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*Manuscript*

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**FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PALESTINIAN  
STATEHOOD: A POLITICAL ASPECT**

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### **Relevance of the dissertation research.**

For a long period, the formation of state institutions in the territory of Palestine has been taking place against the background of the alternately aggravating global Arab-Israeli conflict, which remains one of the main unresolved world problems of our time.

Of course, the Middle East settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict itself has lost the importance that was attached to it at the beginning of the XXI century, and this was due to a number of reasons: first, the conflict has no long-term prospects for settlement due to the underlying virtually unsolvable key issues of the status of Jerusalem, refugees and uncontrolled construction of Jewish settlements; secondly, several more major conflict zones have emerged in Western Asia, which have a serious impact on both the regional and global political situation (Iraq, the civil war in Syria, the problem of Iran, etc.), and thirdly, international hydrocarbon markets have become largely independent of the dynamics of the situation in the Middle East.

At the same time, the Palestinian-Israeli differences served as a catalyst for statehood in the territory of mandatory Palestine, contributing to the emergence of the State of Israel, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, as well as the birth and development of the political and civil institutions of the State of Palestine. Moreover, during the more than 70 years of the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the Palestinians have made significant progress in the struggle for territorial possessions lost during the confrontation since the late 1940s, and in the formation of the institutional foundations of their own autonomous entity. So, in 1994, the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) was officially formalized, which on November 29, 2012 received the official status of an observer state at the UN.

The political processes associated with the conditions for the formation of an independent Palestinian state involve a large number of political actors, both global and regional, in their mechanisms, strengthening the role of international organizations.

However, today, a significant part of the land of the West Bank and the border Palestinian territories continues to be controlled by the Israeli armed forces, although it has received the status of "occupied territory" from the UN. Israel also, relying on the support of the United States, as one of the world's global political actors, ignores the resolutions of the General Assembly and the UN Security Council regarding "settlement activities" in the Palestinian territory controlled by it. The recognition by the US leadership in December 2017 of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, followed by the development of a plan for a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli issue (the "deal of the century" proposed by D. Trump in January 2020) by "cutting" the UN-recognized Palestinian-Israeli borders in favor of Israel, only continued to support the belief of the Jewish state in the correctness of its actions.

In turn, the announcement by Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas of the holding of general democratic presidential elections on July 31, 2021 and elections to the legislative Assembly (the Palestinian National Council) was significant in the history of Palestinian statehood) 22, 2021, after 15 years of political divisions and the inability to ensure the legitimacy of existing political institutions.

Thus, the question of whether there are sufficiently justified and objective grounds for asserting the existence of a Palestinian state as a full-fledged state continues to be on the agenda, which in turn determines the need for a separate comprehensive study of this political phenomenon and process and a political assessment of the actual prospects for further formalization of the political status of the "state state" of the Palestinian National Authority when it is formed.

A separate aspect of the relevance of the topic under study is the fact that the conflict situation around the Palestinian problem has an impact on the development and strengthening of political Islamization. Therefore, the issue of the rise of the radical Islamic movement Hamas, recognized as a terrorist movement by a number of leading states, whose growing influence among the Palestinian population led to the Islamization of the Palestinian political system, with an assessment of the potential threat of the "Palestinian state system" outgrowing in favor of an Islamic

totalitarian regime, is also of particular interest among scientists and specialists, requiring separate study.

The complex of the above reasons allows us to state a high level of actualization of the study of the processes of political formalization of the right of the people of Palestine to acquire their own state.

### **Scientific status of the issue.**

In the field of the study of statehood, a sufficient theoretical and practical basis has been formed for the study of state viability within the framework of self-determination of peoples, which can be applied to the Palestinian people to assess the need and viability of independent Palestinian state institutionalization.

The scientific literature on the subject of our research can be divided into several thematic groups.

