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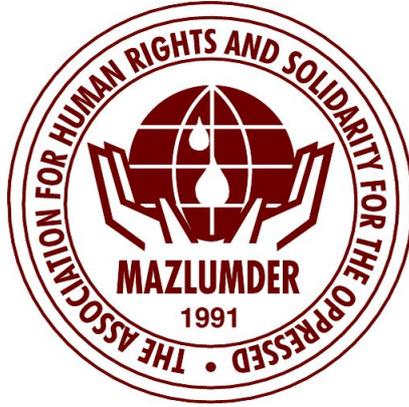
## The Report on Human Rights in Syria

February 2010



The Association for Human Rights and Solidarity for the Oppressed

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## **The REPORT on HUMAN RIGHTS in SYRIA**

**2010**

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## **CONTENTS**

<b>GENERAL ASSESSMENT</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>JURISTICTION, DETENTION AND PRISONS IN SYRIA</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>THE VIOLATIONS MOSLEM BROTHERS ORGANIZATION EXPOSED TO</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AGAINST KURDS IN SYRIA</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>APPENDIX</b>	<b>25</b>

## GENERAL ASSESSMENT

### **2 February 1982 Hama Massacre and General Situation of Human Rights in Syria**

Today is the anniversary of Hama massacre which happened in 2 February 1982. This massacre is one of the most painful events which have been lived in our area recently. Because of not having enough information, there have not been steps about this depressing event Until now.

The bombardment started in 2 February 1982 in Hama and lasted for 21 days and nights causing 40 thousand people's death. After the attacks, among many arrestments, males between the ages 13 and 70 were arrested and then there has not been information about most of them. The numbers of the people whom cannot be reached after having been arrested in those days were more than 20 thousands. The operation occurred not only in Hama but also in the other parts of all Syria and this operation caused humanity tragedies all over the country.

After the massacre 800 thousand people had to abandon the country and today this number has reached to 2 million. These people are not able to go back to their countries that still live in Diaspora. The children and grand children of the families who were unborn in the days of massacre in Hama also cannot go back their homes. Although the Syrian government has declared to international community that these people can go back to Syria, almost "one thousand" among the people who returned to Syria, were arrested and have been presently in the jail.

In the attacks which lasted 21 days; 38 mosques, 2 churches and 58 pharmacies were collapsed and most of the shops in the city were plundered. In the events, Syrian soldiers attacked on all of the civilian locations and caused loss of life and property. The target of Esad's Ba'athist regime was not only Muslims. The Christian population in the city was also exposed to attacks equally.

Some laws which are still valid in Syria are the most important reasons of illegalities. The laws of the country, in which the emergency management is still on, are contradictory to human rights and international law.

Some laws which are still on, including pressure elements and against the human rights are below:

- Security Law ( 22 December 1962 )
- Revolution Protection Law ( 17 January 1965 )
- Securing State Law ( 14 January 1969 )
- Law Regulating Military Courts ( 17 August 1967 )
- Law Regulating the State Security Courts ( 28 March 1968 )
- The Syrian Constitution which was accepted in 13 March 1973
- Law no: 49 ( 7 August 1980 )
- Law no: 39 Regulating the Work of State Institutions ( 15 August 1981)

The most violated law among the laws given above is the no: 49 Law and it is still on application. This article accepts being a member of Muslim Brothers Organization is a big crime and judges these people with execution. Many Organization members who are still judged with execution according to law.

There are also political social and cultural pressures against Kurdish in Syria. Identity discrimination against Kurdish makes the situation more difficult historically. 350.000 Kurdish population from 1, 5 million Kurdish are not considered as citizen, they are seen as foreigners in official cards given them. The people on these statues are lack of basic rights like; property acquisition, election, working as a servant in official departments, treatment in hospitals and travel. Kurdish have “Ecanip” statues cannot get marry with other Syrian Citizens, if they married their sons and daughters are not considering even in “Ecanib” Statues, they are considered as “Maktumin”. These statues of people have not any official documents or registers. “Maktumin” statues of children have to permit from political branch of police department in order to enroll governmental schools. Because of permission process is very difficult, the rate of these statues of the children who go on schools are very low. These “Ecanib” and “Maktumin” statues of people are about 350.000.

In the early days of his presidency, Beşşar Esad promised to solve these problems. There have not been any developments for 10 years. Discrimination policy applied against Kurdish in Syria followed and observed by human rights organizations and to end of this discrimination is demanded.

There are some steps for Syria to take while improving its relations with Turkey and international community. It is needed to stop discrimination politics against Kurdish, to change laws related with Muslim Brotherhood, paving the returning way of the people who live outside, some regulations and reforms about torture and other custody process.

The reforms will be made and the steps would be taken must be realistic and believable. Reforming and reconciling with its own subjects Syria would provide more support for peace in the region and in the world.

As a MAZLUMDER, we hope President Beşşar Esad to start his own democratic initiative in his country and call Syrian authorities to:

- Remove 49. Article and other laws against human rights and international law,
- Opening the detention centers and prisons to human rights organization investigation
- Follow more transparent policy, Syrian government must inform public opinion about lost people, start judiciary process for the responsible in Hama massacre, show consideration and respect for the death people and facilitate the returning of the people from Diaspora.
- Take international options into account such as; Ruanda and Srebrenica, the timeout war crimes and other crimes against humanity will not be taken into consideration,
- Resolve citizenship problems of Kurdish people and discrimination

**Ahmet Faruk Unsal**  
**The President of MAZLUMDER**

## **JURISDICTION, DETENTION AND PRISONS IN SYRIA**

### **Law and Courts**

The operative laws in Syria create ground for violation of rights and primarily the alteration of these regulations which disregard human dignity is a must. The foremost laws among these are ‘security’ and ‘state security’ laws which have been in operation since the sixties and legal grounds for many restrictions of fundamental rights and freedoms. Some laws which are still on, including pressure elements and against the human rights are below:<sup>1</sup>

- The Syrian Constitution ( 13 March 1973 )
- Security Law ( 22 December 1962 )
- Revolution Protection Law ( 17 January 1965 )
- Securing State Law ( 14 January 1969 )
- Law Regulating Military Courts ( 17 August 1967 )
- Law Regulating the State Security Courts ( 28 March 1968 )
- Law No. 49 ( 7 August 1980 )
- Law for practicing the Legal Profession NO:39 ( 15 August 1981)

These currently prevailing laws delegate authorities to the ‘High Courts of Security’ in Syria in which political criminals are judged in particular. Consequently, Syrian regime takes these violations as legal.

For instance, the Law no: 49 which was accepted in 1980, accepts being a member of Muslim Brothers Organization is a big crime and judges these people with execution.<sup>2</sup> The Hama massacre in 1982 was also practiced in this context. This law still creates grounds for many injustices. Many people who are still judged with execution according to law, are being penalized with life sentence, life sentence with no possibility of parole and work ban instead of execution. Nonetheless in the context of political studies and freedom of expressions, the press and internet are significantly qualified and the workspace of oppositional discourse and actions is entirely narrowed.

The political criminals in Syria have mostly been counterparts to these accusations: To be a member of an illegal or concealed organization, disseminating false information which damages state’s dignity, fomenting sectarian and racial discrimination, having offensive actions which will harm Syria and giving affront to the head of the state.<sup>3</sup>

The ‘jurisdiction processes’ in Syrian courts are also other violation issues. According to the report of Human Rights Watch (HRW), the trials in eighties lasted for only several seconds or minutes and the prisoners were punished after their names were asked without being permitted even to retain lawyers for themselves. In the report mentioned above, according to a lawyer’s quotation, the prisoners are brought to the hearing room while they are blindfolded and lawyers can’t be on the scene during trials. In the report of Syrian Human Rights Committee (SHRC) prepared in 2005, it is stated that even if the prison is permitted to retain a lawyer, they are never permitted to meet and the defendant’s file is by no means shown to the lawyer.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> SHRC, Special Report- Repressive Law in Syria, p.2

<sup>2</sup> SHRC, Special Report- Repressive Law in Syria, p.3

<sup>3</sup> Amnesty International, Report 2007, Syria, p.2,3

<sup>4</sup> SHRC, Annual Report, 2005, p. 18

In the report called ‘ Far from Justice, Syrian State Security Court’ which was published by HRW in 2009, thousands of people who are seen as ‘threatment for the state’ were imprisoned after being judged illegally by Syrian State Security Court which is equipped with unlimited authority. Furthermore, these courts, being never subject of a judicial review, are directly under the authority of Ministry of Interior which acts like a ‘martial governor’. High Security Court of State (SSSC) has judged at least 200 people within the context of expression freedom since January 2007. In these courts where there is no chance for the defendants to defend themselves or to appeal, the jurisdiction process is wholly arbitrary and illegal.

Most of the defendants who have been judged in High Security Court in the last three years are muslims who are called ‘Islamists’ and their primary crime is to keep CDs and books of Islamic scholars who are described as ‘fundamentalists’. Moreover in these courts Kurds and internet-blog composers are being judged.<sup>5</sup>

MAZLUMDER’s complaint to Syrian Arab Republic Consulate-General, with the demand of the jails in Syria to be open to observation and supervision of human rights organizations because of the claims about violation of rights which has reached, is primarily tried to be passed off, and refused after MAZLUMDER’s determination. Although the files which were demanded from MAZLUMDER has been sent to relevant units, there has been no results taken yet.

### **Unfair Detentions and Arbitrary Arrestments**

The most common human rights violations in Syria are unfair detentions and arbitrary arrestments. All the people who are opponents to the regime or suspects of being opponent to the regime are faced with the danger of being arrested. Even the acquaintances are mostly not informed of these detentions and arrestments. Just a few of them can be seen in the press and reach to the human rights organizations. Especially the people who are claimed to be ‘ member of an illegal organization’ are being detained secretly at midnights and their families can not inform the public opinion about the detentions because of fear and oppressions.<sup>6</sup>

Rootless information is being reached to intelligence and security forces about individuals and groups by civilian finger men and without confirming these information, the unfair detentions are performed. The ‘security law’ which has been in practice since 1963 creates grounds for security and intelligence forces’ all arbitrary actions. ‘uncovering and clearing off the probable-against state threatments’ can be the basis for all of these unjust applications.

Most of the detentions are concluded with arrestments but just a few of the detainees can be released after a tough struggle lasting for months. In the Syrian human rights reports which is broadcasted annually by Syrian Human Rights Comittee (SHRC), it shares the arbitrary detentions and arresstments happened in Syria and reached to Comittee with the world opinion.

Below there are some of the unfair detentions and arbitrary arrestments happened recently.<sup>7</sup>

In Humus, many houses were broken into being charged of having connection with Tahrir Party and many people were arrested in Novermber 2006. With the same reason a dental

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<sup>5</sup> HRW, Far From Justice, Syria’s Supreme State Security Court, February 2009

<sup>6</sup> SHRC, Seventh Report on status of Human Rights in Syria, p.32

<sup>7</sup> For an extensive information see ‘Moslem Brothers’ and ‘Kurds’ parts.

clinic and laboratory belong to Yasin Hadid was broken into and the clinic workers including Yasin Hadid were arrested.<sup>8</sup>

Syrian government does not hesitate pressurizing on all of the family members and relatives starting with the closest of the so called criminal if it cannot arrest him because of his being abroad. Another event which was happened in January 2007 clearly shows how the law principles are set at nought by Syrian authorities. Sufyan M. Bakkor who is the son of an adversary, Muhammed Bakkor living in Iraq, was arrested just because of being the son of an adversary father. Although his not being in an organization or action which proves his arrestment is right, he was arrested to make his father give up political works.<sup>9</sup>

Foreigners are also exposed to arbitrary detentions and arrestments, happened in Syria. This attitude which faced mostly by the citizens who came from Arabian countries is such intense that it cannot be underestimated. The citizens who come from various Arabian countries to have their holidays, to visit their relatives and to benefit medical service are detained and arrested by reason of phony accusations. These accusations are generally '*having Wahhabi thought*', '*going to Iraq passing by Syria*', '*committing destructive actions*'. The arrested people who are arrested by these reasons are also exposed to tortures like other detainees.

