

**SALAH BADRUDDIN**

# WEST KURDISTAN

## SYRIA THE SILENCED KURDS

TRANSLATED By  
**AHMAD SHAWKAT**



Kumbha KAWA do  
Qanda Kurdi

1999

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# ***WEST- KURDISTAN***

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## Preface

It may be the most important work to issue this book about the western part of Kurdistan. The part which had been colonized by the Syrian regime at a time in which efforts were spent to face different attempts of darkening and marginalizing this part and its Kurdish population which is estimated to be about (2.5) million.

The Syrian racial terrorist authority planned since long ago to remove Kurds' existence in Syria by depriving them of their rights, to nationality, to own lands and all other civil rights paralleled with Arabizing the Kurdish regions, expelling Kurds and applying other different means of compulsive treatments that lead to elimination of the Kurdish race and denial to their national case.

The Syrian authority is still working continually to end the national movement of Kurdish people by the compulsory methods. The injustice imprisonment, spreading terrorists and threatening features among them as well as misleading them far away from their correct national way. The practices of which, were the arbitrary operations, dealing with Kurdish groups outside of Syria to achieve plans concerning neglecting the Kurdish existence in Syria and gain a Kurdish cover for their own compulsion of Kurds. So, they have cheated some Kurdish groups abroad to serve their plans to face the Kurdish movement in Syria. Such as forming installable Kurdish organizations to deny the historical, geographical and national Kurdish existence in Syria. Certainly, this will lead to a very dangerous effect on the Kurdish national existence as a whole, not in Syria only, but in all other parts of Kurdistan, as it will justify this scenario

in other parts. Specially in which Arabization, Turkinization and Personalization are carried out and going on omitting the Kurdish race to change the demographically structure of Kurdish regions there. Besides, the Syrian authority started, since several years, to accurately follow a new tactic after the deep and wide spread of national consciousness in Syrian Kurdish regions and when the fact that Kurds' national movement has developed its means of struggle and went on several steps towards their unification.

When the Kurdish national movement, supported its national status internationally, started dealing with the public world opinion and built up relations with the world human rights organizations, the Syrian authorities faced a critical situation as facts started to cry loudly among international organizations. This told the Syrian regime to change up mind and declare that Kurds are indeed existing there and they have got their human, citizenship and cultural rights, so the curtains which were covering the Kurdish national case had been torn out internationally, thus the Syrian authorities started playing down a new plan to face the new situation. The Syrian authorities encouraged, obliged or bribed several writers to publicize yellow books treating the Kurdish existence in Syria. Those authors assured that there is no part of Kurdistan controlled by Syria. They have also denied the existence of Kurdish national and historical rights, just to Serve and justify the political decisions in Syria and to provide the ideological base for the terrorist treatments in the future, such as Arabization, deportation and the alteration of the demographical structure of Kurdish historical lands, to be able to face the general world opinion.



Hence, we have to aware our brothers, members of all Kurdish organizations to avoid involvement in the hidden traps of the Syrian regime and avoid misleading attempts.

We have to tell our brothers that there is no comparison between the Kurdistanians' mottoes to justify leaving any part of Kurdistan, even if that part is so small, geographically, that has no considerable population. Because strength is not always depending on human factor but also on right national sense and nationality and its political line as well as how much this line can serve the higher national aims. Therefore, western part of Kurdistan formed the main national source of national movements since the beginning of this century, accurately in the north of Kurdistan. And there, the Khoebon movement formed and rushed in struggle, then issued the magazine –Hawar –and publicized the first Kurdish alphabet. This movement urged, during 1961 Kurdish revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan, and became strategic depth of this revolution and its main source. It also became the “arsenal” from which fighters were brought up on liberation route, despite PKK leadership’s deviation from the main stream. Do the people of this part, with their long history of sacrifice, deserve to be ignored by brothers? Is this a proper way of appreciation to their long-term struggle?

Actually, the national movement there began before 41 year, since the beginnings of PDK appearance in Syria, this movement was the main director for national consciousness and source of sacrifices for the Kurds, all over the rest parts of Kurdistan.

Is it possible for those brothers whom we have supported, to claim that there is a political emptiness in Syrian Kurdish regions and that they are going to fulfill this

emptiness on account of the Kurdish existence and rights by cooperating with the enemy?"

Here, we may wonder: and ask the Kurdish political media in Syria: why the Kurdish national movement in Syria, does not attract persons and groups to its own side from the other parts of Kurdistan and was there ever one single case? And why we find persons and groups from Syrian Kurds that had followed this or that party, such as PKK in Turkey? We think that there are many factors and reasons for this phenomenon, mainly because of the need of those persons and groups to employ them as fighters, while the second reason is more important, that is because the Syrian authorities don't oppose such a phenomenon, but tend to encourage and support Kurds to do that.

Hence, you are not surprised to see elements of PKK free to move back and forth from/to Syria, inclusive of some who are in important ranks, enough to be easily known.

Another query among the Kurdish political media is: do we ever find, even one person being "hunted" from other parts of Kurdistan in favor of Syrian Kurdistan?

Concerning this matter, which forms the backbone of the national Kurdistanian relations, we emphasize that we didn't adopt regional ideas but we have grown up on democratic national mentality and its moral extends as whole and we have responded to our duties in all times, although the duties were very hard. We have received our brothers from both parts of Iraqi and Turkish Kurdistan whole hearted and have offered them all available material and moral support. That was at the beginning of (Shaikh Saed) revolution in 1925 till the revolution of Sep. 1961 in Iraqi Kurdistan. Then the beginning of the organized

political work in Turkish Kurdistan, since early sixties -- when military rule and political immigration.

We are still going on the same program now and did not change or get affected by the international, regional and Kurdistanian changes, but we indeed tend to develop and support these revolutions and criticize faults and remove the results of the wrong practices which formed a serious danger on our national route, to correct the methods and compose a new program for future. Returning to the Syrian authorities plans concerning with Syrian Kurds in Europe, we find that Syrian Security components and other persons and employèes of their embassies abroad are seriously working to deform governmental, judicial and cultural Syrain Kurds' references in Europe to mislead information regarding their population, existence, national movement and suffering. That was the reason which encouraged me to write and publish this document and historical work and offer it to whom it may concern with, in Arabic, German and English Languages. On the other hand, falsified reports been offered by the so called Dr. Al Jibaly presented to the Orientalism Institution in Hamburg (Germany), from 1990 to date. Dr. Al-Jibaly submitted five reports about Syrian Kurds, were full of political and historical lies. Those reports were obviously written according to Syrian authorities' directions, and thus, have found myself obliged to correct those lies. So I have presented two memoranda submitted/supported by real evidence and documents -to Hamburg Orientalism Institution. I have also sent other copies to the Interior, Foreign and Justice Ministries of Germany in addition to copies -to immigration offices, lawyers, courts, judges and research centers. We will have, here, to point to a very

limited number of the Syrian Kurds, particularly those working at scientific institutions in Berlin -Germany. Who had had and adverse role supported by Syrian authorities, when they presented, as witnesses in some occasions, forged information, lacking truth. This has led to the following;

First; Deepening the humanitarian crisis of Syrian Kurds who offered political, humanitarian and economical refuge requests to the German and other European countries. Then were later forced to wait for a long time without a result or response. As a result, they found huge hardships sending their children to schools, securing a good life for their families and themselves. All this suffering was due to the wrong information offered about the Syrian Kurds.

Second; Direct effect on the European Governments, their NGOs and scientific institutions, urging a bad attitude against the Kurdish people in Syria, their existence and national democratic rights.

Third; An adverse effect on attempts of Syrian Kurds' independent national personality abroad, union and their cooperative work in addition to their needs to gain sympathy and support from other Kurdish organizations, even on the account of the political situations.

We can numerate the lies of Dr. Al-Jibaly's reports as the following: -

1-He denied that there is a part of Kurdistan in Syria on which Kurdish people live. He claimed also that there are Arabs from a Kurdish origin! Such as Germans from a Polish origin!

2- There is no Kurdish national case in Syria so, there is no ethnic discrimination and terrorism or suffering and deprivation.

3- Dr .Al - Jibaly showed false information about Kurdish parties and their organizations and a bout their leaders, history and struggle in Syria.

4- He said that the author of this book is living in Damascus, he is a member of the Syrian Government and he had studied in Moscow, Russia, on the account of Syrian Government ...etc.

Therefore, and because of these flagrant lies, the author of this book was obliged to publish a personal bibliography to clear out the scientific and historical facts, although he was interested in this begs pardon from readers. However, the author considers his life belonging to the national case for which he had sacrificed.

He believes that there are many ideal and hard duties that should be responded to and achieved for redefining Kurds' history history, case, and crisis to the international opinion. We have to do that according to the historical and practical right events and evidences. This, certainly, requests our union, cooperative work among all the members of the Syrian Kurdish Organizations which exist abroad as well as the efforts of all the independent national workers at cultural organizations and all the social and Creative characters of our people in western Kurdistan and all other parts of Kurdistan.

***Salah Badruddin***

**1998**

## **The first part**

### **A historical Approach**

The complete historical and political text which had been offered by Mr. Salah Badruddin to Hamburg Orientalism institution about Kurds, their national case and national movement in the western part of Kurdistan, northeast of Syria.

Kurds are an ancient people lived in the west of Asia. They appeared since the history started writing the movement of the first human races in this region. historians assure that numerous beings entities had appeared and found by ancient Kurds in 2500 B.C Many other peoples and races passed through Kurdish region. e.g. Assyrian, Sponio, Kurdokh. Krano. Persian, Romanian Empires and the early Arab Islamic conquerors.

The first Kurdish government established in Media in 550 B. C. which had been crashed by the Persian Empire Korsh, therefore Kurds started forming several emirates until the number of these emirates reached about 32 at the beginning of the Islamic conquers.

Ancient Romanians started writing abut a people called Kurds – living in a region called Kurdistan – since 400 B.C. as it is mentioned in the book of the famous Zinophone, There is no doubt that the important era in the Kurdish history is that Kurds appeared at both periods (282-1086) of Dostic state which included the most parts of Kurdistan. This state centered mainly in Kurdish regions in Syria. Another Kurdish period was during the Ayoubian Empire,

which lasted for about 400 years. Syrian Kurdish regions were also the most important part of this empire.

Afterwards, Kurdistan had been torn out by numerous attacks of the Seljouqains and Mangols who had distorted everything there and stopped natural development in Kurdistan. Kurds were in many events subjected to genocide, hunger and deportation until the Ottoman Empire was formed in 1516 A.C. which was colonized the middle east, north Africa and parts of Europe. In the period 1514-1639, most of Kurds living in Turkey, Iraq and Syria were annexed to the new empire. Kurds of Iran were part of Safawian.

Since the second and the last division of Kurdistan according to Petersburg Agreement 1915, signed by Britain, France and Russia, then the Siex Bico agreement signed by Britain and France in 1916, Kurdistan had been divided into four parts.

The Kurdish problem appeared within numerous international events: e.g. the national movements in Europe, the sickness of Ottomanian Empire and Arabs struggle for the division the authority regions in Turkish Ottomanian Empire, the appearance of Imperialism and colonist, the Socialist revolution of October in Russia which had declared the war partners plans concerning with the division of the authority regions and then, the appearance of the United Nations Organization and on its part had tried to awake the most peoples all over the world, but they didn't offer to Kurds any new thing throughout those mentioned events, they had been excepted of both the national liberation and Forming their independent national state.

According to Siex Bico agreement 1916, south and the southwestern parts of Kurdistan were given to Iraq and Syria, who were under the British and French mandate. In the Allies Countries conference in Saint Rimo -1918, there was tendency to give Kurds a kind of self-rule including Kurdish lands at the east of Euphrates. Then in the Siever Conference, 1920, a serious and compulsory idea was displayed regarding Kurds in general, inclusive of Kurds recently annexed to Syria, specially articles 62, 27, 11 and 32.

Since 1920 and during signing of the Anglo – French agreement where lands had been divided between Syria and Iraq, the name of western Kurdistan started appearing, then it is colonized by the colonized Syria. When France and Turkey signed the territory agreement in 1921, the Seiver agreement had been forgotten forever and the Syrian Kurds had been controlled completely by the new Syrian state.

Since the beginnings of seventeenth century, Melly Kurdish tribes –living now in Al-Jazirah region– formed the Melly Emirate in Weiran Shahr plains by Ibrahim Pasha. This emirate extended to the Euphrates bank and included Al-Jazirah, Sinjar Mountains and the outskirts of Diyrbakir. The prince of this emirate formed good relations with the Khedaiwy Family -- of Egypt in the period of Khediwy Ismael rule.

(1) Prof. Menoresky assured on P.18 ((In the South, the Kurds control wide regions extend to the end of the meadows which are sited between both rivers and Euphrates is their boundary at the west)) then he adds: ((There are scattered Kurdish colonies in Syria, around Damascus mountains in which a Kurdish minority lives)) he also states



that there are Kurds in Aleppo-Afrin and Qubbanyah -- according to information of Tserman (Councilor)

The scientist -- Basil Nictin -- assures the historical Kurdish existence: ((a great part of the Kurds live in Al-Jazirah plains particularly, in the eastern Euphrates bank)) <sup>(2)</sup>

In order to statistically prove that Syrian Kurds are not illegal infiltrators or refugees, estimations of refugees in Syria, in which Kurds were not included in 1925 could be used, and they are as follows: <sup>3)</sup>

Refugees that were inhabiting the country by January 1925 numbered 98,000 Armenian, 4,000 Caldanian, 1,800 Yaqubian, 900 Orthodox Greek and 950 Syrian Catholic <sup>(1)</sup>.

There are many just writers and historians, some of them were Syrian Arabs, did not accuse Syrian Kurds of being infiltrators. Dr. Salah Shafique, for example, assures, in his book <sup>(4)</sup>, the chapter of ((the foreigners immigrations to Syria)) that there was no planned Kurdish immigration and he says:-((it is known that Syria receipted three frequent waves of the immigration since the beginning of this century. The first one was the Armenian immigration, while, the second one was the Cercuss, and Arabs in the third)) p-26. The Syrian writer, Ahmad Wasfy Zekeria states in his book half a century ago: ((The Kurds are existing in the north of Shaam lands near by the present Turkish boundaries such as those in the north of Afrin river on a mountain called Al -- Kurd mountain, and those are in -- Kafer Jeunah -- in the north of Aleppo and in the regions of Ezaz, Albab, Jerables and the regions of the eastern north of Al-Jazirah Euphrates governorate.

All of those are pure Kurds without any Arabic origin while there are few Kurds in middle lands of Syria and they don't gather at a certain spot as a group with the exception of those in Al-Kurd mountain or, as it is known, Homs castle or the Kurds' Castle, near Homs and those Kurds site between the bridge and Latekiah and those of Al-Kurd Quarter – Arbaz Damascus as well as those Kurds live in Al-Waar villages between Homs and Hamah.

## The Number of Kurds In Syria

Unfortunately, there are no official and public censuses about Kurds in Syria, because the Syrian government doesn't address the existence of Kurds since the Syrian state formation, so all we state remain in the range of estimations and approximations.

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*(1) The Kurds, notes and impressions, in Russian, by Prof. F. Menoresky translated to Arabic by Prof. Maroof Khaznadar, published by Kawar verland Fur Kurdische Kultur e.v. Bonn, Duetschland.*

*(2) The Kurds by Basil Nictin, the previous Russian Councilor in Iran -dar Al- Rawaeh Libanon, translated 1967, P. 28.*

*(3) 89000 Arminians, 4000 Keldanians, 1800 Yaquobians, 900 Orthodox Greek, 950 Syrian Catholics. The history of Syria and Lebanon, Stephen Hinsly Ionfregh, Dar Al Hakika Beirut, 1978, P.177 (Arabic)*

*(4) Study and planning manpower in the Arabic Syrian Republic, by Dr. Shafique Salah Arabic Union Institution, Damascus, Syria.*

*The existence of Kurds in the middle of Syrian lands is very old -- It is said that the prince of Homs the Sheble Al Dawlah, Nasre ibn Merdas is who brought them to Syrian lands in 424 A. C. P.466 ((1))*

In a United Nations report, the committee formed for verifying a dispute about Mosul between Britain and Turkey, estimated the number of Kurds to be: in Turkey 1-5 million, in Iran 700,000, in Iraq 500,000 and in Syria 300,000.

