

The Kurdish Factions and Forces in Syria





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Introduction

The Kurdish parties have several phases since its inception which affected its external form in terms of number and people who ruled it, and in terms of political demands and programs, and its vision to resolve the Kurdish issue in Syria.

The Kurdish parties began gathering in the beginning of the Syrian revolution after years of discord and differences, but the establishment of self-ruled by solo party was another reason for disputes, and the participation with other Syrian parties was a challenge for these parties which were delayed in joining the alliances outside the Kurdish group as a result of fear from the regime and democratic union party, and their relation with other Kurdistan parties.

To know the Kurdish forces and factions in Syria now is the priority of the politicians and researchers in Syrian affairs because of the ambiguity in the demands of these parties, especially at the beginning of the revolution, what they want in the Syria's future, the relations of these parties with the regional countries and foreign parties particularly the Kurdistan parties, and how these countries and parties affect the policies and orientations of the Syrian Kurdish parties, and the relations of these parties with the Syrian oppositions and with the Syrian regime.

This study seeks to provide a historical background about the emergence of the Kurdish political movement in Syria, and because the movement did not remain as it was when founded, but the number of components, demands and political programs have changed, so this study is trying to clarify the current forces, factions and gatherings and their current political demands and programs, and comparing them with their previous demands before 2011 to help readers to know this changes during this period.

We tried to provide additional explanations or referrals in the footnotes for the readers who interested to expand in references.

We would like to note that we ignored a lot of historical information, particularly what relating to the internal and personal disputes or defections within this movement because we did not think that it will be useful for the reader, and this disputes led to division within these parties, and we just mentioned the important information which is necessary to understand the

parties that are still exist in the Kurdish political movement in Syria to this day.

This study was divided into six sections covering the important aspects of the history and present of the Kurdish parties and forces. the first section reviews the pre-establishment phase, the second section discusses the establishment, the third section is about the defections and birth of new parties, the fourth section is trying to clarify the current situation of the Kurdish parties , the fifth section is about the political programs and vision of the Kurdish parties , and the sixth is about the relation between the Kurdish forces and the Syrian opposition.

First: Pre-foundation

The Kurdish movements started in Syria originally in 1927, which is the year of establishing (Khouiboun society) in Beirut by some Kurdish intellectuals and politicians including (prince Celadet Bedir Khan) to support the Kurdish movements and revolutions in Turkey¹, and this society was founded through the support of French Mandate authorities.

The association worked for the motto of (liberation and unification of Kurdistan) and its main headquarter was on the Syrian island region in addition to its headquarters in Damascus, Aleppo and Beirut.

A lot of people in this region joined the association especially from tribes and bourgeois.

An association called (Association of Unity of Kurdish Democratic Young) was established in 1953 in Qamishli, some of the founders was: Sami Moulla Ahmed Nami, Darwesh Moulla Souliman. Abdul-Aziz Ali Abdi and Mouhammed Moulla Ahmed 2, and it aimed to:

- The struggle for democracy which lead to the national rights
- demanding to teach the Kurdish language in Kurdish schools.
- demanding to establish Kurdish associations and social cultural forums³.

The association of revival the Kurdish culture was established in 1955, by Ousman Sabri, Abdulhamed Darwesh, Kheder Farhan Al-Essa,

Saadallah Ibrahim and Mouhammed Saleh Darwesh which aimed to revive the Kurdish culture and heritage, and printed about six books during two years before the integration with the democratic Kurdish party in Syria 1957.

Second: the foundation

The first Kurdish party in Syria was the democratic Kurdistan party on 14.6.1957⁵ by several people such as Ousman Sabri , Abdulhamed Darwesh , Hamza Nouwayran and Rasheed Hamo . the party Benefited from the democratic situation in the country during the phase after independence until 1958 which was the year of unity with Egypt , the demands of the party were as following⁶:

- The party struggles to maintain the national independence in Syria.
- Working to achieve a popular democratic regime in Syria.
- Create a special status for the Kurds in Syria to achieve their political, social and cultural rights.
- The party in its national social struggle depends on all national and democratic Kurds and the supporter of freedom⁷, as for the motto of (liberation and unification of Kurdistan) have differences opinions about adoption it, while Abdulhamed Darwesh which is one of the founders denies the adoption of this motto , the others believe that this motto was adopted by the party and led to the arrests of its officials and cadres by the Government of Unity and the Government of Separation after it.

The party suffered from several arrest campaigns targeted its founders and cadres, the first campaign was on 12.8.1960 where hundreds of members and leaders were arrested and led to disturbance in the structure of the party.

During the period of detention, some mottos which adopted by the party were points of disagreement between founders, while the others believe that these mottos are unrealistic and should be abandoned in prison at least to avoid harsh judgments and some others insisted to adopt them⁸

These disputes were the cause of defections in the future.

