The Emergence and Development of the Kurdish Political Movement in Syria

Preliminary Preface

ASO Center for Consultancy and Strategic Studies

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Writing about the history of the Kurdish political movement in Syria, including its arise and formation mechanism requires significant and extensive research and investigation, due to the absence of the references, studies, researches and books that examined the Kurdish political, social and cultural situation in Syria. This report is based on the principle of outlining the early stages of the emergence of Kurdish cultural, social, youth and political communities in Syria, starting from the French Mandate of Syria to the Syrian Republic independence, to the unity government, until Al-Baath Party came to power as of today. We hope this preliminary summary and this introduction will be an opportunity to prepare a broader concept, projects and research programs that address the Kurdish national awareness rise in Syria, examine its political and social conditions, and mark the beginning of organizational groups' formation in the Kurdish society.

The Kurdish political movement in Syria has experienced numerous political, social, and regional circumstances and interactions since its emergence. In addition, its members have been subjected to repression, harassment, arrest, exile, and security-related prosecution by the security services of the consecutive Syrian governments to rule in Syria. Nevertheless, on the other hand, in exceptional circumstances, including the Syrian revolution, the Kurdish political parties focus in Syria was mainly based on partisan organizational work, internal defections, and individual control of parties' critical decisions.

Security-related pressures and the political, regional and tribal incoherence had resulted in great defections in the Kurdish political movement, where dozens of Kurdish political parties were established and defected from their main parties, until the Kurdish followers and researchers in Kurdish parties' affairs had forgotten the political map and the number of parties and their officials, as well as the way they work and their similar political programs.

The Kurdish political movement in Syria had remained largely missing and lacking its political decision, and it sometimes was linked to Kurdish hubs. It had also no influence on the political solution in Syria and was not involved in international conferences as a representative of the second largest nationalism in the country. **Some researchers and observers attribute this to the absence of opinion unity, the Kurdish position, and the absence of internal Kurdish consensus, even though three conferences that were working on a Kurdish-Kurdish consensus took place at different times, but unfortunately all of them failed.**

Although the Kurdish political movement parties claim that they have political programs and projects to resolve the Kurdish issue in Syria, these projects are among the requests and desires, in which only the Kurds may believe. Meaning that, these political projects that political parties refer to are merely theoretical papers without legal, political and research dimensions and are not more than identifiable foundations that can be presented by individuals, rather than political institutions and groups.

THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF THE KURDS:

During the Ottoman occupation period and the French mandate for Syria, despite the presence of several Kurdish personalities in the civic and political life at the national level in Syria, it was not organizationally or administratively framed, and it was only restricted to individual activities. As during that period, a lot of Kurdish personalities had emerged in civil and political life, among them, Ahmad Ezzat Pasha, Muhammad Kurd Ali, Youssef Al-Azma, Ibrahim Hanano, Khaled Al-Barazi, Muhammad Ali Al-Abed, Hosni Al-Zaeem, Mohsen Al-Barazi, Fawzi Sallo and Khaled Bakdash ...etc. Not to mention the presence of many Kurdish characters on the media and technical level, and the reason for this mostly relies on the predominance of the national and religious feeling over the national sense towards the international and regional occupations of Syria, as all Syrian citizens including Kurds and Arabs were equalized in sharing grievances and violations against them.

Following Syria's independence, the national feeling of the Syrian Kurds has emerged, grown and increased as a result of the exclusionary actions, fanatic or chauvinist practices of those ruling power and authority in Syria. And here we provide some examples of civil and political mobility, which clarifies how the Kurdish discourse among Kurdish activists began to rise from cultural, civil and humanitarian practices and demands to political escalation and political parties' formation.

FIRST: THE KURDISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS IN SYRIA

The Kurdish cultural and social associations and clubs in Syria represented the forming basis of the Kurdish National Political Movement in Syria, and the constructing core of the national, cultural and knowledge awareness of the Kurdish people. As these clubs and associations played a crucial role in increasing the Kurds' interest in Syria towards the Kurdish language and learning it, as well as learning about the Kurdish political and social transformations in the light of the Ottoman state before its disintegration.

Furthermore, those clubs and associations had great impact in introducing the Kurds to their heritage, folklore, and spoken literature, which later on turned into written literature and a spread-culture among many groups in the Kurdish society, leading to the first Kurdish political party establishment in Syria, which its members were mostly the same people who ran these cultural clubs and associations during the French Mandate for Syria, after the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

Since we are currently unable to collect information and data on all associations and clubs because it requires inquiries, investigations and in-depth research, therefore, we will list here some these associations' and clubs' names, but the list is not exhaustive.

