

# Modern History

## Introduction

After World War I and the break-up of the Ottoman Empire, 22 Arab states were created and Kurds were left without a nation state. Today Kurds are estimated to number about 40 million people, comprising 25 percent of the population of Turkey; 20 percent of the population of Iraq; at least 10 percent of the population of Iran and between 10 and 15 percent of the population of Syria. Sizable Kurdish populations also live in Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and the diaspora. The twentieth century was to be one of the worst in Kurdish history. Kurds suffered persecution in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria but this same persecution helped shape their moderate religious outlook and democratic aspirations.

In 1919, when the victors of World War I met to discuss the break-up of the Ottoman Empire and the formation of the League of Nations at the Paris Peace Conference, Kurdish leaders, including General Ihsan Nuri Pasha (who had been instrumental in an Armenian-Kurdish initiative in 1910 to form an independent Kurdistan) presented a case for an independent nation state called Kurdistan. The subsequent Treaty of Sevres (1920) proposed a new state of Turkey and small, unviable autonomous regions for Kurds and Armenians, in view of forming independent nations within 12 months if the populations so wished. Despite no agreement among the Allied powers or even within the British administrations as to the exact boundaries of Kurdistan, the League of Nations proposed that Kurdistan span southeast Turkey and parts of northern Iraq, with the status of Mosul to be decided.



Proposed borders, Treaty of Sevres (1920)

Source:

<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4b/Kurdistan1920.png>

Also see:

[http://www.edmaps.com/assets/images/02\\_kurdistan\\_sevres\\_1920.png](http://www.edmaps.com/assets/images/02_kurdistan_sevres_1920.png)

Provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres for an Independent Kurdistan (in 1920):

- - Proposed boundaries of independent Kurdistan
- - Boundaries of Kurdish-inhabited areas to have been given the choice to join the independent Kurdistan after August 1922

After Kemal Ataturk won the war of independence in Turkey, there was the need for a new treaty. The Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 made no mention of a Kurdish or Armenian autonomous region. Instead, because of competing territorial claims between the Kurds, Armenians and Assyrians, and because Kurdish aghas and sheikhs, including General Ihsan Nuri Pasha, believed Kemal Ataturk's promise of giving Kurds autonomy inside a new state called Turkey, the treaty stipulated that religious minorities be given language rights in Turkey. The treaty also covered the new nation state of Iraq. With the British in need of appeasing their Arab allies and having discovered oil in Kirkuk, it was decided that the Kurdistan Region would remain part of Iraq. Kurds had lost the opportunity to form an independent nation state.

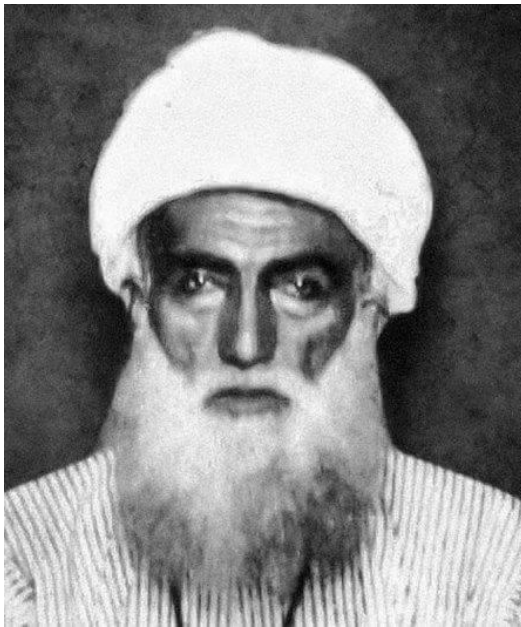
In accordance with the secret Sykes-Picot agreement made by the British and French in 1916, in 1920, the League of Nations gave the British a mandate over Iraq and in 1923, the French were given a mandate over Syria and Lebanon. By 1926 the modern border between Turkey and Iraq was delineated. Eastern Kurdistan was to remain part of Iran. Despite the Kurds becoming stateless, a strong Kurdish identity survived because most Kurds lived in isolated villages, were self-sufficient in food, lacked an education in the language of the rulers, and Kurdish intellectuals had not given up on forming an independent Kurdistan. In 1927, a number of these intellectuals joined with tribal leaders to form the pan-Kurdish *Khoybun* Independence League, which helped establish the Republic of Ararat (1927–1930).