Third: defections and birth of new parties

The main causes of defections in the democratic Kurdish party in Syria centered around the stance towards Al-Barazani movement against the Iraqi regime in 1961⁹. and differences about the name of the party and its mottos¹⁰, in addition to the reason added by Abdulhamed Darwesh in its book which was "the desire of some members to get positions in leadership of party"¹¹.

these disputes led to the emergence of two parts, the first was known as (the left part) which belong to Moustafa Barazani, and the other was known as (the right party) which belong to Jalal Talbani who was against Moustafa Barazani¹².

The party was divided into two parts, the first had the same name which is (the Kurdish democratic party in Syria) led by Ousman Sabri and later turned into the Kurdish democratic left party) while the other had another name which is (the progressive Kurdish democratic party in Syria) led by Abdulhamed Haj Darwesh.

In 1970 , a common conference was organized between the two parties in Iraqi Kurdistan region mediated by " Moulla Moustafa Barazani" to unify the two parties , and a new leadership commission of the party led by Daham Miro has been assigned to try resolving the differences between the left and right parts , but both of them did not abide the decisions of the conference , and the temporarily leadership commission turned into a third party¹³ called (the Democratic Kurdish party in Syria) led by Daham Miro which was arrested after that for 8 years in the prisons of the regime.

A lot of defections happened in the ranks of these parties, in 1975 the (Democratic Kurdish party) led by Ousman Sabri until 1968 defected , and succeeded by (Salah Badr El-Deen) who added the word (left)to the name of the party , and the party later defected into two parties , the first stayed led by Salah Badr El-Deen , and the name changed into (The popular Kurdish Union party) and the other led by Esmat Seda and Yousef Debo which called (The left Kurdish party) .

The latter also defected in 1982 when Sebgatallah Seda and Abdulbaset Seda defected under the name of (Kurdish Shagella party).

In 1981, the Democratic Kurdish Party led by Daham Miro defected within itself, and a new part led by Sheikh Ali appeared and established (The Democratic Kurdish Action), and the original party had the same name.¹⁴

The motives of defections

It should be noted here that the previous paragraphs did not include all defections of the Kurdish political movement, but just reviewed the most important, as it should be noted that the defections have not stopped until today and changed into a phenomenon within the Kurdish political parties.

The motives of these defections are as following:

- **The Kurdistan attractions** for the Syrian Kurdish parties, where the Kurdistan parties represented by the Kurdistan democratic party which led by Masoud Barazani, The Kurdistan National Union Party led by Jalal Talabani and the Kurdistan Workers Party led by Abdullah Ocalan attracted the Syrian Kurdish parties towards them.
- **There are personal causes** for some defections as a result of the conflict on the positions within the parties.
- **The ideological disputes** which related to the ideas of parties , vision and mottos , and the intellectually form about the content in these disputes , while taking the applied form in other times between the realistic party which believes in the impossibility of applying this ideas ,and an ideological part who believes in the importance of this idea as a base to establish the party.
- **The self-management** was also a reason for the last defections within the Kurdish movement, where the parties were divided because of the orientation towards the self-management or towards The Kurdish National Council in Syria.

Fourth: the current map of the Kurdish forces in Syria

The Kurdish forces and factions are gathering now within three major groups:

- The Kurdish National Council in Syria.
- The Kurdish National Alliance.
- The Democratic Union Party and its allies in the self-management.

These forces were formed after the popular movement in Syria 2011, and were composed from the parties that existed originally before 2011, but the emergence of these forces was another reason for defections within the Kurdish parties, where some parties have defected and joined the national Kurdish council, the self-management, or the national alliance which is close to the self-management.

In the following part of this study, we will clarify how these forces appeared and their effects on the parties.

1-The Kurdish National Council in Syria:

It was founded in October 2011¹⁵, after about eight months to the start of the Syrian revolution, as a result of the Syrian opposition clusters which has equipped themselves for the post-Assad's regime.

Some Kurdish parties supported by Iraqi Kurdistan held the (National Kurdish conference) on 26-27/10/2011 with participation of representatives for 10 Kurdish parties and independent figures¹⁶, and the conference ended by the declaration of the council.

The movement of reform and the future movement joined the council in its second conference, and in 2015 the council dismissed 3 parties after accused of dealing with the democratic Kurdish union party and the self-management.

The National Kurdish Council includes the following parties:

The Kurdistan Democratic Party¹⁷: In April 2014, 4 Kurdish parties met in Erbil, capital of Iraqi's Kurdistan region and declared their integration under the name of (The Kurdistan Democratic Party - Syria).

These parties are: The Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria - the wing of Abdulhakem Bashar¹⁸, Azadi Kurdish party with its two parts (Moustafa Aouso and Moustafa Joumaa¹⁹) and Yekiti Kurdistan party led by Abdulbaset Hamo²⁰, and Soud Almoulla had elected as the secretary of the new party²¹.

The party considers itself as the normal extension of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria which was founded in 1957, and it is a main ally for Iraqi's Kurdistan region and its president Masoud Barazani.