(1) Stephen Whistle Longfreg mentioned in his book, P.321, numbers of Al-Jazirah population as following, according to the annual report for the year 1937:

42,000 Moslem Arabs, 82,000 Kurds, 31,000 Christians (including Armenians and Assyrians), 2000 Yazidis (Kurds), 1000 Jews and 1000 Cercuss, add to that, what Prof. Menoresky mentioned about the existence of one thousand (1000) Kurdish villages in the Aleppo region (Afrin and Qubanyah) before 1951. One of the most modern important references is what had been mentioned by Prof. Lazarieve; he stated that the Syrian Kurds are 11% of the Syrian population.

In the latest official census, issued in Damascus in 1993, the total population of Syria was 13.5 million. This is a standard increment, where the Syrian population doubles every 22 years, while 30 in other developing countries. There is no doubt that this rate does cover Syrian Kurds as well; specially given the fact that Syrian Kurds are mostly villagers. Hence, depending upon objective reasons and Party-relevant estimations, we can state that there are more than two million Kurds in the historical Kurdish sites. Add to that Kurds who are distributed in Aleppo, Damascus Hamah, Latekiah and the other cities. They estimated to be exceeding 600,000, therefore we think that the Kurdish population in Syria totally is more than 15% of the total population, thus 2.5 million in 1993.

Here, we can only gape at those informing that the total number of Kurds in Syria is merely 1.5 million. Those have been talking about this number since more than 20 years, including some Kurdish politicians, outside of Syrian Kurdistan. If they have accurate census documents why do not they display them? But if they are affirming these figures solely for the figures to be parallel to the rulers of our country, then its better for them to avoid attending the terrorist clique. For it is known nowadays that political national movements in any part of Kurdistan form the most accurate reference of the Kurds and their history, hopes number and social and cultural development.

Syrian Kurds live in their original homeland which is the western part of historical Kurdistan and it is in the north, northeastern and northwestern Syria near the Syria-Turkish-Iraqi border triangle. It becomes wider in AL-Hasakeh governorate while decreases in AL-Rashid govenorate then extends in Aleppo to include Ayn AL-Arab and Afrin regions. This fluctuation in the habitation zone was influenced by arabization and deportation campaigns. Syrian Kurdistan is totally estimated to be about 16,000 km<sup>2</sup> in which the majority of population is Kurd along with other minorities of Arabs, Armenians and Assyrians. Kurds form the vast majority in their habitats of city centers of ; Kamishly, Afrin, Qubanyah (Ayn AL-Arab), Amooda and Derrek <sup>(1)</sup>

Unstability in Kurdish areas is referred to the arbitrary division of historical Kurdistan by the allies and territorial

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<sup>(1)</sup> See the map in documents' appendix

"greed", since Kurdish areas are rich for having a big reserve of oil and minerals, and also water and forests. As we have mentioned, Kurdish people and its national movement had been adversely influenced by dividing Kurdistan into four parts during two periods and then annexing these parts to Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, each for one. Thus, Kurdish national unity and development had entirely halted and Kurds were, as a result, deprived from their basic rights. This is, in whole, a criminal act against a neutral people. In addition to this, another side of it could be seen in endless social wounds and problems that it caused, where it happened that in some areas, boundaries were set amidst one family members. Some examples of that could be given in areas of: Ras AL-Ayn, A-Derbasia and other villages in Al-Hasakeh governorate in addition to Ayn-Al-Arab and Afrin in Aleppo governorate.

(2) There are, for instance, many Kurdish families and tribes distributed across the border between Syria and Turkey such as; Kikan, Millie, Koacher Meran, Havircan and Barazy. The same thing is largely valid for Iraq and Iran. This did not prevent Kurdish families from crossing borders, not only in/out of Kurdistan dividing countries, but also the middle east countries generally.

(3) Concerning the Kurdish case, can see that many of those strugglers had escaped from their original regions to others to avoid unjust imprisonment.

(4) Assassination and compulsion -These practices had obviously taken place all over the parts of Kurdistan especially against active strugglers.

(5) Besides these plans aiming at resolving Kurds into Arabs, Turks and Persians, there were numerous media

campaigns conducted by ruling bodies to deviate the Kurdish nationality and turn Kurds to Turks, Persians or Arabs so. the Iranians originated Kurds to Arian ethnicity to force them into the Persian history, in Turkey, they called Kurds 'mountains Turks' and attributed them to Seljoquian races. In Iraq, there were intensive efforts to attribute Kurds to origins of some Arab tribes. In Syria, they call Kurds 'Arabs from Kurdish origin' or Arabized Kurds. All of these systems, and specially Syrian ones, are in our interest zone. They politically intervene in the preparation of educational programs and the modification of school books and forger geography and history in order to eliminate Kurds' name, wherever found. They are always working hardly to deviate even science for meeting their racial tendencies to achieve a complete denial to Kurds' existence.

Certainly, these immoral procedures are in conflict to all principles of basic human rights, the UN charter self determination right and moral values that and human society should have. Which is an unforgivable crime against human development, all religions and all international organizations and NGOs. The OESC had referred to this phenomenon, which is in the frame of racial cleansing, in its meetings, decisions and recommendations. In the OESC's meeting in Berlin in 1992, humanitarian and military intervention was endorsed when events like genocide or demographic changes are observed. The second international conference for the human rights which was held in 1993 in Vienna also mentioned this phenomenon and asked the international community to revolve it. This phenomenon is generally valid for the Kurdish people, specially Syrian Kurds, and the reports which had been offered to the Orientalism Institution

by Dr. Al-Jibaly point to an obvious racial perish and ethnic genocide against Syrian Kurds.

## **The Second Part**

### **The Official Attitude Against Kurds**

Kurds form the second nationality in Syria. They share struggle with Syrian Arabs and live cooperatively together to achieve independence and afterwards, the Syrian authorities did not recognize any Kurdish existence or rights, and always neglected them.

During development periods, which appeared in Syria, particularly when the military coups starting from General Adib Al-Shaishakly in 1952, since then, the terrorist procedures appeared against Kurds and up to date.

Thus, compulsory discrimination began being achieved frequently by the Syrian government and several racial plans had been appeared as practical projects, and one of those projects had been called 'the Arabic Security Belt' which is prepared by lieutenant colonel Muhammad Talab Hilal, Manager of security office in Hasakeh governorate. He invited Syrian authorities to dismiss Kurds from their original homeland and deprive them of the Syrian

nationality on the entire territory of 250-350 km long and 20-35 km wide— (see Hilal project in, document No.2)

Actually, this project responded to the rulers' tendencies and desires, so they started implementing it since 1966 according to the law no. 93 dated in 23/8/ 1962. The Kurdish people in Syria has no existence in the Syrian Constitution and Arabization plans depriving the Kurds of the Syrian nationality are still in place and effect Kurds and their future.

There are more than 160,000 Kurdish citizens deprived of the Syrian nationality, and this number is increasing according to exceptional and official census results applied in 1962, and they are considered as foreigners (see the two samples of identification cards in document No-9)

### **The Issue of Syrian Nationality Deprived Persons**

According to the parliament decision No. 93 in 23/8/1962, Syrian authorities proceeded an exceptional census in Al-Hasakeh governorate and justified the procedure, as to distinguish between Syrians and non-Syrians. We state below two articles:

Article one: A general population census should be proceeded in Al-Hasakeh governorate with a duration of one day, renewable by the decision of the Interior Minister, in accordance with suggestion from the Minister of Planning.

Article Six: While the general census of population is completed in Al-Hasakeh governorate, a higher committee should be formed by a presidential decision according to the



Interior Minister's proposal to study the results and decide whether it should be fixed in the new records of civil affairs or not, then to prepare the requested concerning applications and instructions.

Actually, the numeration had been proceeded in one day. It was in Saturday 5/10/1962 and the result was depriving 150.000 Kurdish citizens of the right to Syrian nationality and they have been considered as Turkish foreigners. Some families were considered foreigners and their sons, citizens had been divided into parts arbitrarily.

According to this census, Gen. Tawfîque Nedameddin, Chief of Staff of the Syrian Army, was considered a foreigner because his Kurdish origin as well as his brother Abdul Baqi Nedaneddin, a previous Syrian minister and parliament member. The most of the ancient Kurdish families and tribes became also foreigners such as the family of Ibrahim Pasha Millie who was one of the main founders of the Syrian Parliament in 1928

The results of that official census didn't consider any one of the Arabs as a foreigner, and nothing had been changed. The only thing had been changed according to the decision No-276 in 1969, which treated the law of Syrian Nationality, is the phrase-Turkish foreigners, which is changed into-Syrian Foreigners.

Those victims became more miserable when the minister of the Social Affairs issued the decision No. 124 in 1981 which was very secret and preventing the Kurds foreigners of working at any legal institution as well as the minister of Interior Affairs had issued an important and top secret announcement No 713 in 22.12.1988 which is included a very strict included instructions to the General

management of civil personal affairs, emphasizing on checking up and observing the foreigners entirely.

Another top secret announcement had been issued with No-232 in 21-10-1989 assuring the previous applications and emphasizing on preventing the entered Kurds foreigners slipping into the records of the civil personal affairs.

There after, those victims were have no right to work at any where, to own anything, to study to learn and to travel, generally, they were deprived of their all democratic national rights as well as their cultural rights. The Kurdish regions were ruled by the exceptional laws, every thing should be passed through the responsible of naming the new born and recording them as well as working, teaching, learning, travelling, building and housing, food supplies and transportation in addition to the attempts of facing and opposing their political national movement to divide it into parts.

The Kurds in Syria suffer from a duplicated compulsion; the first one is that the Syrian regime prevents the common deliverance of the whole Syrian people, the second is the Unequally of the Kurdish regions with the other regions in rights and the exceptional treatments with the Kurds. They have no right to have their own right to express their political opinions or ideas because of the racial discrimination. They are exposed to imprisoning at anytime by the power of the exceptional martial rules, they have no legislated characteristic in the Syrian society and there is always announced awareness of Kurds-as well as observing their private life by the security systems. The Kurds are forbidden from leaving home without the agreement of the government and there are thousands of Kurds deprived of

leaving home in different Kurdish regions as well as they have no right to have buildings, projects, free thinking and educating and learning by their mother language, They deprived of practicing their folkloric habits or founding the cultural or social committees. They have no right to attend to the Syrian Army or police power as well as the whole educational, cultural, diplomatic and teaching institutions, and we have an evidence of such sayings, e.g. although the Kurds are 15% of the Syrian people they have no any delegated, council or ambassador in all over the world at any Syrian Embassy of 150 Embassies.

The Kurdish regions entirely deprived of the industrial growth projects in spite of the petroleum, iron masses, natural gases, water and agricultural products are available there.

There is no doubt that the Social Arab Ba`ath Party according to the Syrian Constitution, leads the authority and society in Syria and this Party rules and controls both the executive and legislative powers, and the politic of this party is the politic of the Syrian Government, so how this party thinks about the Kurdish Case in Syria?

According to two official documents issued by a higher faculty of Al-Ba`ath Party who rules Syria, the first one is—Al-Munathel, (struggler) magazine which is considered the official news paper of the Ba`ath Party territorial leadership, issued No. 11 med. of Sept. 1966 Damascus, and the second one is—Al-Thawrah Al-Arabiah (the Arabic Revolution) the central, Internal magazine issued by the Cultural office of Ba`ath National leadership No. 4. 1970 Damascus. Both magazines specialized for the leaders Comrades in the Party, consider that there is nothing called Kurdish people in Syria

and the Kurds have no historical homeland and they have slipped into Syria and they should be treated exactly like the American Government treats the Arabic minority there, or they have only the rights of immigrated minority and they don't living on their own historical land. This situation depended on the Ba'ath Party ideology and theories as well as the beliefs of it's founder Mr. Mesheil Aflaq in addition to the beliefs of Seek Al-Argosy who denied the existence of any Kurdish national or cultural numeration inside the Arabic home and all who lives there are necessarily Arabic (unfortunately, the Orientalism Institution in Hamburg adopted the same point of view about the Kurds when compared them with the Polish German or the Polishes from German origin).

Since 1960 imprisoning the Kurds had started because of national and political reasons and more than 150 Kurdish citizen included 32 ones of them had been accused of forming Kurdish State and judged by the Military Courts.

On 20-7-1961 the Syrian authorities imprisoned another group of Kurds in addition to many tragic events, which are, condemned the Syrian Government such as burning Amouda Cenema in which several hundreds of Kurdish pupils had been burned. The Kurdish people can not forget this event in which the fire swallowed 400 Kurdish pupils as well as the events of several assassinations, e.g. two young, intelligent Kurdish girls, killing, the farmers of Al Ferro, the events of Derrek region as well as burning the Central Hasakeh Prison On 24-3-1993 in which 400 Kurdish political prisoners had been burned.

There are numerous certificates point to the Syrian frequented government's crimes against the Kurds that we

couldn't had them all, but we can offer many of which available as followings:

The statement of the Interior Affairs Minister in which he says that there are Kurds deprived of the Syrian Nationality by a political order issued by the leadership.

The statement of Al-Hasakeh Governorate On 14-12-1979 Which prevented talking Kurdish language.

The statement of Higher Teaching Minister in which: - He orders to dismiss the Kurdish students as well as to prevent giving them admissions in all of the schools and educational. Institutions in Al-Hasakeh Governorate.

The order of the educational Minister ref. No 603/43p. 14 on 26-4-1993 in which a group of the Kurdish students had been dismissed from their educational institution according to an advisement of the security offices and because of. those students were forming a danger for the state security as the Syrian authorities justified. Those students were listed their names as following: -

1-Abdulbasett Ramadan

2-Husain Abdulkarim

3-Layla Mahmood (Teachers Preparing Institution in Qamishli

4-Ra'ad Basho

5-Esmael Muhammad

6-Rashad sarhan

7-Ahmad Mulla Aumer (Teachers Preparing Institution in Al-Hasakeh)

The decision of Interior affairs Ministry dated 30-9-1992 which prevented using the Kurdish names and obliged the Kurds to have the agreement of Security Office for naming their new born children.

The decision of Local Management Minister No.139 issued on 16-11-1991, which perverted using the Kurdish, names.

Al-Hasakeh Governorate Announcement dated 20-2-1993, which obliged the Kurds to exchange their Kurdish names into Arabic names.

In March 1993 the University of Aleppo dismissed the Kurdish girl Student, second year, Institution of Arts because her name was Kurdistan!

Arabization procedures had been perused up to date. The exchanging Kurdish names of the historical regions, cities, villages, valleys, mountains rivers and persons by the Arabic names is still proceeded, e.g. Derrek changed to Al-malikiah, Teria Spy to Kuboor, Kobania- Ayn Al-Arab, and so on to the thousands of Kurdish regions.

On 15-12-1988 the Syrian Authorities imprisoned 17 Kurdish pupils of both schools Al-Tala'ea and Al-Aurubah in Qamishli city accused of lifting the Kurdish flag on their schools they had been set to the military logistic prisons and most of them spent two years there, then they had been judged ten years-as well as one of them was ten years old.

Dear Reader, you will find all the above mentioned official documents and certificates fixed in this book, The second part of Documents and references there after.