Against assimilation and oppression in all four countries Kurds rebelled politically and militarily, leading to massacres, destruction of villages and deportation. From the 1920s Turks were moved into traditional Kurdish towns in eastern Turkey. From the 1930s Arabs were moved into Kirkuk and Mosul, the Arabisation of northern Iraq reaching a height under the Baathist regime between 1968 and 2003. The Arabisation of eastern Kurdistan (northern Syria) began in the 1960s.

In 1945, at the first conference of the newly formed United Nations in San Francisco, a Kurdish delegation from *Khoybun* submitted an application for an independent Kurdistan extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf. Because they did not represent a nation state, the United Nations refused even to consider their submission. After all, it requested the breakup of four nation states whose borders had been finalised 19 years earlier.

## Turkey

Modern Turkey was founded on a fierce form of nationalism. Contrary to the Treaty of Lausanne, Kurds were known as 'mountain Turks' and the word 'Kurd' and the use of the Kurdish language were banned until 1991. It was illegal to form Kurdish organisations. Kurdish leaders, activists, journalists, academics and parliamentarians, or anyone who spoke Kurdish or claimed to be Kurdish could be imprisoned, tortured and even executed. Against assimilation and oppression, Kurds rebelled in:



Sheikh Said Piran (1865 – 1925) <sup>1</sup>

- March-June 1921, during Turkey's war of independence, in what became known as the Kocgiri rebellion in the Dersim region of Sivas, Tunceli and Erzincan;
- 1925, when Sheikh Said Piran led 15,000 fighters in a rebellion for independence in the provinces of Diyarbakir and Mardin. In the rebellion, 5,000 Turkish soldiers and 4,000 Kurdish rebels were killed. Over 500 Kurdish leaders were executed and half a million Kurds were deported, resulting in the deaths of 200,000 people. Some reports claim 20,000 civilians were buried alive;
- 1927, when Sheikh Said's brother, Sheikh Abdurrahman led Kurds to capture the districts of Lice and Bingol, southern Erzurum and Bayazid, but they were driven out by the Turkish army.

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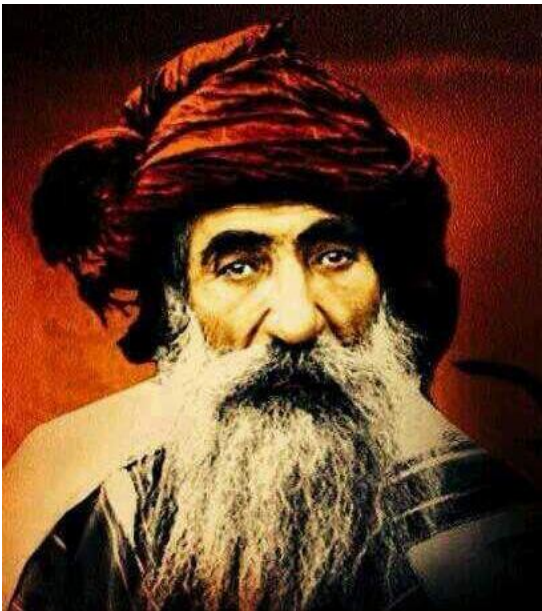
<sup>1</sup> Sheikh Said Piran. Source: <http://www.saradistribution.com/foto10/Seyx.Said.Efendi.jpg>



General Ihsan Nuri Pasha (1892/3 – 1976)

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- 1927 – 1930, in the Ararat rebellion in Agri province led by General Ihsan Nuri Pasha, who declared a Republic of Ararat. Both the rebellion and republic were brutally squashed by 66,000 Turkish soldiers and 100 fighter aircraft, with several hundred thousand Kurds being deported to western Turkey;

