

IDENTITY REFLECTION ON THE PRIORITIES OF KURDISH EXTERNAL POLITICAL BEHAVIOR: PARA DIPLOMACY

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ABSTRACT

That our task in determining the priorities that will measure the performance of the Kurdish political on the basis of completion is difficult to the degree that will push us to diligence in some aspects, especially as we deal with the situation made the Kurds in an exceptional position with excellence.

On the one hand, they are a nation that has the standards of a nation, but it does not possess a recognized, independent state run by a political system that translates its political ambitions in isolation from the powers of a central political system like Iraq.

On the other hand, the current transitional situation of the Kurdish situation in general and abroad Iraqi Kurdistan imposed on the Kurds a kind of separation from the real and psychological state that they belong to officially

This is a contradictory political dichotomy that confers on the choices and priorities of the Kurds an important amount of ambiguity and confusion and on researchers in the Kurdish issue a kind of turmoil and uncertainty In general, the priorities and leadership of the Kurdish people at the current stage and in the phase that will follow the demise of the terrorist forces represented by ISIS (Da'ash) and its branches may depend on two basic types of criteria: fixed priorities and changing priorities

This criterion (fixed and variable) has been and remains a valid way of governance and differentiation within the framework of international, regional and local policies

As well as their validity, these standards also depend on the main elements contributing to the degree of achievement, including social and political costs and benefits, time factor and the impact of the right time, the role of the internal and external environment, the impact of the understanding of the leadership and nature, the type of external alliances and many other actors in the formation of standards prioritization

Keywords: Identity reflection. Priorities. Kurdish external. Political. behavior Para Diplomacy

1 . 1 THE FIRST TOPIC: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: BASIC FEATURES IN THE KURDISH IDENTITY

What is Kurdish identity

Since the beginning of the political and social organization, the peoples of the world have endeavored to emphasize their distinctiveness and social, cultural, linguistic and cultural uniqueness, as well as their specificity within the system of values and political interests. Hence, the people did not find an effective link to contain all these details better than the Association of Identity, which works to dissolve the society in one package in a framework of total awareness that distinguishes them from other peoples and contributes to the expression of a set of characteristics of the personality of the individual belonging to the political and social group

Hence, the clarity and preservation of identity is now one of the greatest tasks and challenges at the same time facing governments and linked to the interests of peoples. Especially in the context of the clash of authenticity and modernity in the framework of their respective search for their own space in the beliefs of peoples and their philosophy in life.

Which calls for a certain type of impact reflected on the nature of the identity of the community, which may preserve the identity or lose it due to the settlement and cultural decline in favor of the identities of conflict and alien (1).

In general, identity is a social and political association between individuals or a social group that belongs to specific roots or has common interests that contribute to the building of a common environment for a state.

Identity, by its very nature, is a dynamic, one of whose pillars can be more than jealous at a specific time and vice versa.

Identity cannot build its ideas away from the multi-faceted concept of the nation, which includes traditional norms of language, customs, religion, interests, race, history and geography. In this area, research on the

concept of Kurdish identity carries a systematic and objective significance at the same time.

The identification of the identity of the Kurds leads, of course, to the goals and objectives of the Kurds in representing and defending the special interest system within the framework of excellence within the four countries (Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria) to which they still belong politically (2).

The task of identification is acceptable to every people, but it calls for research in its roots, ethnicity and geography, which contains nothing but a sense of belonging that gives it a special kind of political performance

Elements of Kurdish identity.

In terms of geography of the Kurdish people, the Kurds are historically living in the area stretching from the mountains of Taurus to the west to the mountains of Zakros in the east and between the southeast of the Black Sea through the mountains of Ararat and southern Iran on a geographical area estimated the same area of Iraq now including the Kurdistan region.

The geographical nature of the Kurdish land is characterized by a number of features, which are predominantly mountainous in general. This characteristic has a special significance, especially in the Kurdish people who see it as deriving its strength and ability to confront existential threats from the mountain

The geography of the Kurdish people is characterized by moderate climate in the summer and cold in the winter and moderate amounts of rain and abundance in fresh water, which passes through the areas of Kurdistan, especially in Turkey, Syria and Iraq, where the Tigris and Euphrates. The Kurdish geography between Asia and Europe is almost completely separated and opens up to Asia and the Caucasus to a large extent, part of the Middle East at the same time, which gives this geographical location a greater political, security and economic significance (3)

The Kurdish people and some of its leaders in the modern era, especially in the age of national liberation

that invaded the region in the first half and the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, realized the importance of its land and its geographic location, so it did not hesitate in the political and military struggle for decades to regain its control over the lands, since ever.