The dictatorial racial discrimination Syrian situation was not especially for the Kurdish people in Syria, but it was concerning with. The national Kurdish movement in all over the parts of Kurdistan, particularly after the Iraqi Second Gulf War while the Syrian Regime started taking the region to invent the Kurdish case for her own profits and make

harmful for the national Kurdish movement in Iraq and Turkey.

The triple meetings of the (Syrian, Turkish and Iranian) foreign Ministers frequently held in Turkey in 14-11-1992, Damascus 10-2-1993, Tehran 7-6-1993, Turkey, again 6-2-1994 then in Damascus in 21-4-1994, were held mainly according to a Syrian invitation and the aim was, as it had been announced clearly and aboveground, to press on the Iraqi Kurds to give up the Federalism decision and to prevent the settlement of security in Iraqi Kurdistan then to render the national Kurdish movements in territorial countries and to pass forward to the great countries and United Nations Organization to refuse any humanistic solution concerning with the Kurdish national status. The Syrian part was obvious in urging the great countries to change up minds during the Second International Conference for the human rights which held in 14-2-1993 in Vein to omit the paragraph concerning with the Kurds and Kurdish Crisis, So the Syrian part developed from her Kurds compulsion to a territorial and world level to create more abuses for the national Kurdish movements as well as to use the Kurdish card for her own interests.

## **Some World Interferences**

**In Solidarity with the Kurdish People**

**In Syria**

The Kurds problem became, in Syria so difficult and complicated and exaggerated that a veil couldn't be drawn over it against the general world opinion or could be forgotten by the common world care the human rights and

the peoples right in deciding their own, destination finding out the solutions for their world and territorial problems according to a political commemoration and peoples cooperation to rescue the ethnic minorities from compulsion and abuses. It is not wonderful that the Syrian Regime is a big enemy against democracy and one of the countries which are supporting terrorism in all over the world.

The Committee of Racial, Discrimination had been questioned by United Nation Organization in the fourteenth meeting during the period 5-13/8/1991 in Geneva about the racial discrimination and political Unequally between ethnic groups in Syria and how much they have got their cultural rights, the Syrian delegates replied that there is no a Kurdish problem in Syria and those persons who are from Kurdish origin had been indulged within the Arab population freely as well as there is no distinguish between the Syrian ethnic groups.

During the meeting No.47 on Feb. 1991, the committee of human right advised that the Kurds in all over their four parts of Kurdistan should be given their national rights according to the right of destination. In concerning with Syrian Kurds, the Committee advice also the Syrian Government to response for their national rights and assured that the Kurds in Syria are deprived of their private national rights.

The answer text of the Syrian delegate was the following: - (the Arabic Syrian Republic considers the statement of Human Right World Committee specially what is concerning with Kurdish people in Syria, entirely false because the Kurds in Syria have all their rights as well as they are all interested in the political, social and cultural



Syrian life. The evidence of that is that several of them are ministers and parliament members)

The Middle East Human Rights Watch Organization assured in its annual report that there is in Syria more than 5000 political prisoners as well as the report accompanied by the complete lists of the prisoners names and their prisons in addition to the names of 13 Kurdish national leaders among those prisoners.

On 10<sup>th</sup> 3-1992, the Austrian Parliament legislated a law project concerning with the Kurdish problem calling to consider the Kurds case in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria one of the world national political cases which should be treated according to the principles of human destination right as well as to hold a world Conference to discuss the case (look at the document No. In 19-6-1992 The European Parliament issued, during its normal Course, several decisions Concerning with the Kurdish deliverance struggle, one of those discussions was an inviting to pursue the solidarity with the Iraqi Kurds and their legislated national aspirations as well as to offer helps for building Iraqi Kurdistan.

Another discussion invited the international society to support the Kurdish people struggle everywhere. The third decision invited the Kurdish national deliverance movements to avoid terrorism and to obligate the with political struggle.

Amnesty International issued on December 1992 a list contained the names of the Kurds political prisoners in the Syrian prisons because of the Syrian Government had called more than 200 Kurdish Citizens and imprisoned more than 30 ones (look at the document part)

The defense committee of democratically freedoms and human rights- the Outside Branch-Paris, France published journalistic news about burning the central prison of Al-Hasakeh in which 58 Kurds died.

In June 1993, the Amnesty International Organization sent a statement to the president of Arabic Syrian Republic and his ministers of the Interior Affairs and Justice, asking them to answer about the reasons of destruction five Kurdish citizens who were in Al-Hasakeh prison during the prison burning and had been accused of doing burning. Those victims were (Mahmood Kasim, farid Mahmood, Kahraman Muuh- mmad, Muhammad Amin Muhammad and Ahmed Sagvan).

During the period 13<sup>th</sup>, March-19 Th., May 1995, a faculty from the Human Rights Watch Organization Middle East Branch, made a journey to Syria, particularly in the Kurdish regions and reported a detailed report about the human rights in Syria and we have published the text of this report in our magazine Al-It had, No-16, October 1995. In Arabic and here in this book we re-publized it completely as document No 9 . In 23-29-9-1995 a faculty of Germany Parliament in Dosldrof formed of the delegates from the different German parties, had visited Syria and then published their report about the common strange conditions the Syrian Kurdish people and their annihilated human

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*\*This magazine issued by the Kurdish Union Popular Party, Branch of abroad*

## **The Third Part**

### **The Struggle of the Kurdish National Movement**

The Kurdish national movement in Syria was a part of the general Kurdish national movement which was working in allover the Othmanian empire till the independence of Syria in 1945. Syrian Kurdish national abroad. movement was influencing by what was happening in the northern part of Kurdistan which is Known as Turkish Kurdistan. The important events during that period are three Kurdish revolutions through which the Syrian Kurds were an essential part. the first revolution was led by Shaikh Sa'eed peran in 1925. The second was led by the Kurdish General Ehsan Noory Pasha in 1930. and the third one was on 1937. These revolutions accompanied with several Kurdish national movements; e.g. the movement of Khoibon whir is formed on 1927 by the Syrian Kurds and it was the main effective factor of the two latest revolutions.

When Syria was under the power of French delegation, the delegated authorities didn't think in giving the Kurds a private regime like the regime Which had been given to the Al-Droze and always although they have given some of their Cultural rights without any official decisions, but the delegated authorities were practicing a compulsory dealing with the active persons of the Kurdish national movement; e.g. some of them had been passed away and the others had been imprisoned in the desert Prison of-Tadmor while several of them had been sent to Medgeshkar Island with our

party previous general Secretary; Ottoman Sabry as well as another group had been sent to Creit Island in Greece.

The Kurdish regions in Syria lived several national movement since 1919, and the name of the famous Syrian Kurdish struggler Ebrahim Hanano appeared in 1920, then the Kurds case became the main mater of which the French-Turkish relations effected then the Turkish Syrian relations .Because of that fighting along the Turkish-Syrian territorial borders were near to the Kurdish regions in 1923. The fighters were only about 2000 Syrian Kurdish.

As we have previously mentioned: Khoibon-movement had been founded in 1927 in Sofer-Lebanon and supported by the Syrian Kurds. This movement was believing a Kurdish national Ideology and it had published two pressed works, the first one was called (Hawar,) while the second one was called (Ronahy) then a Kurdish Club had been founded in Amoodah in 1939 as well as the Kurdistan Club was found in the Kurds Quarter Damascus-Syria.

Since the period of the French delegation in Syria the Kurds claimed for struggle for their national rights and we can see that in an oldest Kurdish documents had been offered to the French Delegated Authorities by some Kurdish cultured characters and Heads of tribes, when the Syrian foundation Society Conference held in 23-6-1928 in which the following requests had been asked for: -

1. Using the Kurdish language in all over of the Kurdish regions with the other local languages.
2. Teaching the Kurdish language in the schools of the Kurdish regions.
3. Exchanging the employees by Kurdish employees who live in Kurdish regions.

The document also proposed forming a Kurdish army could be led by A French leader to protect the territorial boundaries as well to simplify the agricultural works for the Kurdish farmers.

As we have mentioned; the Kurdish national case in Syria appeared and went on by numerous ways. The previous period included much of political, cultural and military works and features as well as revolutionary movements, such as Al-Muridin movement in the Kurds Mountain during 1930-1945.

On August 1957 a modern organized party appeared in Syria for the first time in the Kurdish history, called (PDK) Party Democracy Kurdistan which is expressed the national aspirations and hopes of Kurdish people who was suffering from a great political emptiness. At the beginning of forming this party it was clear that it is being to be the main defender of the national Kurdish people rights and being to struggle to achieve the aims of political cultural, social and democratic rights as well as to achieve the equality, Justice and remove the compulsory treatments. Because the party appeared secretly and there was no a law allowing to form political parties, the members of PDK had been watched, followed and imprisoned, sine 1959, the leaders of the party had been imprisoned, then the imprisoning became frequently practiced up to date.

The total number of PDK leaders and members whom had been imprisoned since 1957 to 1993, are about 11 000 as well as 52 000 cases of asking and checking cases accompanied with threatening, physical harming and terrorism practices. Many of the Kurds had been imprisoned for years with out courting and the Previous General

secretary of our Party stayed in the prison for 12 years as well as the member of the central Committee whom had been imprisoned for three years in the army security prisons without courting (look at the documents )

In addition to struggle of the Kurdish political movement to gain the Kurdish national rights, our Party Cooperates with several Syrian movements to achieve democracy, common freedoms, and the human right for all the Syrian People and these aims had been fixed in our Programs since the Kurdish political movement founded.

Like all the organizations and movements of the peoples deliverance, and because of the secret, hard difficult and bad social conditions in which our movement is living, we have been deprived of the territorial and world forces support. These reasons led the Kurdish political movement to face some of the political and ideological wrestling, which resulted some internal divisions during some periods. A part of these divisions had been created by the security Syrian apparatus to wrestle the Kurdish movement and pushing it away from its aims. This interior Wrestling led two political directions to appear.

The first direction formed by the Syrian Government, it doesn't struggle for the Kurdish national rights and it is not being a danger for the Syrian authorities. This direction consists of the groups which are not effective in the Kurdish society and it increases and decreases according to the tactics of the Syrian Government. It expresses nothing of the Kurds aims and aspirations, but led by characters working for their own private and personal benefits.

The second direction is that concerning with the Kurdish national rights and demands the democracy and

general freedoms for the Kurds and Syrian people, particularly the right of destination.

There are relations between both directions, but the level of these relations is limited with the conditions; and for example, we were able to form a wide front or ally between our Party and other four Kurdish Parties under the program of the minimum level since 1st., Feb. 1992 up date, known as ((The Democratic Kurdish Ally in Syria)). And this frontal frame will be wider and supported in the future. It will be as we hope the only union of the Syrian Kurds struggle, especially during the next period.

Because of the phenomenon of the interior wrestling and divisions which belong to the Syrian Government attempts to confuse our party, we have obliged to change the name of party during the general conferences to charctrise our party among the similar names of parties, and to face the Compulsory practices of the Syrian authorities, Thus we have changed the name of our party into ((The Radical Democratic Kurdish Party)) during the famous conference of 5<sup>th</sup>. Aug 1965, then the name had been changed into ((The Kurdish Pupular Unity Party)) during the Fifth conference of 1980 and this name is still used. Changing the name of our Party doesn't mean that we have found a new party or we have got outside of our history as it may be guessed by some of peoples for we have done the procedures legislatively through the Party legislated institutions.

The Kurdish Pupular Union Party is the only legal son for the mother party ((PDK)) since 1975 foundation 1957 up to date and it is a practical and the critical cont- inuity for the political programs which had been influenced by several

territorial and international developments. However, our Party program are: -

1- A principle confession from the Syrian Government assures the Kurdish People right destination.

2- Achievement of the political, cultural, social and democratic rights for the Syrian Kurds and remove ethnic discrimination and the exceptional laws against them.

3- Achievement democracy in all over Syria, according to liberty of forming the parties and political, ideological and cultural works according to the democratic numeration and respect the human rights and deliverance the political prisoners including the Syrian political Kurds prisoners

4- Support the Kurdish peoples struggle in Turkey, Iran and Iraq for deliverance and destination as well as working for the union of Kurdistan movement generally in a democratic form and according to United Program . The Party is working also to find a peaceful solution for the Kurdish critiques in the middle east by holding a territorial conference under watch of the United Nations and according to the confession and respectation of Kurds which will achieve a kind of living with the Arabic, Turkish and Persian peoples peacefully to have a new middle east; empty of the chemical Biological and atomic weapons.

5- Our Party is working to achieve the aims by Political and democratic methods of struggle to be away from terrorism and compulsion the Kurdish national problems.

6- Our Party confesses the national and religious rights of the other racial minorities in Syria and asking the Syrian authorities to response for those rights. Our Party believes in



solidarity with the other minorities. as A syrian, Aramian and Kildan to have their cultural rights and to consider their destination tied to Kurdistan destination, because these minorities live in all over the parts of Kurdistan as well as the Syrian Part programs.

Because of our Party's subjectivity and it's revolutionary programs as well as its right political direction and it's sacrifices for achieving it's aims, it's leaders and active members are always imprisoned deprived of their civil rights, and because of its principle situations, it gains the respect of the Kurdish publics and the democratically moments in Syria. The Kurdistan movement there often exposed the world opinion careness as well as the engaged organizations with the human rights.

Since several years. our Party is asking for a dialogue proposals between the Kurdish movement and the Syrian Government to find a solution for the Kurdish crisis in Syria, but Syrian Government didn't response for this proposal and neglected the Kurdish political movement, but a day in which the Syrian Government will response for the Kurdish dialogue proposals to achieve peace and understanding, is surely coming .

#### The fourth Part

#### **The Party Secretary General**

#### **Salah Badruddin**

He belongs originally to a national family lived in the northern part of Kurdistan, Battman state. The family was called; Dibow Alikan and suffered often from Otomanian compulsion. When the period of Kamal Ataturk started, the

family had been divided into two parts. the first with some leaders had been exiled to the north of Turkey. Compulsory practices pursued during the revolution of Sa'eed Peran in 1925, the second part exiled to the south part of Turkey which is now known as western Kurdistan.

Salah Badruddin born in 1945 in a village called Ne'amaty-Al-Oamishli region-Al-Hasakeh Governorate and because he grown up in a family always repressed by the Turkish authorities and became homeless for their national tendencies, he grown up with the national ideas and opposite directions to the injustice and repression. When the PDK formed in Syria for the first time, he had enrolled to be a younger member, then he pursued struggle working in the farmers organizations in his living region. Thereafter, he became the responsible of the Party students at the schools of Al-Kamishly in which he pursued his study for five years in the primary school of Al-Jama'ea village

Then he transferred to Al-Kamishly City schools pursues there his secondary study and graduate in 1965, then he offered a request with certificates to gain admission of scholarship from one of the Previous socialist countries by the Syrian Peace Society which was close to the Syrian Socialist Party. The result appeared after a while positively, but when he met the responsible man of the scholarships in that society in Damascus, the committee gave up the previous agreement (result) and refused to give him a study scholarship and justified that he believes in national ideology as well as he is not a socialist, so he obliged to attend to the college of law in Damascus. When the ethnic compulsion wave got stronger against the Kurds and the Arabic Security Belt had been applied in Al-Hasakeh

governorate (Al-Jazirah) the Party ordered him to devote himself for the Party work. In 5th August 1965, the general foundation conference of Party held, it was a historical curved concerning the national struggle in the correct democratic direction after a critical period in which some leaders tried to drive the Party into the bargaining positions with the Compulsory Syrian authorities.

