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Geopolitical Transition in North of Syria: The Possibility of the Formation of Kurdish Region¹

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ABSTRACT

Middle East which was formed according to the Sykes-Picot treaty in 1916, enters to the third millennium in conditions that it has still remained like undeveloped and unsafe island in the world. In the meantime, Kurds as the largest stateless nation of the world have always influenced on these crises and have been influenced from them. Occurrence of Arabian spring has caused new conditions which have entered Kurds in new period of political and economic life. These new conditions have increased the necessity of doing independent and scientific researches about Kurds position in new geopolitics of Middle East. In this research which has been written by using of descriptive-analytic method and the method of collecting its data is in library form by using of constructivism we seek to prove this hypothesis that despite of formation of triple canton (Island, Afrin and Kobane) and with regard to the internal and external structural obstacles and effective role of regional and trans-regional actors, formation of Kurdish region in Syria at current situation is ambiguous but however retuning to the situation before 2010 ad is also impossible.

Keywords: The Middle East; Identity; Constructivism; Syria; Kurdish Region

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1. INTRODUCTION

Middle East region despite of concessions that has, has been always a stressful environment and the place of turmoil arising from ethno-religious conflicts for acquiring the economic, political benefits of regional and trans-regional powers. On the other hand influence and growth of beliefs and radical ideologies and apparently Islamic among the region extremists have provided the field of terrorist activities growth. In the meantime, outbreak of rapid transformations of recent years in Islamic countries especially: Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and civil war of Syria has entered the Middle East into new phase of geopolitical competitions of actors again. Syria is one of the countries which has special geopolitical importance in Middle East region. During the recent years, with formation of political crisis in this country, different regional and trans-regional actors have attended in it and they have played role that each one according to their benefits and interests has adopted special orientation in relation with this crisis.

After outbreak of civil war of Syria, the relationship of Syria Kurds with Assad entered into new stage. With outbreak of internal crisis of Syria in 2011 ad, Kurds who hadn't any satisfaction of Assad government policies attended in the opposite position of government and even took part in demonstration against the government. But gradually that the actions of radical Islamists against the regime became armed, Kurds opposed with this issue and knew discussion as the only applicable solution.

The questions that nowadays have engaged the minds of many Middle East experts and public thoughts to themselves are, now that formation of triple canton with governments dependent on P.K.K that in three Syria Kurdish regions is one of the most important political and field events of Syria , whether the plan of Syria dissolution and conversion of it to a multiracial secular society with establishment of Kurd, Shiite Alavi, Sunni and Druze is accomplished or not; with regard to the internal and external structural challenges and obstacles and also the effective role of actors in Syria crisis, whether the formation of Kurdish region in this country will be possible or not.

Also with considering rich natural resources in Kurdistan of Syria, whether these regions have the potential of formation of independent region or not. In responding to this spectrum of questions, it can be said: about the probability of formation of democratic autonomous government in Kurdistan of Syria, any specified international position hasn't been already expressed and this point should be reminded that Kurdistan of Syria is not the only PYD and there are also other parties and groups and now the autonomy provisions set of Kurdistan of Syria doesn't have political consensus of parties and groups and there are many regional and trans-regional obstacles and challenges on the way. Of course with regard to the international view and existing regional and trans-regional obstacles, it doesn't seem that Kurds of this country want their complete independence from Syria and formation of an independent country, rather they often prefer to live in the frame of a country which is federal form and they want to have their internal affairs in their hand. While Turkey with having the most number of Kurds in the region is not satisfied with this idea and is concerned about this issue that any kind of autonomy among the Kurds of Syria to be effective on the Kurds of Turkey and create security problems for Turkey (Argil, Kurd press news agency, 2015).

Generally from the view of partisans of autonomous government project with triple canton independence in Kurdish regions of Syria, the situations of these regions are in a manner that there is severe need to hold comprehensive conference for organizing and

managing them until the end of Syria crisis, At the end of this crisis, the nature of relationships with central government of this country should be also determined again (PUK media, 2013).