Yekiti Kurdish Party in Syria²²: The party was founded in 1993²³, its current secretary is Ibrahim Berro, which is the current president of the Kurdish National Council in Syria who was exiled from the areas controlled

by The Democratic Union PARTY in Syria to Iraqi's Kurdistan region by the party on 14.8.2016 due to its stance against the policies of the party²⁴. The party was a part from (The Kurdish Democratic Unity party in Syria) but it defected in 1993, and it is the only Kurdish party which change its secretary every three years.

Fouad Aleko, Abdulbaqi Yousef, Hasan Saleh, Ismael Hami and Ibrahim Berro have assigned in this position since its founding alternately.

Kurdish Equality Party in Syria: This party was founded in 1992 after defecting from (the Kurdish Democratic Progressive Party in Syria), headed by (Abdel Hamid Darwish) since 1965.

Aziz Dawoud has assigned as a secretary of the party since its founding 1992 until his death in 2013, Nemat Dawoud has assigned as a secretary after the general conference on 29.11.2013 until now²⁵.

National Democratic Kurdish Party in Syria: It defected from the (The Kurdish Equality Party) in 1998 after the last defection from (The Democratic Progressive Party), headed by (Tahir Saadoun Safouk) since foundation until now.

Kurdish Reform Movement in Syria: Reform Movement was founded in 2011, after defection from (The Democratic Progressive Party Kurdish-Abdulhamed Darwish) The name (reform movement) was because its members tried at first to fix (The Democratic Progressive Party) before defection²⁶, and they founded the movement within the party as the (reform movement), but due to the developments they declared themselves a separate political movement from the Kurdish Democratic Progressive party. The movement was headed by (Faisal Youssef) since foundation until now.

Kurdish Future Movement in Syria²⁷:It was Founded in 2005²⁸, headed by (Mashaal Tammo) until his assassination in 10/07/2011, after his assassination internal problems occurred within the movement because of a dispute between Mashaal Tammo's family and some of movement's leaders on the leadership.

the movement currently is headed by (Simand Hajjo).

Democratic Left Kurdish Party in Syria - Shallal Geddo: This party was founded in 2013 after the defection from Democratic Left Kurdish Party in Syria- the wing of Saleh Geddo²⁹ due to the disputes about staying within the Kurdish National Council or joining the self-management.

wing of Shallal Geddo stayed within the Kurdish Council while Saleh Geddo joined the self-management.

Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria (Alparty): Ahmed Sino and his companions: In 1998, (The Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria ³⁰) after the death of his secretary (Kamal Darwesh) due to the disputes on the position of secretary defected into two parties : the first was led by (Mouhamed Nazir Moustafa ³¹) and was welcomed and supported by Iraqi's Kurdistan region , and it was integrated later in 2014 within the (Kurdistan Democratic Party - Syria) , and the second was led by (Nasr El-Deen Ibrahim) which was not supported by Iraqi's Kurdistan region , so it was less popular than the first.

In 2015, there were disputes within the party after the dismissal of (the democratic Kurdish party in Syria- wing of Nasr El-Deen Ibrahim) by the Kurdish National Council on charge of dealing with the PYD.

This dispute led to division of the part into two parts: the first was headed by (Nasr El-Deen Ibrahim) who got out The Kurdish National Council and founded the (Kurdish National Alliance) with some other parties, and the other wing was headed by (Ahmed Sino and some of his companions) who stayed within the Kurdish National Council until today.

Kurdish Democratic Union Party in Syria - Kamiran Hajj Abdo³²: Kurdish Democratic Union Party in Syria had the same experience of defection like (Democratic Kurdish party in Syria) which we mentioned above.

The party was founded in 1993 after the unity of several parties and political figures including (Democratic Kurdish Party headed by Ismail Omar), (the party of action) headed by Muhiedden sheikh Alli, (Kurdish Shagella party) headed by Sebgatallah Seda.

Ismail Omar is the president of the unity party since its foundation until his death in 2010, and sheikh Alli has become the secretary of the party since 1993 until now³³.

In 2014, the party was dismissed out the Kurdish National Council with other two parties which led to internal disputes within the party and divided it into two parts with the same name³⁴, the first was headed by Kamiran Hajj Abdo who stayed within the Kurdish National Council, and the other was headed by Muhiedden Sheikh Alli who participated with other parties in foundation the (Kurdish National Alliance).

2-Kurdish National Alliance ³⁵ :

The Kurdish National Council in December 2014 dismissed three parties out of the council after being accused of dealing with PYD³⁶, these parties were (Kurdish Democratic party in Syria -Alparty led by Nasr el-Deen Ibrahim), (Kurdish Democratic Unity's Party in Syria, led by Muhiedden sheikh Alli) and (Accord Kurdish Party led by Fawzi Shankali).

After several months, four Kurdish parties including the parties of Nasr El-Deen and Sheikh Alli held a meeting and declared the foundation of new Kurdish entity called the (Kurdish National Alliance³⁷).