Where the land and its limits are the decisive factor in the formation of internationally recognized political entities, which is the basis for any popular political effort to claim rights, realize interests, build identities, lead development and promote civilization. Especially those that are based on ethnographic factors.

Despite the fact that the world in its contemporary history is characterized by a movement of intermingling and interaction between its inhabitants, its valleys, its nationalities and its political units, which has never been seen in view of the tremendous growth in communication and communication capabilities. Consequently, there is a great increase in mutual interests, the mixing of cultures and the interplay of ideas and languages. And race in the self-determination of peoples, but the facts still prove the importance of ethnography and political boundaries based on it, but still this type of geography is the most important factor of conflict in today's world (4)

As far as Kurdish identity is concerned, the geography based on ethnicity, nationality and the language on which the Kurdish nation is based is considered the basis of belief in this identity and the focal point of its defense.

This is the basis for the central Kurdish interests. It is strange that the ethnography within the Kurdish identity is the motive The largest and original in the conflict between the Kurds and others on and around areas of Kurdistan (5)

The international agreements and agreements since the beginning of the twentieth century and the subsequent liberation waves have played a major role in the emergence of many border problems, including the overlap of national extensions between countries and

the establishment of certain countries at the expense of other peoples or the division of certain peoples and tribes between more than one country and so the Kurds had the largest share of These relics divided geography and humans into several sections in Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Iran .

Although Kurdish geography has not witnessed the establishment of a unified state that combines all parts of Greater Kurdistan prior to these international settlements, but the division of parts of Kurdistan in a modern political recognized Umayya devoted the state of division and hold much of the task of the Greater Kurdistan again.

The second and most important factor in the formation of identity is that of the origin of the Kurdish people. This factor is one of the most controversial factors among the most anthropological and sociological scholars, and an in-depth study of the origins of the Kurdish people. (6)

There are those who believe that the Kurdish people belong in their origins to the Iranian people, based on the similarity of certain characteristics in the language, which is the language that combines the Persian language, the Kurdish language, traditions and others, while the Turks tried hard to attribute the Kurds to them and considered them a branch of Turkish nationalism, The Turks, the Albanians, the Turkomans and the Azharis therefore called on the Kurds to name the Turks of the mountain.

However, this claim lacks in its nature the basis of historical or genetic evidence, and it did not justify the political justification that tried to confiscate the right of the Kurdish people with distinction and privacy.

There are those who believe that the Kurds are Semitic people closer to the Arabs than others, but they separated them during the time of major migrations and lived Asia Minor and the Caucasus. While a section of specialists in history and genealogy went on to say that the Kurds are a mixture between the peoples of the Mediterranean and Armenians and others see them as Indo-European peoples (7).

A section of the research was linked to the writings of Xenophon, a Greek historian who spoke about the Kordukhians who lived in the mountains for thousands of years in Asia Minor and among the Kurds, where it is common among many Kurds are the ancestors of the Kurds, especially they share with the Kurds many qualities, including housing and production style and equestrian love Etc.

However, the constant facts indicate that the Kurds are the ancestors of the Georgians and most of the inhabitants of the Caucasus and that they are not the origin of the Kurds who lived in Asia Minor and the East ever since, while at the same time linking others to the origin of the Kurdish people and the Sertian

This difference prompted a number of historians and those interested in genealogy to say that the Kurds are a mixture of multiple tribes and not of pure origin came from different lands and lived in a certain area and formed a harmonious people in stages later. However, this interpretation was not supported by many other evidence that indicates that the Kurds are a pure people due to the origin of one of the land of Asia Minor and formed his language and evolved from the origin of the dry near the Georgian language and the Chaldean and became of the Indo-European languages and influenced later in other languages such as Persian, . They are the people of Ari most of what has gone to modern studies (8).

As for the language factor is the other is a difference between the linguists, including Kurds, where some deny that there is a genuine Kurdish language and unified and goes to say that there are Kurdish dialects more than a unified language and fixed bases and assets. While the other part sees that the Kurdish language is an authentic language and has its fixed bases throughout history. It witnessed stages of development and maturity like all other languages and merged with other languages to produce general features with special sub-dialects.