The future route of Syria, either with retention of Bashar al Assad or decline of him proceeds in a route that if in midterm doesn't lead to create the phenomenon of Syria Kurdish region, at least it will have this guarantee with itself that situation of the Kurds of this country will never return to the past years stations and definitely it can be said even if Bashar Assad system remains stable and surmounts on all political-security problems, definitely the Kurds situation will not return to the period before 2010 ad and their situation in Syria will face with positive changes.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The purpose of theoretical frame is the same kind of researchers' view to the research problem which causes the mental concentration of researcher and his movement in the route of a theory and avoidance from generally speaking and burbling. In fact, no one imagines the world as it exists, all of us see the world from behind the curtain of theories, presumptions and assumptions. From this view, observation and interpretation are not separable, at the same time that we see the world, we are involved in giving meaning to it. The cause of the theory importance is also the same which gives structure and frame to the dispersed and shapeless reality (Heywood, 2011).

In this research, it is attempted to study the structural challenges and obstacles on the way of formation of Kurdish region in north of Syria in the frame of « constructivism theory». The cause of selecting the constructivism theory in explaining the feasibility of Kurdish region is that the main theories of international policy (realism and liberalism) have been challenged since 1980s by incremental presentation of critical views. In this meantime, constructivism as the most effective approach among the post-positivism approaches to international theory after the end of cold war has attracted more attention to itself (Hoof, 1998).

3. CONSTRUCTIVISM THEORY

Constructivism has been the most effective post-positivism approach to the internal theory that after the cold war has attracted more attention to itself. This approach believes that there is no objective social or political reality independent from our perception of that (reality). Therefore constructivists reject the social world as a world consisting of concrete components and objects that exist in a place in outside and instead of it accept the existence of social world only in the form of internal intersubjective awareness among the humans. In final analysis, people either individual or in the frame of social groups construct the world in which live and act according to these constructs. When the people's beliefs and presumptions are shared pervasively, become important especially, particularly when they are used for creating the identity sense or distinct benefits among the persons or society. Therefore, constructivist analyses emphasize on the missing dimension of server structure debate in global policy (Gunter, 1993).

In other words, it can be said that constructivism is between the approaches of inside-to-outside and outside-to-inside, because believes that mental and semantic factors (beliefs, values, theories and presumptions) always act as intermedator between the interactions of structure and server. These semantic factors influence on both the manner of the servers, impressions of themselves and the manner of their perception and responding to the structures in which act.

However this means that constructivism is often an analytical and approach tool for understanding not a theory or set of fundamental and independent theories. Although constructivism is divided into different kinds but all its forms are common in three ontological interpretations and assumptions. Normative structures and ideas, common intersubjective norms and values play important role in international and foreign policies of countries; mental and normative structures have constructive and genetic role in forming the identity and benefits of countries, mental-normative structures and countries mutually give consistency to each other (Heywood, 2011).

4. COMPLIANCE OF THE THEORETICAL FRAME WITH THE RESEARCH SUBJECT

Kurds with common language, identity and thought are mainly dispersed in four countries: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and regions of Armenia and Azerbaijan and from a long time ago, they knew themselves as a separated nation and needless from merging in dominant identities. Some Kurds wanted independence and formation of a country based on Kurdish identity. This demand caused the dominant identities especially in Turkey, Iraq and Syria to seek their suppression. And their opposition with dominant identities on other countries has this possibility that can use of them for exerting the pressure on opposite side (Sheikh Attar, 2009: 106).

This point should be considered that Kurd issue in in artificial countries of Syria and Iraq and even Turkey is not comparable with Kurd issue in Iran, because Kurds in Iran have participated in evolution and formation of the government thought and they knew the Iranian and Aryan identity as important as their Kurdish identity and Kurdish identity is the inseparable part of Iranian grand identity.

New changes of political space of Middle East have created unmatched opportunity for Kurds since 2010 onwards to be helpful to operate out their purposes. This new geopolitics converts the identity-seeking of Kurds tp a reality through creating a federal not an independent government. Federal government is a model that large powers have used of it for stabilizing the Kurds superiority in ethnic and political regions of Middle East and with regard to the model of Iraq Kurdistan region, this model has been effective. Such model creates less sensitivity and can approximate them to their purposes. Arabic spring in Middle East has created opportunity for Kurds. Although empowerment of Kurds causes the serious regional opportunities, but these international regional and structural restrictions are not determinative and cn not be accounted a large obstacle against the identity-seeking of Kurds. In strict geopolitics of Middle East, identity-seeking of Kurds has been converted to a kind of anti-geopolitics. Such process is one of the long-term purposes of United States and this country will welcome any kind of countries dissolution in Middle East.