For instance, the family of a Saudi citizen Amir Hasan Makadi who was arrested by Syrian authorities in the day he would return Saudi Arabia from Damascus, declaring that after that day a person made a call and demanded 50.000 rials for the freedom of Amir and they cannot get clear information about Amir's state of health.<sup>10</sup>

Except Saudis, there are also Jordanian, Lebanese, Iraqi and Palestinian people in the jails of Syria. SHRC cannot give an exact number but estimates that there are about 2000 prisoners in the jails who are the citizens of the countries given above.<sup>11</sup> It even predicts that there are many Jordanians among these prisoners who were arrested in eighties and these prisoners might have been killed under torments.

Another application made to our organization which can be an example of unfair detentions and arbitrary arrestments is following: According to the declaration made by a Syrian citizen Muhammed Omer Hayyan Errezzuk's father, he abandoned Syria during Hama Massacre and took refuge in Iraq. He also states that his son Muhammed Omer Hayyan Errezzuk, born in Baghdad in 1985, was eager to go back to his home country when he was a third grade computer engineering student and asked to Syrian embassy in Baghdad if there were any obstacles for going back and received an act which was showing there were no obstacles for going back to Syria (**available in appendix**) and was arrested, put into jail and the judgement process was started without any reason given when he entered his home country in 17 November 2005 with this act in his hand. Born in 1985, Errezzuk in his first entrance to his home country is accused of being a member of Muslim Brotherhood Organization by the court. Despite his refusal of this claim and telling he is not a member of any organization, the court sentenced Errezzuk with execution according to Law no: 49 by the reason of being a member of Muslim Brotherhood Organization. Because of the execution

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<sup>8</sup> SHRC, Report 2008 s.32

<sup>9</sup> SHRC, Seventh Report on status of Human Rights in Syria, p.34

<sup>10</sup> SHRC, a.g.e, p.39

<sup>11</sup> There is various information given about these numbers. For example while the Syrian authorities announcing the number of the prisoners from Lebanon is 80, Lebanon oriented merkezli human rights organizations are stating that this number is about 850.

penalty is not practiced in Syria at present, his punishment is turned to a 12-year prison sentence. His mother lives in Syria and his father who lives with two children has not been able to turn back to Syria since 1982.

### **Torture**

According to MAZLUMDER's observations and as it stated in the reports of human rights organizations till now, torture is a systematic process practiced by state itself in Syria. The type of the guilt of the criminal determines the length and the harshness of the torture. Especially the political criminals (the people who are claimed to be the members of Islamic groups or Kurds and etc.) are exposed to the most intense tortures. The criminals who were arrested of simple offences (like theft) are also exposed to overuse of power and tortures.<sup>12</sup> The biggest reason of such common and legitimate tortures is that Syrian Regime does not take the torture as a crime and its not approving the international laws against torture.<sup>13</sup>

Below there are the ways of torture in Syrian jails according to the reports of Amnesty International and Syrian Human Rights Committee:

*“Beating the whole body using fists and slaps, kicking or hitting by plastic coated iron rods, letaher belts, canes or whips, dousing the prisoners into cold water first and than hot water, ejecting nails, torturing by tying the prisoner up to the wheels, bastinado, giving electricity or beating the criminal after tying him to a human shaped board which is named wind carpet, giving electricity or beating the prisoner again after hanging him up making his body swing and tying his hands from back with the torture named ghost, making the prisoner sit on a machine which inserts a red hot rod in criminal's anus, hanging the prisoner up to a propeller on ceiling and beating him, crashing out cigarettes on delicate parts of the body, detaching the shags and fluffs with a tweezers, rape, giving electricity to the delicate and especially sexual parts of the body, breaking the arms and legs, making him stay on single foot for a long time and making him run carrying heavy burden, forcing him to sit on a bottle or inserting the bottle in his anus, insulating the prisoner in a completely dark cabin for several days, setting light to eyes of the prisoner while he is asleep or making him wait in the light for days and nights, causing partial deafness by making the prisoner listen to high volumed music or the cries of the prisoners under torture, threatening the prisoner by telling him that his friends or relatives are in danger of being tortured, raped and kidnapped, killed or their legs and arms to be cut, harassing sexually or torturing to the relatives of the prisoner in front of his eyes, tormenting to prisoners in front of other prisoners, insulting the prisoners with vulgar expressions or forcing them to take their clothes off among the opposite sex, depriving the prisoner of sleep, food, fresh air, toilet use and the visits of their relatives.”<sup>14</sup>*

Permanent diseases and deaths are caused by not letting the prisoners who become disabled or suffer serious pain after tortures, to get treatment. SHRC stated that hundreds of people died because of poor conditions and tortures in the last twenty years.<sup>15</sup> The relatives of the prisoner who died of torture are not informed in any way and it is reported by the doctors of the jail that the prisoner has had a heart attack.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> SHRC, Report on Human Rights Situation in Syria over 20 year- period, p.4

<sup>13</sup> SHRC, Seventh Report on status of Human Rights in Syria, p.35

<sup>14</sup> Aktaran: A. Emin Dağ, Syria, s... and SHRC, p.35

<sup>15</sup> SHRC, Report on Human Rights Situation in Syria over 20 year- period, p.5

<sup>16</sup> SHRC, Seventh Report on status of Human Rights in Syria, p 37

## **Missings**

During their detention, no information can be received about the people in Syria who are the members of adversary organizations. In the country there are countless missing events, the fates of whom are unknown. In the reports of Amnesty including 1990s and 2000s, it is stated that the acquaintances, of the countless Syrian prisoners who were imprisoned without trials after 1980 and were mostly claimed to be the members of Moslem Brothers Organization, has not been able to reach any information about them. About 20.000 people are missing no information has been able to be reached about them till now.<sup>17</sup> SHRC declared that it has received many letters from the families of the prisoners which are about the people who were lost in 1980s. SHRC is trying to keep this issue on the agenda by sharing information about 5000 people among the missing 20.000 given above.

Another issue which must be investigated about the missings is mass graves in Syria. It is estimated that most of the missings are in these graves. It is conceived that the corpses' bones which are in the mass graves localized by human rights organizations were ground by special machines and some of the corpses' bone crumbs were dumped into Mediterranean from the port city, Tarsus, to prevent the massacres to be confirmed and proved.

MAZLUMDER has got a long list consisting of 5000 people relevant to the missings whose number is estimated as about 20.000. Some parts of this list are going to be announced by us as an addition to this report and the list is going to be shared to the human rights organizations or to the local and international courts which will pursue the issue if demanded. It is also estimated that most of the people who have been lost or cannot be reached since Hama massacre until today have died. However the relatives of these lost people still want to get information about their places and fates. Syrian Arab Republic should urgently answer the questions 'Where are these approximately 20.000 people?' and 'What has been done for these missings until today and has there been an official interference?'

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<sup>17</sup> SHRC, Report 2008, p.13

## **MOSLEM BROTHERS ORGANIZATION IN SYRIA**

### **The Historical Background**

Moslem Brothers movement is an organisation which was founded by Hasan El Benna in 1930s and has an Islamic expression. Moslem Brothers' Syrian branch was founded in Hama by a group of people consisted of scientists, merchants and craftsmen under the leadership of Abdulğani Hamid who had met to Hasan El Benna during his school days. With Mustafa Sibai's taking the head in 1944, Moslem Brothers Organization became completely institutional and achieved to bring Islamic movements in Syria around itself. It actualized the organization by constructing schools, hospitals, charitable institutions and various social mutual-aid associations particularly in Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, Humus and many other cities in Syria. After sending three delegates to the Assembly in Syria in 1947 elections, it started to come forward in politics by sending 33 delegates to the 142-member Assembly in the elections of 1951.

With his autocratic style Hafez El Assad, who took over the Syrian State, assimilated all of the adversary groups and had Moslem Brothers movement as his target. The Assad regime began to control the severe events which have increased after 1976. The conflicts between the regime and Moslem Brothers Organization caused many Moslem Brothers members to be imprisoned and exposed to abuse and heavy torments. And from that day forward, Assad regime started to execute many Muslim Brothers members.

### **Assad's rising to ascendance**

After Syria escaped of French mandate in 1946, It has had a relatively intricate period until 1970. Besides military coups in this period, Ba'ath took over the management in Syria in 1963. Hafez El Assad, being also a soldier, had consistently promoted himself in the military and party during Baath regime and elected as Ba'ath National governance. In time, he occupied Ministry of Defense and Air Forces Commanding. Assad, who eliminated all of the armed branches of Ba'ath which might have objected himself, took all of the armed forces in the country under his command. Assad had determined domestic policies in Syria since 1967 and had his adversaries in Baath arrested and took the control of Ba'ath party in 1971 so he started his autocratic government. He also tried to legitimize his ascendance by gaining 99% of votes in a referendum in 1971 like most of other dictators.

Hafez El Assad is attached to the Alawi minority which constitutes 10% of the population in Syria. Electing a president among themselves after centuries, the Alawi minority which is not on good terms with Suni majority has basically took over all of the political units. For as much as Hafez El Assad gave the most important government agencies out among his relatives and the people from Alawi minority.

During his government which started in 1971, Assad ruled the country with an iron hand and did not allow any opposing works. No opposing works are allowed in Syria in which the press is under state monopoly. Many Parties' being not able to attend to the elections including Moslem Brothers Organization in 1972 made Assad's authority mightier. Assad continued his autocratic government since the beginning of seventies by prohibiting adversary actions and even making attempts on adversary's lives who had fled the country.

As a result of Assad's violence policies, thousands of members of Moslem Brothers Organization which had a rising adverse voice in sixties and seventies lost their lives, tens of

thousand putrified in jails and many people whose number has reached to hundreds of thousand came to refugee status.

The law no. 49 which was put into practice to finish Moslem Brothers Movement completely has increased the violence more and more and has been a ground for mass execution.

According to first item of the law no. 49 , *“Anybody who is a member of Moslem Brothers Organization is to be found guilty and sentenced of death.”*

When it has come to 1982, against the movement in the city of Hama, the city was surrounded by military troops and wholly destroyed by being bombed during one month causing 40.000 dead. The massacre was not limited with Hama and also applied in all of the cities in Syria while the northern cities which are close to Turkey are primary.

This law no. 49 which was enacted by Hafez Assad in 2 July 1980 judges everybody with execution who are the members of Moslem Brothers Organization. Thousands of people were executed according to this law. Just by the reason of this law, many people have been imprisoned and executed who have been just the members of Moslem Brothers Organization for the last thirty years.

Although a quarter of a century has passed over the persecution, torment and murder, this law No. 49 is still applicable.

We invite the international organizations, human rights organizations and international courts to qualify this law no. 49 and the judgements depend on this law as ‘against human rights’ and by taking action for the judgement of Syrian authorities who committed crime depending on this law in international courts to give the people’s dignity back whose rights were violated.

### **The Refugees**

The opposers in the country largely had to leave Syria after Hama massacre. The people who were able to escape from the massacre took shelter in neighboring countries. Roughly 2 million of Moslem Brothers Organization members has taken shelter in many countries like England in particular, Iraq, Yemen, Jordan and Turkey for today. These people have not been able to go back to their countries. The people who went back to their countries in some way are exposed to death sentence, or jail sentence which lasts for years and has an indefinite end in the context of law no. 49.

After the Hama massacre many families had to leave their home countries and spreaded to different parts of the world and as a result of this there has been hundreds of broken families. According to a person of Hama who escaped from Syria in 1982, he lives in Yemen while his wife is in Syria, one of his sons is in Jordan and the other one is in Turkey. Besides not having any kinds of passports, these people also don’t have any rights in the countries where they live. These people, lacking of their Syrian Identities, can not prove anywhere who they are. The women who lost their husbands in the massacre can not marry again because they can not prove their husbands’ deaths and the children who were born after the massacre can not prove that their fathers died during the massacre so they can not claim any inheritance rights.

Even after the moderation period which began in the late of 1990s, the members of Moslem Brothers Organization were not allowed to go back to their home countries. Any of the attempts the movement made to Hafez Al Assad and his son Bashar Assad cut no ice.