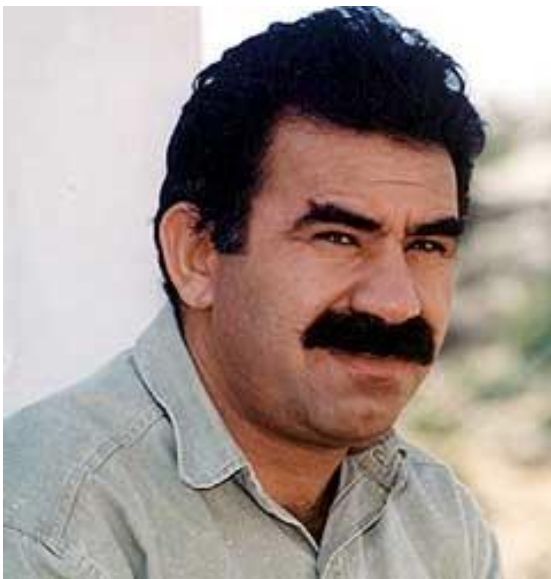


Seyid Riza (1863 – 1937)

- 1937 – 1938, when Seyid Riza led the Dersim rebellion against Turkification of Kurdish areas, including the forced relocation of Kurds. The rebellion was squashed with 25,000 Turkish troops and bombing from the air. All leaders were hanged. Between 12,000 and 70,000 people were killed and at least 12,000 people were deported.

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<sup>2</sup> General Ihsan Nuri Pasha. Source: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/1/1b/IhsannuriYashar.jpg/200px-IhsannuriYashar.jpg>  
Seyid Riza. Source: <http://bdas.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/seyit-riza.jpg>



Abdullah Ocalan (b. 1948)

- 1984 – 2013, when the Marxist inspired Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) led by Abdullah Ocalan conducted an armed struggle. The PKK fought for independence until the 1990s, when Ocalan changed the goal to ‘democratic federalism’ or self rule in Turkey. One of PKK’s greatest contributions was an insistence on equal representation of men and women in all spheres, including the military. The armed struggle led to the deaths of an estimated 5,200 Turkish soldiers, 26,500 PKK fighters and 5,200 civilians. Another 600,000 Kurds were displaced. In the state of emergency of the 1990s, thousands of Kurdish villages and farmlands were destroyed. NATO and 13 countries, including the USA and Australia, declared PKK a terrorist organization. In 1999, Abdullah Ocalan was expelled from Syria, arrested in Nairobi, brought back to Turkey and placed in solitary confinement. In 2013, the Turkish AKP government agreed to political negotiations and the first bilateral ceasefire between the PKK and the Turkish state. Until July 2015, the ceasefire was largely upheld.



Selahattin Demirtas (b. 1973)

July 2015 – ongoing, when the Turkish President, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, declared war on PKK after Kurdish forces had a number of victories against ISIS in Syria and in Turkey, the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) lost a parliamentary majority in an election held in June, largely because a pro-Kurdish party, the People’s Democratic Party (HDP), led by Selahattin Demirtas and Figen Yuksekdag, gaining 80 seats in parliament. Rather than forming a coalition, the AKP held another election in November, in which the HDP gained 59 seats. By this time the southeast of Turkey was in a state of civil war. The civil war started with Turkey sending fighter jets to bomb PKK bases in the Qandil Mountains of south (Iraqi) Kurdistan. Ever since, President Erdogan has repeatedly maintained the war will continue until every last ‘terrorist’ is dead.