The notable point is that a new configuration has been formed in the region level and among Kurds especially by helping of the world media and effect on virtual space. This issue has helped to strength the Kurdish identity not only among Syria Kurds but also among all Kurds in regions of Iran, Turkey and Iraq. This identity will be very determinative in forming the behavior of people in Kurdistan of Syria. Also in the context of these changes, more unity and correlation has been created among the Kurds and we observed that the Kurdistan region government despite of its symbolic and ineffective form by high pressure on Turkey succeeded to send Peshmerga armed force and equipment for helping to Kurds of Syria (that was from Turkey territory which was famous with enmity with Kurds and didn't have much tendency to strength Kurdish proceeding of Syria with leadership of Turkish Kurds (Khaki. Javanmardi, 2014: 88).

5. THE BACKGROUND OF SYRIAN KURDISH CONFLICTS WITH CENTRAL GOVERNMENTS

When Ottoman Empire as "patient man of Europe" was placed in threshold of decline, Europeans who were greedy for Ottoman realm, provided themselves for dividing the Ottoman regions and creating a new order in the region, therefore in 1916 and before collapse of Ottoman empire with Skyes-Picot treaty, they provided themselves for despoiling the remained realms from probable collapse of this empire, finally after decline of Ottoman, Europeans in 1920 with Sevres treaty defined different political units for Ottoman realm that according to it, Kurdish regions of Syria, Turkey and Iraq in it had been considered as unique country, although after a while this treaty gave its place to Lausanne and Europeans forgot Kurdish issue and as executer governed on despoiled realm from Ottoman empire, the Kurdish regions of Syria also like other parts of Syria were the French shares, in these days, Kurds of Syria fought with new-emerged government of Turkey with headship of Ataturk (Mustafa Amin, 2006: 130).

If we want to consider the mainstreaming of Syrian Kurds conflicts with central government, we should see its apogee in 1946 that Baath party was empowered in Syria and after that systematically started the compulsive migration plan and removal of Syrian Kurds' identity. Especially after this event that Hafez Assad and Sadddam Hossein pursued Arab-out operations of Kurds (Lenur, 2004: 201). In 2000, Syria government tried to subtilize its procedure to Kurds a little, therefore for the first time, national identification card was given to a part of Kurds, but this procedure doesn't last for a long time and with strengthening PKK branch in north of Syria, practically Assad government opposed against Kurds of north of Syria so that Al-Qamishli revolution in 2004 weakened the possibility of any kind of agreement between Syria Kurds and central government of this country (Mahmudian, Kurd press News Agency: 2013).

Conflicts between Syrian Kurds and central government almost had reached to dead end so that Arabic turmoil of 2010 reached to Syria, at first turmoil hadn't embraced Kurdish regions, but with decline of Syria to the civil war abyss in 2011, Kurdish warriors without any demonstration succeeded to control the important part of Kurdish regions of Syria. Finally in 2012, Syrian Kurds during a conference in Arbil in Kurdistan of Iraq with issuance of manifesto entitled "manifesto of united forehead of Kurdistan parties of Syria" explain the map of future way of their under controlled regions so that finally in 2012 by leaving the key

Kurdish cities by Syria army Syrian Kurds succeeded to dominate on their regions. In fact, political changes of Kurdish regions in Syria have occurred in not very wide geographical domain that compared with crisis of the whole Syria, this issue hasn't had much media reflect. However, the effect of these changes is very vital and effective on political and sectarian competitions space of Kurds (Vahabpur, peace studies, International center, 2012).

Kurds of Syria during a short time showed that have high sectarian and organizational readiness for managing their regions. Bashar Assad that couldn't fight in several foreheads against invaders simultaneously preferred to give the Kurdish regions of Syria to themselves greatly. On the other hand, the close parties to Barzani organized their forces in Arbil and developed their activities by formation of an institution called native council of Syrian Kurds (ENKS) and in Qatar and Turkey countries, they established relationship with national council of opposites and then with coalition of Syrian opposites. They also formed a common institution with close groups to PKK called "Supreme council of Syrian Kurds that of course due to the internal conflicts, it stopped its activity soon and the designed sessions of this council remained suspended (Hushmand, Borna news agency: 2013).