### **The Missings**

In the process until today since the 1980s, many Moslem Brothers Organization members have been arrested and no information have been got about them after the arrestment. It is known that there is a very thin line between to be missing an death in the jails of Syria. Neither the advocates nor their families can contact with the people who are imprisoned. On the other hand the families of the children who go in search of their kids are faced with the danger of arrestment.

There has still been no chance to contact with thousands of people who are in the jails of Syria. 20.000 people were lost merely in the Hama massacre and no information has been taken about them. No application showed any results made to official channels.

### **The Tadmor Prison Massacre ( Palmira Massacre)**

The Tadmor prison which was closed in August 2001 after the Hafez Al Assad's death was firstly opened privately in 1979 to discriminate Moslem Brothers Organization members from other detainees. It is known that in this jail the detainees are exposed to various torments like being hanged from legs, beaten with iron rods and electric shock.

All of the detainees died in Palmira massacre which was committed according to Hafez Al Assad's order to the troops under the control of his brother Rifat Assad to kill all of the Moslem Brothers Organization members. After the law no.49 enacted in 7 June 1980 which includes death sentence for all of the Moslem Brothers Organization members, a special force named 'Defense Brigade' and established independent from standing army, which has its own air forces, intelligence service and prisons, under the control of Rifat Assad attacked on Palmira prison by helicopters and slaughtered all of the defenseless detainees in the jail. According to the report which was published by Amnesty International in 1983, from 600 to 1000 detainees were killed in Palmira prison where the Moslem Brothers Organization members were held in.

According to the statements which were taken by Human Rights Watch from the old prisoners the corpses of the prisoners in Tadmur jail were buried in mass graves without being surrendered to their families. In 2001, after the human rights defender Nizar Nauf's statement that "*he opened some of the mass graves in which the prisoners of Tadmur were buried after being killed before 1991*" he claimed "*the security forces transferred the graves to another area*".

According to HRW there were mass executions performed twice a week in Tadmur prison between the years 1980 and 1983. Each time in groups of 30-35 people or more were executed. 180 prisoners were the victims of the most bloody execution until that day which was performed in the first day of 1984. The executions ceased in 1985 for a while. After the violent events which were occurred in Damask and other parts in Syria in 1986, the executions were intensified again. The executions continued in succeeding years. In July 1989 160 prisoners were executed collectively.

These executions in Tadmur prison are a clear violation of conditions of International Civilian and Political Rights Agreement (ICCPR). With the death sentences given after unfair trials, the sixth item of ICCPR was violated.

The deaths in the jail happened because of torments have been continued to be reported by Amnesty International in the years of 1999 and 2000 even if many prisoners had been released in nineties. The executions for the simple offences have been practiced in Syria in various dates until today. Beşşar Asad, the son of Hafez Al Assad, who rose to ascendance in 2000, showed partial clemency for the political detainees including human rights defenders before and after his father's death.

### **The Hama Massacre**

The most violent bloody operation planned to eliminate adversary groups, particularly the members of Moslem Brothers Organization, under the control of Hafez Al Assad in the early seventies and eighties was started in 2 February, 1982. A murdering authority was given to Rifat Assad with his troop consisting of 12000 soldiers to kill 5000 people including all of the members of 100 families who had a relation with adversary groups, to expurgate Moslem Brothers Organization members from Hama in particular and other northern cities of Syria. Rifat Assad and his soldiers started with homes. The repression was increased and increased, all of the houses were burned and destroyed with the people inside them and even the children were killed in front of their parents' eyes.<sup>18</sup>

The Assad governance proceeded a unique violence in history with this operation killing innocent people without discriminating woman, child or aged. According to the report of Amnesty International, the old streets of the city were bombed aerially to make the land cruisers and soldier troops enable to enter in the narrow streets just like the streets of El Hader the houses of which were destroyed by land cruisers in the first five days of the operation. After the heavy bombings lasted for days, the city was still under siege although Mustafa Talas the Minister of Defence said the rebellion was already suppressed in 15 February. It was being declared that massive arrestments were continued, military forces treated the people badly and did city people oriented massacres during the further two weeks. Despite it is really hard to know what happened exactly, the news from the Amnesty International released that 70 people were killed collectively in a hospital which is out of the city in February 19, and the same day Guard Brigade executed everybody who were residing in El Hader. Cyanide was used to kill the people who live in the buildings in which the suspects were supposed be found. Furthermore people were brought together in military airfield, city stadium and military camps and kept there hungry and outdoors for many days.

The violence which was practiced to suppress the actions organized by the Regime itself lasted more than three weeks. When Assad told a journalist that the life in the city was normal, the roads in the city were still being kept close. In this warlike operation in which tyrannical massacres were practiced, the military troops who were not able to enter in the city with land cruisers used long range guns, bombed with helicopters and razed the targetted parts of the city to the ground with bulldozers. According to the people from Hama who escaped from the massacre, "the smell of the rotten corpses filled the air of the whole city". There were injured and deads under the debris of the buildings. Even the corpses were raped by the

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<sup>18</sup> For detailed information: Ahmet Emin Dağ's book named "Syria" can be looked over.

soldiers. Many people have been killed whose legal domiciles were Hama who were not there during the massacre.

**An eye-witness' quotation of the massacre of Sheik Osman's family from Hama**

*"The soldiers of the Syrian army raided the house of Muhyiddin Sheikh Osman, more than 80, who lived in Hayyi Sergiye (Eastern District) in 20 February 1982.*

*His children, grandchildren, wife and daughter-in-law were also at home. They committed to arrest him. They killed the opposing family members. The victims were roughly 30.*

*Some of the victims names known are below.*

- Muhyiddin Sheikh Sheikh Osman's wife from Shinab family.*
- Ahmed Sheikh Osman's wife from Tahmaz family.*
- Muhammed Sheikh Osman's wife from Mansur family.*
- Usame Sheikh Osman's wife.*
- Memduh Sheikh Osman's wife from Hâni family and his three children.*
- Muhyiddin Sheikh Osman's daughter Nuriye and his seven children.*
- Ahmed Sheikh Osman's children Muhyiddin, Me'mun and Nebil.*
- Muhammad Sheikh Osman's son Dücane.*

*The people below were also the members of this family;*

- Ömer Sheikh Osman.*
- İbrahim Sheikh Osman.*
- Zubeyir Sheikh Osman.*
- Faysal Sheikh Osman.*
- Ziyad Sheikh Osman.*
- Osman Sheikh Osman*

*They were all killed, their houses destroyed and later Muhyidding Sheikh Osman was also killed when he was detained and he was over 80 years old when he was killed."*

A significant number of mosques in the city were destroyed during the attacks. Likewise the churches in the city suffered significant damage under bombardment. No sounds of prayer were heard for three months in Hama. According to the findings 38 mosques and Islamic centers were destroyed under bombardment, 19 mosques were damaged and some of them were used for different purposes. Nobody was able to prevent the churches from being destroyed under bombardment. The Al-Cedide Church which was accepted as an archeological artifact was laid waste. Many historical artifact were also damaged under bombardment. In the same days two churches were taken down as a result of the attacks.

"Thousands of victims were left to die after the refusal of medical care by security forces. Some of the victims from Hama were buried in mass graves alive. 185 patients lost their lives after the hospitals named Hammam el-Seyh Hospital, el-Huda Hospital, Karate Club Hospital and Zanuba Hospital were bombed by security forces. The soldiers plundered all of the pharmacies in the city. Only one from the 52 pharmacies in the city was not plundered. There were new born babies and even embriyos in their mothers' wombs among the victims of the massacre. The babies were thrown out of balconies in front of their mothers' eyes. Soldiers caused the death of an unborn baby by drilling a pregnant woman's stomach. Many children died because of the lack of food for weeks. The children in Hama where the horror was lived bitterly were obliged to use the guns they took from the injured soldiers to defend themselves. Soldiers cut the hands of the women who refused giving their jewelery. Many woman were

killed after being raped and tortured by the soldiers. The punishment for the soldiers who refused violence on women and children was death. Old people were also killed without any discrimination. Aged people who were trying to bury their descents were killed ruthlessly. The security forces were not showing any consent to deads to be buried and killing the the people who attended to do this. The city was filled by the smell of the corpses and the danger of epidemic diseases appeared. The number of the missing people increased and increased in the last days of the massacre. The augmentation of arrestments was ordered by the name of completion of inquiries about the arrested people in 26 February, 1982, 1500 people from Hama including the mufti were detained by force. These people were never seen again after these detentions. Rifat Assad ordered roughly 1000 civil servants and employees who worked in mosques to be separated from other prisoners in 22 February, 1982. No information has been had about these prisoners who were taken to an unknown place since that date. As a result of the change of woman-man rate in the city, after the massacre the people had trouble to make their livings. The sources of income for he people in the city were abolished with the department stores' sabotage after their depredation by the soldiers.”<sup>19</sup>

After Hama massacre 800 thousand Syrian had to leave the country. Hama massacre which was one of the biggest massacres of the 20. century got a wide place in foreign press. It was stated in a French magazine article that *“the number of the loss was far more than the loss in the Arab-Israeli war”*. And in an article which was published in The Economist magazine in March 1982 below are stated about Hama massacre: *“Perhaps what happened in the city of Hama which is 120 miles far from the capital city Damascus will never be known. The government’s permission to the journalists to enter the city of Hama took months which was sieged by land cruisers and long-range guns for three weeks.”*

***The story of Kerem who took the pictures of the Hama massacre:***

*Kerem Kiyase, a sixth grade student of medical school in Damascus University, took the pictures of brutality through his car hiding from the guards two months after the disaster of Hama massacre had happened. Then he went to Tripoli and pictured the exposures, multiplied them and distributed. After his turning back to Damascus it was realized that he was the person who took the pictures. After that the Syrian Regime killed him and destroyed his house.*

The historical part of the city where the massacre was experienced heavily was destroyed totally by bulldozers. According to Moslem Brothers Organization the loss are more than 40.000 including military’s. However these estimations are given considering the numbers taken from the hospitals, the number of the deaths who were buried before reaching to the hospitals is unknown.

Bombardments were done without discriminating mosque or church. 8.000 Christian who were the members of different sects had lived in peace with the Sunni majority for centuries in the city. In his news broadcasted by Charles Bobit in 1 March, 1982, a French journalist who is not an Arab was able to enter Hama, he quoted *“A woman from Hama, I met when I entered in the city as a witness, told met that she had had to hide his husband’s headless corpse for days and many people from Hama had kept their injured relatives at home similarly and I did not heard the sound of praying during the days I stayed there by reason of the minarets were targetted while the call for prayer was being given.”*

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<sup>19</sup> For detailed information: Ahmet Emin Dağ’s book named “Syria” can be looked over.

## HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AGAINST KURDS IN SYRIA

### The General Situation

The population of Kurds comprising roughly 10% of the population of Syria is the largest ethnic minority after the Arabs.<sup>20</sup> According to this rate, Kurds form nearly 2 million of a total population of 20 million of Syria. When we look at the general religious distribution in the country Shiites constitute the largest part with a rate of 70%<sup>21</sup> whereas the ratio of Sunni Muslim among the Kurds is nearly 100% and a few number of Shiite Kurds live in the region. The Syrian Kurds speak the Kurdish Kurmanji language. The majority live along the borders with Iraq and Turkey in the northeast. Around 30% of the Kurdish population lives in the northwest of Aleppo, known as Efrin (Mountain of the Kurds). Roughly 10% of the Kurd population is in Ain al-Arab (Kobani) where the Euphrates enters Syrian territory. 50% lives in the northeastern, in Jazeera governorate.<sup>22</sup> The inhabitants of Kurd Dagh are the local population of this region. The people of Jazeera are those who came later and whose citizenships were denied by Syria. These are the country's rich areas in terms of petrol resources. When it is thought that about half of Syria's Gross National Product (GNP) comes from petrol gains, the importance of the region can be more comprehensible. Apart from these regions, there is a considerable number of Kurds living in Damascus, Aleppo and Latakia.

### The Historical Situation

The positions of Syrian Kurds in historical process need to be analysed in two main time periods. The first of these is the period from World War I to 1950s, the other is the period up to now with 1950s within the context of Independent Syria and Arab Nationalism.