YAKITYEA KHORTAAN (YOUTH UNIT/SOLIDARITY) ASSOCIATION -1939

Yakityea Khortan Association was founded in the Kurdish neighborhood of the Syrian capital, Damascus, after the conditions of the Kurdish youth, whom France had excluded from the Kurdish region in Syria for the fear of pitting the masses against them, settled in the Syrian cities.

In Arabic language, Yakityea Khortan means Youth Unit. Yaktyea Khortan included a large number of young Kurds, and after Salahuddin Cultural Club and Hanano Club joined it, its name was changed to Kurdistan Club, which was chaired by Osman Sabri and Noureddine Zaza. Kurdistan Club was a sports club that aimed to reunite the Kurdish youth and work to teach them their mother tongue, as well as provide the essential support and assistance to the Kurdish youth coming from the Kurdish region to Damascus to study.

COOPERATION AND HELPING THE POOR KURDS ASSOCIATION - 1932

This association was established with the support of Khoyebon Association and its founding members, where the objective was to improve Kurds' conditions in livelihoods, educational and health fields, through constructing a fund and cooperation box to help the in-need Kurds. Hawar newspaper published in its second issue of June 1, 1932, an introduction of the association and its objectives.

 The association's center was located in Al-Hasaka city, however, it had other branches in the Kurdish region, and it played a significant role in spreading the Kurdish national awareness among the youth.

THE KURDISH YOUTH CLUB IN AMOUDA

The Kurdish Youth Club was founded in the mid-thirties, where the Kurdish poet, Jahkhar-Khoyen, had a prominent role in the permanency and continuity of its activity through teaching students the Kurdish language in Latin letters, in addition to teaching them history and geography.

The club band that was walking around Amouda streets was called Scouting, Al-Kashaffa in Arabic, and most of the club's work was supervised by Muhammad Ali-Shwish, where the club had distinguished activities in the neighborhoods in national occasions, especially in the Kurdish National Day "Newroz", and political and cultural seminars.

THE KURDISH CULTURAL REVIVAL ASSOCIATION-1955:

It was founded by Khader Farhan Al-Essa, Saa'dallah Ibrahim, Muhammad Salih Darwish, Osman Sabri and Abdul Hamid Darwish in 1995. It was intended to revive the Kurdish culture and heritage. The association printed a collection of books during its two-years career, and after that it was merged with the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria.

In the midst of the Syrian national political movement and at a stage, in which Syria had a democratic environment between 1954 – 1958, the substantive necessities imposed the existence of a Kurdish political party, which embodies in its political program the Kurdish people' political aspirations and guarantees their legitimate and human rights according to the data of that stage which is summarized as salvation and liberation recovery state for all liberation movements all over the world.

There had been a number of introductions that contributed to the emergence of the first Kurdish political organization in Syria and created a cumulative militant status among the Kurdish people and their successors, where the Kurdish associations and clubs were represented as a shield for political action as a means and tool to evade the harassment of the Kurdish feudal lords and the French prosecute for them .And during the national state's stage , the nationalist parties, which were Al-Baath and the Syrian National social party, and the Syrian Communist Party played the same role in harassing the Syrian Kurdish activists and accusing them of being secessionists. However, all of these stressors could not prevent the rise of the first political Kurdish party, Kurdistan Democratic Party, on June 14, 1957, which was established by a group of Kurdish youth, among them Osman Sabry, Abdel Hamid Darwish, Hamza Noiran, Rashid Hamo, Shawkat Hanan, Sheikh Muhammad Issa, Khaled Mashayekh, Jekharkhoen, Nour-eddin Zaza, Muhammad Ali Khoja and Khalil Muhammad,as well as the distinguished efforts of Jamilah Badrxan. The pollical program of the party included 10 main axes, and the following were among the most prominent features of the program, which summarized the essence of the Kurdish issue in Syria:

1- The party is fighting for preserving the national independence in Syria;
2- Working towards achieving a popular-democratic system in Syria;
3- Syrian Kurds should be given a special situation to achieve their political, social and cultural rights;
4- The party relies on all honorable and democratic Kurdish patriots in its social-national struggle.