This alliance is considered closer to the self-management and the Democratic Union Party than the National Kurdish Council in Syria, it admits this management as " an interim, and it must be protected and developed, and should unify its three states, enhance the defense capabilities of YPG and recognize of its role in defense the Kurdish areas from ISIL and Nusra Front and other takfiri factions.

as they considered the heroic sagas in Kobani as an important base in the Syrian progress towards freedom and democracy³⁸.

This cluster has been included the following parties:

Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria (Alparty - Nasr el-Deen Ibrahim):In 1998, (The Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria) after the death of his secretary (Kamal Darwesh) due to the disputes on the position of secretary defected into two parties : the first was led by (Mouhamed Nazir Moustafa) and was welcomed and supported by Iraqi's Kurdistan region , and it was integrated later in 2014 within the (Kurdistan Democratic Party - Syria) , and the second was led by (Nasr El-Deen Ibrahim) which was not supported by Iraqi's Kurdistan region , so it was less popular than the first.

Kurdish Democratic Union Party in Syria- Muhiedden sheikh Alli³⁹:Kurdish Democratic Union Party in Syria had the same experience of defection like (Democratic Kurdish party in Syria) which we mentioned above.

The party was founded in 1993 after the unity of several parties and political figures including (Democratic Kurdish Party headed by Ismail Omar), (the party of action) headed by Muhiedden sheikh Alli, (Kurdish Shagella party) headed by Sebgatallah Seda.

Ismail Omar is the president of the unity party since its foundation until his death in 2010, and sheikh Alli has become the secretary of the party since 1993 until now.

Democratic Left Kurdish Party in Syria - Saleh Geddo: This party was founded in 2011 after the defection from Democratic Left Kurdish Party in Syria which was headed by Mouhammed Mousa, and due to the disputes about staying within the Kurdish National Council or joining the self-management.

wing of Shallal Geddo stayed within the Kurdish Council while Saleh Geddo joined the self-management.

Accord Kurdish party: It was Founded in 2004 after defecting from (Democratic Union Party/ PYD), and it headed by (Fawzi Shankali⁴⁰)currently .

Kurdish reform movement in Syria (Amjad Ousman): Amjad Osman defected from (Kurdish reform movement) which mentioned above, in 2015⁴¹ because of internal disputes within the movement, and participated in foundation of (Kurdish National Alliance).

3-Democratic Parties of self-management⁴²:

Democratic Union Party / PYD⁴³:It was founded in 2003, and it is considered the Syrian wing of the Kurdistan workers party despite the denial of the party, but its rules of procedure states that " it is a part from the system of Kurdistan society⁴⁴" which considers the Kurdistan workers party /PKK as a part of it too⁴⁵.

The party suffered from several arresting campaigns before the Syrian revolution, and it was very active after the revolution and the most effective Kurdish party which is headed by Saleh Mousallam and Asia Abdullah currently⁴⁶.

The Syrian regime began to hand the Kurdish areas to the party and its military wing (units of people's protection) since 2012.

the democratic union declared the "democratic self-management " in the Kurdish areas within Syria in late 2013 to develop into the declaration of federal project on 17.3.2016.

these projects were refused by a lot of Syrian opposition parties including The National Coalition for Syrian opposition and revolution forces”.

The party accused by cooperation with the Syrian regime against the Syrian opposition.

Kurdish Left Party in Syria: It was Founded in 1996 and headed by (Mohamed Moussa) since its foundation until now⁴⁷. The party was a member of the Kurdish National Council, but it withdrew in 2013 to join the self-management.

In 2011 the party had disputes led to the defection of a group under the name of (Kurdish Democratic Left Party) led by Saleh Geddo.

Kurdistan Democratic Party of Syria - Jamal Sheikh Baqi:It was founded in 1978 and headed by (Mouhammed Sheikh Baqi) until his death in 1997, and headed by his son (Jamal Sheikh Baqi) until now⁴⁸. and joined the self-management since 2013.

Other parties: The self-management includes other small parties, which were founded by the close to PYD such as: (Liberal Union of Kurdistan) which was founded in 2011 and headed by Dr. Ferhad Tello , (Kurdistan Kheder party) was founded in 2015 and headed by Louqman Ahmee , (Communist Party of Kurdistan) was founded in 2013 and headed by Najm El-Deen Moulla Omer , and (Kurdish Democratic Peace Party in Syria) was founded in 2013 and headed by Talal Mouhammed.

Kurdish Democratic Progressive Party in Syria⁴⁹:This party is considered the normal extension of the Kurdish Democratic Progressive Party in Syria which was headed by (Abdulhamed Hajj Darwesh) since 1965⁵⁰until today , and it is considered the main ally of PUK which headed by Jalal Talabani.

The party suffered from defections and participated in foundation of the national Kurdish council in Syria since the first day but it decided during its 14th conference on 24.11.2015 to withdrawal from the council due to its own reasons⁵¹.

this party stayed away from the political partisan clusters until now.