In the first years of the independence of Syria, the Syrian Kurds revolted from time to time, captured the public buildings and hung Kurd flags instead of Syrian flags with the provocations of the French. The basis of the problem goes back to the beginning of 20th century as other countries. After WWI, with the new established boundaries in Middle East, the Kurd population less than in Iraq and Turkey remained in the Syrian boundaries which were under the French mandate. In addition to these, after the insurrections emerged in Turkey were suppressed violently in 1920s and 1930s and after the foundation of Khoybun Committee in 1927 many Kurds from Turkey migrated to Syria as refugees. During the French mandate period in Syria (1920-1946) different ethnic factors having come from as part of France's "make-diversity policy" were admitted to Syria's citizenship. The Kurds benefited from many advantages during the mandate period, even served in the army.<sup>23</sup>

As mentioned above, until 1950s the Kurds lived their lives without being exposed to any repression and restriction and didn't have much disturbance. There weren't any problems until 1950s whereas the situation changed afterwards. After that period, the Syrian authorities saw the Kurds as a threat in terms of the country's integrity and Arab identity and qualified some restrictions.

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<sup>20</sup> Syria's diversing ethnic population consists of 10% Kurdish, 6% Ermenian, 2% Turkoman, 4% Greeks and Jews, 2% Circassians, 2% Druzes, 73% Arabs.

<sup>21</sup> In religious terms the population consists of 12% Partisans of Caliph Ali, 3% Druzes, 2% Ismailian, 14% Arab-Christians, 68% Sunni moslems and others.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Lowe, "The Syrian Kurds: A People Discovered", Chatham House Middle East Programme, January 2006

<sup>23</sup> For more detailed information see: Salma Mardam Bey, Syria's Quest for Independence, Ithaca Press, Gary C. Gambill, "The Kurdish Reawakening in Syria", Middle East Intelligence Bulletin, Volume 6, No 4, April 2004, Sami Moubayed, "US Designs on Syria's Kurds", Asia Times, 9 April 2005.

The repression against the Kurds increased in 1960s with the height of Aran nationalism. The land reform programs made in these years were designed to destroy the economic power of Kurds' traditional elite. 43% of socialized land as part of reform was in the governorate of Jazeera. The census carried out in 1962 formed the basis of many problems today. The aim of the census was to determine how many to Syria from Iraq and Turkey in illegal ways. The Kurds had to prove that they had been resident in Syria since 1945 to acquire citizenship. The unapparent aim was the Arabization of the rich northeast region. The Kurds who could not prove this were deprived of their citizenship. In the census which was carried out with the claim to isolate the different ethnic groups having come after to the region, nearly 120.000 Kurds were revoked. Restrictions concerning the use of Kurdish followed this.<sup>24</sup>

Arab Nationalism became one of the important determining of Syrian policies with the Baath regime ascendancy in 1963. In the context of these policies, with the so-called "Arab Belt" Project instituted by Muhammad Talib Hilal in those years, a crucial political line of Arabization in North regions was pursued. With this Project Arab settlement politics were carried out for an area 300 km long and 10-15 km across bordered on Turkey and the Kurds in the area were displaced. Surely, the Arab Belt Project had an economic dimension. Being Syria's substantial petrol regions in this area and again similarly the supply of the country's wheat and cotton production of 80% from this area support these claims.<sup>25</sup>

In 1970s, with the Project of Arab Belt modern agriculture villages were constructed in the mentioned area and the Arabs were settled in this region. 4000 Arab families were settled in this area by the government in 1975 and 41 modern agriculture villages were constructed. Although the Arab Belt Project was suspended by the government in 1976, it wasn't allowed for the Kurds having left their living areas to resettle in their old places.<sup>26</sup>

In the parallel years the repressions against the Kurds were not only the restrictions against their identity rights. In the similar years, the rights of the Kurds such as their usage of language, Kurdish education, were defeated in many areas and restrictions were imposed. Syrian government that banned cultural demonstrations and feasts did not apply the same restrictions to other groups such as Armenians or Assyrians. Armenians and Assyrians could speak their language and educate in their own language in the private schools they had constructed. Due to a law enacted at the end of 1970s, the names of Kurd settlement places with replaced with Arab ones. All of these implementations in that period were carried out by Baath regime within the context of the ideology of Arab Nationalism. The years of 1970 especially 80s and 90s were the years the relationship between the Syrian government and the Kurds were the best and positive. The Syria mufti in those years was Sheikh Ahmed Kufarı, himself a Kurd. Moreover, Mahmud Eyyub, himself a Kurd, became the president between the years 72 and 76. The positive relationship between the Syrian government and the Kurds was not limited only with the Syrian Kurds but also with the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq. Moreover, in 1980s, the PKK organization actualized military training camps in Syria and the Syrian government took no notice of this. In mentioned years these positive relationships with the Kurds resulted from the government's struggle with the Moslem Brothers organization which was seen more dangerous. Nevertheless the Kurd authorities, who came to good degrees in the government with softening policies that applied in Syria, didn't make an effort to make the living conditions of the Kurd population right, even didn't make a declaration

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<sup>24</sup> <http://levantwatch.blogspot.com/2006/05/suriye-krtleri-ve-trkiye.html>

<sup>25</sup> Leyla Ahmar, Kamer Saide, There are Kurds in Syria, p. 56

<sup>26</sup> HRW Report 2009, Group Denial; Repression of Kurdish Political and Cultural Rights in Syria, p.15

concerning this problem. This is important to show how the people served could stay in their duty localities.

After 1990s, with the changing improvements at home and abroad, the relative ease atmosphere for the Kurds began to cease to exist. The capture of Abdullah Ocalan in 1998 and Turkey's press on Syria about PKK with Syria's struggles for reconciliation with Saddam were the important reasons to the transmission of unrelenting policies against the Kurds. Bashar Assad who came to power after his father, Asad, in 2000, was a hope for the Kurds for a little while. The son, Assad, having become the president of the country, promised the Kurds about their rights to be given and their identities to be acquired but after a little while it was understood that the promises made were unfulfilled. As a matter of fact, the 2004 events showed that nothing would be as before anyhow and these events were an important turning point in the relations between Syrian Government and the Kurds. Since it will be focused on the violations after Qamishli events in the report and because this date is the order of the day for the disadvantage of the Kurds, there is advantage to dwell upon these events even more.

### **The Events of 2004**<sup>27</sup>

In March 2004 the Syrian Kurds actualized actions that were the largest and made the most impression throughout their presence in Syria. On 12 March 2004, there broke out conflicts due to the political slogans that were shouted in a soccer match between an Arab team and a Kurdish team in Qamishli, adjacent to the boundary of Turkey, in the northeast of Syria. There are different theories about how the conflicts had begun and by whom they were started. Some sources express that Arab supporters initially displayed a depiction of Saddam Hussein and afterwards the fans of the Kurds shouted slogans for Mesud Barzani. According to an another claim, the soccer match had never started; before the match the Kurds in the stadium attacked Arabs by shouting slogans praising Talabani and Bush and the events grew out as such.

The conflict in the stadium spread to outside in a short time. The Kurds began to conflict with the Arabs in Qamishli and with the security forces as well and shouted slogans as " free Kurdistan", " intifada until the occupation ends" which were never uttered in Syria until that time. After the events grew out, the Syrian government had to transfer reinforcement troops to the city. The security forces interfered the Kurds violently during the conflicts and besides according to some witnesses cluster bomb was used. The day after in the ceremony of those who were killed during the events there broke out conflicts as well. During the ceremony the Kurdish flags were wrapped on the coffins, the partizans of Barzani chaunted slogans and the depictions of Asad were burned. Where on, the security forces intervened the people who attended the funeral. The unrest quickly spread to nearby towns such as Hasaka, Amuda, Afrin, Aleppo and Ras el-Ayn. During a meeting arranged by the Kurds in Afrin after the intervention of the security forces, 7 people were killed; in Hasaka the Arabs looted the workplaces and shops of the Kurds, the Kurds vandalized Arabs' cars and workplaces. The Kurds revolted in Amuda stoned a police station. In the events that broke out in the other cities, again the Kurds ransacked public buildings and private properties, burned some cars and buildings.

These events in Syria were followed with anxiety in Turkey, Jordan and Iraq. Also in Turkey, the events were followed up attentively and the safety precautions were increased.

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<sup>27</sup> For more information about these events, see, Abdi Noyan Özkaya, Syrian Kurds: Political ineffectiveness and Syrias poli Politikalar, USAK Dergi, Cilt 2, No:8, s 103-108

The Syrian security forces intervened the events violently. The borders of Iraq and Turkey in Hasaka province were enclosed and entrances to and exists from Qamishli were banned. Reinforcement troops from the army were transmitted to the cities where the events happened and curfew order was announced, approximately 2000 people were arrested. After several months the government expressed to the Kurdish parties by sending a writing that the activities of their parties were forbidden because they had no license.

The information given about the number of those who had lost their lives at the end of these events is paradoxical. The number of dead considering the seventh day of the events is 25 according to Syrian official sources. Whereas the Kurdish sources wrote in the news they gave during the events that 94 people died in three days. On the contrary, in most of the Western sources and the reports that were published after a long period, it was expressed that the number of the dead was about 40.<sup>28</sup>

By the events expressed with a definite measurement mentioned above, serious troubles began to happen between the Kurds and the Syrian government. Human Rights Associations gave repressive warnings to the Syrian government about the events. A year after 2004 the murder of Sheikh Ma'shuq Khaznawi, a respected religious leader of the Kurds, increased the tension. Being a religious man and a partizan of the regime before Qamishli events, the Kurdish Sheikh Muhammad Ma'shuq Khaznawi receded from the regime after the events in Qamishli and held the attention of the government by making various explanations about the cultural rights of the Kurds. Although the government transmitted to Khaznawi that they felt indisposed about his explanations, he didn't change his attitude and for this reason he began to appear as an important figure among the Kurds. However, Khaznawi vanished in May 2005 and after about three weeks he was found dead in Dayr Az Zawr, the city in the South about 270 km away from Qamishli. Although the Syrian government expressed that Khaznawi was killed by a ring of crime, the Kurds alleged that this was an execution.<sup>29</sup>

With these events, the relations between the Syrian regime and the Kurd population tensed more and many lawless appliances began to break out. Especially some of these lawlessnesses arisen will be analyzed in the form of titles in the report.

### **Identity Discrimination Against the Kurds**

The policies of repression against the Kurds in Syria stand out in many areas. Serious oppressions are implemented especially against the political activities of the Kurds. Nonetheless, the most serious affair for the Kurds living in Syria is the "identity" problem. Roughly 350.000 of 2 million Kurd population of Syria aren't regarded as Syrian citizen and in the identities given, they seem foreigners.<sup>30</sup> The rights of the Kurds in this status for public representation, property acquirement, working as officials or employees in public offices, having treatment in public hospitals and journey are prevented. While the Kurds in the status of "Ajanib" in Syria couldn't have civil marriages with the citizens of Syria, the children born as the result of religious marriages aren't regarded as even from the status of "Ajanib" and they seem in the status of "Maktoumeen"(informal). As those who are in the status of "Maktoumeen" don't have identity cards, there is no information about them in the register of births. The people in the status of "Maktoumeen" have to get permission from the political agent to enroll in schools. Since the process to get permission is very troublesome, the rate of

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<sup>28</sup> 'One Year After the March 2004 Events' ve Lowe, *A People Discovered* Chatham House Middle East Progamme, January 2006 p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Abdi Noyan Özkaya, p.107

<sup>30</sup> Leyla Ahmar and Kamer Saide, ,There are Kurds in Syria, p.55

children who can't go to school is very high. This is one of the policies of the government to make the Kurd population uneducated. The total number of people in the status of "Ajanib" and "Maktoumeen" among the Kurds in the country is over 350.000. When the Syrian president Bashaar Asad came to power, he made a promise to work out this problem in the first days but there aren't any progress up to now. Moreover, he put this event on the agenda in the Baath Party's general meeting in 2006 but there was no result. This discriminatory policy against the Kurds in Syria is followed by Human Rights Associations with anxiety and it is demanded the discrimination to be terminated as soon as possible.