The first group includes studies of the concept and essence of the state, which were carried out by thinkers of antiquity, such as Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, which were further developed in the Middle Ages and Modern times in the works of Thomas Aquinas, Marsilius of Padua, Niccolo Machiavelli, Hugo Grotius, John Locke, etc..

The second group includes the works of J. Baudin, T. Hobbes, G. Jellinek, L. Gumplovich, N. Korkunov, etc., devoted to the study of issues of sovereignty as a defining feature of statehood.

In this regard, it is necessary to identify a subgroup of foreign scientists who develop the problems and main aspects of state solvency as the most important feature of statehood as such: G. Nettl, Ch. Tilly, S. Bartolini, S. Huntington, F. Fukuyama, A. Stepan, H. Linz.

The problems of the development of statehood are also discussed in the research of Russian scientists who analyze the issues of the development of the state as a political institution. In this regard, it is worth highlighting the scientific works of A.I. Solovyov, Yu.A. Nisnevich, M.V. Ilyin, A.Yu. Melville, A. S. Akhremenko, etc.

The third group of works includes studies by R.G. Abdulatipov, Yu.V. Zorin, N.P. Medvedev, M.M. Mchedlova, Yu.M. Pochta, E.A. Pain, and others, in which the authors develop issues of ethnos, nation, religion, and politics within the framework of using religion and ethnicity as resources for solving political problems, including the acquisition of statehood.

In this group, we will single out the works of Abu-Amr Ziad, Abdul-Hadi Mahdi, Ayubi Nazih, Ad-Din Al-Afghani Jamal, Abdo Muhammad, Al-Banna Hasan, Seyid Qutb, Butko T. J., M. B. Margaryan, R. Landa, K. O. Telin, D. N. Hasan, Yu. B. Shipitsyn, etc., devoted to political Islam.

Within the fourth group, we will single out studies of the problems of Middle East politics and Palestinian statehood, which were considered in the works of Russian scientists: S. A. Bagdasarov, N. A. Balayan, G. G. Kosach, A.V. Krylov, M. A. Maistat, V. V. Naumkin, V. F. Pryakhin, R. A. Yavchunovskaya, etc. , as well as Palestinian specialists: Abu Mazen (Abbas Mahmud), N. As-Sahli, A. Badran, etc.

The fifth group includes the works of Western researchers A. Schleim, E. Berger, L. Kadi, T. Dupyi, B. Boutros-Ghali, M. Brecher, M. Tessler, N. Chomsky, which consider the Arab-Israeli relations. Among Russian researchers, this problem is reflected in the works of I. D. Zvyagelskaya, E. D. Pyrlin, A. D. Epstein, and others.

In this group, we will also highlight scientific works concerning the peculiarities of the emergence and formation of the State of Israel in the Palestinian territory, namely the works of A. Even, D. Meersmaer, E. Eliyahu and D. Ben Gurion.

The sixth group of the analyzed studies includes questions on various options for resolving the problems of international conflicts, including the Arab–Israeli conflict, which are reflected in the modern works of A. M. Asaad, E. S. Vasetsova, A. K. Dudaiti, D. A. Malyshev, E. A. Stepkin, F. O. Trunov.

Thus, since the problem of a political settlement of the question of the autonomous existence of the Arab population on the territory of Palestine

continues to be quite acute due to the more than half a century of the Palestinian-Israeli confrontation and the external irreconcilability of the parties to the conflict, which is acquiring new specific features, there is a large amount of heterogeneous scientific literature, which,, at the same time, it does not provide a deep and comprehensive analysis of the political aspects of the Palestinian statehood at the current stage of its development, including taking into account the assessment of the potential for Islamization of Palestinian political institutions and structures, as well as the assessment of the existence of real prospects for self-determination of the Palestinian society in the spirit of creating an independent state. This study aims to address such scientific gaps.