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<sup>3</sup> Abdullah Ocalan. Source: <http://orientalreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/baskan.jpg>

Selahattin Demirtas. Source: <http://orientalreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/baskan.jpg>



Figen Yuksek dag (b. 1971)

- After 16 Kurdish towns and suburbs declared self-rule in August 2015, these towns and suburbs were subject to twenty-four hour curfews and sieges, and attacks by Turkish security force tanks, helicopters, artillery and snipers for up to three months at a time. PKK's youth wing resisted inside the towns and PKK attacked police and security forces at checkpoints, bases and along the highways. Between August 2015 and July 2016, 16 Kurdish residential areas had been reduced to rubble, more than half a million Kurds were displaced and an estimated 1,000 civilians, including children and old people, were killed by Turkey Security Forces or from being denied medical treatment. In June 2016, parliamentary immunity was lifted for HDP parliamentarians, who then faced terrorism charges and long terms of imprisonment, reminiscent of the imprisonment of Leyla Zana and other Kurdish parliamentarians in 1994. After an attempted military coup on 15 July 2016, the HDP was left out of negotiations for a new constitution. Kurdish mayors, officials, journalists and 11,258 Kurdish teachers were suspended from duty, sacked or arrested as part of a post coup purge.
- From August 2015, Turkey used warplanes, artillery, Special Forces, Syrian militia and ISIS to attack Syrian Kurdish forces fighting ISIS in northern Syria, claiming they were PKK terrorists. Turkey's invasion of Syria on 24 August 2016 was less about defeating ISIS than about forcing a withdrawal of Syrian Kurdish forces after their victory over ISIS in Manbij. Turkey opposes Kurds and their allies forming a contiguous autonomous region south of the Syrian-Turkish border. For details see KLA reports, 2015 – 2016.

Source:

[http://www.ankarameydani.com/images/haberler/2015/08/figen\\_yuksekdag\\_kimdir\\_nereli\\_evli\\_mi\\_kac\\_yasinda\\_vikipedi\\_h59974\\_50e87.jpg](http://www.ankarameydani.com/images/haberler/2015/08/figen_yuksekdag_kimdir_nereli_evli_mi_kac_yasinda_vikipedi_h59974_50e87.jpg)

## Iraq

Iraq was a British Protectorate between 1920 and 1932. The British encouraged Arab nationalism, but enticed loyalty from Kurds by promising them autonomy, if not independence. Kurds already had local administrations, but these were to be governed by councils appointed and advised by the British. Although Kurds were given the right to be educated in their mother tongue in the 1920s, their demand for regional autonomy or independence over an area that included Kirkuk was not met. As a result, Kurds rebelled in:



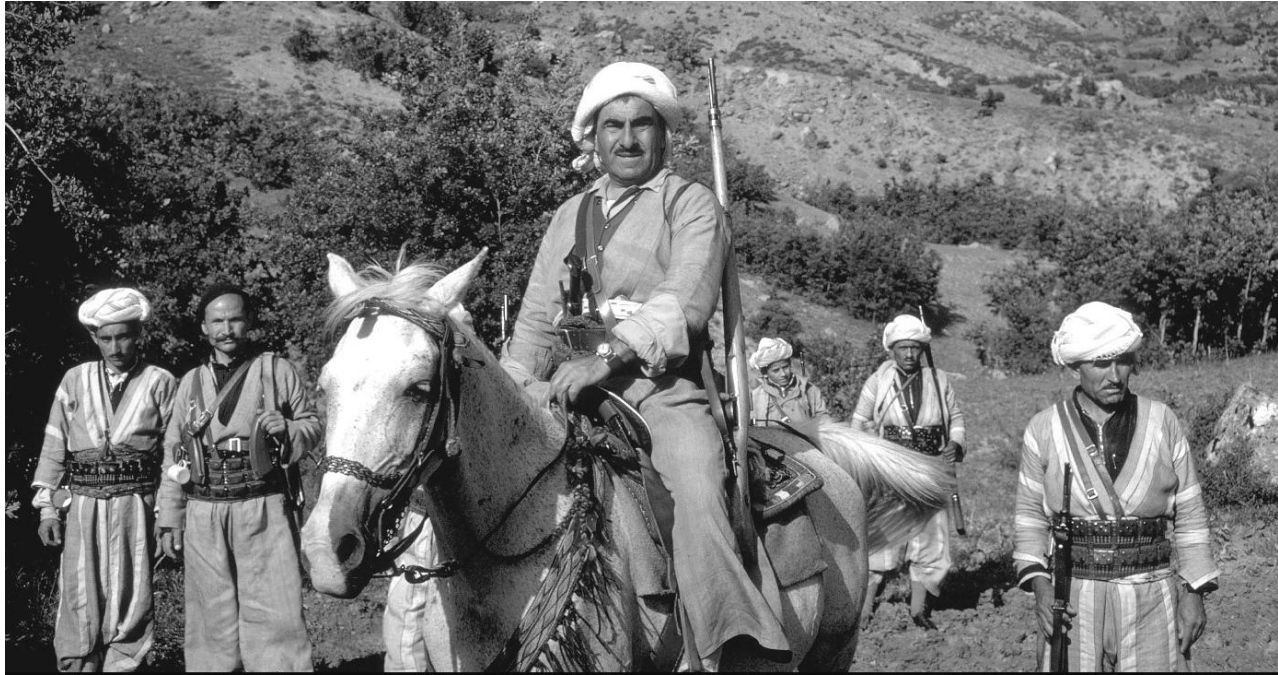
Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji (1879 – 1956) 4