### **Repression of Public Gatherings and Demonstrations**

The Syrian government, having already applied great repression against the Kurds after 2004 Qamishli events, increased the repressions thoroughly. The Syrian Government began to intervene violently against the public gatherings of the Kurds, especially after 2004 events which were described as "intifada" according to the Kurds. In these demonstrations followed closely by Human Rights Association, the Kurds generally demand the repressions to be ended and the rights to be rehabilitated.

Many Kurds attended the funeral of Muhammad Khaznawi, an esteemed leader of the Kurds killed in mysterious circumstances in 2005, and they reacted to the government.<sup>31</sup> In the funeral of Khaznawi, the police beat protestors and up to 60 Kurds were arrested.<sup>32</sup>

In a demonstration arranged on account of International Human Rights Day in 2006, the security forces beat a number of demonstrators, dispersed the participants by force before they even reached their meeting point and some were detained. One of those who arranged the demonstration, Fuad Aliko, described the events in this way:

*" The security forces encircled me, with my two sons and a friend and they started beating me in a hysterical way. I had to be treated for my wounds for 15 days. "*<sup>33</sup>

The events that threw the interventions of security forces against the rights of public gatherings of the Syrian Kurds aren't limited as only the events mentioned above. Many events similar to these happened in the paralel years. For instance, the security forces used tear bombs against some of the protestors who protested the military intervention of Turkey to North Iraq in November, 2007, causing a person to die and wounding two people. Nevertheless about 20 demonstrators were detained and brought to military court for trial.<sup>34</sup> In March 2008, a concert organized by Kurdish students at Aleppo University was prevented.<sup>35</sup> In an another event dated February 2009, activities planned to protest Decree No. 49 in Jazeera, 21 people were detained.<sup>36</sup> In the gathering at Aleppo University in 2009 March to commemorate the victims of 2004 Qamishli events, security services detained 13 university students.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> <http://www2.amnesty.se/uaonnet.nsf/Senaste+veckan/BEAD457AAD39CFBCC1257007002C8690?opendocument> (accessed September 10, 2009).

<sup>32</sup> HRW Report 2009, Group Denial; Repression of Kurdish Political and Cultural Rights in Syria, p.18

<sup>33</sup> HRW Report 2009, Group Denial; Repression of Kurdish Political and Cultural Rights in Syria, p.3

<sup>34</sup> HRW Report 2009, Group Denial; Repression of Kurdish Political and Cultural Rights in Syria, p.3

<sup>35</sup> HRW Report 2009, Group Denial; Repression of Kurdish Political and Cultural Rights in Syria, p.3

<sup>36</sup> HRW Report 2009, Group Denial; Repression of Kurdish Political and Cultural Rights in Syria, p.3

<sup>37</sup> HRW Report 2009, Group Denial; Repression of Kurdish Political and Cultural Rights in Syria, p.4

## **Unfair Probations and Torments Against the Kurds**

The conditions of prisons in Syria and unfair treatments against the detainees are told in the first chapter of this report. The Kurds deal these treatments out. The detainees generally aren't brought about with their families, furthermore it is often encountered with some cases as the families don't know the place of their detainee. The detainees are generally held in security units first and then they are transferred to normal prisons. However the detentions in the security units could sometimes last for months. These treatments against the detainees are carried out on other groups as well as on the Kurds. According to the explanation considering the event made by a member of KDP-S:

*“ When I was under arrest in the central prison of Qamishli, my wife came to see me and 5 minutes were given for the visit. My young child begged them, did they allow him to visit me for 10 minutes. ”*<sup>38</sup>

Another difficulty beside the disturbance in the detention conditions is the torments against the detainees. Various human rights associations have reconnoitred concerning these events and the results of them are dread extent.<sup>39</sup> There is a lot of information available about the torments the victims quoted. According to a demonstrator who was detained after the protest in Qamishli, in November, 2007:

*“ They took us to a police station in Qamishli and they tortured us at first night. We were subjected to many torments after the 12 days and it was very difficult. They repeated the investigation making us put our fingerprints on a piece of paper, while our hands were tied behind our back and our eyes were covered. They would blame us for being agents for the US and beat us with cables. ”*<sup>40</sup>

A victim who was detained in 2008 for a period of three months explained the torments as:

*“...they would tie my hands and feet, cover my eyes with a black cloth. I was made to stand for 11 days with only brief periods of rests for 10 minutes, to eat. If I would fall due to lack of sleep, they would throw cold water on me and beat me with cables. Tests I had done after my release showed that I had inflamed joints as well as infections in the stomach, kidneys and chest... ”*<sup>41</sup>

One of the most applied torments is being exposed to insufficient sleep. Arrested in 2006, a detainee's explanations are as:

*“ ...they put me in a cell alone and the guardians often came to my cell and told me to wake up with throwing cold water and wanted me to stand up... ”*<sup>42</sup>

Another detainee, a Kurdish activist, described the conditions of the prisons as:

*“ We were in an underground cell with no air or sun. We had no recreation time to go out and get fresh air. I developed skin rashes. We had one blanket in winter, which was full of*

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<sup>38</sup> For detailed information, see Human Rights Watch interview with PYD activist C.C., June 25, 2009

<sup>39</sup> Human Rights Watch negotiated with 30 old prisoners in 2009 and 12 prisoners out of 30 claimed that they were exposed of torments in various ways.

<sup>40</sup> For detailed information, see Human Rights Watch interview with PYD member F.F., June 20, 2009

<sup>41</sup> For detailed information, see Human Rights Watch interview with D.D, June 19, 2009

<sup>42</sup> For detailed information, see Human Rights Watch interview with C.C. June 25, 2009

*fleas and insects that would bite. We were forbidden to speak to anyone else in the cell, as any person who spoke was beaten and insulted.*"<sup>43</sup>

The things happened to those who were subjected to torments aren't limited only with these. Some victims are ashamed and have troubles while giving tongue to the indignities applied. However, the result of what they have talked about is in the way that those torturing insult to the mothers, wives, sisters of the victims. According to the declaration of a Kurdish detainee, the guardians had said that all the Kurds were traitor and repeated this ever so often.<sup>44</sup>

### **The Situation of the Political Parties**

From the laws in Syrian Constitution there is no official authorization of the parties in Syria and all of them are faced with the threat of being closed at any time. In fact after the events of 2004, the Syrian authorities announced that all the parties had been closed. After these events number of legal actions were initiated especially about the current parties and evolutions of the Kurds with these parties and the authorities of the evolutions. Majority of the busted party authorities are tried for being present in the political and social evolutions the government doesn't permit by Decree no. 288 of the Syrian Criminal Code. Syrian security services are focused on especially five parties and arrest the authorities of these parties.<sup>45</sup> These parties are Yakiti, Kurdish Future Movement, Azadi, KDP and PYD.

From 2007 seven senior executive authorities of Yakiti Party were detained by the security forces. Among these are the general secretary and ex-general secretary.<sup>46</sup> Official spokesman of Kurdish Future Movement was detained in August 2008. It is stated that seven authorities of Azadi Party including the general secretary were detained in July 2008.<sup>47</sup> The general secretary of Kurdish Left party is among the ones who were detained in July 2008. The leader of KDP, Adnan Buzan, was detained by the security forces in June 2007.<sup>48</sup> All these custodies show how difficult and dangerous for the Kurdish political parties to make policy in Syria. Essentially the authorities released after having been detained infer that they are still being followed even after the release. Furthermore there are authorities who are arrested and whose depositions are taken time to time.

### **Cultural Rights**

Syrian authorities don't permit the Kurds to celebrate the Newruz for 4 years. The security forces intervened a group of 3000 people who wanted to celebrate the Newruz in 2006 and used tear bombs to disperse the group. The security forces arrested tens of people with this event.<sup>49</sup> After two years, in 2008, the security forces again intervened a group of 200 people who wanted to celebrate the Newruz in Qamishli and dispersed the group. The security forces hoped to prevent hundreds of people who wanted to celebrate the Newruz and detained tens of people in March 2009.<sup>50</sup> The Military Intelligence arrested 9 people because of attending the Newruz celebrations in April 2008 and released them after eight days.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> For detailed information, see Human Rights Watch interview with D.D. June 19, 2009

<sup>44</sup> For detailed information Human Rights Watch interview with Future Movement member G.G. June 19, 2009

<sup>45</sup> For detailed information, see. Human Rights Watch interviews with Hasan Saleh June 19, 2009; and Azadi activist O.O., June 28, 2009

<sup>46</sup> HRW Report 2009, Group Denial; Repression of Kurdish Political and Cultural Rights in Syria, p.31

<sup>47</sup> HRW Report 2009, Group Denial; Repression of Kurdish Political and Cultural Rights in Syria, p.37

<sup>48</sup> HRW Report 2009, Group Denial; Repression of Kurdish Political and Cultural Rights in Syria, p.41

<sup>49</sup> "Use of Violence to Disperse Celebrations of Nowruz in Aleppo" (in Arabic), Syrian Human Rights Committee press release, March 21, 2006, <http://www.shril-sy.info/modules/news/article.php?storyid=618>

<sup>50</sup> [www.shril-sy.info/modules/news/article.php?storyid=4094](http://www.shril-sy.info/modules/news/article.php?storyid=4094) (accessed October 2, 2009).

<sup>51</sup> <http://www.kurdchr.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=670> (accessed September 7, 2009);

As the Syrian security forces prevent the Kurdish population to celebrate the Newruz, one of the cultural feasts, they also intervene the commemoration meetings arranged by the Kurdish population time to time.

### **Name Changes**

The names of the Kurdish regions were replaced with the Arabic ones by the laws that were applied in 1970s. A member of the PYD described the torture he endured while detained by Political Security in `Ain`Arab in May 2006:

*“They tortured me physically and emotionally. The physical torture began from the moment I arrived at the branch. The officer who heads the branch beat me personally. His men tied my legs to a Russian rifle, and the officer beat me on my feet with a whip. The beating covered various parts of my body. He would insult and threaten me and insult the Kurds. He found a notebook in my pocket where I had written the name of the town by its Kurdish name, Kobani, which the regime had changed to `Ain `Arab, so he hit me with more than 100 lashes saying, “Damn you and damn Kobani. Why don’t you write `Ain `Arab?” The torture lasted for almost six hours of on-off beatings.”<sup>52</sup>*

Therewith a trouble concerning the names appears in business names. According to the Syrian laws, 60% of the writings in the shops and on the shop windows has to be Arabic. Only the international brands such as “Adidas” and “Mercedes” are exempted from this obligation.

The Kurdish Human Rights Association, MAF made a declaration to emphasize *“the meaninglessness of the treatment of Kurdish, the spoken language by millions in Syria, as French or English”* and *“ the Syrian Kurds feel as their cultures and language are being attacked by Syria.”<sup>53</sup>*

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<sup>52</sup> HRW Report 2009, Group Denial; Repression of Kurdish Political and Cultural Rights in Syria, p.45

<sup>53</sup> <http://www.haberx.com/Dunya-Haberleri/Agustos-2009/Türkiye’de Kürt açılımı tartışılırken Suriye Kürtçe işyeri isimlerini yasaklıyor. aspx>

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Kurd population in Syria is ignored with the label “treason” the Syrian regime has tagged to the opponents. So to speak, they are passed over with the discriminatory and oppressive policies implemented against them in various extents by the regime. Not contented with qualifying the Kurd population to identity discrimination in principle, the Syrian administration has oppressed numerous education and cultural rights of the Kurds. The Kurds, forbidden from speaking their language, can’t even receive education in their own language. Although these discriminatory policies implemented against the Kurd population date back to earlier years, they began to increase especially after the events in 2004.

It is indispensable for Syria, to make amendments and regulations in the internal human rights implementations. In an atmosphere where the “initiative policies” are discussed in Turkey, Syria must bring up its own initiative policies urgently.

The Syrian government must at first change the legitimate legislation such as the law no. 49, which is the basis of right violations and must accite the prison circumstances to the humanitarian circumstances. The government must pay attention to the demands and complaints of the all regions which are seen as opponents, chiefly Muslim Brotherhood and the Kurd population, enable the millions of the Syrians, being refugees abroad, to return back the country, settle the matter of nearly 350.000 Kurds, disclose the fate of thousands of people whose dooms stil aren’t clear and who are murdered.