In general, most of the opinions went on to say that the Kurdish language belongs to the group of languages of the Indo-European language, which includes Persian, Armenian, Afghan and Tajik, in which some elements

of the Turkish influenced the alphabet in the language and later in Arabic after Kurdistan became part of the Arab Islamic state, The old, which has its own alphabet, which has been influenced by other languages and influenced by this language, in which the Kurdish language has joined many of the pure languages, including Arabic, English, Persian, Turkish,

The language played a pivotal role in the creation of the Kurdish identity and its development, apart from its contribution to the enrichment of the arts, literature and sciences in Kurdistan, which is the backbone of the Kurdish civilization and the means of its spread. Although the study of Kurdish history in ancient and medieval times was only in a narrow framework, The Kurdish people and their civilization. (9)

With its specificity, the Kurdish language was not an obstacle to the integration of the Kurds with the peoples they had lived with throughout history, such as the Arab, Turkish and Persian peoples. Where the Kurds had a distinctive mark within the framework of the civilization of these peoples throughout history has contributed to the Kurds actively in the establishment and promotion of culture, arts and literature in the countries in which they lived.

For example, there are famous figures in Arab and Islamic history are Kurdish origins, including Ibn al-Atheer, Mohammed Abdo, Sheikh Said al-Nawrasi, Ibn Taymiyah, Qasim Amin, and the Kurds produced leaders of history, among them the most important Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi Fatah and the commander of Arab and Islamic armies, The credit of the unification of the various Arab and Islamic countries in a unified state

And strong, including Abu Muslim Kharasani, and the good king Najmuddin Ayub. The Kurds also participated heavily in the battles of Muslims and Arabs and participated in their victories, including the Battle of Hittin and the Battle of Ain Jalout.

In short, the spirit of the inherent championships, the ability to withstand and the feeling of freedom are the constituents of the Kurdish people and the foundations of their existence. They are the same elements that have

helped the Kurdish people to withstand many challenges throughout their history, which almost consumed their existence.

These characteristics and factors that characterize the Kurdish people are the foundations upon which any nation in the world. Nationalism is a political association that gives a group of people of one origin a sense of allegiance and political subordination to the land and the political entity to which they belong. Nationalism is the cornerstone of the basic nation and is based on a set of assumptions, including race and language, and others related to desire and will to live together and others related to history and common interests, while others went on to regard religion as the origin in establishing nationalities

So the question that should be raised here has been raised by a lot. Does the Kurds really represent an integrated nation with a specificity among the nations? Does this nation have any real ingredients (10)?

In fact, the answer is yes. There is an integrated Kurdish nation that is unique among all the nations in the world and possesses all the basic elements that must be provided in any nation, including land, language, race, culture, common interests, social traditions, political ambition and leadership. Nations. It is clear that the Kurdish people have the modern characteristics of the meaning of the nation, which was shortened by trilingual history feelings.

It remains to be understood how well the Kurdish people realize the importance of a sound national structure based on the rejection of nationalism based on the foundations of closed-minded nepotism. Living nations are always based on two inseparable pillars: nationalism and humanity. The nation that fights for its nationalism does not drop human considerations from its calculations. Especially that the Kurds are among the most nations that have suffered for decades from the tyranny of national considerations on humanitarian considerations in dealing with other countries with them.

But do Kurds really realize the importance of this pillar on which their nation is based? What is the nature,

extent and impact of that realization on their political project? And the extent to which the Kurds are aware of their new situation with their interests, priorities and mechanisms to achieve them? These and other questions need to be discussed individually by leaders and specialists on the Kurdish issue with their modern details. However, we will address some of them in the following axes (11)

1. 2 THE SECOND TOPIC: PRIORITIES OF KURDISH INTERESTS BETWEEN FIXED AND VARIABLE

In general, the priorities and leadership of the Kurdish people at the current stage and in the phase that will follow the demise of the terrorist forces of Da'ash and its branches may depend on two basic types of criteria: fixed priorities and changing priorities. This criterion (fixed and variable) International, regional and local policies.

As well as their validity, these standards also depend on the main elements contributing to the degree of achievement, including social and political costs and benefits, time factor and the impact of the right time, the role of the internal and external environment, the impact of the understanding of the leadership and nature, the type of external alliances and many other actors in the formation of standards prioritization . Based on the above details, we will focus on the Kurdish priorities of the importance and leave the changing priorities of those interested in the depth of the issue of priorities of the Kurdish people that are currently occurring and those that may emerge in the next phase, which is characterized by a kind of flexibility allows the Kurdish leadership to bargain over it and most importantly : (12)

Determine the nature of the relationship with the central government .1

.Strengthening regional and international alliances .2

-determine the nature of the relationship with parts of Greater Kurdistan .3

Economic and social development .4

The fixed priorities are divided into the following : (13)

First: the restoration of Kurdish geography.