In 1966 during the first Conference he became an original member of the Central Committee, then he became the member of the Political Office and had been ordered to travel secretly to Kurdistan of Iraq through Turkey. He obeyed and met the Guide General Al-Mulla-Mustafa Al-Barzaniy in June 1967 and proceeded with him discussions about the Kurdish revolutions. When he returned, he had been ordered to travel again, but to Europe through Lebanon secretly also to represent the Party in the General Conference of (The Kurds Students Society in Europe) which is held in Belgrade at the ends of 1967.

When he returned by the same secret way, he imprisoned in January 1968 on the territorial Lebanon-Syrian boundaries and when he spent a year in Al-Halabony Prison which belongs to the Political Security in Damascus, then he spent a while in Al-Kal'ah prison before he had been free according to Amnesty in Syrian amnesty forgiving.

After months he had been requested by the Higher State Security Court in Damascus and judged absently for two years, so the Party ordered him to hide himself and he started living secretly in the Kurdish regions. In 1968 he became the Secretary General and he went to Europe to represent the Party in the conference of The Kurds Students Society in Europe which is held in Western Berlin in 1969

But during travelling from Praha to Berlin by train he had been imprisoned on the Fridrek-Strass boundaries and spent 13 days in one of the Eastern Berlin prisons because of his false passport. After many interference and pressures from the members of Conference, he had been deliverance and returned back to Czechoslovakia boundaries, then attended to the conference, which was delayed at 1969, because of him.

According to a martial law issued by the minister of the Syrian Interior affairs Muhammed Abed Ashawy, he had been deprived of his civil rights and the Syrian nationality, as well as That martial law is still continues up to date .

When he returned to Syria through Lebanon, the agreement of 11th. March 1970 was issued in which the self-government for the Iraqi Kurds had been confessed, then according to an invitation from the Iraqi PDK he travelled to Iraqi Kurdistan to represent his Party and the Syrian Kurds in celebrations which is held in Galala.

When he remained there until the end of 1970 at which the Unity national Kurdish Conference of the Syrian Kurds is held. Then, he gave up the political work repressedly because of several reasons. He went to Europe to pursue his university study. He arrived to previous Eastern Germany after he had gained a special scholarship on account of Iraqi PDK and according to a private recommendation from the Guide Mustafa Al-Barzany but when he Arrived to the Germany Foreign Ministry for registration, the Middle East office told him that his scholarship had been withdrawn and refused, because the German Foreign Ministry doesn't like to misuse the relationships between the German Government and the

Syrian, so he obliged to go to the western Berlin and working there in several factories as a labor. e.g. lumos factory, for several months. At the beginning of 1971, he went to Lebanon and renewed his connection with the Party at Homeland and pursued struggle until 1973 in which he got marriage.

He was interesting in supporting the Party organization in Lebanon and he founded several press centers and cultural societies as well as he issued Rohalat magazine in both Kurdish and Arabic languages.

He could build good relationships with the Lebanon and Palestinian national movements which was led by kamal Junbulatt in addition to his own political responsibilities concerning suppressing the Party struggle in Syria. Since 1979 the Party advised him to proceed a dialogue with the Syrian Government by means of an Arabic friend and close to both sides. During the first meeting between several characters of the Country Guideline for Al-Ba'ath Party and the Kurdish side, the dialogue stopped because the official Syrian Side was not content of the compromise of the Kurdish problem in Syria.

He lived in Lebanon with his family until 1982 and because of the difficult and dangerous conditions in Beirut he had been repressed to send his family to Syria by special secret means, then after a while, he had been obliged to get out of Syria to go Europe and from there to Tunisia when his wife gained a scholarship from the Afro-Asian Society for Solidarity, his family departed Tunisia and went to Previous Eastern Germany then he became able to visit his family in Germany and build up relations with several European countries, specially those were socialist in addition to the

Arabic friends like the Palestine deliverance organization, southern Yaman, and Algeria and other Arabic national deliverance movements, he was as an ambassador of his Party at several world organizations and with characters, particularly Mrs. France Miterin the head of ((the Freedom France)) In 1989 he had been invited officially by the American congress to take part in the Solidarity world conference with the Kurdish people as well as he associated with the World solidarity conference in Paris. Then he associated with the world Solidarity Conference that held in Stockholm on Feb 1990. Then, he associated with the first conference of the Soviet Union Kurds which is held in Moscow 1991 and according to an official invitation he took part in the second world conference for Human Rights which was held in Vienna 1993.

He is the author of the following -published books in Arabic language:

- 1- The Kurds as a People and a Case.
- 2- Kurdish Subjects.
- 3- The Kurdish Case and The New World System.
- 4- West Kurdistan
- 5- Many of articles and studies in Kurdish and Arabic languages, published in several international Newspapers and magazines, like; Arabic Studies which is issued in Beirut in Arabic as ((Dirasat Arabiyah then, Al-Hayat Al-Ouds (Jerusalem) both issued in London, as well as several pamphlets in Arabic, Bulgarian, and German Languages about the Kurdish problem.

The Syrian Compulsory authorities proceed every means to disturb the reputation of the national strugglers of the Syrian Opposing movement, as well as impris- oning,

assassination and repressing them. They claimed that the Secretary General, Salah Bedruddin is just a client and treacherous for his home as well as he is an agent of Iraqi logistic and security offices (look at the secret letter to Baath Party, in documents) or he is a client of imperialism and Zionism...etc.

The Syrian Government urged some of the writers and journalists to disturb the reputation of the Secretary General Mr. Salah Badruddin, such as a person called Munther Al-Mousully who published a book titled. The Political and Party life in Kurdistan, and unfortunately that the Orientalism Institution of Hamburg believed such false propaganda to support indirectly the claims of the Syrian Compulsory Authorities according to the lied reports signed by who called Dr. Al-Jibaly.

### **A historical Summarizing About The Kurdish Popular Union Party In Syria**

The existence and struggle of this Party nowadays is a historical extends to the beginnings of the political Kurdish movement appearance in Syria. It's name had been changed for several times because of the tactical reasons during struggling against the Syrian compulsory authorities and because of other reasons concerning with the political programs development. These changes happened according to the democratically and organizational means during it's legislated conferences and institutions. These changes don't

mean that a new party had been founded, but they are historical and organizational extends for what was before:

-The Democratic Party in Syria appeared for the first time On 5<sup>th</sup>. August 1957.

- In 1958 the name of the Party changed to be (The Kurdish Democratically Party In Syria)

- On 5<sup>th</sup>. August 1965 and according to the decision of the (August Conference) the name of the Party had been changed to be (The Radical Democratic Kurdish Party In Syria).

- On 5<sup>th</sup>. August 1980, according to the decision of fifth general conference, the name changed to be (The Kurdish Popular Union Party In Syria).

### **The Party Conferences**

- The first conference is held in 5<sup>th</sup>. August 1957, it was the foundational conference in which Dr. Nooriddin was selected as a head and Mr. Authman Sabry as a Secretary.

- In conference of August 1965 the first Political Program is written and adopted.

- The Second Conference is held in 20<sup>th</sup>., July 1966 in which the Political Program had been decided and Mr. Authman Sabry had been selected as a Secretary General of the Party.

- On 15<sup>th</sup>. October 1969 the general conference had been held and Mr. Salah Badruddin is selected as Secretary General of the Party.

- The third conference is held on 20<sup>th</sup>. December 1973 in which a new political program



adopted. It was about forming a Kurdish national front in Syria, as well as Mr. Salah Badruddien had been selected again as Secretary General of the Party.

- The fourth Conference is held in 10th. January 1975 in which an obvious political situation as a whole had been taken.
- The fifth Conference is held in 5<sup>th</sup>. August 1980 in which a new program adopted and a plan for building up relations in Syria and in all over the world, especially in Lebanon.

- The Sixth conference is held in 20<sup>th</sup>. Sep. 1987 in which a new program had been adopted as well as the new ideology concerning with the Kurdish problems for the future.

-The Seventh Conference is held in 15th. Sep. 1992 in which a struggle plans put down to face the Syrian Compulsory plans and its projects against the Kurds.

### **The Party Legal Position**

It is a forbidden party according to the Syrian laws; its activity is secret. The party leaders and members are often followed and exposed for imprisoning; e.g. the previous Secretary General Dr. Nooriddin zaza had been imprisoned for several times and deprived of the civil rights. The second previous secretary General, Mr. Authman Sabry also had been imprisoned more than 12 times and he spent many years in the Syrian prisons. The present secretary General Mr. Salah Badruddin also had been imprisoned for several times as well as he deprived of his civil right and he is still



wanted. Since the foundation of the Party up to date, 11 000 Kurdish citizens had been imprisoned because of the political reasons and most of them deprived of the civil right as well as the Syrian nationality.

### **The Party Aims**

- 1- The Party aims to remove the compulsion, repression and ethnic discrimination which practiced by the Syrian Government against the Kurds in Syria in addition to free the all the political prisoners.
- 2- To gain the confession for the Kurds destination right in Syria who are about 2-5 million or 15% of the Syrian population in addition to gain the political, cultural and social rights for the Kurds.
- 3- To achieve democracy in Syria, to respect and consider the human rights, to achieve freedom and removes the martial and exceptional laws in the Kurdish regions.
- 4- To proceed a democratically selections under the international observation and to achieve a new constitution in which the Kurdish existence in Syria should be confessed in addition to the national, racial, political and cultural numeration.
- 5- To achieve a free economic and protect the rights of all classes and poor groups as well as to apply justice and equality. Among all Syrian population

6- To confess the Kurdish people right for destination and support the struggle of the Kurds in Turkey, Iran and Iraq.

7- To urge the Syrian Government to adopt a peaceful part in the Middl-East and avid interfering into the neighbors affairs countries as Lebanon and Palestine.

8- The Party adopts the peaceful dialogue ways and means to achieve its aims.

### **The Abroad Party Organization**

There is one organization for the Party outside of Syria (in Europe, U.S.A. and Australia) .This organization leads and adjusts Syrian Kurds a broad in addition to its party duties. It is led by a society and holds the conferences each year. It's center in Praha-Cztech Republic and issued a monthly magazine in Kurdish, Arabic and German languages. This magazine is titled Al-ITTEHAD or Hevgertin which means union.

# **The Documents**

**Document No: 1**

## **The Official Position Against The Kurds**

### **Proposals Become Compulsory Plans and Program For Repressing The Kurds**

The first responsible man of the security systems, the president of the Political section in Al-Hasakch, lieutenant Muhammad Taleb Helal(1) offered on 12/11/1963 a report about Al-Jazirah(2) Governorate concerning with the political, social and national conditions there. This report, which was of 165 pages, became the official program against the Kurds adopted by all frequent Syrian governments. The terms of this report, especially those are concerning with the security belt and Arabization Kurdish regions, were the main plans depended by Mr. SA'eed Al-Said, who was the governor of Al-Haskah. To deprived 150 000 Kurdish citizens of the Syrian nationality. According to this report, many of the Arab citizens transferred from their original regions to live in the Kurdish regions and for example, we can summarize that report or a part from its main terms to clear the official position of the Syrian

Government against the Kurds for the readers, exactly as the report proposed: \*

1-The government should achieve immigration

procedures of the Kurdish population from the boundaries regions to the regions inside home and watch the active and dangerous peoples gradually.

2- The government should follow an adultery political or avoid founding schools or teaching institutions in the Kurdish regions because of the previous politics results were contrast to what was written before.

3-The civil records should be re-written for the majority of the Kurds in Al-Jazirah and according this repairing every person . has no Arabic nationality, should be thrown away to his original country and the Syrian nationality should be given only by a presidential discussion

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*(\*) The fourth part of this book had written so carefully faithFuly that cold explain the truths concerning the political and national bibliography to face the lies which had been issued by some sides specially to face the lies of Dr. Al-Jibaly which had been offered to the German governmental institutions and cultural organizations such as the Foreign Ministry and the Orientalism Institution In Hamburg*

*(1) He became after the martial alternation of March 1963 a member of the territorial leadership of the Arabic Socialist Bath Party, then he became the Minister of Economic, then, the Syrian ambassador in Poland.*

*(2) The region sited between Tigris and Euphrates rivers*

*(3) P. 46.47, 48*

4-The Kurds should be deprived of working opportunities to repress them leaving their regions at anytime. The farming lands shouldn't be leased for the Kurdish farmers but should be given to the Arabic farmers whom would be brought from other regions.

5-To wage a wide advertising expedition among the Arabs to prepare the Arabic hostility against the Kurds whom would be in critical position and unsettled.

6-Stripping the Kurdish religious persons of their religious characterization and sending Pure Arabic religious persons (Shaikhs) to the Kurdish regions because the Kurdish religious councils are not religious, but Kurdish councils.

7- Create wrestling among the Kurds by means urging those who claims that they are from an Arabic origin to face the other Kurds.

8-To urge the national Arab persons to live in Kurdish regions near the boundaries to watch them as well as to be the future protectors.

9-To make the northern belt of Al-Jazirah military region like the region of the front (1) and this region should be occupied by the military teams to dismiss the Kurds there and guard them.

10-To found Arabic plural farming fields in the northern belt and these fields should be weaponed and well trained like the Jewish colonies.

11-To deprive all who don't speak Arabic of the right to vote in the above mentioned regions.

12-To prevent giving the Syrian nationality to who want to live in those regions.

**The Syrian nationality should be well as to:-**

- 1- Found different levels of school supplied with the modern scientific teaching means.
- 2- Widespread leading units to publish the national cultures and sciences.
- 3- To send the Arabic undergraduates abroad to pursue their studies in different specialization's. I propose to send every student graduated in Al-Jazirah to pursue his study abroad on account of the Syrian government.
- 4- to found the higher agricultural institutions in Al-Jazirah for the Arabs only. These Scientific institutions should be supplied with all modern technological means to achieve an agricultural progress.

**Other proposals concerning with the Arabic tribes**

- 1-To fix whom had not been fixed there and prepare them as soon as possible.
- 2-sharing the State lands among the Arabs equally.
- 3-Bring the Arabs from interior regions and urging them to live in Al-Jazirah with a reasonable conditions.

**And here the follow some abbreviations from the report of Mr. Hilal:**

**Document No 2**

**A National, Social And Political**

# **Study about Al-Jazirah Governorate A Report offered by Lieutenant Muhammad Talab Hilal, The Political Section, Head of Al-Hasakeh**

## **Summarized Texts**

That is the Kurdish problem as a whole since it appeared for the first time up to date in which it became threatening the Arabic being. This problem is fed up by the all-ancient and modern enemy sides by both outside and inside home. All points should be made and several procedures should be taken to put down the cover to prevent it being the main Arabs problem who should be free to face their own national cases. Its roots should be pulled out from both brotherhood countries. Syria and Iraq and the solution would be uniform and the plan should be the same in both countries. I am going to discuss all the proposals in the next chapter. These proposals would be a quite complete project as well as a good successful solution for the Kurdish problem.

Returning back to the quested plan we should know that the most dangerous thing is in Al-Jazirah and the case there is taking gradually the same ways had been depended by the Zionists in Palestine because thousands of Kurds are slipping in the region according to a well studied plans of organized immigration: e.g. more than 160 000 Kurdish had slipped in Al-Jazirah by different means, and they are building houses: so many houses that they have had a wide quarter in Al-Hasakeh city called Al-Azizia. The immigrated Kurds became so a dangerous phenomenon in the city that



the local authorities prevented the building and ordered to remove all new buildings.

## **The Kurdish Problem From The Beginnings till Early Twenty Century**

The anthropologists have not agreed till now a bout the origin of the Kurds. Although well studies concerning with this subject say there is no an obvious result because the Kurdish people is still living without identity. Some of anthropologists said that the Kurds belong to an ancient people called (Kurdokh) which lived there before 2700 years. It was believed that the Kurdokhs are the grandfathers of the Kurds. others negated this belief absolutely according to the present Kurdish languages which are belong to the Zendic language which is the mother tongue of Persians and Kurds and according to the Kurdish language similarity with the Persian the Kurds belong to Areyan origin and they had slipped into the region like Iranians and Armenians from the Asian middles.