- 1919 – 1922 and 1922 – 1924 led by a Sufi chief, Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji. In 1918, the British had made Sheikh Mahmud governor of Sulaimani, in order for Kurds to help fight the Turkish nationalists led by Kemal Ataturk, who demanded that Mosul become part of Turkey. When the British went back on their promise of an autonomous Kurdistan, Sheikh Mahmud led a rebellion that extended from Mosul to Sulaimani. He was captured outside Sulaimani, taken to Baghdad and sentenced to death but this sentence was commuted to exile in India. With ongoing Turkish military incursions into Mosul, the British needed a strong proxy local ruler to defend Mosul. On Sheikh Mahmud's return to Kurdistan in 1922, the British made him governor but then went back on their promise of an autonomous Kurdish government. Sheikh Mahmud led another rebellion, the British and Iraqi army taking control of Sulaimani in 1924. Sheikh Mahmud went into exile but helped inspire a third uprising in 1930-1932.
- 1930- 1932 led by Ahmed Barzani and squashed by the Iraqi army with British air and ground support.

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<sup>4</sup> Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji. Source: [http://z5.ifrm.com/30192/69/0/p1128998/552859\\_210623145720029\\_611465597\\_n.jpg](http://z5.ifrm.com/30192/69/0/p1128998/552859_210623145720029_611465597_n.jpg)





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Mullah Mustafa Barzani (1903 – 1979)

- 1935, when the Yezidi revolted in Shingal / Sinjar against conscription. The government killed 200 Yezidi and implemented martial law.
- 1943 and 1945 led by Mullah Mustafa Barzani, who had taken part in the 1931–1932 uprising. In 1946, Barzani and 3,000 followers fled to Iran where they defended the Republic of Mahabad, but when this collapsed, Barzani and his people walked to Azerbaijan and onto the USSR, where they lived until 1958.
- 1961 – 1970, led by Mullah Mustafa Barzani after the government of Karim Qassim failed to deliver on Kurdish autonomy, and in 1963, when a new Ba’athist government attempted to squash the Kurdish struggle and began Arabizing Kirkuk. The war ceased in 1970, when, under pressure from the USSR, the Baath regime granted autonomy to Iraqi Kurdistan, but excluded Kirkuk.

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<sup>5</sup> Mullah Mustafa Barzani. Source: [https://bywilliamcarter.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/barz\\_horse\\_border\\_crop.jpg](https://bywilliamcarter.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/barz_horse_border_crop.jpg)

- 1974 – 1975, led by Mullah Mustafa Barzani, after the Baathist regime failed to negotiate the status of Kirkuk. After the Algiers Agreement was signed by Iraq and Iran in 1975, Barzani’s Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) was forced into exile in Iran.
- 1976 – 1978, led by Jalal Talabani, who had split from Barzani’s KDP in 1975 and formed a coalition of five parties, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK);
- 1983 – 1988, when KDP and PUK fought the Baath regime. During the Iran-Iraqi war (1980-1988), Iran supported the Kurds. The Kurdish insurgency culminated in the Baathist regime’s Al-Anfal campaign against the Kurds from March 1987 until April 1989. During Al-Anfal 4,000 Kurdish villages were destroyed and at least 182,000 civilians were massacred. Others were interned in camps. Chemicals were used in attacks on Pesh merga in the mountains and on the town of Halabja, where 5,000 civilians died from chemical and conventional bombs on 16 March 1988.