In August, 1960, the Unity Government arrested the leaders of Kurdistan Democratic Party of Syria because of their adverse and critical positions towards the Arabic Unity, following a massive security campaign, where prison was the gateway of the first defection in the Kurdish political movement in Syria, as a disagreement broke out among Dr. Nour-Eddine Zaza and Osman Sabri regarding the questions that the military magistrates asked them about whether they were an association or a political party. As a result, and due to the increase in two parties' dispute, even after the defection, Mustafa Barzani called both parties to Nobardan region in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1970, along with a number of independent Kurds, to unite the two parties and solve their outstanding problems. Then, the interim leadership was formed after the two parties complied with the unity principle.

THE KURDISH MOVEMENT UNDER AL-BAATH GOVERNMENTS

The confrontation between the Kurdish political parties and the ruling authority back then, was still ongoing even after the end of Arabic unity era between Syria and Egypt; The policy that encountered the Kurds in the unity period was the same as what they faced after Al-Baath Party took over the country's authority. The Baath Party continued dealing strictly with the Kurdish people, and the state apparatus had implemented several racist and unfair policies against the Kurdish people in Syria; During Al-Baath Party period, the Syrian government implemented the Arabic Belt and emptied dozens of Kurdish villages of its residents, and instead resettled the Arabic citizens coming from Raqqa and Aleppo provinces, along the border between Syria and Turkey in Al- Hasaka province. During that period, an exceptional census of the population was conducted, where it stripped thousands of Syrian Kurds nationality and classified them among those Identity-Credit deprived and considered them as Al-Hasakah foreigners. Furthermore, the political parties remained banned in the country and the leaders and members of these parties were arrested and exiled.

In different periods, the Syrian government prevented the Kurdish people from using Kurdish names and forced them to name their children Arabic names, and this situation remained the same in Bashar Al-Assad era after the year 2000, where Bashar al-Assad suppressed political parties and arrested members of the Kurdish parties. However, what distinguished Bashar Al-Assad period was that it was the bloodiest and cruelest in the history of the Kurdish people in Syria and resulted in the Kurdish uprising in 2004, in which dozens of the Kurdish youth were killed and thousands of their students were expelled from universities. Additionally, thousands of civilians and activists fled to Kurdistan region, and hundreds of others were arrested, some of whom died while being tortured, and the security services targeted Kurdish civilians at Kurdish National Day's celebrations, until the beginning of protests in the country.

THE KURDISH POLITICAL PARTIES' MAP IN SYRIA

This section addresses a detailed explanation of the Kurdish political parties in Syria, including their numbers, establishments, alliances, and the negations that accrued between these political parties to achieve a Kurdish political consensus in Syria, and the reasons for its failure. In addition, it includes the names and leaders of the political parties that are active in the Kurdish political scene in Syria, regardless of their extent and strength in practice, even those parties whose members are not more than several people. It is worth noting here that the absence of a clear law on political parties or their establishment impeded knowing the strength and effectiveness of each party in the Kurdish political movement in Syria.

FIRST: THE KURDISH NATIONAL COUNCIL

On October 26, 2011, approximately seven months after the popular protests' outbreak in Syria against the Syrian regime, a group of independent political parties and Kurdish and social characters, along with Kurdish youth movements, held the National Kurdish Congress in Syria as an attempt to reach a Kurdish vision to solve the Kurdish issue and define the national

demands of the Kurdish people. The congress decided resolving all the Kurdish frameworks which the participating parties in the conference include (Front - Alliance - Coordination - political Council....) and the conference was considered as Kurdish National Council.

The congress considered the Syrian-Kurdish field, according to what was stated in the final statement, '' Kurdish people in Syria are indigenous people, who live on their historical lands and form an essential part of the societal, national, and historical texture of Syria, and this requires constitutional recognition of their existence as a major component of the Syrian people. In addition, they are the second largest nationalist in Syria, and a fair and democratic solution to its national cause in a way that guarantees its right to determine its own destiny within the country's unity should be found.'' The conference also considered that resolving the Kurdish issue is a focal point to accomplish democracy and an examination of the Syrian opposition forces that seek to achieve a better future for Syria on the basis that Syria is for all Syrians.

The political program of the Kurdish National Council had undergone numerous transformations during the Syrian revolution years, and its political vocabulary and characterization of events were also changed several times. In addition, its demands were altered according to the political developments in Syria and the changes in the Syrian situation. On April 23, 2012, the council's political program stipulated the constitutional recognition of the Kurdish people's existence and their national identity in Syria, and the consideration of their language as an official language in the country, and acknowledgement of the national rights of the Kurdish people.

