Contents

	Acknowledgements	vii
	Preface to the English Edition	viii
	Preface to the Fourth Edition	ix
	Preface to the Third Edition	xi
	The Development of Kurdish Parties	xiv
1	The Long Struggle for Autonomy	1
2	Background and Methods of Social Science Research in War	10
3	Kurds, Arabs, Armenians, and Assyrians: Rojava as	
	Part of the Ethnic Diversity of Syria	13
4	Muslims, Christians, Jews, Alevi, and Êzîdî:	
	Religious Pluralism in Rojava	19
5	Kurdistan: Country without a State or Country against the State	31
6	Syrian Kurdistan under the French Protectorate	41
7	Kurds in Independent Syria	48
8	In the Crosshairs of Pan-Arabism: From the United Arab	
	Republic to Ba'athism	53
9	Special Census and Statelessness	60
10	The Kurds under Ba'athist Rule	63
11	Between Two Brief Springs: Rojava under Bashar al-Assad	74
12	The Kurdish Party Landscape	79
13	From Revolution to Civil War	86
14	Military Developments since 2012	101
15	Political Economy in the Civil War	120
16	The Kurdish Districts of Aleppo	125

CONTENTS

17	The Kurdish Para-State in Rojava	129
18	Voices from Rojava	152
19	Conclusion: Rojava, Quo Vadis?	255
	List of Interviews	262 267
	the second se	269 277