Masoud Barzani (b. 1946)



Jalal Talabani (b. 1933)

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<sup>6</sup> Masoud Barzani. Source: [https://bywilliamcarter.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/barz\\_horse\\_border\\_crop.jpg](https://bywilliamcarter.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/barz_horse_border_crop.jpg)

Jalal Talabani. Source: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/95/Talabani\\_Sept05.jpg/250px-Talabani\\_Sept05.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/95/Talabani_Sept05.jpg/250px-Talabani_Sept05.jpg)

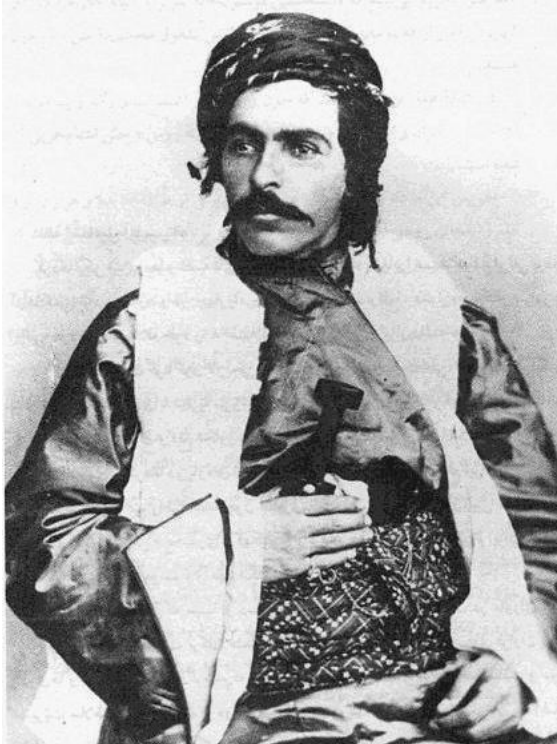
- 1991, following Saddam Hussein's defeat in Kuwait, there was an uprising of people in Kurdistan. The uprising was brutally suppressed by the Baathist regime, resulting in up to two million Kurds escaping to Iran and Turkey and the United Nations establishing a no fly zone north of the 36th Parallel, which excluded Kirkuk.

Under the protection of the no-fly zone, the people of Iraqi Kurdistan elected a parliament in 1992, which was not internationally recognized. Suffering from an international trade embargo against Iraq and a trade embargo put in place by Saddam Hussein against Iraqi Kurdistan between 1991 and 2003, and with no experience in democracy, civil war broke out in 1994, ending in 1997 with the intervention of the USA and Turkey. The USA intervened because it feared Saddam Hussein would take back Kurdistan, after the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) requested Saddam Hussein to intervene in the civil war. Turkey intervened because it wanted to clear the way for an offensive on the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) based in the Qandil mountains of south (Iraqi) Kurdistan.

In 2003, when the US-led coalition overthrew the Baath regime, Kurds fought alongside US-led coalition forces. Having more experience in politics than their Arab countrymen, Kurdish leaders, most notably, Masoud Barzani and Jalal Talabani, were in a strong position to negotiate a federal constitution for Iraq, which was passed in 2005. The constitution gave the Kurdistan Region of Iraq autonomy over three provinces (Dohuk, Erbil and Sulaimani) but not over the disputed territories, including the province of Kirkuk, and districts in Nineveh, Diyala and Salah al-din. While the Kurds were given the right to maintain their own security forces, called Pesh merga or 'those who face death', they remained under the fiscal and administrative control of the Government of Iraq (GoI). In January 2014, a breakdown in relations between the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) and the GoI led to the KRG exporting oil independently of Baghdad. Since June 2014, Kurdish Pesh merga have defended Iraqi Kurdistan and the disputed territories from ISIS attack without the support of the GoI. Kurdistan President, Masoud Barzani, has renewed calls for a referendum on independence and a referendum on the disputed territories being returned to Kurdistan.