It is known that the Kurds of eastern regions are different from the westerns and both differ from the southern in shape color and skeleton. so we can see that all the Kurds are scientifically different. they are not uniform and the all of the anthropological standards infasize that they are not a people racially or ethnic nation They are a mixture of several Roral tribes came from Iran and Armenia and other regions.

It could be said surely that there is neither people called Kurdish nor a nation called Kurdish nation because there is no a pure nation as well as the Kurds have no one

language and we can see that their ancient language lacks to the linguistically requirements. If we look at the ancient languages and their foundation through the ancient civilizations, we can not find a uniform Kurdish language but different mother tongues. Each tribe has its own mother tongue and there is no understanding between each other without interpreter. That is not, wonderful feature because of the region had been attacked by several races during the history in which several reactions happened between them, so such a mixture of languages formed there instead of a pure Kurdish language. Therefore, we can conclude that there is no a national ethnic homeland for the Kurds, but the Kurds are the mountain population and the nature only gave them some of the common characteristics.

Yes, the Kurdish movement became active since the beginnings of this century by what had been advised from the clients of Imperialism. They founded societies, issued magazines and newspapers, e.g. "The Kurdish Sun", The Kurdish Cultural Society, The Kurdish People Society which has had, the lion share during the known history, of attraction all the previous societies and clubs as if it was the guide of the Kurdish national movements exactly like what the party Party is doing nowadays

Yes, the colonists were know who are the criminals of the East and they well knew how to employ them for their own benefits.

### **A new Point of View About The Kurds**

According to the above mentioned proposals and treatments, we can conclude a new point of view as followings:

1-Undoubtedly, the Kurds as ethnic groups, are quite different than Arabs, and there is no any similarity between them, psychological, physiologically and anthropological too, and we don't mean the quite pure race, for we think that there is no any pure race in all over the world, but according to the scientific social classification , there is no any similarity between Arabs and Kurds.

The religion became the shelter curtain for the treasonous, specially in Al-Jazirah .The religious features there, are not for religion because the religion among the Kurds is just methods such as method, Al-Shathelia and Al-Nequisbendia method. and Al-Quaderia.. etc.

Each method has its own leaders and Scientists or God Fathers as if it is a separate school and as we know that the Socialist nationalization is the founder and creator of those methods which are slipped into Islam and hide behind the religion to attack the Arabic racially as well as the religious Taikisha (scientists) in Al-Jazirah are Kurds and they are quite ignorant of the Arabic language. P.38-40

### **The Party Party (\*)**

The fifth item of the Kurdish democratically Party's program says:

“The Party struggles for supporting the brothers and friendship relations between all the races and ethnic groups of which the Iraqi people consist as Arabs, Kurds, Turkman, Assyrians, Armenians and all other minorities in Iraq”.

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*\*)The Party means The Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria.*

The socialistic and nationalization tendencies of the Party are very obvious but they are for the Kurdish ethnic because these tendencies are anticipate stems; one, to destroy the Arabic racial by release new races according to the socialistic logic, another, to support the Kurdish nation. This strong, organized and ideological Party struggles since a long time up to date in which it became the main organizer for the Kurds and we will discuss dangerous parties .

What we want to achieve through the new point of view for the Kurds, is to understand that all of the Kurds want the Kurdish free homeland. The Kurdish youngs don't believe in the religious ideas specially those are educated who are actually leading the political activities, and if they can achieve what they dream to they sooner or later form their socialistic country which will be a part of the Soviet Union Therefore we shouldn't Consider the religious relations in our point of view on the Kurds as we hadn't on the Turks, therefore we have to look at the Kurds as ethnic groups struggle by all their energies and capabilities to have their own homeland and then, an independent state. And according to this point of view, we have to consider the Kurds as enemies don't differ than Israel in spite of the religious tie, for there is no difference between Jewistan and Kurdistan !

However, we have to draw the main plan for treatment the Kurdish problem according to this point of view to be able to face the coming dangers of Kurds.

## The New Generation

We have to say a justice word through this sphere about the Kurds: they can be divided into two parts: The Old Generation: all the persons of this generation are religious or, at least, they were so but they became a minority while they were previously a majority in Al-Jazirah, they are now without influence, they were not effective, but gradually they went on tending to adopt their sons ideologies. One of the olds confessed to me about his sons secrets; his son was a member of Party. He hoped to keep his dignity and respect his age. Such a person couldn't be found easily unless one threatens him because such kind is rare and usually the old man hardly can confess the secrets.

The New Generation: actually, consists of the sons, younger brothers and the grandsons of these olds. This generation became educated and the main danger element, this generation is who leading the Party activity, as the schools in the Kurdish regions supplied them with the scientific weapons in addition to their own fire weapons. We can see that our educational and cultural institutions are just for educating the parties and socialists and the events of Amooda should be kept in mind as an evidence proves this aspect. It was said anciently, Arabize them by teaching and the result was that we have provided them by a new weapon, we have gave them the ideological weapon in addition to their fire weapons.

When one wanders in Al-Jazirah will see that the best school, in different levels, are in the Kurdish regions while the Arab regions are quietly neglected, therefore we have

created indirectly the strongest, well weaned, ideologically and scientifically and linguistically, crude enemies. Yes, this new generation of Kurds is an ideological enemy and the most dangerous enemy. This generation believes in himself and in his freedom as well as his ideologies, and a little happening may point obviously to how much this generation is ideological; e.g. one day we have got a letter of love had been sent from a Kurdish young to his Kurdish girl friend; "by the name of great God I swear, if you don't believe I swear with the right of Mulla Mustafa Al-Barzany if you don't believe I swear with our dearest home Kurdistan which we have sacrificed ourselves and lives for it I love you" therefore, the girl surely should believe him since he sward with the dearest home Kurdistan. This is the greatest swearing there, in Al-Jazirah, this generation is ideological and believes in thoughts and home and one of this generation is ready to sacrifice every valuable absolutely for his beliefs, so we propose to change our politics there, to adopt adulating, prevent teaching the new enemies as well as there is no need to a continuous renewing.

### **Regions of Kurdish gathering**

The Kurds live on the northern belt along the Syrian-Turkish boundaries in Al-Jazirah Governorate, deepen into south for about 15-35Km. The region starts from Ras Al-Ayn at the west and extends to the territorial boundaries of Al-Malekias region at the east. The Kurds are so concentrating in the fertilized lands that we can not find among them even a small Arabic pocket, particularly in the

regions of Al-Malekia, Kuboor Al-Baith, Al-Kamishly and Amooda, so they occupied the most fertilized lands which are the most exposed to a higher levels of rains. These levels in Al-Malekia and Al-Kamishly are about (400.500) mm rain annually according to the rains map, while the Arabs live in the southern region of the governorate in which the rain level is a bout 200 mm rain. and this may belongs to the Arabs desires into being close to the civilized life, or to be Eveready for leaving the cities. This northern belt which is occupied by the Kurds contrasted by a similar belt along the boundaries in the Turkish side and also occupied by the Kurds as well as by some Turks.

They are relatives in blood, and one can notice that the Kurdish tribe had been divided into parts; a part lives in Syria, another in Turkey while a similar part lives in Iraq. They are always brothers and cousins or son`s spread in that region and waiting for their hopes to be achieved as well as their golden dream to be achieve homeland Kurdistan!

How we can explain the existence of the best schools with different levels and kinds in the Kurdish regions? The Arabs tribes there had been awakened, so they are now asking urgently to be educated and tough, for this number of learned Arabs there is not more than 3% and often this number due to the rich families or the sons of the tribes leaders or Shaiilhs , but generally the Arabs there are undeveloped culturally and educationally while the Kurds have the nation consciousness and well weapons by science and culture as a future feeding for their struggle, so we have to list the following proposals for those Arab tribes there:

1-Building a large number of schools in the Arab Regions in which they live, and these schools should be in

different levels and kinds as well as supplied with the modern means.

2-These schools should be accompanied by guiding units and popular directing scientifically and culturally.

Sending a large number of poor Arabs younger to study abroad to specialize in different scientific fields according to a well-studied plan on account of the government. This proposal should be for the Arabs only.....etc

3-Building up the higher agricultural institutions in Al-Jazirah for the sons of Arabs only and these institutions should be supplied by modern technological means to achieve and agricultural progress. So we can propose the following proposal concerning the Arabic tribes economics:

4-To give the lands to the Arabic farmers, the lands concluded by the agriculture repairing law in Al-Jazirah, because the Arabs there are the protectors when their lives improved scientifically and educationally.

5-The Arabs there should be provided by the sooner and later, active and serious financial helps.

6-Forming the agricultural societies and common fields for the Arabs only.

7-Building a new modern villages observed by the government in all the Arabs regions to realize the difference between their previous and the present life and thus urging them to work seriously later.

8-They should feel the pressed support by the local authorities which were receipting the leaders of tribes only in previous time to urge them to feel that the government is their own government.



9-Provide them with the agricultural knowledge and prevent that for the communists and richen Arabs.

10-To design a well studied plan concerning with the Arabs to rescue them from what they live in...etc. P26.

### **Document No: 3**

#### **A sample of Judgement**

At the beginning of August 1969, a group of the leaders and members of the Kurdish Radical Democratic Party in Syria, which is now the Kurdish Popular Union Party had been judged by The Higher State Security Court in Damascus. It was the first time in which the national strugglers of Kurds judged by this court for it had been founded originally to look at the top political cases concerning with the state security. The judgement of this court couldn't be appealed or distinguished.

The Public Prosecutor Accusation for the Exceptional Martial Court dated 27/7/1968:

1- Defendants: Authman Sabry Haider (died)

Salah Badruddin Aunmar

Muhammad Hassan Khalil (died)

Muhammad Hato Muhammad

Abdul Hady Abdullatif (died)

They accused of forming a secret society to work and to irritate the ethnic tendencies as well as they accused for acting a prevented political party activities.

2-The Martial Order No 121 in 18/7/1967 included sending the order, which expose the defendants to the exceptional martial court.

3-The legislative order No.47 of 1986 concerning with forming the Higher State Security Court and defining its specialization.

## **The events of the Case:**

The above mentioned defendants are acting among the Kurds and publishing the advertisements which are calling to alive the Kurdish ethnicity to gain the rights of which had been deprived according to their pretence. They call to remove the repression from the Kurds while they hide behind these advertisement to hide their main aim which is could be known as unity the Kurds, and uniform their motto and leadership as well as to link the Kurdish movement in Syria with the other Kurdish movements in the neighbor countries as Iraq, Iran and Turkey. The defendants with others founded The Kurdish Party (The Kurdish Democratic Party) which is formed of the Central Committee at the top and regional committees in addition to the teams and members. The central committees consisted of; Authman Sabry, Salah Badruddin Aumar and another person called Muhammad New had not been followed. The named Salah Badruddin printed the parties principles and program by typing machines and spreaded them among the regions,

teams and spreader them among the regions, teams and members, as well as he contacted with the Kurds Students Society in Europe and supplied them with the lies and advertisements to publish them abroad in addition to write articles to be publicized in the magazine issued by this Society.

The a above mentioned accused persons (defendants) confessed that they are the founders and the leaders of the Party in addition to that the aims of their organization are; the political freedom, prevent hurting a Kurdish person just because he is a Kurdish, the cultural freedom to publish the newspapers and magazines in Kurdish language, teaching the Kurdish language beside the Arabic in the Syrian schools, the social right to found the cooperative societies and the right to establish the Kurdish clubs.

### **The Decisions**

“According to Article No. 197 of the judgement law, paragraph 1,5,8 and 9of the legislative order No. 47 of 1968 concerning with the forming of the higher state security court, and according to the public prosecutor’s request, it is decided to:

-Imprison the defendants Authman Sabry and Salah Badruddin for two years as well as each one should be mulcted in the sum of 200 Lirs

-doing according to the second paragraph of article 308 of the punishment law, both should be imprisoned for two years and mulcted in the sun of 200 Syrian Lirs.

Signature  
The Head

Signature  
Councilor

Signature  
Member

the Judge  
Muhammad Al-Hamad

**Document No: 4**

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**SYRIAN KURDS: SILENCED AND STATELESS**

(New York, Oct. 11, 1996) In Syria:

The Silenced Kurds, released today, Human Rights Watch documents the deplorable situation of the stateless Syrian-born Kurds, and charges that they have been arbitrarily denied the right to Syrian nationality in violation of international law. "These Kurds, who have no claim to a nationality other than Syrian, trapped in Syria. They are treated in a discriminatory fashion in the land of their birth, and do not have the option of relocating to another country because they are not provided with passports or other internationally recognized travel documents," said Eric Cildstein, acting executive director of Human Rights Watch/Middle East. The 63-page report, the third in a series of Human Rights Watch reports on Syria based on information collected during a seven-week mission to last year, includes a detailed response from the government.

There are 142,465 stateless Kurds by the Syrian government's own count (divided into two categories,

"foreigners" and 75,000 *maktoumeen*). Willie Kurdish sources put the number at well over 200,000. According to Human Rights Watch, the exceptional conducted in Hasakeh governorate of northeastern Syria in October 1962 stripped some Kurds-20 percent of the Syrian Kurdish population-of their Syrian citizenship, leaving them stateless. Although the stated purpose of the census was to identify "alien infiltrators" had illegally crossed the border from Turkey, it was one component of a comprehensive to Arabize the resources-rich northeast of Syria, an area with the largest concentration of non-Arabs in the country.

By many accounts, the census was carried out in an arbitrary manner. Human Rights Watch publishes the names of Kurdish men and women, born in Syria in 1935 or earlier, who lost their citizenship as a result of the census and became "foreigners" (*ajanib*, in Arabic) in their own country. These Syrian born "foreigners" have been issued special red identity cards by the Ministry of Interior. They are denied many rights other Syrians enjoy. They are not permitted to own land, housing or businesses. They cannot be employed by government agencies and state-owned enterprises, and cannot practice as doctors or engineers. They are not eligible for food subsidies or admission to public hospitals. They may not legally marry Syrian citizens; if they do, marriages not legally recognized for either the citizen or the "foreigner," and both spouses are described as unmarried on their identity cards. Kurds with "foreigner" status do not have the right to vote in elections or referenda, or run for public office. They are not issued passports or other travel documents, and thus may legally leave or return to Syria.

Due to natural population increase, census of thirty-four years ago has a continuing and ever-widening impact on the lives of Kurds born in towns and villages in northeastern Syria, due to natural population increase. Kurdish sources claim that their government says that this group numbers 67,465. The number of stateless Syrian Kurds has grown since 1962 because the status is inherited by the Syrian-born children of stateless Kurdish fathers.

Human Rights Watch also describes the *maktoumeen* ("unregistered," or "not appearing in the records") a second distinct group of stateless Syrian-born Kurds-including a significant but thus-far undocumented number of children who are in an even more tenuous position than those categorized as "foreigners." Unlike the Kurdish "foreigners," the 75,000 *maktoumeen* are not issued identity cards or listed in official population registers. "One of the major objectives of Human Rights Watch in issuing this report is to publicize internationally the existence of the *maktoumeen*," said Coldstein. "Children inherit *maktoumeen* status from their parents. Due to the high birth rate of the Kurds, the number of *maktoumeen* will grow rapidly over the coming years, as stateless children come of age, marry, and have children of their own."

Kurdish children become *maktoumeen* when one of the following three conditions apply: if they are the children of Sria-born Kurdish "foreigners" who marry women who are Syrian citizens; if one of their parents is a "foreigner" and the other *maktoum* (singular of *maktoumeen*); or if both parents are *maktoumeen*. The children born of these marriages are stateless and, like the Kurdish "foreigners" in

Syria, they too are not issued passports or other documents that can be used to travel abroad re-enter Syria.