Fifth: The vision and political programs for the Kurdish forces

The political programs of the Kurdish parties reflect a clear difference between their political vision and their current demands , all the Kurdish parties programs before 2011 were related to their political vision to solve the Kurdish issue in Syria by (the constitutional recognition of the Kurdish people as a second national , and cancel the racism projects⁵² ,and compensate those who affected by these projects ,and allow to learn and teach the Kurdish language and apply it as a formal language alongside Arabic in the Kurdish areas⁵³.

The demands of the Kurdish parties did not exceed the demand of self-management⁵⁴ and wider authorities for the national councils ,and other economic and development demands such as " develop the Kurdish areas and use the incomes of these areas to develop them"

Yekiti Kurdish party was only demanded the autonomy of Kurds after its sixth conference in 2009⁵⁵.

The democratic union party (PYD) like the other Syrian Kurdish parties, demands that the Kurds manage their areas through wide authorities for the national councils and provinces' councils, and the constitutional recognition of the Kurdish people and stop the racism projects that have been applied against the party during the rule of Al-Baath party⁵⁶.

But these demands have changed after the Syrian revolution, the level of the political vision of the Kurdish parties has raised, where the Kurdish parties changed their political programs.

Yekiti Kurdish party has adopted the federalism formally in its seventh conference 2013 ⁵⁷like the Kurdistan democratic party in Syria which is one from the main components of the Kurdish national council in its founding conference in Erbil 2014, and The Democratic Unity's party - wing of Kamiran Hajj Abdo in its last conference 2016⁵⁸.

The alliances and new entities also adopted this demand directly, where the Kurdish national alliance adopted the federalism as a solution for the Kurdish issue⁵⁹ in Syria, and also the Kurdish national council through its demands of (the federal Syria⁶⁰).

while the PYD has not modify its political program but it announced the project of Federalism with its partners in self-management on 17.3.2016.

It is believed that the parties have not adopted the federal within their programs yet, but they are waiting the general conference to adopt it and put it within their political programs.

the Kurdish party which did not adopt the federalism is the (Kurdish Democratic Progressive in Syria) in spite of the fourteenth general conference at the beginnings of 2016) was held, but is still demanding (autonomy) in their region⁶¹, and other demands which do not exceed granting broad authorities for the local councils and adopting democracy as a principle to govern the country.

And the party did not change its political program maybe because of the personality of the party's founder (Abdulhamed Hajj Darwesh) who is one of founders for the first political Kurdish party in Syria 1957, and he was against the motto of (liberation and unification of Kurdistan) because it is a unrealistic motto, and also he was against the change of the party to)the Kurdistan democratic party⁶²) and insisted on the current name of the party. The Kurdish future movement in Syria which is a member of the Kurdish democratic council, have not adopt the federalism yet , and just demands to grant the Kurds broad authorities in their region , but it demands the right of (self-determination) for Syrian Kurds within its political program , and considers the Kurdish areas in Syria a part from (the historical land of Kurdistan) and this does not contradict with (human rights' principles , conventions and international agreements⁶³).

The clear change in the political programs of the Kurdish forces after 2011 due to two main causes:

- The Kurdish parties **under the oppressive power of the Syrian** regime avoided to adopt the demands which may change the form of the state due to the fear of regime reaction in that time, and they found in the conditions resulted from the revolution an opportunity to adopt these demands which were always in minds of part members.
- Increasing **the link with the neighboring Kurdish** parties after the revolution, where no monitoring and controlling of regime after 2011, the conditions helped the Syrian Kurdish parties for good relations with the Kurdistan parties especially in Iraqi's Kurdistan to get the political and financial support by the region.

The Iraqi's Kurdistan region represented by its president (Masoud Barazani) welcomed several times the adoption of Syrian Kurds for Federalism as a

solution for the Kurdish issue in Syria⁶⁴ and encouraged them to unify their stance in this regard.

Sixth: the relation between the Kurdish Forces and the Syrian opposition

The declaration of Damascus was the first opponent's entity which combines Kurds with other groups of Syrian opposition⁶⁵.

The declaration was in Damascus 2005 included⁶⁶: Kurdish democratic progressive party in Syria, Kurdish democratic unity's party, Kurdish equality party, Kurdish democratic party in Syria - Abdulhakem Bashar and Azadi Kurdish party.

The cause that the other Kurdish parties did not join the declaration was : what the declaration raised to solve the Kurdish issue in Syria did not express their aspirations, which as stated in the declaration : " to find a just democratic solution for the Kurdish issue in Syria to ensure the complete equality for Syrian Kurds with all Syrian citizens in terms of " the rights of nationality , culture , learning the Kurdish language and the other constitutional ,political .social and legal rights , based on the unity of Syrian land and people , and it must restore the nationality and citizenship rights for those who deprived of them , and to Settle this file completely⁶⁷.

Several Kurdish parties after 2011 joined the national coordination commission for democratic change forces) which was the first political cluster after the revolution.

the Kurdish parties which participated the foundation of the commission were: PYD, Syrian Kurdish democratic party- Jamal Sheikh Baqi, the left Kurdish party, Yekiti Kurdish party in Syria.