The land was still the basis of the state and its first pillar among its four pillars (the region, the people, sovereignty, authority and international recognition). Without it, it is impossible to conceive of any kind of state, whatever the other elements are. Within the framework of the land, aspirations grow, peoples are characterized, cultures are formed, civilizations flourish, scientific and economic achievements progress, etc. Geography has been the most important element of the power of the state in ancient times, middle and modern, and although the importance of geographic factors negatively affected the output of modern technology in modern history, but the importance of geography and nature is still a fundamental element in the global strategic action. Continuity in the importance of geography may be the basis for the largest proportion of wars throughout history and the main cause of international conflict.

As far as the issue is concerned, we find the difficulty of searching within the Kurdish issue only if we start with geography. It is the basis upon which all the aspirations of the Kurds and their national demands are based and based on their political behavior and future goals in cultural and national privacy, economic growth and political independence. The land has always been the cause and inspiration for the armed struggle and political action of the Kurds since the establishment of the modern Iraqi state.

The task of restoring the land, which the Kurds believe is their land since ancient times, amounting to 17% of the area of Iraq, according to some statistics on the top priorities of the Kurds and on the basis of measured the success or failure of the political performance of the leaders and political forces of the Kurds.

The Kurdish leadership has used many of its political, constitutional and military means to restore these territories, including the need to include constitutional clauses in the permanent Iraqi constitution, which had a prominent role in drafting and approving the settlement

of disputes in the disputed areas and the consolidation of Kurdish control over their land through the state federation. And coordination with the major powers sponsoring the situation in Iraq, such as the United States to bridge and regulate the relationship with the central government in this regard (14).

Although most of the efforts of the Kurdish forces did not succeed in settling all their demands related to the restoration of geography through constitutional or political methods for many reasons, but the Kurdish political performance was clear in its success after the stage of control calling for a large proportion of Iraqi territory, including lands adjacent to the Kurdistan region, Disputed after the Kurds managed

The restoration of the disputed areas of the control of the armed force and the imposition of the status quo, especially after the formation of the conviction of the central government of the difficulty of retaining these areas before and after the stage of a pleading due to the circumstances of all circumstances, the Kurds realized the importance of the geopolitical elements of the Kurdistan region and its strategic position in regional and international contemporary policy, The Arab Spring is called the "Arab Spring". It is an opportunity for them to achieve an important aspect of their geographical goals within a framework of political performance.

Second: Achieving security and stability in Kurdistan .

It is no secret that realizing the reality of the adoption of political power, economic efficiency, social stability and cultural prosperity to a large extent on internal security stability and achieving the acceptable level of external security is the first step in the efficiency of political performance. Hence, the leadership of the Kurdistan region appear to be aware of this particular aspect is supported in the achievement of a triad syndrome is to impose security and stability within the region, the protection of the borders of the region, a security policy to build a professional and strong institution, has been the beginning to achieve a basic aspect of security in the region, Is the UN Security Council Resolution 688 on the imposition of an area of Iraqi air traffic over the territory, which enabled the

Kurds to start establishing their own political project in the administration of the Kurdish regions and to establish a development policy which is important in terms of foreign investment and the financing of projects from the region's share of the budget In the subsequent period (15).

Thanks to the success of imposing a policy of security stability and border protection, Kurdistan has become an important role in Iraq as a political center of gravity and outside Iraq as a reliable party in many security and political issues in the region, especially after the general security deterioration in the region.

The leadership of the Kurdistan region of Iraq through this policy as a priority to form a strong military force represented by the Peshmerga and Asayish forces with an international commitment to arming and training, which gained the advantage of the most important is to obtain international support directly in the military field in isolation from the positions of the central government, which are these aspects of its exclusive powers.

The Kurdish leadership's quest to develop its military capabilities and insist on imposing its security policy based on its own vision away from the central government is currently considered especially after the pre-emptive control of some Iraqi lands and the serious threat to the security of the region. This is a realistic preparation according to the Kurdish visions regarding the next period, Calling for Iraq and the accompanying political arrangements related to the fate of the Kurds, which from the point of view of the Kurds a constant priority cannot be waived Or the bargaining on it being linked to the existence of the Kurds and security and prosperity of their economy and determine their political future and their regional role. (16)

1 . 3 THE THIRD TOPIC: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FACING KURDISH IDENTITY AND INTERESTS.