In the absence of official identity cards, Human Rights guarantees the right of every person to a nationality, and provides that no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his or her nationality. This right is binding on all nations as a matter of customary international law.

Denial of citizenship to Syrian-born Kurds leaves them in the position of having no passport or other internationally recognized travel document, thus preventing them exercising the right to freedom of movement guaranteed in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which Syria has ratified.

Syria's nationality law differentiates between men and women in terms of their ability under the law to pass on citizenship to their children. According to the law, women can pass on Syrian nationality to their children born in Syria only if the paternity of the child has not been legally established. In contrast, the law states that Syrian nationality is passed on to children born in Syria or outside the country if their father is of Syrian nationality. By restricting the ability of women to pass on Syrian citizenship to their children, the Syrian government violates the international prohibition against gender discrimination found in article 26 of the ICCPR.

The Syrian government's policies and practices with respect to Kurdish children have made stateless children violate international standards that have been codified to protect the rights of children. Syria ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child in June 1993, and is violating based on ethnicity, in violation of the Convention which provides

guarantees to every child of the right to be registered and the right acquire a nationality.

The state's discriminatory treatment of Syrian-born Kurdish children in the area of education violates the provisions of article 28 of the Convention, which guarantees the right of the child to education "on the basis of equality of opportunity".

Human Rights Watch also criticizes the government of Hafez al-Asad for measures that suppress the ethnic identity of Kurdish citizens, such as bans on Kurdish private books written in Kurdish. Suspected Kurdish political activists have been harassed by arbitrary dismissals from educational institutions and jobs at state-owned companies, and prevented from traveling abroad because authorities refused to renew their passports. The report includes the following recommendations:

#### **TO the Syrian Government:**

- Take immediate steps to redress the status of ii Kurds who were born in Syria, and offer citizenship to ii Kurds with strong ties to Syria by reason of birth, marriage, or long residence in the country and who are not otherwise entitled to citizenship in other countries. Such measures iii bring Syria in to compliance with international law, including the UN convention on the Rights of the child, which Syria has signed.

- Restore Syrian nationality to those Kurds and their descendants from whom such nationality was stripped as a result of the special census conducted in 1962 in Hasakeh Governorate



- Take immediate steps to ensure, in particular, that every child born in Syria has the right to acquire a nationality and is not stateless.

- Establish fair, open and transparent administrative and other procedures for restoring and granting citizenship to Syria-born Kurdish residents of the country, and ensure that decisions resting from such administrative or other procedures are subject to judicial review.

- Encourage the National Committee to Monitor the implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the child, which is chaired by the Minister for social Affairs and Labor, to examine the issues raised in this report concerning discrimination against stateless Syrian-born Kurdish children, and investigate in particular the problems of children who are cited as maktou-meen. The National Committee should consider Syrian government ministries in order to bring Syria into compliance with its obligations as a party to the Convention on the Rights of the child.

#### **TO the European Union and Its Member States:**

- The European council of Ministers, the European Commission, and the European parliament should examine violations of the internationally recognized human rights of Syrian Kurdish community

- The European council of Ministers, the European Commission, and the European parliament should vigorously urge Syrian authorities to ensure

that nationality is restored it currently serves Syrian Kurds, including children, and to ensure that Syrian Kurds have the right to freedom of expression and the right to enjoy their own culture and use their own Language, as required under international law.

- Member states should press for the adoption of the recommendations in this report in bilateral and European Union discussion with Syrian government officials. Further, in visits to Syria by European Union officials, the recommendations in this report should be discussed with Syrian officials and pursued with determination.

- The European Council of Ministers and the European Commission should, without any further delay, present the progress report on human rights in Syria to the European Parliament, in accordance with the commitment made by the Commission during the debate on the Fourth Protocol on Financial and Technical Cooperation with Syria in December 1993.

- Member states should show restraint in arms export policy toward until the Assad government makes measurable improvement in its human rights record, including respect for the internationally recognized rights of the Kurdish minority in Syria. Human Rights Watch makes this recommendation based on the common criteria for arms exports agreed to by the European Council in its declaration on Non-Proliferation and Arms Exports issued at its 1991 Luxembourg meeting and in the conclusions of its 1992 Lisbon meeting. These common criteria included respect for human rights on the part of the country of final destination.

To the Clinton Administration:

- Discontinue the policy of public silence concerning the human rights of the Asad government, and direct appropriate U.S.state Department officials to express publicly the U.S.government's concern about continuing human rights abuses in Syria, including violations of the rights of the Kurdish minority.

- Raise the issues outlined in this report with Syrian government officials at the highest levels, and press for the adoption of the recommendations.

- Inform Syrian authorities that measurable progress on these matters will be noted in the U.S. government's assessment of human rights conditions in Syria.



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*\*Syria: the Silenced Kurds is available from the Publications Department, Human Rights Watch, 485 Fifth Avenue, NY, NY10017- 6104 for \$8.40 (domestic shipping) and \$10.00(international shipping). Visa and Master Card accepted.*

**Document No: 5**

**To / The Presidency of national Council  
The Presidency of Prime minister**

Referring to your statement No.508 dated 25/12/1989 which had been sent to us at 6/2/1989 by the state minister of national Council concerning with the question of Mr. Jamil Al-Asad, the member of People Council, about the persons whom deprived of their Syrian nationality in Al-Hasakeh Governorate, we declare the following:

According to the legislative order No. 92 of 1962, a special census had been proceeded for the perpetuation Al-Hasakeh Governarte to treat the resulted position from the foreigners slipping into the region and according to that census it is appeared that there is a large number of the foreigners had been register in the civil records and they are not Syrian Arab Citizens originally, so it had been decided to record them in the foreigners records. The political leadership had looked for their positions in the country to have the suitable decisions taken according to the national benefits. Hopping see that your statement with accom - panied documents. No. 1965-S-35 will be available.

**S-35 in 11/11/1986 Secret**

Some of the workers in the official institutions still using the non arabic languages through their official correspondences as well as with the agents during the

official period of working. Since this behavior is against the orders and instructions concurring with this field, we order all the workers in the official institutions, Banks, companies and their branches.....etc. to give up all the longlegs except the Arabic during the correspondences and dealing with the clients. All the managers are obliged to observe excavation of this order. It should be demand to all the police centers to prevent all the features and phenomena's which are not Arabic like songs and celebrations and to proceed preventing and punishments against the inconsistent.

Al-Hasakeh-11/11/1989

No. 5359.

A Copy to:

-The presidency 3/12/1989

-law judges 14/12/1989 to Reep and declares. And achieve

Signature

Signature

The Judge

The Governor of Al-Hasakeh

Muhammad Mirow

-To the Judge of..... Court in..... to see and take in the procedures.

**Document No:6**

## **Syrian Arab Republic**

### **Ministry of High Education**

687-M According to the decision of Prime Minster No. 1976-1 dated, 19/6/1991. All the students without Syrian nationality (Al-Hasakeh's Foreigners) are forbidden to give them acceptance in all the schools and Institutions in

addition to take care of original aspects concerning education and protect them.

Please, declare this decision in all over the schools and institutions.

Dr. Kamal Sharif  
The Head of High Education  
The Heads of Committee of the Institution

## Document No 7

### To The Branch of General Company of Roads

Al-Haskeh referring to your statement No. 9-970 dated 7/7/1991 in following for our Staten No. 111 467 in 18/10/1991; Don't employ the following listed persons names in your branch:

- 1-Ahmad farina Mahmood
- 2-Muhammad khalil Ahmad
- 3-Adnan Aziz Habow
- 4-Abdulmajid khalil Muhammad
- 5-Abdulmajid Muhammad Ebrahim
- 6-Ebrahim Muhammad Youif
- 7-Ja'afar Husain Husain
- 8-Saleh Authman Authman
- 9-Muhmmad sharif Ebrahim
- 10-Abdulrahman Hasan Muhammad
- 11-Kathem Semow Husain
- 12-Farhan Sulaiman Khalil
- 13-Younis Muhammad Esmail
- 14-Ghaleb Hamzah Murad

- 15-Ahmad Muhammad Alrashow
- 16-Jnil chalaby Hamow
- 17-Ahmad Beajou Aref
- 18-Fares Younis Battal
- 19-Abdullah Khalaf Fares
- 20-Ali Abdulmajid Authman

## **Document No 8**

### **Freedom for the Kurdish Young's & children**

On 15/12/1988, seventeen young pupils had been imprisoned. They were the pupils of Al tali'ha and Teshrin schools in Al Qamishliy city. They have been accused of lifting the Kurdish flag on the roofs of both schools, but it appeared later that the procedure had been achieved by urging of the Security institutions and the governmental private persons to irritate the popular opinion and to show that the Kurds are attempting to separate from Syria and they are going forward announce their own Kurdish state. The in prisoner children had been taken to the Army Security-branch Palestine -which is known as worst security institution. All these kinds and methods of physical harming are practiced there and there are several samples of compulsory repressing during which the prisoners had been exposed for diseases and death according to the reports of Amnesty International .

After many monastery attempts by means the physical harming to strip the confession from those children that they are belonging to a certain Kurdish Party was known as an

oppose against the ethnic compulsion of Kurds. their attempts couldn't getting the confession although some of the children confessed that they have lifted the Kurdish flag indeed to get rid of the physical harming.

They have spent more than two years in the prison of the Army security institutions though they were children, there after they had been changed to the Court, which had judged them by the following punishments.

-seven of the children were punished of six months of imprisonment.

-nine of them, judged by imprisonment two years.

-one had been judged seven years in poisoning

After they have pronounced guilty and that which was not appealable fourteen of them transferred to the prison of (Khalid Ibn Walid) institution for children imprisoning in Qudsia city near the countryside of Damascus, while three of them had been transferred to (Adra) Prison in which there were hundreds of the political prisoners.

During the judicial, the Security regimes tried to disturb their actual ages to make them older than they were to be able to send them all to the prisons to justify deviation the Syrian and international laws and thus we can see how the Syrian Government applies the laws against the Kurds; e.g. one of the prisoners was ten years old, he was the youngest political prisoner in all over the world his name was Ali Dawood who spent two years in martial prison.

We ask Amnesty, Institutions, faculties and all the organizations belong to United Nations, whether independent or non governmental, which are taking care of



the human rights and specialized in taking care of the children and young's to send their delegator to Syria to inquest these information's and declare it for the world opinion as well as we demand them to entree to deliver the rest of those above mentioned children prisoners in the previous list in addition to work for supporting the Kurdish People in Syria and its justice case by all the means to have the Kurdish national rights as a people has the right of destination to achieve the solidarity's of living and peace for the Kurds in Syria.

**The Kurdish Popular Union Party  
In Syria. Abroad Organization**

## The Prisoners Names List & details

Full Name	Birthdate	Punish- ment	Details
1- Qutbuddin Ali David	1978	2years	Khalid ibnelwaliaad institution Prison
2- Jewan Muhammad Ali Temow	1978	2years	Prison of khalid ibnelwalia
3- Raid Abbas Abdy	1978	2 years	Prison. Dito
4- Edris Abbas Abdow	1978	7years	Prison Adra
5- Muhammad Saeed Hasan	1978	2years	Prison Dito
6- Dashin Amin Herow	1978	Dito	Dito
7- Ahmad Ali Dawood	1978	Dito	Free after 2 years of inqur
8- Abdulsattar yousif	1978	6mont hs	Dito
9- Muhammad Salim Hasan	1978	Dito	Dito
10- Zenar yousif	1978	Dito	Dito
11- Shaikhmos Zaem Hamow	1978	Dito	Dito
12- Zahrudin Said wahab	1978	Dito	Dito
13- Ali Abbas	1978	Dito	Dito
14- Ahmad Fakhrudin	1978	Dito	Dito
15- Bassam Bashir Alali	1978	2 years	Dito
16- Aham Noori Alali	1978	Dito	Dito
17- Ragheb Ramathan	1978	Dito	Dito

## **Document No.9**

# **Human Rights Wach/ Middle East Report of Oct,1996**

## **SUMMARY**

Kurds are the largest non-Arab ethnic minority in Syria, comprising about 8.5 to 10 percent of the population of 13.8 million. This report documents the situation of stateless Syrian-born Kurds --142,465 by the government's count, and well over 200,000 according to Kurdish sources - - who have been arbitrarily denied the right to Syrian nationality in violation of international law. These Kurds, who have no claim to a nationality other than Syrian, are literally trapped in Syria: not only are they treated in a discriminatory fashion in the land of their birth, but also they do not have the option of relocating to another country because they lack passports or other internationally recognized travel documents. This report also examines policies and practices of the Syrian government that violate the right of Kurds in Syria to enjoy their own culture use their own language, and otherwise exercise freedom of expression, also in violation of international human rights standards. These issues have received little international attention.

In 1962, an exceptional census stripped some 120,000 Syrian Kurds --20 percent of the Syrian Kurdish population -

- of their Syrian citizenship. They were left stateless, and with no claim to another nationality. Decree No.93, issued in August 1962, ordered that a census be carried out in Hasakeh governorate in northeastern Syria for the purpose of identifying "alien infiltrators." The stated purpose of this census was to discover how many people had illegally crossed the border from Turkish Kurdistan. Kurds had to prove that they had lived in Syria at least since 1945 or lose any claim to Syrian citizenship. The census was one component of a comprehensive plan to Arabize the resources-rich northeast of Syria, an area with the largest concentration of non-Arabs in the country.

By many accounts, the special census was carried out in an arbitrary manner. Brothers from the same family, born in the same Syrian village, were classified differently. Fathers became foreigners while their sons remained citizens. Kurds who had served in the Syrian army lost citizenship while families who bribed officials kept theirs. This report includes the names of Kuridsh men and women, born in Syria in 1935 or earlier, who lost their citizenship as a result of the census and became "foreigners" (ajanib, in Arabic) in their own country. According to Syrian lawyers, as a result of the census "thousands of people went to sleep as Syrians and woke up to find that they no longer were [citizens]."

Since these Syrian Kurds did not -- and do not -- have citizenship in another country, they are stateless as a matter of international law. They have been issued special red identity cards by the Ministry of Interior and, pursuant to discriminatory state policy, are denied many rights which other Syrians enjoy, such as the right to vote, the right to

own property, and the right to have marriages legally recognized. They are not entitled to passports and thus cannot exercise the internationally guaranteed right to freedom of movement and to legally leave and return to their own country (Syria). Kurdish sources say that there are now an estimated 200,000 Kurds in Syria who are officially classified as a special category of "foreigners." The Syrian government informed Human Rights Watch in July 1996 that the number is 67,465.

The census of Thirty-four years ago in Hasakeh governorate has a continuing and ever-widening impact on the lives of Kurds born in towns and villages in northeastern Syria, due to natural population increase. The number of stateless Syrian Kurds has grown since 1962 because the status is inherited by the Syrian-born children of stateless Kurdish fathers. One Kurdish resident of Hasakeh governorate told us that when his father, who was born in Syria, lost his nationality in the 1962 census he and his three brothers -- all born in Syria -- became "foreigners" as well. The four brothers have since married, and their thirty-three children, all born in Hasakeh governorate, are not Syrian citizens. In Darbasiyyah, located west of Qamishli, there are approximately 59,000 Kurdish residents in the town and its 200 surrounding villages, according to a well-informed local source. He told us that 20 percent of the Kurdish residents -- some 12,000 people -- are not Syrian citizens although they were born in the country.