As for the second national conference, which was also held in Qamishlo, in January of 2013, the political program of the Kurdish National Council stipulated that Syria should be a federal, democratic, pluralist and parliamentary state, and that the Kurdish region should be considered an integrated national unity, as stated in the Hawler-Agreement 2, between the Democratic Society Movement and Kurdish National Council.

The Kurdish National Council's political program also stressed the need to eliminate ''Arabic'' word from the Syrian Republic name and to cancel racist and exceptional projects, policies and decrees committed against the Kurdish people in Syria and compensate those affected.

	NAME	CURRENT PRESIDENT	
1	Kurdistan Democratic Party of Syria	Saud Al-Mulla	
2	The Yekiti Kurdistan Party – Syria (PYKS)	Suliman Osu	
3	Kurdish Democratic Equality Party in Syria	Nemat Dawood	
4	Kurdish Reform Movement in Syria	Faisal Yousef	
5	Kurdish National Democratic Party in Syria	Taher Safouk	
6	Kurdish Democratic Left Party in Syria	Shalal Kado	
7	Kurdistan Democratic Unity Party in Syria	Fasslah Youssef	
8	The Kurdish Future Movement in Syria	Fadi Maree	
9	Kurdistan's Vanguard party in Syria	Dr. Ismael Hassaf	
10	Syrian Yezidis Council	Mezgin Youssef	
11	Union of Democratic Parties	Zardasht Mustafa	
12	Kurdistan Leftist Party in Syria	Mahmood Mulla	
13	Kurdistan Freedom Movement	Siamand Hajo	
14	The Kurdish Future Movement in Syria	Rezan Sheikhmus	
15	Kurdish Democratic Unity Party in Syria	Hajar Ali	
16	Kurdistan Democratic Party- Syria	Ahmad Al-Sino	Recently joined with a seat
17	Kurdistan Democratic Party- Syria	Bahjat Bashir	
18	Kurdistan Democratic Party- Syria	Amin Husam	

SECOND: DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY MOVEMENT

The democratic Society Movement was established on April 3, 2011, in conjunction with the Syrian Revolution arise in Derik city in Al-Hasaka governorate. At that time, it was consisted of four main entities, which were the People's Assembly for Western Kurdistan, the Democratic Union Party, Union Star, and Families of the Martyrs Organization. Some Kurdish parties later joined it, so it became consisted of following entities and parties:

1. Democratic Union Party. It was established in 2003, and it is co-chaired by Anwar Muslim and Aisha Hasso.
2. Star Union
3. Families of the Martyrs Organization.
4. The Kurdish Leftist Party in Syria. It was established in 1996, and Mahmood Musa is its current secretary.
5. Kurdish Democratic Party of Syria (P.D.K.S). It was established in 1997, and its current secretary is Jamal Shekh Baqi.
6. Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party. It was established in 2013, and Talal Mohamad is its current secretary.
7. Kurdistan Liberal Union. It was established in 2011, and Ferhad Tello is its current secretary.
8. Kurdistan Communist Part. It was established in 2013, and Najm-Alddin Mulla Omar is its current secretary.
9. Kurdistan Green Party. It was founded in 2015 and its current secretary (Lukman Ahmi).

However, Democratic Society Movement has recently updated its organizational structure; as it changed the movement's structure and it only focuses on the civil work sectors. In addition, it eliminates the Kurdish political parties from the movement in order to join the Self-Democratic Administration and the Syrian Democratic Council as independent political organizations after their presence in the Self-Administration and the Syrian Democratic Council as a single-block/cell representing the Democratic Society Movement. Meanwhile, the movement includes civil activities and entities, such as civil unions, teaches' union, peasants' union, labor's union... etc, as well as the unions in Self-Administration areas, such as the union of pharmacists, obituaries, artists, intellectuals..., etc.

THIRD: THE SELF-ADMINISTRATION IN NES (NATIONAL UNITY PARTIES)

On November 11, 2012, the Democratic Society Movement announced Democratic Self-Administration Project, and on November 21, 2014, the establishment of Civil-Self administration was officially announced, by announcing Al-Jazzera region as the first provinces of Self-Administration, then Kubani Province on November 27, and then on January 29, the announcement of Afrin Province was announced, and this how the three provinces of Self-Administration were created and announced.