First: the consolidation of Kurdish identity

The whole Kurdish political project, which is based on the establishment of a Kurdish state, depends on the

existence of a special Kurdish identity and distinct from others. This identity acts as a vector to translate aspirations into solid facts. There is no room for talking about countries that are far from the identities of their borders. It gives them a kind of distinction and symbolism that surrounds the society and senses its being there, and gives the necessary conviction and enthusiasm to defend the basic values and interests of the state without hesitation (17).

Throughout modern history, the Kurdish identity has been preserved in the framework of the Iraqi state, which was adopted by the Kurdish forces and political movements, as well as by the Kurdish people as a criterion for judging the performance of Kurdish forces and their commitment to the principles of the Kurds and their national interests. And it is nothing less than the axis of Alhadj through which the Kurds demanded through international forums the fairness of the Kurdish community as one of the last nations that have not yet achieved a state. Thus, preserving Kurdish identity and seeking to promote it was among the most important criteria for judging the Kurdish political performance in the period leading up to the stage of control calling on large areas of Iraq and Syria. However, the threat posed by the stage of control is calling on areas adjacent to the Kurdish areas such as one of the The biggest contemporary challenges to the Kurdish political project at the same time, which represented an opportunity for this project, completely out of its threat to Kurdish interests, including security.

In this context, the Kurdish forces succeeded in preserving the Kurdish constants, the most important of which is the strengthening of the Kurdish identity in a deeper way than before by investing the angry feelings of the Kurdish people, which became more ready to defend its gains to the farthest extent. The most important characteristic of this stage is the complete preparation for self-determination, which is the existence of a clear and distinctive identity of the Kurds is a basic condition and is judged on the Kurdish political performance according to the extent Quake (18)

Second: Self-determination

The right of self-determination has historically been linked to the foreign colonization of other peoples and is expressed by international law as a permanent right of peoples. It thus appears to be a special feature of a particular historical period, particularly the period of the League of Nations and the beginnings of the founding of the United Nations, which was active in defending the right of peoples under foreign colonialism. The many that affected minorities and religious and national components within the same state prompted international law to give new indications of this principle, including the right of minorities to self-determination, which gave the peoples and minorities within the larger societies political and legal momentum to demand the use of this principle to determine what it deems appropriate to the right of its own component, relying on the international legal basis and international or regional political support (19).

The principle of self-determination for the Kurdish people and their political forces is the fundamental criterion for their political behavior and a fundamental right that cannot be compromised. It is thus the work of Al-Faisal in the context of the Kurdish political performance and a great goal that expresses the reality of the Kurdish political and military struggle in modern history. Whether the actual exercise of this right led to the independence of Iraqi Kurdistan or its survival as part of the Iraqi state, the continued acquisition of the right and freedom of asylum at any time, Kurdish nationalism and a popular demand for Kurdish political behavior in general (20)

The security and political events that accompanied the period of control over many of the Iraqi areas, including areas prepared by the Kurds Kurdish areas disputed with the central government new convictions of the leadership and people and the people on the principle of the right to self-determination. These events have resulted in a lack of future perceptions of the situation of the Kurds in the State of Iraq to devote the Kurdish conviction to use this right and translate it into reality by preparing for the referendum on independence completely from Iraq

The task today is a criterion for judging the political performance of the Kurdish leadership in particular and the Kurdish political forces in general, the success of the exercise of the right of self-determination to serve the national goals of the Kurdish will determine the efficiency of Kurdish political performance, especially in the subsequent period, Iraq in general and the Kurdistan region in particular (21)

CONCLUSION

In view of the internal, regional and international conditions that the Kurdistan region of Iraq has known after 2003

The security and political events that accompanied the period of control over many of the Iraqi regions, including areas prepared by the Kurds and disputed Kurdish areas with the central government expressed new convictions of the leadership and people of the principle of the right to self-determination.

These events have led to the realization of the Kurdish belief in using this right and translating it into reality by preparing for the referendum on independence completely from Iraq.

The task today is a criterion for judging the political performance of the Kurdish leadership in particular and the Kurdish political forces in general, the success of the exercise of the right of self-determination to serve the national goals of the Kurdish will determine the efficiency of Kurdish political performance, especially in the subsequent period, Iraq in general and the Kurdistan region in particular.