**The hypothesis of the study** is based on the statement that the formation and development of the Arab-Palestinian statehood (the process of institutionalization and formalization of the State of Palestine) is simultaneously promoted and hindered by a number of internal and external conditions and factors due to the long-term nature and unresolved nature of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, but the political achievements of the Palestinian state entity do not exclude the prospects for a gradual transition of the State of Palestine from de facto to de jure status.

**The object** of the study is statehood in modern conditions.

**The subject** of the study is peculiarities, contradictions and prospects for the development of the Palestinian statehood.

**The purpose** of the study is to identify the specifics and factors that contribute to and hinder the formation of the Palestinian statehood and the subsequent recognition of a sovereign of the State of Palestine in the world community.

The achievement of this goal determined the formulation and solution of the following **tasks**:

- to study the theoretical and methodological foundations of the formation of statehood;

- to identify the role of the religious factor and the degree of influence of the political teachings of Islam on the implementation of power interests in Palestine;
- determine the level of influence of the nation's right to self-determination as a factor in the formation of statehood;
- to consider the conditions for the formation of the genesis of the Arab-Israeli conflict;
- analyze the institutionalization of Palestinian statehood at the present stage;
- identify the most significant internal and external political factors affecting the process of Palestinian self-determination;
- to predict the prospects for the recognition of Palestinian statehood within the framework of modern political processes in the Middle East.

**The chronological framework** of the study covers the period from 1946 to the present. It is worth noting that special attention is paid to the period of the 60-90s of the XX century, as a period of special Arab-Israeli political tension, which had a significant impact on the processes of the formation of the Palestinian statehood.

**The theoretical background** of the study was the fundamental theories of statehood (contractual, patriarchal, theological, organic, political, legal, etc.), the concepts of peoples right to self-determination and territorial integrity of states, as well as the provisions and conclusions contained in scientific studies of Russian and foreign authors related to the definition of the most significant features and features of state education.

**The empirical background** of the study consists of:

- the results of the study of UN documents (resolutions of the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council) that directly address the problem of the Middle East conflict and its settlement;
- Proceedings of international conferences on the Middle East;
- documents of Palestinian organizations (the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the Supreme Arab Committee for Palestine (HAC)), texts of the Palestinian-Egyptian, Jordanian-Palestinian, Israeli-Palestinian agreements,

documents of the official nature of the Palestinian Authority, texts of official government statements concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict, session documents of the League of Arab States, results of meetings of Arab heads of State, speeches of Yasser Arafat and other Palestinian leaders, official statements of prominent statesmen of the United States, Russia, the USSR, Israel, Egypt;

- documents and materials of the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation.

When writing the work, we also used the results of studying American, Western European and Middle Eastern periodicals, including “Al-Jazeera”, “Al-Hayat”, “Al-Ahram Weekly”, “Associated Press”, “Foreign Affairs”, “Jerusalem Post”, “Internationale Politik”, “Iraq review”, “Middle East Journal”, “Middle East Policy”, “Middle East Review of International Affairs”, “Middle East Quarterly”, “Spectator”, “The Economist”, “The Egyptian a Gazette”, “The Christian Science Monitor”, “The Guardian”, “The Journal of Palestine Studies”, “Weekly Standard”, as well as Russian and Soviet publications (“Vostok”, “Abroad”, “International Life”, “International Processes”, “Pravda”, “Russia in global Politics”, “USA, Canada: Economy, Politics, Culture”).

**Methodological background** of the study. In the dissertation research were used a complex of scientific approaches (systemic, historical, institutional, instrumentalist, elitist, constructivist, primordialist, axiological) and methods.

The historical-genetic method and the method of conflict-discourse analysis made it possible to identify the characteristic and specific features of the formation of statehood in the dynamics of socio-political development against the background of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

the dialectical method allowed us to determine the regularities and contradictions of the political processes associated with the formation of the Palestinian statehood.

The comparative method allowed us to identify the similarities and differences in the formation and development of the Palestinian statehood in relation to other similar processes in the modern world.