MAZLUMDER call to the Syrian authorities to;

- Remove 49. Article and other laws against human rights and international law,
- Opening the detention centers and prisons to human rights organization observation
- Follow more transparent policy, Syrian government must inform public opinion about lost people, start judiciary process for the responsible in Hama massacre, show consideration and respect for the death people and facilitate the returning of the people from Diaspora.
- Take international options into account such as; Ruanda and Srebrenica, the timeout war crimes and other crimes against humanity will not be taken into consideration,
- Resolve citizenship problems of Kurdish people and discrimination

## **APPENDIX**

- 1- Text of law no.49
- 2- The Writing that has been sent to Istanbul Consulate General concerning Muhammad Omer Hayyan Errezzuk
- 3- The Motion from MAZLUMDER concerning the Syrian Prisons by being observed
- 4- A sample correspondence made with Syrian Consulate-General
- 5- The list of the people who have been disappeared in Hama massacre and its continuation

## **Appendix – 1**

### **LAW NO. 49**

Law no.49 / 1980

From the Presidency

Text of Law No. (49) Passed by the Syrian People's Council in the Session on 7th July 1980:

**Article 1:** Each and everyone belonging to the Moslem Brethren Group (Jama'a) organization is considered a criminal who will receive a death punishment.

#### **Article 2**

- a. Each and every member of this Jama'a will be pardoned from the penalty indicated in this law, if he declared withdrawal from the Jama'a in one month from the date this law goes into effect.
- b. A declaration of such withdrawal can be made according to a written statement submitted in person to the governor or to the ambassador with regard to those who were outside the country when this law was issued.

**Article 3:** Punishments for crimes committed by a Moslem Brethren Jama'a member within the country prior to the implementation of this law, and in two months for such a member outside the country, will be reduced as follows:

- a. If the crime committed is punishable by death or lifelong hard labour or detention, the punishment will be hard labour for a maximum of five years.
- b. If the crime committed involves other offences, the punishment will be imprisonment for 1-3 years.

**Article 4:** Each and every member of this Jama'a, who reports in person in one month from the date this law takes effect if inside the country and in two months if outside the country, will be relieved of criminal offences punishments committed, before this law went into effect, to achieve the objectives of the Moslem Brethren Jama'a organization.

**Article 5:** Reduction of and release from punishment provided by this law will not apply to those in detention or undergoing trial.

**Article 6:** This law will be published in the official Gazette and will go into effect on the date it is issued.

## **Appendix- 2**

**The Writing that has been sent to İstanbul Consulate General concerning Muhammad Omer Hayyan Errezzuk  
22.12.2009**

**TO THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC ISTANBUL CONSULATE GENERAL**

**No: 2009/288**

**Subject: About** Muhammad Omer Hayyan Errezzuk

Association of Human Rights and Solidarity with the Oppressed people MAZLUMDER is an association working in the fields of human rights for 18 years in Turkey. There are thousands of members and volunteers of our association, having 22 agents, which concerns with the right violations in Turkey and the world.

The father of Muhammad Omer Hayyan Errezzuk, a Syrian citizen himself, has applied to our association that deals also with the individual applications. The applicant, claiming to be Muhammad Omer Hayyan Errezzuk's father, has explained that his son left Syria in the "Hama Events", occurred in Syria, and went to Baghdad.

The applicant has explained that his son was born in 1985 in Baghdad and that an official document was given to Errezzuk concerning his return to his country in the application he had made to your consulate in Baghdad when he was the third grader of computer engineering education. The said document is in appendix 1. in spite of the document in the appendix prepared by the official authorities, it is expressed that the young undergraduate, Errezzuk, who had left Baghdad in 17.11.2005, was judged by your authorities and sent up for 12 years on 13th December in 2009.

As to evaluate the allegations in the applicant which are the oppression and the condemnation without being qualified to fair trial of Muhammad Omer Hayyan Errezzuk, it is demanded from the Syrian authorities to transmit us;

- the framed accusation against Muhammad Omer Hayyan Errezzuk,
- the evidences concerning the accusation,
- the court decision with reasons about the condemnation of 12 years.

### **MAZLUMDER Istanbul Branch**

#### **For information and requirement:**

1. Syrian Arab Republic Turkey Embassy
2. Syrian Arab Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs
3. Syrian Arab Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs
4. Syrian Arab Republic Ministry of Justice

#### **Appendix**

1. The official writing given from Iraq Syrian Consulate
2. Citizenship certificate given by Syrian Ministry of Internal Affairs
3. Student certificate given by Iraq Ministry of Education and Baghdad Technology University

### **Appendix-3**

#### **The Motion from MAZLUMDER concerning the Syrian Prisons by being observed**

**22.11.2009**

#### **TO THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC ISTANBUL CONSULATE GENERAL**

**No:** 2009/289

**Subject:** the visitation of the Syrian Prisons

Association of Human Rights and Solidarity with the Oppressed people MAZLUMDER is an association working in the fields of human rights for 18 years in Turkey. There are thousands of members and volunteers of our association, having 22 agents, which concerns with the right violations in Turkey and the world.

Numerous human rights organizations have published unfavourable reports lately concerning the prisons in your country as occurred in the media. In most of these reports prepared regarding the Syrian prisons, the unclear prison administration is mentioned and it is asserted that none of the human rights organizations is permitted to take control of these prisons.

MAZLUMDER wants to publicize their observations to international public opinion abating the doubts about this matter making visits to the prisons in your country.

MAZLUMDER asks for authority from your country to send a committee to make an enquiry about the conditions of prisons in your country.

**MAZLUMDER Istanbul Branch**

**Appendix -4**

**TO SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC ISTANBUL CONSULATE GENERAL**

**04.01.2010**

**No:** 2010/2

**Reference:** Dated 22.12.2009, the writing having been sent to you in the no: 2009/289

Upon the demand sent to your Consulate with the concerning letter, our association has been called by you and asked for numerous documents and information by word of mouth.

With reference to your demand, we submit our association regulations in the appendix.

It is demanded from you to deliver your other demands to us in words.

**MAZLUMDER Istanbul Branch**

**Appendix - 5**  
**A List of Some Disappeared People**

No.	Name	Place/Date of Birth	Qualification/Job	Date/ Place of Detention
1	Anas Mohammed Suhail al-Za'eem	1956	Trader	1980
2	Ameen Abdulkadir Alloush			
3	Usama al-Jamal			
4	As'ad al-Khani	1954	Soldier	1982
5	Ahmed al-Ajeeb	1945	Chauffeur	1982
6	Ibrahim Asfour	1943	Agricultural Engineer	1986
7	Ahmed Kaddah			1980
8	Ahmed Mohammed Dakkak	1949	Metal works	1980
9	Ibrahim Abdulkadir Wad'a	1958	Secondary school student/Carpenter	1982
10	Ahmed Ibrahim Ak'ak	1947	Soldier	1981
11	Ahmed Shihab al-Deen As'ad	1954	Teacher	1981
12	Walid Ra'eef Abu Touk	Hama - 1938		1982
13	Mustafa al-Omari		Labourer	
14	Ibrahim al-Sheikh		Farmer	1982
15	Iyad Abdulhaseeb al-Najjar	1961	Student	1993
16	Anas Abdulkareem Shakaki		Student	1981
17	Anas Fawzi al-Kurdi	1962	Student	1980
18	Ahmed Murad	1952	Teacher	1982
19	Adham Sobhi Naddaf	1945	Soldier	1980
20	Ibrahim Sobhi Naddaf	1947	University Graduate	1980
21	Ayman Wattar	1968	Student	1980
22	Ameen Zakiyah		Student	1980
23	Ameen Khallouf	1956		
24	Ahmed Hussein Zamou'h	1963	Student	1980
25	Isma'il Hallaq	1938	Teacher	1930
26	Ahmed Habboul	1958		1978
27	Ahmed Akram Junaid		Student	
28	Ahmed Khabbaz	Hama - 1966	Baker	1975
29	Isma'il Asfour	1958	Postman	1980
30	Ibrahim Zakkar	1959	Student	1980
31	Ahmed Mustafa Da'da'	1956	Civil servant	1982
32	Ahmed Mahmoud Zuwain	1958	Civil servant	1981
33	Ibrahim Abdulkadir Nashaar	1950	Retired soldier	1981
34	Ahmed Abdullah al-Hajah	1964	Smith	1982
35	Ahmed Mash'aljy		Student	
36	Ahmed Afreet	1949	Teacher	1980
37	Ahmed al-Mustafa		Teacher	
38	Zaki Sadafi	Hama - 1955		
39	Ahmed Awadh		Engineer	1982
40	Ahmed Rashwani	1955	Student	1975
41	Ahmed al-Mami			1981
42	Ibrahim al-Shami	Hama - Old		

		man		
43	As'ad Mohammed Nur Kurdi	1956	Student	1981
44	Ameen al-Asfar	1950	Secondary school Student/Farmer	1978
45	Ahmed Jarwan		Soldier	1980
46	Ahmed Hosam Barakat	1961	Student	1981
47	Ayman Nazi	Hama – 1962	Student	1981
48	Akram Kalboun	Hama		
49	Ahmed Jamal Attar			
50	Adham Shakaki	Hama		
51	Isma'il Obaisy		Student	1981
52	Amjad Kallas	1953	Student	1977
53	Akram al-Bannah		University Medical Student	1978
54	Ahmed Tallas			1982
55	Ahmed Mubarak	1962	Student	1981
56	Ayman Abu Qasim			1986
57	Ayman Kulaib			1982
58	Iyad Kandakji	1962	Student	1981
59	Ahmed Aziz	1954	Army Captain	1982
60	Ahmed Sobhi al-Badr	1960	Student	
61	Ayman Umar Najjar	1964	Student	1980
62	Usama Fattouhi	1958	Survey Graduate	1980
63	Ahmed Za'rour	1960	Student	1980
64	Bassam Break	Hama		
65	Bashir al-Shami	Hama		
66	Bassam Ahmed al-Melly	Hama - 1954	Vet	Damascus - 1980
67	Bashir Hunaitheh			
68	Bashar Turkawi			
69	Basim Abdulmajid Lutfi			
70	Bashar Ja'mour	Hama - 1949	Chef	1982
71	Badr Safiyah	1956	Student	
72	Mohammed Bashir al-Murad	Hama - 1925	Grand Mufti of Hama	1982
73	Bassam Sobhi Shakaki	Hama - 1957	Engineer	1980
74	Bassam Sharkas	1962	Secondary school Student	1981
75	Bassam al-Tahaan	1955	Engineer	1980
76	Badr Ahmed al-Hammoud	1950	Civil servant	1980
77	Basel Hourani	1960	Student	1978
78	Tammam Olwani	Hama		
79	Turki Umar Diyab	1939	Civil servant	
80	Tamim Kiyalah	1960	Student	1980
81	Tamer Ya'ghi	1955	Engineer	1979
82	Hosam Sarhan	1967	Student	1980
83	Jamal al-Sheikh Yusuf			
84	Hayyan Arki	1962	Student	1982
85	Hosam Ahmed Arna'out	Hama		
86	Jamal Khalid Shammani			