Democratic union party of Syrian Kurds in order to proceed their purposes suggested the way map to other Kurdish parties of Syria and sought to promote the decision-making level of Syrian Kurds to a assembly, an assembly that tows the title of "assembly which is responsible for completing the autonomy project of Syrian Kurds" for itself, after that the assembly of democratic union party of Syrian Kurds suggests and draws the intermittent route for Kurdish regions of Syria in the first series of its decision-making in December in 2014. This assembly formally changes the Kurdish regions of Syria from the title of « temporary management system» to « democratic autonomy management», in other step this assembly by understanding of geographical dissolution of Kurdish regions of Syria decides to divide the Syrian Kurds realm to three autonomous regions of island, Afrin and Kobane with local legislature assemblies (Dastmali, Kurd press News Agency: 2013).

(Map No.1: announced cantons by Syrian Kurds).

Map No. 1. Announced Cantons by Syrian Kurds.



(Source: <http://www.ziryan.ir>)

But this way map of democratic union party faces with serious challenges so that it can be acknowledged that this way map has not much agreement on the component of the democratic union party and PKK, because on one hand other Kurdish parties especially "democratic party of Kurdistan in Syria" opposed with it and even some Kurdish factions knew it as indicator of dynasty-seeking of democratic union, on the other hand, Kurdistan region of Iraq as one of the most important Kurdish actors of region hasn't accepted it formally yet and accused the democratic union to cooperate with Syria system. Arabian opponents of Syria government also interpreted the behavior of democratic union party as repelling the revolution of people, in fact it can be acknowledged in this manner that the only Kurdish actor of region that has accepted "autonomy in Kurdish regions of Syria" is PKK that reminded this behavior of democratic union party as a "revolution" (Rudaw TV show, 2013).

6. THE POSITIONS OF SYRIAN KURDS IN FACING WITH SYRIA CHANGES

Syrian Kurds have had different positions for political-security changes occurred, as follows:

6. 1. Short Time Accompaniment with Opponents of Syria Government

Although Kurdish regions of Syria have been under the control of security and military forces of Syria, but with different excuses such as Nowruz celebration or killed leaders like Mashaal Teammo, it has been sometimes converted to a scene of dispersed complaints and these indicate lack of their satisfaction of their situation in Syria. Due to it, the first natural reaction of Syrian Kurds to the complaints and conflicts started in the south of Syria was a kind of announcing support that it shows itself in some restricted street demonstration in some Kurdish regions and cities. Of course these complaints were finished very soon both by the effect of security forces and also by recommendation of some Kurdish leaders of Iraq.

6. 2. Forbearance and Peace Policy in the Region

The second reaction of Syrian Kurds was to adopt patience and waiting policy with development of secret activities in Kurdish regions. Perhaps «Jalal Talabani» the previous president of Iraq can be known as the most effective person in adopting this policy; because some days after occurrence of several dispersed demonstrations by Syrian Kurds, he in meeting with some Kurdish leaders of this country wanted from them to keep the peace in existing space and quid pro quo, in addition to increase the political-intellectual movements, debate with central government for obtaining more rights for Kurds. Accepting the issuance of Identity Card for more than 60 thousands persons of half million Kurds without Identity Card occurred in their first reformative action by Syria government at the time of applying this strategy. Also this strategy had much effect on next agreement with government for controlling Kurdish regions.