In its political framework, Self-Administration was formed from an alliance between the Democratic Society Movement, Arab tribes, Arabic political parties and societies, and Assyrian-Syriac nationalist parties, in addition to a group of Kurdish political parties outside the movement's framework, where the number of parties, groups, organizations and institutions participating in the Self-Administration was approximately 50 at that time. During 2018, the Syrian Democratic Council announced the Self-Administration of NES according to the regions' new administrative divisions and a new administrative system.

All the parties affiliated with the Democratic Society Movement had joined Self-Administration, in addition, the Kurdish National Alliance and some parties that were outside the frameworks and previous alliances also joined.

On May 18, 2020, a group of Kurdish political parties and movements formed in Syria a new political umbrella under the name "Kurdish National Unity Parties".

THE KURDISH NATIONAL UNITY PARTIES

	THE NAME OF THE PARTY	CURRENT PRESIDENT
1	Democratic Union Party	Anwar Musin- Aisha Hasso
2	Kurdistan Democratic Peace Party	Talal Muhameed
3	Kurdistan Liberal Union	Ferhad Tello
4	Communist Party of Kurdistan	Najmeddine Omar
5	Kurdistan Democratic Party of Syria	Abd Al-Kareem Sako

6	Kurdish Democratic Party of Syria	Jamal Shex-Baqi
7	Kurdish Leftist Party of Syria	Muhamad Musa
8	Kurdish Democratic Leftist Party of Syria	Salih Kado
9	Kurdistan National Rally Party	Muhamad Abbas
10	Kurdistan Renewal Movement	Rizgar Amin
11	Kurdistan Democratic Change Party	Mizgen Zaydan- Kameran Hussin
12	Union of Kurdistan Workers	Muhamad Shexi
13	Kurdistan Green Party	Luqman Ahmi
14	Syrian Kurdish Democratic Accord Party	Fauzi Shinglai
15	The Kurdish National Party in Syria	Mohiuddin Sheikh-Aly
16	Reform Movement – Syria	Amjad Othman
17	Kurdish Democratic Party (PDK)	Nasreddine Ibrahim
18	Kurdistan Brotherhood Party	Adnan Killo
19	The Kurdish Democratic Rove Party in Syria	Kovan Kano- Abdullah Kano
20	Free National Union Party - Rojava	Bijan Ibrahim - Tawfiq Hamdoush
21	Kurdistan Future Movement	Narine Mattini
22	Democratic Struggle Party	Khanf Mulla - Saud Majdal
23	Republican Party of Kurdistan	Bakr Muhammad Issa
24	Star Congress	Avin Sweed
25	Free Kurdistan Azadi Party	

FOURTH: THE NATIONAL KURDISH ALLIANCE IN SYRIA

The National Kurdish Alliance was established in February 2016, where it was formed of a group of parties which were dismissed from the Kurdish National Council after being accused of granting the independent seats' votes in the Kurdish political authority to politicians affiliated with the Democratic Society Movement.

The founding statement of the Kurdish National Alliance in Syria stated that the alliance works increase dialogues between the various factions and national frameworks, to reach the minimum number of mutual concepts, foremost among them are acknowledging the failure of the military option, accepting a peaceful political negotiating solution in both words and deeds, rejecting violence and fighting terrorist and extremist concept, in all its forms and names. In addition, drafting of a new consensual constitution for Syria in consistent with the aspirations and interests of the Syrian people, with all its components, including Kurds, Syriac Arabs and Assyria, and considering the existing Self-Administration as an interim necessity that must be protected and developed. As well as, unifying its three provinces and strengthening the defensive capabilities of the People's Protection Unit(YPG) and acknowledging its role in defending our regions and protecting them from ISIS and Al-Nusra terrorism and other takfiri factions, and we also consider the heroic epics that were written in Kubani as a major part in the march of the Syrian people towards democratization.