The political performance of the Kurdish leadership in particular and the Kurdish political forces in general distributed on three axes :

- 1 Political Axis: By building strong political relations with Turkey and the United States of America
- 2 Security axis: Contribute to the protection of the Turkish-Iraqi borders, especially the issue of terrorism.
- 3 economic axis: ensure the multiple economic interests of the Kurdistan region in order to ensure the

achievement of the goals away from any tension adopted as the Iraqi federal government adopted a "policy of zeroing problems" with the region and tried to build relationships away from any obstacles that would strain relations between the center and the region especially My files are disputed areas and oil and gas

However, some issues have cast a shadow over the regional relations of the Kurdistan region, especially with Turkey and Iran, and sometimes give rise to a lot of tension such as: the presence of non-Iraqi forces with the best Iranian Kurdish (PJAK and Turkish Kurdish party affiliated with the PKK) Military action against Iran and Turkey from Iraqi territory and the water file.

In this study, the main conclusions were summarized as follows :

Turkey and Iran are adopting an external political behavior that stems from a well-established rule: preserving the territorial integrity of Iraq from any alleged division, especially in light of the voices calling for the secession of the Kurdish region. It is aware that the establishment of a Kurdish state in northern Iraq will threaten Turkey's higher interests. The Kurds of Turkey to establish a state for them or to join the alleged Kurdish state

Therefore, Turkey and Iran adopted a cautious and accurate foreign policy towards the Kurdistan region of Iraq in order to prevent any attempt to declare any Kurdish state in the north

Although the Turkish policy adopted a policy of "reset problems" externally with the region, but there are some problems and old files that remained stuck between them

Most notably the presence of the PKK in the region and the dangers of this presence on the Turkish national security

And new issues, most notably the issue of terrorism and the signing of oil contracts

The scenario that frightens political decision makers in Turkey and Iran is to enable the Kurds to secede and declare a state in northern Iraq as a first stage of the

Greater Kurdistan project with the accession of the Kurds of Syria, Turkey and Iran

Therefore, Turkey's and Iran's foreign policy toward the region is based on tension and attraction. The events and the emergence of changes in the regional and international arenas were influenced by the future policies of both countries towards the Kurdistan region of Iraq

And that the preservation of the Kurdish identity distinct from others within the Iraqi state will be the premise adopted by the forces and political movements and Kurdish weapons alike in their mobility and that the element will be chosen by the Kurdish people as a criterion to judge the performance of Kurdish forces and the extent of their commitment to the principles of the Kurds and their national interests.

It is a clear example of this, such as the axis of arguments through which the Kurds demanded through international forums the fairness of the Kurdish community as one of the last nations that have not yet enjoyed a state. Hence, preserving Kurdish identity and seeking to promote it was and will remain among the most important criteria for judging the Kurdish political performance in the period leading up to the stage of control calling on large areas of Iraq and Syria

But more than that the leadership of the Kurdistan region of Iraq to understand the following :

.Adopting political power 1

.2 Employment of economic efficiency, social stability and cultural prosperity to a large extent on the internal security stability of the region and achieve the acceptable level of external security is the first step in the efficiency of the external political performance of the region.

.3 That the leadership of the Kurdistan region of Iraq appear to be aware of this aspect (external security), especially adopted in the achievement of a triangular syndrome is to impose security and stability within the region, the protection of the borders of the region, security policy to build a professional and strong institution within the region

.4 With regard to the constants and variables of the Kurdish movement there, it is very necessary to distinguish between the constant and the variable so that the confusion does not occur with the constant transformation of the variable or variable to constant

As in the case of large Kurdish parties such as the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan in Iraq, the Kurdish Democratic Unity Party in Syria, and the PKK throughout Kurdistan, since it is very difficult to distinguish between the constants and variables of the parties mentioned.

On the issue of the independence of the Kurdistan region and the position of the Kurdish parties it shows a clear contradiction and contradiction between the fixed and variable in one of the parties to the equation in the Kurdistan region,

And that each of them reflects in most of his positions on the reservoir and ideas and preconceptions, so it was evident in a statement to: Mullah Bakhtiar official of the working body of the Political Bureau of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, "The dream of declaring the Kurdish state is our right as a Kurd, , But there is still no document or statement by the United States of America or from Russia or any other country to declare the independence of the Kurdistan Region, "he continued," that all these countries, including America and Russia, along with 28 Western countries have submitted a memorandum to the Democratic Party Kurdistan and the Kurdish National Union Ni, stressing their refusal to declare the independence of the Kurdistan Region "

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