In August 2011, Yekiti Kurdish party withdrew from the commission⁶⁸ after the inclusion of the sentence⁶⁹: " Syria is an integral part of the Arab Homeland⁷⁰".

In January 2016, PYD and the Kurdish democratic party announced freezing their membership in the commission to protest against the non-participation of PYD in the conference of Riyadh, due to the agreement of some members in the executive office for the commission on putting

(people's protection units) on the list of terrorism⁷¹ although that Musallam Saleh the head of PYD, was the vice president of the commission.

The Kurdish National Council delayed in joining as a complete cluster to the opposition clusters especially those which followed the Syrian revolution, it did not join the (Kurdish national council) except the Kurdish future movement which was out the Kurdish council at that time, and this might be the reason of Mishaal Tammo's assassination (head of the movement) in the Friday with the name of (the Syrian national council represents me).

The delay in joining the council to the opposition clusters due to three main reasons:

- The fear of the Kurdish parties especially those which were working inside Syria from the reaction of the regime. especially after assassination of Tammo, so they withdrew from the negotiation using many pretexts, the first was the non-recognition of the Kurdish rights by the opposition
- The fear of the PYD actions which was considered the (Syrian National Council) and the coalition for the Syrian opposition and revolution forces) as undesired entities in their control region.

The stances of the council are associated with Iraqi's Kurdistan region and its president (Masoud Barazani), the council did not make any decisions without approving of the region, so their joining or not is mainly based on the stances of the region not on the council directly.

The national council joined the coalition in September 2013⁷², and Abdulhakem Bashar⁷³, the former secretary of the Kurdish democratic party is the current vice president of the coalition.

The relation of the Kurdish forces with the Syrian opposition is Scattered and distributed to many entities, PYD joined the coordination commission with the close parties, before freezing its membership in 2016, the Kurdish National Council parties joined the coalition while (Kurdish Democratic Progressive in Syria) which headed by Abdulhamed Darwesh stayed away from any political (Kurdish or Syrian) cluster since its withdrawal from the Kurdish council until now

Results

Through the above information about the stages of Kurdish forces development in Syria, we got the following results:

the defections are main phenomenon within the Kurdish political movement since foundation until now, and began in the first Kurdish party and increased in the last period due to the stance towards the self-management and PYD.

since 2011, five Kurdish parties defected which were (Democratic Unity's party, Kurdish National Party in Syria, the Left Democratic Party, and the Reform Movement).

- The Kurdish forces linked with Kurdistan parties with most of its parties such as (Masoud Barazani, Jalal Talabani and Abdullah Ocalan) which despoiled it the freedom of making decisions internally at the internal level of the party, and externally in its relations with the opposition clusters.
- There is a clear difference between the political programs of Kurdish parties between the revolution and after it, where the political demands for these parties have increased after revolution due to the weakness of the regime and the encouragement of the Kurdistan parties.
- Most of the Kurdish parties are adopting the Federalism currently as a Kurdish demand in Syria.
- The Kurdish parties are divided into three parts regarding to relations with the Syrian opposition:

A part within the coordination commission represented by the PYD, the other part is within the national coalition represented by the Kurdish council and the third part is on the fence which is the Kurdish Democratic Progressive Party in Syria.

Footnotes

¹See: Mouhammed Moulla Ahmed, pages from the history of Kurdish liberation movement in Syria, p.6

and: Nouwri Hameed Bremono, lined from the history of Kurdish democratic party, Publications of (Alparty) in Syria, p.27 and: team of researchers, Syrian Kurds' issue, the Arabic center for researches and study politics, p.49.

² Mouhammed Moulla Ahmed, p.8

³ There was a dispute on the name of the party, Abdulhamed Darwesh said that its name was (the Kurdish democratic party in Syria) while others including Mouhammed Moulla Ahmed said that the name was (the Kurdistan democratic party in Syria).

See: Abdulhamed Darwesh, lights on the Kurdish movement in Syria, p.21, and Mouhammed Moulla Ahmed, pages from the history of Kurdish liberation movement in Syria.

⁴ Abdulhamed Darwesh, a previous reference, p.14

⁵ Abdulhamed Darwesh, a previous reference, Nouwri Bremono, a previous reference p.39, and Nour El-Deen Zaza, Hayati Alkourdy p.10

⁶ Abdulhamed Darwesh, a previous reference

⁷ The previous reference p.30, and Nour El-Deen Zaza p.109

⁸ The same reference p.57, see also nouwri bremono, a previous reference p.68

⁹ In 1961, Moustafa Barazani launched the armed action against the Iraqi government

¹⁰ There were disputes in the leadership to adopt the motto of "liberation and unification of Kurdistan" and also on the name of the party, there were disputes between two teams on the demand of (the Kurdish democratic party in Syria) and the name of (the Kurdistan democratic party in Syria)

¹¹ Abdulhamed Darwesh, a previous reference

¹² Mouhammed Moulla Ahmed, pages from the history of Kurdish liberation movement in Syria, p.77-82, and Nouwri Bremono, p.74