	The Name of the Party	The Presidency
1	Kurdish Democratic Unity Party in Syria P.Y.D.K. S	Mohiuddin Sheikh-Aly
2	Kurdis Democratic Party (PDK)	Nasreddine Ibrahim
3	Kurdish Democratic Leftist Party of Syria	Salih Kado
4	Kurdish Accord Party	Fauzi Shinglai
5	Reform Movement - Syria	Amjad Othman

FIFTH: KURDISH PARTIES OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORKS OF PREVIOUS ALLIANCES

Besides the Kurdish Council Parties, Self-Administration parties and the National Kurdish Alliance parties, there is also a group of Kurdish political parties which the extent of their ability and effectiveness in practice cannot be predicted due to the absence of laws governing parties' work, in addition to the lack of studies and research that can be relied on in figuring out the strength and existence of these parties and the their members' expected number. **However, most of these parties, excluding the Progressive Democratic Party, which has a mass fan-base and extensive political history, are either newly formed parties that were founded in light of the political chaos witnessed in the Kurdish unstable political scene that is incompatible with a clear political program and plan of action for the Kurdish cause, or they old parties that were established outside the Syrian geography (America - Europe).**

	The Name of the Party	Party's Representative
1	The Kurdish Progressive Democratic Party in Syria	Political Office
2	Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria	Khalil Ibrahim
3	The Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria.	Dr. Lazgin Fakhri
4	Yekiti Party of Kurdistan (P.Y.K.S)	Omar Dawood
5	The Kurdish Left Party	Muhammad Masum Omari
6	Kurdistan Leftist Party of Syria	Mahmod Mulla
7	Syrian Kurdish Democratic Accord Party	Nasha'at Muhammad
8	Kurdish People's Union Party	Hassn Akouli
9	Kurdistan National Council	Dr.Sherko Abbas
10	Kurdistan Freedom Party	Collective leadership,
11	Kurdistan People's Party	Izz al-Din Bru

CONCLUSION

The Kurdish political movement was surrounded by a set of reasons that further consolidated the defections and restricted the Kurdish political consensus in Syria regarding the crucial issues of the Kurds. Those reasons were mainly related to the Syrian Kurdish movement leaders' security services practices and the continuous state of political incoherence between the Kurdish parties, and the social, family, and regional concepts' control on the management of these parties. In addition, they were correlated with the absence of clear political ideas and ideology for the majority of Kurdish parties, and the restriction of defections only on personal reasons and leadership positions in the party.

The Kurdish political movement in Syria has historically failed to attract the Kurdish people toward the political programs that the Kurdish parties are working on. Additionally, it failed to create an attracting state for the entire Kurdish political movement to meet within single Kurdish political grouping framework, representing the Kurdish people in Syria. On the contrary, the Kurdish Political Movement and its leaders spared no effort to widen the gap between the Kurdish themselves, and between the Kurdish political parties as well. There exist no single Kurdish political party in Syria that can completely represent the intellectual, legal, or social conditions of the Kurdish people in Syria.

In fact, what distinguished the Kurdish Political Movement is that it had always been in constant disagreement and conflict, and it had never reached a consensus-state regarding the crucial issues and historical opportunities for the Kurdish people in Syria. The absence of consensus resulted in the formation of a great numbers of Kurdish political parties, and the state of party defections continued.

The political Kurdish alliances remained vulnerable alliances that do not rely on solid ideological and political foundation, despite the existence of some aggregate frameworks for these parties, such as the Kurdish National Council and the Kurdish National Alliance and others. Yet, these alliances and frameworks are temporary and are more-likely to fail at any moment. The Kurdish parties in Syria did not work on implementing unified and clear political programs for the Kurdish issue in Syria, and they did not create mechanisms for resolving that issue, nor did they interact with Syrian national cases.

The popular protests in Syria had revealed the crisis that the Kurdish political parties in Syria are experiencing in the organizational, intellectual and political aspects, with their continued subordination on the Kurdish axes that preserved their dominance of the Kurdish political scene in Syria, and transferred the differences between the Kurdish parties to the Kurdish political life in Syria.

The Kurdish political movement has preserved internal systems and traditional work programs that are not commensurate with the political, regional, and international developments, and are not proportionate with the supposed solutions to the Kurdish issue in Syria. It also maintained personal differences and self-interests in resolving the outstanding problems among the Kurdish parties in many aspects, and it continued relying on the 'one man' in the

managing of the party and rejected the other politically and intellectually. However, in its organizational process, it depended on regional and clan concept in defining the internal systems and partisan positions' distribution.

Perhaps today, more than ever before, the Kurdish political movement, is required to establish and create a comprehensive Kurdish political reference, which is at the level of the aspirations of the Kurdish people and their rights in Syria, where it can be able to recognize the crucial issues and cases related to their future position in Syria. This step can be accomplished through creating rapprochement atmospheres between the Syrian Kurdish parties and activating dialogue means between all parties and the conflicting political frameworks.

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