87	Jamal Deiry			
88	Hammoud al-Farakh	1944	Imam	1980
89	Khalid Karnazi	Hama		
90	Khalid Habbab	Hama - 1941	Engineer	
91	Hosam Adham Najjar	1958	Student	1984
92	Hasan Arwani	1958	Technician	1980
93	Khalid al-Sheikh	1958	University Medical Student	1980
94	Hamdi Za'rour			
95	Khattar Barazy	Hama		
96	Hussein Yusuf Zuwain	1950	Builder	1982
97	Hasan Najjar	1947	Teacher	1980
98	Hayyan Abdulrahman al-Salaq	1957	Student	1982
99	Hafiz Qanabiz			
100	Hayyan Saffaf	Hama - 1949	Teacher	1979
101	Jamal Abdulrazzaq al-Za'eem	Hama - 1950	Trader	1982
102	Jamal Abdul'ghani al-Ra'ey	1965	Student	1982
103	Hayyan Adnan Sarakabi	Hama - 1967	University Engineer Student	1981
104	Hammoud Yasin		Labourer	
105	Hammoud Na'san al-Ameen	Hama	Labourer	
106	Hussein al-Khani	Hama		
107	Jasim al-Shaddah		Labourer	
108	Hassan Ahmed Mazhar al-Najjar	1957	Student	1978
109	Hussein Sa'eed Da'da'	1935	Grocer	1982
110	Jihad Ayyash		Soldier	1980
111	Hafiz Kadri Shaheen			
112	Habeeb al-Turk			
113	Hamdou Shihab al-Hussein			
114	Hassoun al-A'raj	1944	Colonel in Army	1975
115	Hassan Zikra	1956	Trader	1981
116	Hussein Rajwa	1958	Student	1979
117	Khalid Hussein Maraqa	Hama/1959	University student	1978
118	Haytham Najeeb al-Ahdab	Hama/1948	Civil engineer	1982
119	Husam Abdul-Kareem Musa al-Hallaq		Student	1982
120	Hayyan Takm	1965	Student	1982
121	Gamal Za'tini			1982
122	Khaldoun Maraqa	1953	Student	1979
123	Safwan Halabiah	1967	Student	1982
124	Talal Ahdab	Hama/1952	Engineer	1979
125	Dhgheim Hussein Fakhri	1955	Soldier	1980
126	Salah Obeisi	1960	Student	1981
127	Talal Abdul-Rahman al-Shami	Hama/1960	Student	
128	Taha Abdul-Salam Modallalah	1940	Medical worker	1982

129	Talal al-Hafiz			
130	Taha al-Ashi			
131	Sameer al-Uzun	1961	Labourer	1980
132	Shadhan Halabiah	1938	Civil servant	1982
133	Sameer Masri	1962	Student	1982
134	Sha'ban Khattab			
135	Samer Taher al-Za'eem	Hama/1960	Student	1980
136	Samer Mohammed Baher al-Shuqfah	Hama		
137	Suhban Abdul-Kader Barakat	1962	Student	1981
138	Salem Mohammed al-Hamed	Hama/1958	University Student	1981
139	Yusuf Mahmoud Izzideen	Dooma/1953	Soldier	1979
140	Sameer Barri	1960	Student	1982
141	Shaheer Shaheen Halabi	1961	Student	1981
142	Asa'ad Katranji	1958	Student	1981
143	Sa'eed Tanjeer	Hama/1949	Tailor	
144	Sobai' Sa'eed al-Jabi	1961	Soldier	1981
145	Sameer Shareef Kannout	Hama		
146	Sohail Mahmoud Attar	1961	Student	1982
147	Mohammed Khei Abdul-Hameed Hamad	Hama/1950	accountant	1980
148	Sa'eed al-Shami	Hama/1948	Teacher	1980
149	Suhail al-Sha'ar	1937	Teacher	1982
150	Sa'eed al-Sheikh Sa'eed	1950	Engineer	1980
151	Sa'eed Abdi	Hama/1943	Philosophy Teacher	1978
152	Sohail Daghistani	1934	Civil Servant	1979
153	Sa'eed al-Rayyes			
154	Sa'eed Abdul-Kareem Shukaky	Hama	Student	1981
155	Sameer Takm	1960	Student	1982
156	Shareef al-Saleh	1961	Student	1980
157	Riyadh Khattab	1954	Assistant Engineer	1981
158	Walid al-Itr	1951	Agricultural employee	1982
159	Zaher Barazi	Hama/1963	Student	1985
160	Zain al-Abideen Alwani	Hama/1956	Teacher	1979
161	Walid Mohammed Daqaq	1958	Trader	
162	Zuhair Dibsawi	1950	Imam	1982
163	Ziyad Jadeed	1949	Engineer	1980
164	Yahiya al-Shami	Hama/1957	Pharmacist	1979
165	Yasser Fakhri	1949	Teacher	1979
166	Riyyadh Ja'mmour	Hama/1947	Engineer	1979
167	Riyyadh Ja'bani		Student	
168	Rif'at Khalid al-Ras	1944	Tailor	
169	Ziyad Musadi	1952	Teacher	
170	Walid Lababidi	1948	Smith	1981
171	Yusuf Zowen	1930	Smith	
172	Yahia Ali Ismaeel	1943	Shoe seller	1982
173	Ziyad al-Sheikh Othman	1950	Civil servant	1982
174	Wasil Jadeed	1964	Carpenter	1982

175	Riyadh Yasin Allouch	1954	Labourer	1982
176	Radwan Shalan al-Hasan	Kamhana/1942		1981
177	Yaser Dahmeech			
178	Walid Khalid Adi	1940	Civil servant	1982
179	Yahiya al-Sa'adi	1959	Soldier	1980
180	Yahiya Bachori	1963	Student	1980
181	Safwan Qudsi	Hama		
182	Talal Hatem Mar'adoon			1980
183	Zafer al-Sheikh Ahmed			
184	Talal Saraqbi	1958	Student	
185	Fahd al-Shab	1955	Soldier	1981
186	Fahd Sobhi Naddaf	1945	Civil servant	1981
187	Kasim Kizawi Karrouch	1935	Chauffeur	1981
188	Faisal Khlaif			
189	Fadi Hijazi			
190	Fareed Shukfeh	Hama		
191	Mohammed Deeb Hambazli	Hama	Trader	1980
192	Fawzi Kurdi	1928	Teacher	1980
193	Fayez al-Omari	1958	Student	1980
194	Faysal Mobayyedh	1952	Medical doctor	1980
195	Fahd Ahmed Zamzoom			
196	Fawaz Abdful-Ra'ouf Jammal	1958	Soldier	1981
197	Nabeel al-Uzun	1960	Student	1981
198	Najeh Abdul-Kareem al-Shami	Hama/1949	Teacher	1984
199	Kamal Khalid shamali			
200	Nabhan al-Doori			
201	Nidhal al-Shuhnah	Hama/1961	Student	1981
202	Mohammed Ghiyath Ra'eef al-Shawwaf	Hama/1959	trader	1982
203	Nabeel Nizar al-Shawwaf	Hama/1961	Student	1982
204	Sahnan Abdul-Kader al-Shawwaf			
205	Nidhal Adi	Hama		
206	Najm Mostafa Hamami	1946	Bakery owner	1982
207	Nasr Halabi	1943	Trader	1992
208	Nidhal al-Rayyes	Hama/1940	Civil Engineer	1980
209	Nazeeh Nahas			1978
210	Nouri al-Tanjeer	1945	Carpenter	1980
211	Kaleem Sotari	1957	Soldier	1979
212	Ahmed Kulal al-Murad	1928	Teacher	1982
213	Ghaleb Musa Pacha	1928	Labourer	1982
214	Hammam Kujan	Hama/1959	Student	1981
215	Ghaleb Mohammed Na'ous	1949	Teacher	1983
216	Ghazi Nashar	1957	Plasterer	1981
217	Ghazi Twit	1957	Engineering Student	1980
218	Khalid Mohammed Haddad			
219	Ghazwan Mohammed Hisham	Hama/1966	Trader	1982

	al-Shukfah			
220	Hisham Afreet	1954	Soldier	
221	Hisham Othman Baroodi			
222	Haytham Soowi	1954	Engineer	1980
223	Haytham A'waj	1943	Civil Servant	1978
224	Ghiyath Ayyach			1982
225	Ghaleb Quannout	Hama/1959	Soldier	1982
226	Abdul-Salam Arwaneh	1934	Fruiter	1982
227	Ali Dabbour	1945	Civil Servant	1982
228	Ali Kinan	1956	Student	1975
229	Abdull Misto al-Halabi			
230	Azzam Junaid			
231	Asem Junbaz			
232	Omar Ahmed al-Ameen	Hama/1954	Student	1975
233	Omar Khleif	1964	Plasterer	1980
234	Abdul-Hadi Mas'ood Jawad	Hama/1958	Vocational Institute	1980
235	Abdul-Malik Jawad	Hama/1964	Student	1982
236	Abdul-Aziz Mas'ood Jawad	Hama/1958	Athlete	1980
237	Abdul-Aziz Lababidi	Hama/1958	Soldier	1980
238	Othman Ahmed Ak'ak	1947	Teacher	1980
239	Amer Mohammed Dakkak	1955	Metal Furniture	1982
240	Abdul-Mun'eim Zuwain	1960	Student	1981
241	Abdul-Mon'eim Abdul-Kader Nashar	1954	Vet	1980
242	Abdullah Khlaif			
243	Abdul-Hadi Kamal Zikra	1955	Trader	1981
244	Abdul-Ghani Arafa	Hama/1963	Student	1982
245	Abdul-Kareem Arafa	Hama/1960	Student	1982
246	Abdul-Aziz Ma'arawi	1961	Student	1980
247	Abdul-Salam Noweir	1959	Student	1980
248	Abdo Musa Pacha			
249	Abdul-Haseeb Sakhri			
250	Abdul-Mon'eim al-Yusuf			
251	Abdul-Salam Mohammed Fallaha	Hama/1959	Labourer	1980
252	Abdul-Razzak Kujaan	Hama		
253	Ghiyyath Rachid Kaf al-Ghazal	Hama/1968	Student	1982
254	Rachid Kaf al-Ghazal	Hama/1939	Shoe maker	1982
255	Abdul-Latif Abed Khattab			
256	Abdul-Razzaq Furji	1943	Barber	1979
257	Abdul-Hameed Tannich		Engineer	
258	Isam Abdul-Kareem al-Shami	Hama/1965		1981
259	Abdul-Wahab Mohammed Nour Kazkaz	Hama/1956		
260	Abdul-Kareem Mohammed Arroub	Hama	Chef Assistant	1980
261	Abdul-Razzak Mohammed Arroub	Hama	Student	1982

262	Ahmad Mohi-Eddin Hamza			28/2/1982
263	Abdul-Mali Mohi-Eddin Hamza	Hama/1958	Student	1982
264	Abdul-Mon'eim Bayat			
265	Ali al-Zu'bi	Hama/1938	Civil Servant	1981
266	Ayyach Aawa	1948	Teacher	1979
267	Abdul-Kareem Khawwam	1943	Trader	1982
268	Abdul-Razzaq Shahoud	1958	Medical Doctor	1982
269	Abdul-Aziz Okrah	1943	Teacher	1982
270	Adnan Zaqqook	1949	Teacher	1982
271	Ali Solai'ay	1956	Livestock Trader	1975
272	Imad Turkmani			
273	Abdul-Jabbar Hijazi			
274	Abdul-Ghani Ashshi			
275	Amer Najjar	1936	Civil Servant	1979
276	Abdul-Mon'eim Mahmoud Zouain	1960	Student	1981
277	Abdul-Lateef al-Za'eem	Hama/1945	Philosophy Teacher	1978
278	Othman Ghazi Saffaf	Hama		
279	Abdul-Hafeez Hussein al-Za'eem	Hama/1956	Civil Engineer	1979
280	Abdul-Razzaq Mostafa Hamamah	1965	Student	1980
281	Abdul-Ra'ouf Najeeb Kannout	Hama/1950	Soldier	1979
282	Abdo Rasheed Baroodi	Hama		
283	Abdo Mohammed Allouch	Hama		
284	Rabah Badee' Kannout	Hama/1964		1982
285	Badee' Ahmed Saleem Kilani	Hama/1957	Free Works	1982
286	Waleed Badee' Kannout	Hama/1940		1982
287	Khalid Mohammed Moraich	Hama/1920	Farmer	1982
288	Najeeb Munzer Izzo	Hama/1964	Student	1982
289	Mutee' Munzer Izzo		Student	1982
290	Abdul Kareem Nairabiyah	Hama/1933		1982
291	Nizar Nairabiyah	Hama/1930		1982
292	Nasr Isma'eel Kilani	Hama/1951	Mechanics	1982
293	Sa'ad Isma'eel Kilani	Hama/1954	Civil Engineer	1982
294	Abdul-Rahman Kojah	1952	Fruiter	1982
295	Abdul-Kareem Kojah	1954	Fruiter	1982
296	Abdul-Aziz Mohammed al-Abrach	1945	Builder	1983
297	Abdul-Razzaq Abdul-Aziz al-Hussein	Soran	Student	
298	Abdullah Kasem al-Hassan	Soran	Student	
299	Abdullah al-Sheikh Othman	1954	Shari'ah Graduate	1982
300	Abdo Hamandi	1955	Labourer	1982
301	Abdul-Ghani 'Asfour	1960	Student	
302	Abdulla Abdul-Rahman Mahmoud			