¹³ Abdulhamed Darwesh, p.177 and Nouwri Bremono, p.86

¹⁴ Abdulhamed Darwesh, p.223-224

¹⁵ The first Kurdish conference, YouTube video:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jwsAL7ALv5M>

¹⁶ The Press Conference for the Kurdish national council, YouTube Video:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iWu1DmFrSYs>

¹⁷ Kurd watch, the foundation of the Kurdish National Conference in Syria, YouTube Video: <http://kurdwatch.org/index?aid=2141&z=ar>

¹⁸ The formal website of the Kurdistan Democratic Party - Syria : the link: www.pdk-s.com/a/

¹⁹ This party is an extension for the Kurdish democratic party in Syria which was headed by Daham Mirro (mentioned in the paragraph of defections) the secretaries of the party were: (Daham Mirro, Hameed Sino, Moustafa Ibrahim, Elias Ramadhan, Kamal Darwesh, Mouhammed Nazir Moustafa and Abdulhakem Bashar)

20 Azadi party was founded in 2005 after the integration of the left Kurdish party and the popular Union Party, and defected in 2011 into two parties with the same name, one was headed by Moustafa Joumaa and the other by Moustafa Aouso

21 Yekiti Kurdistan party was founded in 2009 after defection from (Kurdish Yekiti Party in Syria) which is headed by Ibrahim Berro currently.

22 Kurdish parties founded the Syrian wing of Barazani's party, Al-Arabi Al-Jaded: <https://goo.gl/62KscJ>

The parties of political union will hold its unification conference tomorrow Thursday. ARA News: <https://goo.gl/c3lpIb>

The Kurdistan democratic party in Syria elected its secretary and its political leadership, ARA News: <https://goo.gl/eR8Wgo>

23 Yekiti party is a part from the Kurdish Democratic Unity's party which was founded in 1991, and defected in 2009, the part of Ismael Omar and Muhiedden Sheikh Alli (who is still managing the party) and the other part is headed by Fouad Aleko and Hasan Saleh, they changed the name of their part to (Yekiti Kurdish party in Syria), Yekiti means in Kurdish language: the unity

24 Asaysh PYD exiled the head of Kurdish Council to Iraqi's Kurdistan, Yekiti media: <https://goo.gl/AU80Wt>

25. The formal website of Yekiti Kurdish party in Syria, Yekiti media: <http://ara.yekiti-media.org/>

26 Dilshad Murad, the organizational and political map in Kurdistan Syria: <http://www.kobani.net/kobani10887/>

you can review the reform document of the movement within the party before defection: the link : <http://pdpkstj.blogspot.com/>

27 website of the Kurdish future movement in Syria: <http://www.shepelakurd.com/>

28 What is the Kurdish opposition, Kurd watch, p.13: <http://www.kurdwatch.org/?cid=230&z=ar>

see also: Dilshad Murad, the organizational and political map in Kurdistan Syria: mentioned above.

29The left Kurdish democratic hold its exceptional conference, ARA News: <https://goo.gl/kad3RQ>

30This party is the party which integrated with other parties within the (Kurdistan Democratic party-Syria).

31After the death of Mohammed Nazir Moustafa , Abdulhakem Bashar became the secretary of the party until 2014 , and after integration with other parties in (Kurdistan democratic party- Syria) Souud Almoulla become the secretary.

32The formal website of the democratic unity's party - wing of Kamiran Abdo, the political program: <http://pydks.org/>

33In Unity party, there is a position of president and the secretary, but the other Kurdish parties have only the position of secretary, this maybe because the party of unity comes from unity of two parties so the two-position created to prevent disputes, the position of the president is still empty until now after the death of the former president (Ismael Omar)

34 The declaration of Kurdish democratic unity's party, Yekiti media: <https://goo.gl/FN3pbN>

35 The formal website of the new Kurdish alliance, :<http://hevbendi.com/>

36 The Kurdish council canceled the membership of three parties , Yekiti media: <https://goo.gl/tGk7KU>

The Kurdish council canceled the membership of three parties,

Souritana:<http://old.souriatnapress.net/?p=8697>

37 The website of democratic unity's party , end of the foundation conference of the Kurdish National Council , the link: <http://www.yek-dem.com/?p=3052>

A Special file about the Kurdish national alliance , buyer press:

<http://buyerpress.com/?p=339574>

The Kurdish national alliance is a new Kurdish entity, Enabbaladi :<http://www.enabbaladi.net/archives/64962>

Akbar Al-Aan, the Kurdish National Alliance is a new Kurdish entity:<https://goo.gl/4UEEMV>

38 This was in its foundation statement: see: a special file about the new Kurdish alliance, buyer press (mentioned above)

39 The formal website of the Kurdish Democratic Unity's party:<http://www.yek-dem.com/>

40 Kurd watch: what is the Kurdish opposition: p.13

41 See the parties that formed the Kurdish National Council in this study.

42 Self-management includes Kurdish, Arab and Syriac parties and forces, but we will focus here only on the Kurdish parties which participated the self-management

43 The website of PYD: <http://pydrojava.com/>

44 This system includes: Kurdistan workers party, PYD, party of solution in Iraq and the party of free life in Iran.

45 See the program and Internal regulations of PYD ,2007, Publications of PYD, p.63

46 PYD and self-management follow the module of (common leadership) where each party or commission is ruled by a man and a woman.