## Iran

In Iran the Kurdistan region remains impoverished and heavily militarized. Although Persians and Kurds are closely related in language, culture and history, Kurds are discriminated against because of their ethnicity, and since the establishment of a Shia theocracy in 1979, their religion, as most Kurds are Sunni Muslim. This impacts their capacity to enter university or obtain government positions. They are not allowed to be educated in their mother tongue and in 2015 they comprised half of all executions. Aspiring to independence or autonomy, Kurds rebelled against successive Iranian governments in:



Simko Agha Shikak (1887 – 1930)

Source: <https://pbs.twimg.com/media/A3lL502CMAIwQi8.jpg>

- 1918 – 1922 and 1926, led by a Kurdish tribal chief, Simko Agha Shikak, the first revolt in the Azerbaijan – Urmia region supported by the Ottomans against the Qajars.
- 1941 – 1944 led by Muhammad Rashid and supported by various Kurdish nationalist parties.



Qazi Muhammad (1893 – 1947)



Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou (1930 – 1989)

- 1946, when Qazi Muhammad peacefully established the Republic of Mahabad with support from the USSR. When the USSR withdrew their support, the Iranian army attacked in force. Qazi Muhammed was hung in 1947.
- 1967 – 1968 led by the Kurdistan Democratic Party – Iran (KDPI) against the Shah of Iran.
- 1979 – 1982 led by KDPI and Komala. The Kurds supported the revolution against Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi but the KDPI leader, Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou and other Kurdish leaders were excluded from Ayatollah Khomeini's Assembly of Experts in 1979. When Ghassemlou demanded autonomy in Kurdistan and refused to lay down weapons, Ayatollah Khomeini declared a holy war on Kurds. About 10,000 Kurds were killed, including 1,200 political prisoners. Up to 200,000 were displaced.
- 1989 – 1996 led by KDPI, following the assassination of Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou when he attended peace negotiations in Vienna in 1989. In the initial clashes 472 government soldiers were killed. This caused the government to crackdown with force, including the use of artillery and aircraft to attack Iranian Kurdish bases in Kurdistan of Iraq, killing Kurdish prisoners in Iranian prisons and assassinating KDPI leaders and fighters. In 1996 KDPI declared a unilateral ceasefire. In 1997 Kurds received some representation in the Majlis (Iranian parliament) but their hopes for greater autonomy have yet to be realized. In 1999, when people in Mahabad, Sanandaj and Urmia protested against discrimination in Iran and the capture of Abdullah Ocalan, at least 20 protesters were killed by Revolutionary Guards.
- 2004 led by Kurdish Free Life Party (PJAK), which viewed the KDPI and Komala as being too passive in the face of continued militarization and underdevelopment of the Kurdish region. PJAK is affiliated with the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).
- 2016, when small scale clashes have occurred intermittently between and Iranian army and KDPI and PJAK, and Iranian forces have shelled their bases in Iraqi Kurdistan.
- Iranian Kurdish Pesh merga have fought against ISIS alongside other Kurdish forces in Syria and Iraq.