303	Abdul-Raheem Hassoun	1948	Engineer	1979
304	Ali al-Mostafa			1982
305	Abdulla al-Ali			
306	Adel al-Razzouq	Al-Dharia/1953	Smith	1982
307	Abdul-Fattah al-Dada	1963	Labourer	1982
308	Abdullah al-Jasem			
309	Abdullah al-Ahmadi			
310	Abdul-Kareem Hashish			
311	Abdullah Salamah	1954	Smith	1979
312	Abdul-Ra'ouf Bzinco	1941	Teacher	1979
313	Abdul-Kareem Mohammed Umari	1954	Civil Engineer	1980
314	Abdul-Kader Mobeydeh		Civil Servant	1979
315	AbdulBaset Barad'i		Labourer	1974
316	Abdul-Haseeb al-As'ad		History Teacher	
317	Abdullah Abdul-Aziz		Student	
318	Abdul-Salam Jarjanazi		Civil Servant	
319	Ammar Sabbagh			1979
320	Abdul-Wadoud Murad	Hama/1930		1982
321	Imad Shukri		Teacher	1974
322	Adnan Na'san Marqabawi		Labourer	1979
323	Othman Jazzar Pachi	Hama/1934	Trader	1978
324	Ali Mostafa Mahfouz		Teacher	1979
325	Abdul-Kareem Anad		Military Officer	1979
326	Anad Mohammed al-Hajji			
327	Ali al-Sheikh Obaid		Imam	1980
328	Isam Masri	Hama/1962	Student	1982
329	Abdul-Aziz Abdul-Razzaq al-Jajeh		Student	
330	Abdullah Nasr Hawwa	Hama/1964		1982
331	Abdul-Fattah Nasr Hawwa	Hama/1952	Civil Servant	1982
332	Mohammed Ibrahim Hawwa	Hama/1958	Student	1978
333	Marwan Twit	Hama/1960	Student	1981
334	Ma'an Baroudi	1956	Student	1980
335	Mostafa Bilal	1956	Student	1979
336	Mahdi Makhlouta	Hama/1957	Student	
338	Mohammed Abdullah al-Jajeh	1956	Agriculture Student	1981
339	Ma'an al-Deiri	1956	Civil Engineer	1980
340	Mohameed Nabeel Ayyach	1960	Student	1982
341	Mohammed Armanazi	1957	Student	1979
342	Ma'an Umar al-Najjar	1963	Student	1980
343	Majed al-Khateeb	1952	Medical Doctor	1981
344	Mukhles Ghaleb Kannout	Hama/1954	Medical Student	1980
345	Mostafa Bader Kannout	Hama/1953		1982
346	Murhaf Musa Pacha	Hama		
347	Mohammed Tawfiq al-Ashi	1959	Soldier	1982
348	Mohammed Salem al-Ashi	1944	Butcher	1982
349	Mohammed Deeb Afreet	1963	Builder	1982

350	Ma'moun Kakhi	1954	University Student	1978
351	Mohammed Ahmed Kannas	Al-Taiba/1949	Judge	1982
352	Mahmoud Ahmed Abu Ali			
353	Mostafa Naseh al-Za'eem	Hama	Student	
354	Mohammed Saleh No'man			
355	Mohammed Kheir al-Ra'ei			
356	Mostafa Saeed Da'da'	1935	Civil Servant	1982
357	Mostafa Adela al-Masri	1948	Bookshop Keeper	1972
358	Mohammed Isma'eel al-Masri	Hama	Teacher of English	
359	Mohammed Mallach	1954	Vet	1980
360	Muneer Na'san Jum'a			
361	Amjad Hassan Saraqbi	Hama/1966	Student	1981
362	Mazen Mostafa al-Raies	Hama		
363	Mohi-Eddin Juma'a			
364	Mazen Abdul-Majeed 'Assar	1960	Student	1982
365	Abdul-Salam Urwani	Hama		
366	Mohammed Kassoum	Hama/1936	Farmer	1981
367	Mohammed Hayyan al-Kurdi			
368	Murhaf Fakhri	1958	Student	1980
369	Mazen Qabalan			
370	Mukhles Shukaki	Hama/1956	Student	1978
371	Mus'ef Hassan Shukaki	Hama/1959	Student	1978
372	Mohammed Urwani	Hama		
373	Mohammed Anas Rihan	Hama		
374	Mostafa Saffaf	Hama		
375	Mostafa Sulaiman Sulai'i			
376	Mouwaffaq Skaaf	1957	Student	1979
377	Mohammed Hussein Fakhri	1956	Soldier	1980
378	Mohammed Hassan 'Aj'ouj	1949	Civil Servant	1976
379	Mobeen Kilani	Hama		
380	Mohammed Taher al-Sheik Yusuf	Hama/1945	Teacher of French	1984
381	Majed Mohammed Kazkaz	Hama/1964	Student	1982
382	Ma'moun Urwani	Hama		
383	Mohammed Yahia Abdul-Rahman al-Silq	Hama/1948	Carpenter	
384	Mohammed Ali Zalaq	Hama		
385	Mohammed Abdul-Lateef Othman	Hama		
386	Maher Mohammed al-Za'eem	Hama	Student	
387	Mus'ar bdul-Aziz al-Za'eem	Hama	Chauffeur	
388	Mus'ab Mohammed Nour al-Za'eem	Hama	Student	
389	Murhaf Khalid Adi	Hama		
390	Mohammed Ahmed Shibli	Hama/1948	Chauffeur	
391	Mahmoud Taleb Zouwain	1935	Imam	
392	Majed Mahmoud Nasr Attar	1964	Student	
393	Abdul-Razzaq Addari	Hama	Butcher	

394	Mostafa al-Za'eem	Hama		
395	Mostafa Addari al-Furma	Hama		
396	Mohammed Deeb Hanbatli	Hama/1942	Grocer	
397	Mohammed Mostafa al-Sifr	1935	Mat's Factory owner	1982
398	Musef Obaisi	Hama		
399	Mahmoud al-Khani	Hama		
400	Mohi-Eddin Na'san al-Ameen	Hama	Labourer	1982
401	Mu'ayad Sa'eed Beirouti	1954	Civil servant	1982
402	Mohammed Khalid Kawjak	1942	Teacher	1976
403	Mohammed Ali al-Madany			
404	Moahmmmed Ali Othman			
405	Mohammed Nizar Nahhas			
406	Ma'moun Alwani	Hama/1939	Teacher	1980
407	Mustafa Rostom		Civil servant	1979
408	Mohammed Sadiq Aoun	1946	Teacher	1975
409	Hisham Abdulsalam Hakawaty	Hama/1945	Employee	1982
410	Mustafa Masteen			
411	Munzir Hawrani	Hama		
412	Ma'moun Kadi			
413	Muwafaq Hafiz			
414	Mazen al-Rayyis	Hama		
415	Ahmed Balkis	1949	Labourer	1980
416	Anees al-Za'eem	1956	State Agent	1980
417	Ameen Rashid	1962	Student	1979
418	Ibrahim Abdulra'ouf Jazzar Bashi	1915	Farmer	1980
419	Adham Saffaf	1935	Teacher	1979
420	Usama Ja'k	1956	Labourer	1980
421	Ahmed Mohammed Rashwani	1955	Student	1975
422	Ibrahim Zakkar	1959	University Student	1980
423	As'ad Kurdi	1956	Student	1980
424	Ahmed Shakaki	1958	Army Sergeant	1979
425	Ibrahim Adbulkarim	1953	Employee	1977
426	Ahmed Kamal Najeeb	1935	Army Sergeant	1978
427	Ayman Najjar	1961	Student	1980
428	Ahmed Ka'an	1953	Smith	1978
429	As'ad al-Khani	1954	Civil servant	1979
430	Ahmed al-Umar	Hama		
431	Ahmed Sakar	Hama		
432	Ahmed Shihab	Kamhanah		1981
433	Ahmed Hajjoul	Hama		1978
434	Akram al-Bannah	Hama		1978
435	Eman Abu Qasim	Hama		1986
436	Anas Adnan al-Samman	Hama/1966		1982
437	Isma'il al-Kaseer	Hama		1986
438	Amal Khuwajjah	Hama		1986
439	Ahmed Mubarak	Hama		1982
440	Usama Abdullah Qortanji	Hama		1995

441	Saleem Kattal	1961		
442	Ahmed Mohammed Arwani	Hama		1995
443	Bashir Araabi	1964	Secondary school Student	1980
444	Jamal Khalid Issa	Hama	Civil servant	
445	Jamal al-Huwiyyah	Hama		1980
446	Hayyan Tayfour	Hama	Engineer	1980
447	Jamal Baroudy	Hama/1962	Secondary school Student	1980
448	Hafiz Kadry Shaheen	Hama		
449	Hanna Attia	1955	Civil servant	1976
450	Hamdi al-Masry	1945	Teacher	1978
451	Hayyan Jazmati	1964	Student	1979
452	Hassan Alwany	1957	Student	1977
453	Hasan Turkawi	1960	Labourer	1977
454	Hosam Sakran	1964	Student	1980
455	Hasan Ibrahim	1949	Engineer	1977
456	Hamdo Safiyah	1960	Student	1979
457	Hosam Barakat	Hama		1981
458	Khodor Jabar	Sulaima/1940	Army	1977
459	Khalid Asfour	Hama/1947	Teacher	1979
460	Khalid Khawam	1942	Trader	1980
461	Khalid al-Hayik	1962	Secondary school Student	1980
462	Diyab Addi	1955	Labourer	1979
463	Ramzan Idris	Hama	Civil servant	1980
464	Ridha Sa'eed	Hama		
465	Riyadh Fakhri	Hama/1964	Secondary school Student	1980
466	Riyadh Mohab Bashi	1955		1977
467	Ra'ed Hourani	1960		1977
468	Rami al-Turkawi	1957	Labourer	1977
469	Ridwan Abu al-Fuqaraa'	1948	Labourer	1980
470	Ziyab Bounni	Hama/1948	Teacher	1979
471	Ziyad Shiha	1950		
472	Sameeh Hussein Hussein	Hama	Lieutenant	1972
473	Sulaiman Naddaf	1953	Army Sergeant	1980
474	Sa'eed Salee'y	1961	Secondary school Student	1979
475	Sa'eed al-Hamsh	1948	Carpenter	1979
476	Saleem Kasreen	Hama		1978
477	Sobhi Othman	Hama/1953	University Student	1976
478	Sobhi Kabash	1961	Secondary school Student	1980
479	Safwan Mogarbal	1958	University Student	1980
480	Safwan Addi	Hama/1949	Livestock Trader	1979
481	Safwan Qudsi	Hama		1977
482	Talal Hatim	Hama		
483	Tareef Ahmed Ja'jour	Hama		1980

484	Tariq Olwani	Hama	Labourer	1980
485	Tariq Ameen	Hama	Labourer	1980
486	Tariq Shabib	1952	Lieutenant	1977
487	Tariq Da'aas	Sulaimah/1938	Bookshop owner	
488	Zafir al-Sheikh Ahmed	Hama		1997-80
489	Ra'ed Kamal al-Habbal	Hama/1959	University Student	1982
490	Adnan Ghanamah	1960	Repairs Cars	1979
491	Abdulkadir Dunya	1956	Student	1980
492	Abdulhamid Hayik	1955	Soldier	1980
493	Abdulsalam Nuwair	1959	Student	1980
494	Abdulrazzaq Attar			1979
495	Abdulrazzaq Hindawi			1979
496	Azzam al-Fares	1957	Corporal	1978
497	Azzam Rashid al-Furji	Hama/1965	Student	1980
498	Abdullah Abdulaziz	1951	Trader	1978
499	Abdullah Daniyal	Hama		
500	Imad Shukri	Hama	Labourer	1978



**The Association for Human Rights and Solidarity for the Oppressed**

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