47 What is the Kurdish opposition, Kurd watch, p.12. see: Dilshad Mourad, map of Kurdish organizations (mentioned above)

48 The same reference.

49 The website of the Kurdish democratic progressive in Syria:<http://www.dimoqrati.info/>

50 Equality Party and the Reform Movement were defected from it, they were mentioned in the components of the Kurdish National Council in this study

51 The democratic progressive party declared its forma withdrawal from the Kurdish Council, Yekiti media:<https://goo.gl/cDSefm>

The Democratic Progressive party declared its forma withdrawal from the Kurdish council. ARA News:<https://goo.gl/BUz92R>

the democratic progressive party declared its forma withdrawal from the Kurdish council, all 4 Syria:<http://all4syria.info/Archive/272720>

52 The Arabic belt means what the Syrian regimes did since 1962 until 1974 within the law of agricultural reform, which was bringing the inhabitants from Raqqa and

countryside of Aleppo after building the dam of Euphrates and flooded their lands by its water, the state gave them lands in Aljazeera. there are about 36 villages distributed on the road from Raas Al-Ain to Derrek. The Kurdish parties said that this project aimed to the demographic change in the region and demand to cancel the results of these belt and give lands to their owners. to know more see:

http://rudaw.net/Library/Files/Uploaded%20Files/arabic/hizam_alarabi_rudaw.pdf

53 See: the political program of Kurdish Democratic Party for 2007 . p.15

54 And the political program of the Kurdish unity's party in Syria 2005

:<http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=40054>

55 In a meeting with (Anwar Naso) a member of the political office of Yekiti party who attended the general conference in 2009, he said: there were demands to adopt the federalism like Iraqi's Kurdistan region, but the fear of the regime reaction prevent adoption it. meeting with the researcher on 25.9.2016

56 the program and internal system of PYD, mentioned above, p:45,51,59.

57 see the political program of Yekiti Kurdish party

:<http://ara.yekiti-media.org/programme/>

58 see the political program of Kurdish democratic unity's party:<https://goo.gl/51LYG0>

59 The member of leadership commission for the (Democratic Left Party) Emran Al-Sayed who attended the foundation conference of the Kurdish national alliance said that : the alliance adopted the demands of federalism formally for Syrian Kurds within its vision for the political solution in Syria , and said also : the Kurdish left democratic party adopted since 2011 the demands of federalism for the country but without determine the form of this federalism, meeting with the researcher on 25.9.2016.

60 The website of the Kurdish National Council, the political document for the council which adopted by the third conference:http://www.encuman.com/?page_id=125

61 The political program presented to the fourteenth conference of the party which was held in 2016, the researcher got it from (Hagar Kanrash) the member of the 14th conference for the Kurdish progressive party, he emphasized that the conference adopted this new vision during a meeting with the researcher on 28.9.2016

62 Some of these disputes were mentioned in the first part of this study.

63 See the political program of Kurdish future movement in Syria:<https://goo.gl/JDKZif>

64 The website of Iraqi's Kurdistan presidency, the statement of the formal spokesman about the future of

Syria:[http://www.presidency.krd/arabic/articledisplay.aspx?id=WWOB/LPfwfQ =](http://www.presidency.krd/arabic/articledisplay.aspx?id=WWOB/LPfwfQ=)

65 For more information about the declaration of Damascus, review the formal website of it:<http://damascusdeclaration.com/ar/home>

66 The Syrian Kurds' issue, mentioned above, p.88-89

67 The declaration of Damascus for change,

Approaches:<http://www.mokarabat.com/s903.htm>

68 The national commission of coordination, the foundation statement:<https://goo.gl/tGdRuz>

69 The same reference

70 In the foundation statement of the commission, in the fifth term, the commission explained its vision for the solution of Kurdish issue as following:

the national presence of Kurds in Syria is a main and historical part form the Syrian people, which is necessary to find a just democratic solution for the Kurdish issue within the unity of country and people, and to work together to adopt it constitutionally. this is not different from the sentence that Syria is a part from the Arab Homeland. see the foundation statement of the commission.

71 A dialogue with Ismael Hami, the secretary of Yekiti Kurdish party in september 2011, Kurd watch: <http://www.kurdwatch.org/html/ar/interview5.html>

72 The website of PYD: three parties declared freezing of their membership in the commission of coordination: <https://goo.gl/k9aQw8>

73 The components of the coalition: <https://goo.gl/vQBzKy>

See also: the national coalition agreed joining of the Kurdish council, Kurd watch : <http://www.kurdwatch.org/?aid=2936&z=ar>



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