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<sup>7</sup> Sources: <https://rojnama.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/qazi-mohammad-25.jpg>  
[http://www.iranhrdc.org/files.php?file=thumbs\\_en/Ghassemlou.jpg](http://www.iranhrdc.org/files.php?file=thumbs_en/Ghassemlou.jpg)

## Syria

Under the French mandate of Syria between 1923 and 1946, the French practiced divide and rule tactics, granting autonomy to the Druze and Alawites, and identifying three Kurdish regions: Cizere, Jarablus and Kurd Dagh. Kurds were granted the right to publish in Kurdish and set up private schools for teaching in the Kurdish language. Kurds were also represented in the national parliament. In 1936-1937, Kurds joined forces with Assyrians in Jazira (Cizere) to demand autonomy, resulting in autonomy being granted for the region between 1939 and 1945, but the French rejected the 1942 application for Kurds to form an autonomous region extending along the Syrian-Turkish border. Syria gained independence in 1946, and in 1952 all political parties were outlawed. In secret, the Kurdistan Democratic Party – Syria (KDPS) was formed in 1957. In 1960, 5,000 KDPS members were imprisoned. Many Syrian Kurds joined the Kurdish struggle in Iraq in 1961. To prevent the struggle spilling over into Syria, in 1961 – 1962 the Syrian government created an Arab belt along the borders with Turkey and Iraq by trucking tens of thousands of Kurds out and settling Arabs on traditional Kurdish land. If Kurds resisted they were shot. The names of towns, villages and streets were changed to Arab names. The Arabization of northern Syria continued until the start of the civil war in 2011. In 1968, twenty percent of the Syrian Kurdish population was stripped of their citizenship. This meant they were not allowed to attend government schools or hospitals or be employed by the government, marry a citizen, or own land or a house. By 2011 there were 300,000 Kurdish non-citizens. In 2011 President Bashar al-Assad reinstated the citizenship of 220,000 of these people. Between 1946 and 2011, Kurds were allowed to speak Kurdish in private but were not allowed to speak publicly or publish in Kurdish. It was illegal to celebrate Newroz (Kurdish New Year) or give children Kurdish names. Against oppression Kurds in Syria resisted in:

- 2004, in Qamishli, when clashes broke out between Kurdish and Arab football fans and police fired into the crowd and killed three Kurdish civilians. Kurds rioted, destroying warehouses, public buses and private vehicles. Kurdish political leaders organized a peaceful protest at which thousands turned out. Initially demonstrators included Kurds, Christians and Arabs. Police and Arab militias fired into the crowd. Protesters gathered in Hama, Raqqqa, Aleppo and Damacus. Between March 12 and 25, up to 100 people were killed and hundreds injured by government forces. Two thousand five hundred protesters were arrested. Many were tortured, causing five prisoners to die. At least 40 protesting students were expelled from universities.
- 2011 – ongoing. After Mishal Tammo, a Kurdish political leader and founder of the Future Movement, was killed in his home and security forces opened fire on those attending his funeral, killing five people, Kurds joined demonstrations against President Bashar Al-Assad and his regime. In 2012, the Baath regime withdrew from Kurdistan of Syria, except for the towns of Qamishli and Hasaka, in an effort to focus their fight on opposition groups closer to the main population centres in the west.



Salih Muslim Muhammad (b. 1951)



Asiyah Abdullah (b. ?)

In 2012, a coalition of Syrian Kurds formed Peoples Protection Units to fight ISIS. The men's units are known as YPG and the women's units are known as YPJ. Since 2013, the Democratic Union Party – Syria (PYD), co-chaired by Salih Muslim Muhammad and Asiyah Abdullah, and the Kurdish National Council (KNC ) have established local multi-ethnic administrations in northern Syria and other areas freed from ISIS under a coalition called the Movement for a Democratic Society (TEV-DEM). These local administrations are not internationally recognized despite offering relative security and secular grass roots democracy, inspired by Ocalan's concept of democratic federalism, gender equality and sustainability. In 2015, the Syrian Democratic Force (SDF) was established to fight ISIS outside Kurdish areas. The SDF is made up of an estimated 30,000 Kurds and 5,000 Arab, Assyrian and Turkmen militias. Having been excluded from the United Nations supported political negotiations on the future of Syria, PYD, SDF and other representatives formed the multi-ethnic Syrian Democratic Council (SDC) in 2015 and announced the formation of a Federation of Northern Syria – Rojava. They propose that the federation should be incorporated into a future federation of Syria. For more details, see KLA presentations, 2015-2016.