Syrian-born Kurds with "foreigner" identity cards face tremendous difficulties in their everyday lives. They are not permitted to own land, housing or businesses. They cannot be employed at government agencies and state-owned

enterprises, and cannot practice as doctors or engineers. They are not eligible for food subsidies or admission to public hospitals. They may not legally marry Syrian citizens: if they do, the marriages are not legally recognized for either the citizen or the "foreigner." and both spouses are described as unmarried on their identity cards. Kurds with "foreigner" status do not have the right to vote in elections or referenda, or run for public office. They are not issued passports or other travel documents, and thus may not legally leave or return to Syria. "When you live it, you cannot believe that it is happening to you," one Kurdish "foreigner" who was born in northeastern Syria in 1952 told Human Rights Watch..

Another group of stateless Syrian-born Kurds including a significant but thus--far undocumented number of children -- are in an even more tenuous position than those categorized as "foreigners" because they are not issued identity cards and are not listed in official population registers. The Arabic word used in Syria to refer to these Kurds is *nraaktoumeen* ("unregistered "or "not appearing in the records"), following the terminology that is used to describe them in documents issued by Syrian government ministries.

One of the major objectives of Human Rights Watch in issuing this report is to publicize internationally the existence of the *maktoumeen*. According to information provided by the Syrian government to Human Rights Watch in July 1996, there are 75 000 stateless Kurds with this classification. Children "inherit" *maktoumeen* status from their parents under certain conditions, as explained below. Due to the high birth rate of Kurds, particularly in villages in Hasakeh governorate where families of six or more children

are not uncommon, the number of *maktoumeen* will grow rapidly over the coming years, as children with this status come of age, marry, and have children of their own.

Kurdish children become *maktoumeen* when one of the following three conditions apply: if they are the children of Syria-born Kurdish "foreigners" who marry women who are Syrian citizens; if one of their parents is a "foreigner" and the other *maktoum* (singular of *maktoumeen*); or if both parents are *maktoumeen*. Like Kurdish "foreigners" in Syria, the children born of these marriages are not issued passports or other documents that can be used to travel abroad and re-enter Syria. State policies with respect to Syrian-born Kurdish children who are *maktoumeen* contradict the assurances provided by the Syrian government to the U.N. Committee on the Rights of the Child. The government's 1996 report to the committee stated that all children in Syria are treated in nondiscriminatory fashion:

The law protects Syrian and all other children residing in the territory of the state, regardless of race, origin, religion or nationality and without any discrimination between them. No case of discrimination in regard to this protection has ever been reported in Syria.

Syrian children enjoy the same rights without discriminatory treatment on grounds such as race, origin, language or religion. They are treated equally at school and in the various institutions concerned with the welfare and protection of children. They all benefit from the same rights, privileges and services provided by the State.

In the absence of official identity cards, parents of *maktoumeen* are forced into nightmarish procedures simply to ensure that there is some form of written documentation

of the identities of their children. Kurdish sources in northeast Syria told Human Rights Watch that children who are *maktoumeen* cannot be admitted to school without the approval of Political Security, one of Syria's internal security forces. One man pointed to his young daughter and said: "It took me twenty-nine days, going to the police area director, to the security apparatus, to the birth registration office, just to register her for first grade." The process of obtaining permission from the intelligence service for young children to attend school can also bring on harassment and pressure on the male head of household from the local security apparatus.

The Syrian government informed Human Rights Watch in July 1996 that *maktoumeen* "are accepted [for admission] in all schools." But based on information that we received, it appears that the *maktoumeen* are treated in a discriminatory fashion and have only limited use of the state education system. After children in Syria complete the first six years of school, they go on to a three-year program of study. After the completion of grades seven to nine, children take an examination and are issued a diploma from the education department, which is required in order to begin the next three years of secondary school, grades ten to twelve. The *maktoumeen*, however, are not permitted to study beyond the ninth grade, according to testimony that we obtained, because they are issued inferior documents by the education ministry that are not officially recognized. The government did not respond to our written request for information about the procedures that must be used to enroll *maktoumeen* children in state primary intermediate and secondary schools.



## International Human Rights Standards

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantees the right of every person to a nationality, and provides that no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his or her nationality. This right is binding on all nations as a matter of customary international law. The Syrian government's denial of citizenship to Syrian-born Kurdish men, women and children with no claim to another nationality is a clear case of discrimination based solely on ethnicity and gender and a flagrant violation of international human rights standards. These stateless Kurds have no basis for claiming citizenship anywhere other than Syria, yet the government has denied them the right to a nationality.

Denial of citizenship to Syrian-born Kurds leaves them in the position of having no passport or other internationally recognized travel document, thus preventing them from exercising the right to freedom of movement guaranteed in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which Syria has ratified. Freedom of movement includes the right to leave any country, including one's own, and the right to enter one's own country. Without passports or other travel documents, stateless Kurds -- the "foreigners" and the *maktoumeen* alike -- are unable to exercise these rights.

Syrian-born men with "foreigner" status may not legally marry Syrian citizens; if they do, the marriages are not legally recognized and both spouses are described as unmarried on their identity cards. The Syrian government confirmed this policy, writing the following to Human

Rights Watch in July 1996: "[I]n the case that a Syrian female should have the audacity to marry any foreigner, whether he is a foreigner or Hasakeh [governorate] or elsewhere, that marriage is considered illegal. As a result neither it nor the children that ensue will be registered in the civil registers." This policy is a violation of Article 23 of the ICCPR, which states in its pertinent part: "The right of men and women of marriageable age to marry and found a family shall be recognized."

The state policy of refusing to register children born of marriages between Syrian Kurdish "foreigners" and Syrian citizens, between Syrian Kurdish foreigners" and Syrian-born *maktoumeen*, and between Syrian-born niaktoumeen also violates international human rights standards. Lastly, the *maktoumeen* are not provided with legally recognized identity documents. This is a clear violation of Article 26 of the ICCPR, which states: The law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

Syria's nationality law differentiates between men and women in terms of their ability under the law to pass on citizenship to their children. According to the law, women can pass on Syrian nationality to their children born in Syria only if the paternity of the child has not been legally established. In contrast, the law states that Syrian nationality is passed on to children born in Syria or outside the country if their father is of Syrian nationality. By restricting the ability of women -- but not men -- to pass on Syrian

citizenship to their children, the Syrian government violates the international prohibitions against gender discrimination found in Article 26 of the ICCPR.

The Syrian government's policies and practices with respect to Kurdish children it has made stateless violate international standards that have been codified to protect the rights of children. Syria ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child in June 1993, and is violating its provisions systematically. The denial of Syrian nationality to Kurdish children born in Syria is a blatant case of discrimination based on ethnicity, in violation of the Convention, which provides guarantees to every child to the right to be registered and the right to acquire a nationality. Kurdish children born in Syria -- some of them classified as "foreigners," and others as *maktoumeen* -- are singled out solely because of their status as members of the Kurdish ethnic minority.

In cases where authorities stripped Syrian-born Kurdish children of their nationality, such as in the aftermath of the 1962 special census conducted in Hasakeh governorate the government is in violation of Article 8 of the Convention, which states:

1. States Parties undertake to respect the right of the child to preserve his or her identity, including nationality, name and family relations as recognized by law without unlawful interference.
2. Where a child is illegally deprived of some or all of the elements of his or her identity, States Parties shall provide appropriate assistance and protection, with a view to speedily re-establishing his or her identity.

The state's discriminatory treatment of Syrian-born

Kurdish children in the area of education violates the provisions of Article 23 of the Convention, which guarantees the right of the child to education "on the basis of equal opportunity." The issuance of inferior documents to the *maktoumeen*, upon their successful completion of compulsory public school examinations, is a clear case of discrimination based on ethnic and legal status.

The Syrian government's obligations under international law require it to initiate legal and administrative reforms to remedy the numerous violations of the rights of stateless Kurdish children.

## **Suppression of Ethnic Identity**

International human rights law provides ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities in every country the right to equal protection of the law without discrimination, and the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language. Syrian authorities violate these international standards with impunity through the use of discriminatory laws, decrees and directives that are applied only to the Kurdish minority.

Suppression of the ethnic identity of Kurds by Syrian authorities has taken many forms. Restrictions have included: various bans on the use of the Kurdish language; refusal to register children with Kurdish names; replacement of Kurdish place names with new names in Arabic; prohibition of businesses that do not have Arabic names; not permitting Kurdish private schools; and the prohibition of books and other materials written in Kurdish.

Syrian Kurds also complained to Human Rights Watch

about other forms of state-sponsored or state-sanctioned discrimination. They claimed that Kurds are not accepted in Syria's military colleges, and pointed out that it is extremely rare for a Kurd to be appointed a judge or prosecutor. In the last few years, it reportedly has become increasingly difficult for Kurds to gain admission to the country's three medical schools.

Syrian authorities have also harassed suspected Kurdish political activists and, in arbitrary fashion, have dismissed them from their jobs at state-owned companies and from educational institutions where they were studying. Kurds, including well-known political leaders, have been prevented from traveling abroad because authorities have refused to renew their passports.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

To the Syrian Government:

Take immediate steps to redress the stateless status of all Kurds who were born in Syria, and offer citizenship to all Kurds with strong ties to Syria by reason of birth, marriage, or long residence in the country and who are not otherwise entitled to citizenship in other countries. Such measures will bring Syria into compliance with international law, including the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, which Syria has signed.

Restore Syrian nationality to those Kurds and their descendants from whom such nationality was stripped as a result of the special census conducted in 1962 in Hasakeh governorate.

Take immediate steps to ensure, in particular, that every child born in Syria has the right to acquire a nationality and is not stateless.

Establish fair, open and transparent administrative and other procedures for restoring and granting citizenship to Syria-born Kurdish residents of the country, and ensure that decisions resulting from such administrative or other procedures are subject to judicial review.

Encourage the National Committee to Monitor the Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which is chaired by the Minister for Social Affairs and Labor, to examine the issues raised in this report concerning discrimination against stateless Syrian-born Kurdish children, and investigate in particular the problems of children who are classified as *maktoumeen*. The National Committee should consider the recommendations made in this report, and should make its own recommendations to appropriate Syrian government ministries in order to bring Syria into compliance with its obligations as a party to the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Review all government decrees and directives that apply uniquely to the Kurdish minority in Syria, and abolish discriminatory decrees and directives that are in violation of international law. Ensure that Kurdish residents of Syria, citizens and stateless alike, are protected against discrimination on grounds such as race, language, political or other opinion, and national or social origin, as required under international law.

Ensure that Syria's Kurds have the right to enjoy their own culture and use their own language, and the right to

freedom of expression, including the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas orally, in writing and through any other media, as required under international law: Abolish all laws and administrative decrees and directives that restrict the enjoyment of these rights.

Release all prisoners in Syria who are detained or serving sentences solely because they exercised the right to freedom of expression and freedom of association. If charged with a recognizable criminal offense, they are entitled to a prompt and fair trial in which their due process rights are safeguarded.

### **To the European Union and Its Member States:**

The European Council of Ministers, the European Commission, and the European Parliament should examine violations of the internationally recognized human rights of Syria's Kurdish minority by Syrian authorities, including the purposeful creation of statelessness in the Syrian Kurdish community.

The European Council of Ministers, the European Commission, and the European Parliament should vigorously urge Syrian authorities to ensure that nationality is restored to all currently stateless Syrian

Kurds, including children, and to ensure that Syrian Kurds have the right to freedom of expression and the right to enjoy their own culture and use their own language, as required under international law.

Member states should press for the adoption of the recommendations in this report in bilateral and European

Union discussion with Syrian government officials. Further, in visits to Syria by European Union officials, the recommendations in this report should be discussed with Syrian officials and pursued with determination.

The European Council of Ministers and the European Commission should, without any further delay, present the progress report on human rights in Syria to the European Parliament, in accordance with the commitment made by the Commission during the debate on the Fourth Protocol on financial and technical cooperation with Syria in December 1993.

Member states should show restraint in arms export policy toward Syria until the Asad government makes measurable improvement in its human rights record, including respect for the internationally recognized rights of the Kurdish minority in Syria. Human Rights Watch makes this recommendation based on the common criteria for arms exports agreed to by the European Council in its Declaration on Non-proliferation and Arms Exports issued at its 1991 Luxembourg meeting and in the conclusions of its 1992 Lisbon meeting. These common criteria include respect for human rights on the part of the country of final destination.

## **To the Clinton Administration:**

Discontinue the policy of public silence concerning the human rights record of the Asad government, and direct appropriate U.S. State Department officials to express publicly the U.S. government's concern about continuing human rights abuses in Syria, including violations of the



rights of the Kurdish ethnic minority.

Raise the issues outlined in this report with Syrian government officials at the highest levels, and press for the adoption of the report's recommendations.

Encourage the Syrian government to take the appropriate legal and administrative measures to ensure that nationality is restored to all stateless Syrian-born Kurds, including children.

Encourage the Syrian government to take the appropriate legal and administrative measures to ensure that the Syrian Kurds enjoy the right to equal protection of the law without discrimination, the right to freedom of expression and association, and the right to enjoy their own culture and use their own language, as required under international law.

Inform Syrian authorities that measurable progress on these matters will be noted in the U.S. government's assessment of human rights conditions in Syria.

### **To the United Nations Human Rights Committee:**

Request from Syria an urgent report on the status of stateless Syrian-born Kurds with respect to the government's compliance with Articles 12, 24 and 26 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

### **To the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child:**

Consider the information presented in this report during the Committee's working group meeting in October, 1996



## INTRODUCTION

By measures of religion and ethnicity, the Syrian Arab Republic is a heterogeneous society. The country's religious groups include Sunni and Shi'a Muslims, 'Alawis, Druzes, Christians of various confessions, and a tiny community of Jews. The major non-Arab ethnic minorities are Kurds, Armenians and Circassians. Syria is also home to 334,870 Palestinians who were officially registered as refugees with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) as of June 1995.

Kurds are the largest non-Arab ethnic minority in Syria.' Their native tongue is Kurdish an Indo-European language that is part of the Indo-Iranian subgroup which includes Farsi. Most Kurds are followers of the Sunni Muslim faith although a large minority belong to Shi'a Muslim sects, and smaller numbers are non-Muslim Yazidis. The largest concentration of Kurds in Syria is Hasakeh governorate in the northeastern part of the country. Aleppo governorate in the northwest is also home to a significant number of Kurds particularly in and around 'Ayn al-'ArAb, and in Afrin and its surrounding villages (an area known in Kurdish as *KrirdDagft* or 'Kurdish Mountain).<sup>2</sup> Kurds also reside in the cities of Damascus, Aleppo, and Latakia, a port on the Mediterranean coast where thousands trace their roots back to the time of Salah al-Din.<sup>3</sup>

There are no reliable statistics on the total number of Kurds in Syria, although credible sources place the number of Kurds at 8.5 percent to 10 percent of the population of 13.8 million.<sup>4</sup> The Syrian government informed Human

Rights Watch in July 1996 that it has no information about the total number of Kurds in Syria. The provisions of the Constitution as specified in Article 25...stipulate that all citizens are equal under the law as concerns their rights and duties. Therefore, no governmental institution in Syria differentiates between Syrian citizens and non-citizens, Kurds or others. It is not feasible for this reason to know what the number of Syrian Kurds is by means of civil registers or population censuses, and it is impossible to provide any figures as to their numbers."<sup>5</sup>

Despite the hundreds of thousands of Kurds in Syria, their presence sometimes goes unmentioned in descriptions of Kurds in the region.<sup>6</sup> Kurdish political activists believe that the number of Kurds in Syria is systematically underestimated, and point out that tens of thousands of Kurds lost Syrian citizenship pursuant to an exceptional government census in 1962 in Hasakeh governorate.