6. 3. Agreement with Central Government of Syria

The third possible change in the north of Syria returns to unwritten and informal agreement of central government with some of Kurdish parties in Syria for controlling some cities such as Seri Kani (Ras al-Ayn), Kobane (Ayn al-Arab) and Afrin. Development of

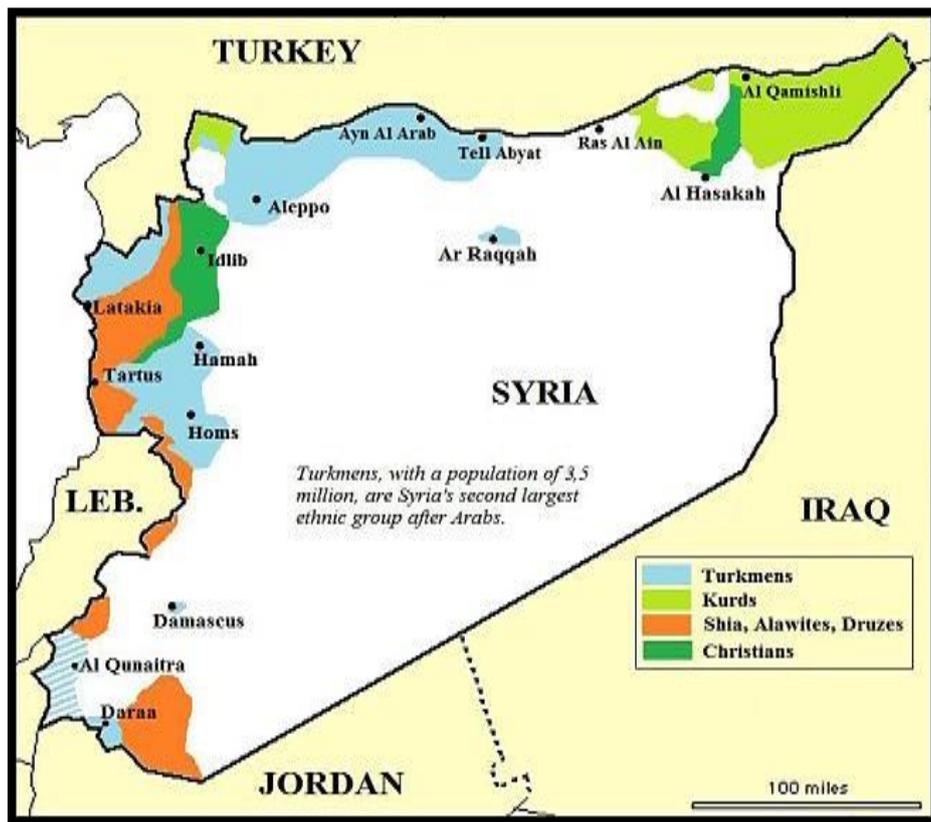
fighting between free army forces and other opposites and central government in Aleppo and other involved regions beside patience technique and a kind of forbearance with government caused the Syria government to give over the control of mentioned cities to the democratic union parties and the dependent proceedings on it compulsively.

6. 4. Closeness to Opposition

The last change in Kurdish positions of Syria returns to new attempts of some Kurdish parties and also national council of Syria opposition in which the parties have reduced the harsh positions against each other relatively. In this stage « Abdolbaset Sieda» doesn't have the leadership of national council of Syria opposition in his hand anymore, and this important responsibility has been given over to « Moaz al-Khatib» . Generally national coalition of Syria opposition for obtaining more international supports has adopted the strategy of maximum coverage and absorption of parties and different Syrian groups such as Kurds. Of course this council hasn't accepted the dependent proceeding on PYD party union yet and it has announced explicitly that will prevent from their annexation to opposition and free army. Therefore, it should be said the last changes in Kurdish positions of Syria against opposition are still ongoing (Kurdistan online, 2013).

6. 5. The Challenges that Syrian Kurds Face with Them for Independence

Map No. 2. Geographical Dispersion of Syrian Kurds.



(Source: <http://www.pbs.org>)

Progress of Syrian Kurds doesn't mean their proceeding route is comfortable, on one hand they face with geographical dispersion and don't have connected geographical realm like Kurds of Iraq and Turkey rather in the north, east and west of northern region of Syria have been dispersed in three separated parts that amongst them Arabian tribes have settled, this geographical dispersion causes Kurds on one hand not to be able to fight with foreign challenges and military threats with all power and on the other hand it increases the internal conflicts between them (Map No.2: geographical dispersion of Syrian Kurds cantons).

