية [رسالة ماجيستير في القانون الدولي والعلاقات الدولية الدولية

يوسف, يوسف حسن. (2014). العلاقات الدولية والنظام السياسي الدولي. دار التعليم الجامعي. العايب, سليم. (2011). الدبلوماسية الجزائرية في اطار منظمة الاتحاد الافريقي [رسالة ماجيستسر

# b- French References

Discours du Président Boumediene: 19 Juin 1965-19 Juin 1970 Tome· I. (1970).

Fédération de France au C. N. R. A. Projet de Programme: Session de Tripoli, Mai-Juin 1962. (1962).

Khitaab al-RaiisHuwāriBoumedienne. (1973).

. Discours du Président Boumediene: 19 Juin 1965-19 Juin 1970. Tome II. (1970).

Balta, P., & Rulleau, C. (1972). lastrategie de boumediene. Sindabdde.

Malek, R. (1995). Algerie A Evian Rv. Seuil.