The sociosynergetic method of research was used in the framework of a non-linear analysis of the discontinuity of the negotiation process of the establishment of the Palestinian statehood, which is influenced by the general Middle Eastern political situation.

The institutional method was used in the framework of studying the political system of the State of Palestine, the features of the formed Palestinian institutions of political power and governance, as well as in the framework of a comparative analysis of the formal and actual features of the Palestinian statehood.

The axiological method allowed us to determine the value factor of the formation of the self-consciousness of the Palestinian people in the framework of identifying signs of national identity.

To process the empirical material, the study used quantitative (content analysis, intent analysis, event analysis) and qualitative methods (the Delphi method).

The following general scientific research methods were also used in the study: system critical analysis, synthesis, the method of analogies, induction and deduction, as well as special methods: observation, included observation, scenario method, forecasting methods, etc.

**The legal framework** of the study is based on the acts of international law: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966, the Declaration on Principles of International Law of 1970, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of 2007, as well as individual legislative acts of Palestine and Israel.

**The research results** proposed for the defense and constituting **scientific novelty** are as follows:

1. Theoretical analysis of statehood made it possible to identify the conditions and factors influencing the dynamics of the evolutionary transformation of a separate territory into a full-fledged actor in the system of international law, to

generalize the criteria (signs) of this phenomenon, to determine the reasons that prevent the formation of full-fledged "consistency" of states.

2. The positive and negative aspects of the influence of the religious factor on the formation of the Palestinian statehood at the ideological and political levels are revealed.

3. The conditions and mechanisms for the possible application of the principles of international law (the right of the nation to self-determination) in the context of the Palestinian case have been determined.

4. The main substantive characteristics of the current political system in the state of Palestine have been substantiated in the context of the influence of the Arab-Israeli political crisis on the formation of the Palestinian statehood.

5. The main content characteristics of the current political system in the State of Palestine are proposed;

6. The conditions (internal and external) that both promote and hinder the establishment of an independent State of Palestine on the previously mandated territory of Palestine are identified.

7. The risk factors for the political formation of a sovereign Palestinian state are predicted, based on the unsettled internal structural contradictions, the eclectic nature of the internal and foreign policy pursued by the Palestinian authorities, as well as the influence of third forces.

#### **Provisions for protection:**

1. The "State of Palestine" has a number of state characteristics, among which social and ideological ones predominate, while kratological ones are expressed to a much lesser extent. The lack of two structural elements of the trinity, namely, the consistency of the political regime and the public structure (political institutionalization), a mature form of legal consciousness that requires a state-like formalization, prevents the acquisition of full-fledged "solvency" as a state of the Palestinian National Authority. The acquisition of observer status in the United Nations (2012) through formal recognition placed the Palestinian National Authority in an intermediate position between practical and actual recognition.

2. Despite the fact that religion is one of the determining factors in the formation of Palestinian statehood, the strengthening of the ideas of "political Islam" in this context significantly radicalizes the processes of political settlement of the recognition of Palestinian statehood and, consequently, acts as a deterrent to the recognition of this fact by the international community. At the same time, the religious element of the ideological nature acts as a binding link of the moral and spiritual unity of the Palestinian people. A special role in this issue was played by the cultural, educational, ideological and political activities of the PLO. In turn, Hamas has only shifted its self-consciousness towards the Islamic, in particular, fundamentalist affiliation.

3. It is determined that the realization of the right to self-determination at a certain stage was used by the Arab world as a political technology for solving problems related to the expansion of the territory of settlement of the Israeli ethnic group in the disputed territories.

4. The entire range of international projects (treaties, plans, etc.) aimed at resolving the political and territorial problems of the Middle East did not take into account the existing desire of the Palestinian ethnic group for its own statehood and thus made it a kind of "bargaining chip" in the processes of interaction between Israel, the Arab world and international mediators. This approach to some extent undermines the authority of international mediators and promotes the popularization of more radical models.