On the other hand, Syrian Kurds are facing with threat of excommunicating groups such as ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) and al-Nusra Front. Beyond this problem, Syrian Kurds are facing with numerous regional and foreign challenges, Turkish people already haven't recognized their autonomy formally and even they know it a threat against themselves and therefore may empower the excommunicating proceedings for fighting with Kurdish warriors, also in Baghdad there is no consensus on this issue that Kurdish realm development in the region is a threat or opportunity (Khaki, 2014: 89).

Another challenge that Kurds are facing is the problem of internal conflicts and plurality of parties, perhaps despite of this issue that Syrian Kurds have the lowest population of Kurdish regions, it can be known the owner of the highest plurality of Kurdish parities, form a long time ago they have had political conflicts that now have more different dimensions.

In fact prior to civil war of Syria, the system of this country was in the power apogee and Kurd problem was never accounted a component of key elements of this country, but with outbreak of civil war in Syria and conversion of this country to the battle scene of a full-scale war and collapsing of sovereignty power of government, Kurds obtained the opportunity for compensating the past deficits and they came to the field.

Only one serious case can be concluded from the situation of Kurdish regions of Syria and it is this issue that these regions will never return to the state before 2010 ad, but however, this issue that this region goes toward what direction is also ambiguous, on one hand in terms of geographical dispersion, imagining the occurrence of a state like Kurdistan region for Kurdish regions of Syria due to the ethnic dispersion isn't expected, on the other hand, Syria after civil war will be also too obsolete that will not be able to do another adventure and beside it, ethnic grudges have been too intensified in this country that future Syria walks on the blade edge (Mahmudian, Kurd press News Agency: 2012).

The ambiguity of political purpose of announcing the autonomous government in Kurdish regions of Syria also in turn has increased arguments about it, because some believe that the final purpose of this action is the same separation and formation of Kurdistan region of Syria like Kurdistan region of Iraq and in contrast, some others believe that this action hasn't been out of the frame of scenario agreed by "democratic union party of Kurdistan" and the system governing on Syria and the purpose of it is the management of these regions in terms of serving and managing till the end of today crisis of Syria.

Another problem is that the geographical borders of Kurdish regions of Syria have been almost closed, a place that in terms of foreign territory is under the siege of Kurdistan region of Iraq and Turkey and also in terms of internal territory it is facing with unstable regions that with regard to the change of the power equation between the governing system in Syria and its opposites, it may be converted to the conflict and confrontation borders.

In fact all of the above mentioned show that formation of Kurdish region in Kurdish areas o Syria in the field of presenting services and providing financial, food and medical needs of these regions' residents is very difficult.

However politically, the benefits of different parties and the relationships between them are changeable and when the situation calms down, the interaction with the accomplished action may be converted to a policy, because apart from today conflicts with formation of triple canton in Kurdish regions of Syria, "democratic union party of Kurdistan" in the field of managing the affairs of these regions has obtained experience and it has done activities that this issue in turn in ahead stage necessitates on Syrian governors that to have interaction with this party.

Undoubtedly the policy of postponing the interaction with situation of Kurdish people or lack of attention to it will be faced with new reality till achieving all purposes and this reality is originated from formation of Kurds region according to a national, social and historical reality and this issue will cause to transfer the autonomous government from temporary state to permanent state (Hanizadeh, ISNA News Agency, 2013).

7. ECONOMIC POTENTIAL FOR FORMATION OF KURDISH REGION

In addition to the effect of political changes and crisis of Syria, with regard to the existence of rich natural resources of Kurdish regions of Syria such as (rich resources of oil, gas resources, massive aquatic resources and rich agricultural resources), this region has the potential of formation of Kurdish region. According to the report of TV network of « Al Arabia» about economic capacities of Kurdish regions of Syria, these regions have rich oil resources so that this region daily can produce and export 250 thousand barrels namely half of the whole oil exports of Syria. Although Syrian Kurds due to the lack of dominance on all of these regions now don't have the possibility of exploiting all of these oil resources.

According to the same report, the amount of Wheat production of this region is 1.4 million ton annually, namely 37% of the whole production of Syria's wheat and the average of cotton production in this region is 273 thousands ton annually (39 percent of the whole production of Syria). Also there are 15 million olive trees in this region which include 23% of the whole olive trees throughout of Syria. Generally this region only provides 45 percent of the whole agricultural productions of Syria.