5. The political system of the national Palestinian Authority includes five main interrelated and interacting political actors: the PLO, Fatah, Hamas, civil society, and the PNA itself. The political status and interests of these actors, despite their differences, are equally affected by the occupation and administrative policies of the Israeli authorities and are directly supported only by external financial assistance. The internal crisis of the system of political institutions is expressed in the crisis of the PNA and the PLO, the confrontation between Fatah and Hamas, the crisis and differences in Fatah and Hamas themselves, as well as the emergence of new political elites in the territories of the West Bank. The

current system is also characterized by the presence of permanent parliamentary and governmental crises and the absence of an officially valid constitutional act.

6. In order to achieve political goals in the form of the establishment of a State-State of the Palestinian National Authority, it is necessary to solve internal and external political problems. External problems are caused by the unresolved territorial and economic problems with Israel (the refusal to recognize a Palestinian state, the construction of "disputed territory" in the West Bank by Israeli settlements, the "apartheid" policy towards the Palestinian population in East Jerusalem, military tensions). Internal problems concern the achievement of internal political balance and consensus in the actions of all subjects of the political system of autonomy.

7. The processes of formation of the Palestinian statehood, initially initiated by global supranational actors of political processes, are in conflict with the interests of sovereign states that are global (USA) and regional (Israel) leaders. Despite the current trends of globalization and the increasing role of the international community, supranational institutions, in solving various problems, the political potential and position of the United States and Israel in the negotiation process related to the formation of the Palestinian statehood are currently decisive, relative to other actors.

**The theoretical significance** of the provisions and conclusions of the dissertation research consists in identifying the features of the development of the Palestinian statehood in the context of political processes in the Middle East, revealing the essence of the Palestinian statehood by identifying the defining differentiated factors, in particular of an ideological nature, analyzing the specifics of internal and external contradictions, including the degree of their influence on the process of creating the State of Palestine, to identify possible prospects for the full recognition of a sovereign of the State of Palestine in the world community as a way to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli confrontation based on religious intolerance and territorial claims.

**The practical significance** of the work suggests the possibility to use the results of the research in the preparation of higher educational institutions for reading general and special courses, presenting oral and presentation speeches on the recent history of Africa and Asia. The conclusions formulated in this dissertation research can be used in the development of scientific studies and monographs concerning the current state and historical relationship of the foreign and domestic policies of the Middle East countries, as well as the practice of recognizing the rights of peoples to self-determination. The results of the study may be useful for specialists in the field of Palestinian-Israeli relations, including for public authorities and international structures.

#### **Approbation of the research results.**

The results of the dissertation research were tested in the framework of participation in the Moscow Scientific Conference of Young Orientalists on the topic "The problem of secession in Asia and Africa: the historical context and contours of the future" (Moscow, April 9, 2018), in the International scientific and practical e-conference "Youth Policy: world Historical experience and modern problems" Online conference sites (part 1) (Cheboksary-Poznan-Moscow, June 1-2, 2020), in the All-Russian Scientific and Practical Conference of students, postgraduates and young scientists "Student Community and Modern Science" (I. A. Bunin Yelets State University, Yelets, April 10, 2020), "Middle East: trends and prospects" October 20-21, 2016 (Moscow), "Middle East: trends, challenges, threats " 28-30 November, 2016, etc.

The main provisions and conclusions of the research of the dissertation research were reflected in eleven scientific publications of the author, including the peer-reviewed editions "Questions of Political Science" and "Bulletin of the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia. Series: Political Science ", recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission under the Ministry of Education and

Science of the Russian Federation, as well as in the indexed international database Web of Science.

The thesis was discussed at a meeting of the Department of Political Analysis and Management of the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia on March 6, 2018 (extract number from the minutes No. 1000-08-04 / 6) and recommended for defense.

**The structure** of dissertation is determined by the purpose and logic of the research and consists of an introduction, three chapters, including seven paragraphs, conclusion and bibliographic list.