On the other hand, these regions have massive aquatic resources which include 10 large dams with total capacity of 300 million m³ water and 8 rivers that one of them is Forat River. Aquatic products of this region embrace 55% of total aquatic products of Syria. Generally if we want to estimate the economic capacity of these regions for producing the income for Syrian Kurds, with calculating the current price of oil in global markets, annually 9.5 billion dollars from oil sale, 750 million dollars from olive, 372 million dollars from wheat and 230 million dollars from cotton sale and in total more than 10.8 billion dollars equal to the half of the whole budget of Syria can be estimated for Kurdish regions of Syria in current year (of the Christian era).

With regard to this issue that Kurdish cities are safe from civil war, future investment in this region will be spent in development of region instead of spending for reconstruction. Of course this issue should be considered that cultivating cotton and olive in these regions is not in Kurds, authority exclusively and tens large villages also have large gardens and farms in these regions (Khaki, Rozhan Weekly, 2013: 6).

8. CONCLUSIONS

Basically the countries dissolution and creating a federalized system in the world isn't a strange thing and independence-seeking is seen in different points of the world and many separatisms have already reached to independence. Among them, the incident of Tibet in China, Quebec in Canada, eastern regions of Ukraine, southern Sudan and of course Kurds of Iraq can be referred.

The plan of Syria dissolution has been proposed for a long time but no agreement has been already observed for executing it. This plan which is accomplished in order to create a multi-racial secular society with establishment of Kurdish, Shiite Alavi, Sunni, Druze estates changes the Syria map. Creating a Kurdish government in the north, Druze government in southwest, An Alavi government in west of Syria and other places, a Sunni government have been included in this plan. This plan has been never proposed formally by western governments of the world, but western thought houses and some media dependent on them expressed this plan.

In responding to the cause of Syrian Kurds confusion, it should be said in the tomorrow after the Syria crisis subsides they know two scenarios are probable for the future of this country. First scenario, decline of government and outbreak of new system with centrality of opposite groups with Bashar al-Assad. In this scenario although one of the leaders of opposite groups with Syria is a Kurd, but these groups and their supportive governments especially Turkey not only don't accept a problem called Kurd problem in Syria, but also they have inflexible positions to any kind of ethnic identity oriented motion by them. Therefore, occurrence of the first scenario in Syria will not be able to be a pleasant news for them because secular opposite groups, nationalist groups and radical (extremist) and Syrian proceedings will not show any flexibility from themselves for recognizing the Kurd problem and establishment of a federal system in this country as Iraq.

But second scenario that Syria crisis is facing with it from Kurds, view is that the system remains under the commend of Bashar al-Assad in this country. Kurds that have experienced a situation more difficult than before during 5 decades since the time of Hafez and Bashar al-Assad sovereignty in Syria know well that if the power of the government is renewed, they will not be able to continue the current situation which indeed is managing some Kurdish regions and the government will send its military and security forces to those places again. Therefore in this scenario also Syrian Kurds don't see any hop for achieving their demands. But the important problem is the lack of significant confederate among regional and trans-regional actors that Syrian Kurd groups are affected by it. Currently two small regional actors namely government of Kurdistan region of Iraq and laborers party of Kurdistan in Turkey PKK are accounted as trans boundary supporters of Syrian Kurds, the supporters who have thinkable competition with each other in this domain.

But at the level of regional national actors, it can be said none of two political and main proceedings of Syrian Kurds have formal confederate as their supports. Namely neither close proceeding to Arbil which has better relations with national coalition of opposites have been able to attract the attention of governments like Turkey or even opposites coalition to itself nor democratic union have been able to obtain diplomatic support of Damascus or its strategic confederates like Tehran and Moscow. And these things indicate that Syrian Kurds unlike other ethnic and religious groups of Syria have a secluded situation in diplomatic and regional realm.

Another important issue related to the future of Kurdish regions of Syria is that if Bashar al-Assad regime surmounts on its current problems and continues its political life, whether will allow Kurds to keep their current situation or not. In responding to this question, it should be said that even if Bashar al-Assad regime remains stable and surmounts on its all political-security problems, Kurds' situation doesn't return to the period before 2010 and again and their situation in Syria will face with positive serious changes.

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