This report focuses on the stateless Syrian-born Kurds 142,465 by the Syrian government's count, and well over 200,000 according to Kurdish sources -- who have been arbitrarily denied the right to Syrian nationality. The overwhelming majority of them, stripped of their citizenship over thirty years ago in the controversial 1962 census, are forced to live in the country of their birth as "foreigners" (*ajanib*, in Arabic). Since these Kurds did not -- and do not -- have citizenship in another country, they are stateless as a matter of international law. They have been issued special red identity cards by the Ministry of Interior and, pursuant to discriminatory state policy, are denied many rights which other Syrians enjoy, such as the right to vote, the right to own property, and the right to have marriages legally

recognized. They are not entitled to passports and thus cannot exercise the internationally guaranteed right to freedom of movement and legally leave the country. It is estimated that there are now some 200,000 Kurds in Syria who are officially classified as "foreigners." But the Syrian government informed Human Rights Watch in July 1996 that the number is significantly lower: 67,465 as of October 31, 1995.

Another group of stateless Syrian-born Kurds -- including a significant but thus-far undocumented number of children -- are in an even more tenuous position than those categorized as foreigners because they are not issued identity cards and are not listed in official population registers. The Arabic word used in Syria to refer to them is *makiourneen* ("unregistered" or "not appearing in the records"), following the terminology that is used to describe them in documents issued by Syrian government ministries.<sup>7</sup> Children "inherit the status from their parents, under certain conditions."<sup>8</sup> Due to the high birth rate of Kurds, particularly in villages in Hasakeh governorate where families of six or more children are not uncommon, the number of *maktoumeen* will grow rapidly over the coming years, as children come of age, marry, and have children of their own. Two European embassies estimated the number of Kurdish *maktoumeen* at 22,000 in 1994, but the Syrian government informed Human Rights Watch in July 1996 that the number of non-registered "foreigners" in Hasakeh governorate was approximately 75,000 in 1995.

The issue of the stateless Kurds in Syria has received little international attention. The U.S. Department of State, for example, devoted only two sentences to this subject in its

annual country report on human rights conditions in Syria, issued in March 1996:

Although the Government stopped the practice of stripping Syrian Kurds of their Syrian nationality (some 120,000 lost their nationality under this program in the 1960's), it has never restored this nationality. As a result, the offspring of those who had lost their citizenship have been unable to obtain passports or identification cards.

This brief commentary regrettably provides an incomplete picture of the stateless Kurds in Syria. It neglects to mention the two categories of stateless Kurds -- foreigners and *maktoumeen* -- and the practical consequences that

result from such classifications by authorities. Human Rights Watch/Middle East urges the U.S State Department, in next year's report, to include detailed information about the legal and practical problems faced by Syrian-born Kurds who have been made stateless by their government based solely on two arbitrary factors: their ethnicity and their residence in Hasakeh governorate.

## **DENIAL OF A NATIONALITY**

In 1962, an exceptional census stripped an estimated 120,000 Syrian Kurds 20 percent of the Syrian Kurdish population of their Syrian citizenship. Decree No.93, signed in August 1962 by then--president of the republic Nazim al-Qudsi ordered that a census be conducted of all persons residing in Hasakeh govern- orate in northeastern Syria. According to the Syrian government, the purpose of the census was to identify Kurds who in 1945 "began to infiltrate into Syria, settled in towns along the Syrian-

Turkish border, and illegally registered with authorities and obtained Syrian identity cards. The influx was such that Kurds "began to constitute the majority" in towns such as Malikiyyah and 'Amoudeh the government reported. Thus, the purpose of the census was to purge the governorate's registers...so that they would contain only the registrations of those whose Syrian citizenship could be established and eliminate the alien infiltrators (*al-niwasallilitz al-'aghraab*).<sup>9</sup> Residents of Hasakeh determined to be Syrian citizens were entered in new population registers; others were registered as "foreigners" in a special register. The census served, in effect, as a sweeping mechanism to disenfranchise large numbers of Syrian Kurds and their descendants.

### **Background: Arabization Initiatives in Northeastern Syria**

The 1962 census was one component of a comprehensive plan to Arabize the Kurdish northeast of Syria along the Turkish-Syrian border.<sup>10</sup> "The government wanted to eliminate 150,000 Kurds and bring in Arab settlers," a Kurdish political activist in Hasakeh told us. "It wanted to force the Kurds to leave the governorate, which was 70 to 80 percent Kurdish. Beginning in 1973, they moved Arab settlers to the border area with Turkey." This "Arab belt" (*al-hizam al-'arabi*, in Arabic) was some ten to fifteen kilometers wide and 375 kilometers long, from Ras al'Ayn east to Malikiyyah near the Syria-Iraq border.<sup>11</sup>

Northeastern Syria is rich in resources, particularly the fertile plain known as the Jazira, bounded on the east and west by the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, respectively.<sup>12</sup>

"This area produces two sources of hard currency for Syria," a Kurdish engineer told us. "Petrol, and about 80 percent of the cotton and grains. But the money is spent elsewhere, not here."<sup>13</sup> Western diplomats have also noted that the state sought to depopulate the area of its Kurdish residents, and have suggested that its oil reserves may have been a contributing factor in this decision-making.<sup>14</sup> Another apparent concern was the fact that the Jazira has the largest population of non-Arabs in Syria.<sup>15</sup>

The Arab Belt initiative included the expropriation of prime Kurdish land as part of a national agrarian reform plan, and the settlement of Syrian Arabs in model villages that each contained 150 to 200 homes.<sup>16</sup> Kurdish residents resented the state's favorable treatment of the settlers. A Kurdish engineer from the area said this:

The government built them homes for free gave them weapons, seeds and fertilizer and created agricultural banks that provided loans. From 1973 to 1975, forty-one villages were created in this strip, beginning ten kilometers west of Ras al-Ayn. The idea was to separate Turkish and Syrian Kurds and to force Kurds in the area to move away to the cities. Any Arab could settle in Hasakeh, but no Kurd was permitted to move and settle there.<sup>17</sup>

The settlement campaign was halted by President Hafez al-Asad in 1976 according to Fouad Ah Kuh of the Democratic Unity Party in Syria, but the status quo was not reversed.<sup>18</sup> Not all of the Arab settlers remained permanently in the area, according to Kurdish sources. "There are two types of settlers: those who stayed, really integrated and now speak Kurdish, and the temporary residents who do not invest here are not comfortable here, and live here only



during the planting and the harvest" the engineer noted. Kurds claim, however, that until now the government inflates population statistics for the Arab villages along the border while underestimating the number of Kurdish residents.

### **The 1962 Census and Its Consequences**

Decree No.93 specified that the village-by-village census in Hasakeh governorate be conducted in one day, on October 5, 1962. According to Syrian lawyers, "the committees of the census traveled all over the governorate and surveyed every person they found .... All the survey lists were collected, and a special committee was established [to determine who had the right to Syrian citizenship]. The result was that thousands of people went to sleep as Syrians and woke up to find that they no longer were [citizens]."<sup>19</sup>

Abu Cheto, a Syrian Kurd who was born in a village in Hasakeh governorate, as was his father, described his memories of the census and how he became a foreigner in the country of his birth:

They registered the names of everyone in each house -- the mother, the father, and all the children.

They made a list and sent it to Damascus. When the list came back, most of us became foreigners.

My father lost his Syrian nationality as a result of the census.<sup>20</sup>

By many accounts the special census was carried out in an arbitrary manner. Brothers from the same families, born in the same Syrian villages, were classified differently.

Fathers became foreigners while their sons remained citizens. Kurds who had served in the Syrian army lost citizenship while families who bribed officials kept theirs. The decree authorizing the census required Kurdish residents to prove that they had lived in Syria at least since 1945. The names follow of four Kurdish couples, all born in Syria in 1935 or earlier, who lost their citizenship as a result of the census. These men and women have twenty-five children between them all born in Syria between 1955 and 1983.<sup>21</sup> All the children are officially registered as "foreigners."

- Ahmad Umar, born in 1925 in Qamishli, and his wife Zayni, born in 1935 in 'Amudah, are both "foreigners." They now live in Salihyya village; their six children, all born in Salihyya between 1960 and 1970, are "foreigners." The names of the children are: 'Abd al-Rahman, Nura, 'Atiyya, Hureen, Hassan and Husayn.

- 'Abd al-Rahman Shaykh Mousa, born in Khas in 1905, and his wife Hanifa Khalil, also born in Khas, are registered as "foreigners." Their two children, Kasouma, born in Salihyya in 1955, and Ramziyya, born in Salihyya in 1958, are also registered as "foreigners."

- Majid Hassu, born in Salihyya in 1915, and his wife Shaha Hassan, born in Salihyya in 1925, are registered as "foreigners." Their nine children, all born in Salihyya between 1955 and 1972, are also registered as "foreigners." The names of the children are: Dhiyab, Husayn, Yusut Khalil, Ubayda, Ahmad, Fatima, Muhammed and Hamdiyya.

Farhan Mahmoud Ibrahim, born in Sa'diyya village in 1935, and his wife Sultana Husayn Muhammed, born in Sa'diyya

in 1945, are registered as "foreigners," as are their eight children, all of whom were born in Sa'diyya between 1965 and 1983. The names of the children are: Uthman, Sulayman, Amina, Badr al-Din, Fatima, Haj Ira, Haval, and 'Abd al-Rahim.

Syrian lawyers, providing an explanation of why long-term residents of Syria who were born in the country lost their citizenship, have argued that authorities made the period for challenging an individual denationalization inexplicably and unreasonably brief:

Some of them succeeded in getting their Syrian citizenship back when they proved their citizenship through the tax records that used to be imposed on Syrians during the Ottoman-Turkish colonization.

After a short period, these records were sealed by the government, and the Central Committee for Statistics was cancelled, and in this way the possibility of regaining Syrian citizenship was sealed again in their faces, for reasons that are not clear.

In his answer regarding the Central Committee for Statistics that was specific to [Hasakeh] governorate, the interior minister said at the parliament session on November 3, 1992, that "the mission of the committee was completed, because it handled what it handled and confirmed what it confirmed, and did not confirm what it was not eligible to confirm." This answer was not convincing or clear because it obscures the fate of tens of thousands who do not have citizenship, (yet) have lived in this country for tens of years.<sup>22</sup>

The Syrian government acknowledged to Human Rights Watch that the census results contained

errors"including the registration of a large number of persons of Syrian Arab origin as foreigners and the registration of others who do not have Syrian Arab nationality as Syrian." But it also pointed out that those individuals who were incorrectly registered had the right of appeal. According to the government, "[a]s a result of the investigation of these protests and successive extensions of the deadline for their submission, the number of those registered as foreigners decreased from 84 000 persons in 1966 to 40,587 in 1986.<sup>23</sup>

The number of Syrian-born Kurdish "foreigners" has grown since 1962 because children inherit the "foreigner" status of their fathers, even if their mothers are Syrian citizens.<sup>24</sup> One Kurdish resident of Hasakeh governorate told us that when his father, who was born in Syria, lost his nationality in the 1962 census, he and his three brothers -- all born in Syria -- became "foreigners" as well. The four brothers have since married, and their thirty-three children, all born in Hasakeh governorate, are not Syrian citizens.<sup>25</sup> In Darb-asiyyah, located west of Qamishli, there are approximately 59,000 Kurdish residents in the town and its 200 surrounding villages, according to a well-informed local source. He told us that 20 percent of the Kurdish residents -- some 12,000 people -- are not Syrian citizens although they were born in the country.<sup>26</sup>

These Kurds, and others like them who have no claim to a nationality other than Syrian, are literally trapped in Syria: not only are they treated in a discriminatory fashion in the land of their birth, but also they do not have the option of relocating to another country because they lack passports or other internationally recognized travel documents

Additional Syrian-born Kurds have been denationalized in an arbitrary manner since the 1962 census, although apparently in much smaller numbers. Citizenship was reportedly removed from a group of Kurds in 1973, and others have reportedly been stripped of their citizenship since this time. "We do not know the exact number, but it was at least in the hundreds," said one of our Kurdish sources in the northeast. A Kurd who had completed his

compulsory military service, and then served with distinction in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war after he was called up for reserve duty, learned that his name was listed as a foreigner "while he still had the rifle on his shoulder," a friend reported. "If it was not for his fear of the security forces, he would have been here wearing his medal of honor to talk to you," he said. He also recounted the case of a neighbor who lost his citizenship after he graduated from one of the best universities in Syria two or three years ago:

Soon after his graduation, they pulled his identity card without reasons or excuse. He ended up

losing himself. From a university degree, he has dropped down to repairing shoes. He has evidence: a family book, papers, documents -- to prove that he is a citizen, but it did not help.<sup>27</sup>

Syrian defense lawyers argued to the state security court in 1994 that "the stateless [Kurds] have been and still [are] suffering from exhausting circumstances and difficult conditions." Indeed, the consequences of the special census of thirty-two years ago have been severe for those who were denationalized and their children, as explained below. There are two categories of stateless Syrian Kurds: the "foreigners" and the *maktoumeen*.

## The Kurdish "Foreigners"

The Kurds in Hasakeh governorate who were stripped of their citizenship in 1962 were provided with a simple white piece of paper that read: "He had no name available in the registration lists of Syrian Arabs specific to Hasakeh." We saw one of these documents, which a stateless Kurd who lives in Qamishli still keeps among his personal papers. Beginning in 1980, according to information we obtained, these papers were replaced by special red identity cards issued by the Civil Affairs Administration of the Ministry of Interior. We also saw these new identity cards. The card makes clear that its bearer is not a Syrian Arab, and states that the card cannot be used for travel abroad.

The front of the card includes a photograph of the bearer on the left and a number and date on the right. Underneath is the bearer's name, family name, names of parents, place and date of birth, marital status, place and number of registration, and date of registration. Below this information is the following statement: "There is no name available for him as a result of the census of 1962." Next to the photograph of the bearer of the card is this statement: "Not applicable for travel outside the country." The reverse side of the card includes the following text:

The mentioned person has no registration in the registration of Syrian Arabs in Hasakeh Governorate as a result of the 1962 census, and on demand a copy of the above registration was registered in the registry of foreigners in that governorate.

This statement is dated, and signed by the head of the

civil administration of the ministry of interior in the locality nearest the bearer's place of residence. The official signature is accompanied by a circular official stamp that reads:

**Ministry of Interior**  
**Civil Affairs Administration in [name of city or town]**  
**General Directorate of Civil Status**

The Syrian government has stated that restrictions applied to other foreigners in Syria do not apply to the Kurds who are registered as "foreigners" in Hasakeh governorate, and that the Kurds "exercise the rights and undertake the activities that are in principle confined to Syrian citizens."<sup>28</sup> The government's statement that these Syrian Kurds can in effect exercise the rights of citizens is to be welcomed as an acknowledgment of the inequity of their nominal status of "foreigner." However, the practical restrictions imposed on them continue to be extraordinary. Kurds interviewed by Human Rights Watch disputed vigorously that they had the rights of other Syrians, noting that individuals who carry the special red "foreigner" identity cards face tremendous difficulties in their everyday lives:

- They are not permitted to own land, housing or businesses, a fact which the government does not dispute.<sup>29</sup>
- They are not eligible for food subsidies<sup>10</sup> or admission to public hospitals.
- They cannot be employed at government agencies and state-owned enterprises, although the government maintains that this is not the case.<sup>31</sup>
- They cannot practice as doctors or engineers, a claim also disputed by the government.<sup>32</sup>

- They do not have the right to vote in elections or referenda, or run for public office.
- They are not issued passports or other travel documents, and thus may not legally leave or return to Syria as a matter of right. The government provided Human Rights Watch with additional information about the restrictions on freedom of movement: "They are permitted to travel within the country on the basis of the special identity papers they carry. In addition, they are permitted to travel outside the country under specific circumstances for medical treatment or study. They do so on the basis of a one-time exit permit and with the consent of the Minister of Interior."<sup>33</sup>
- Syrian-born men with "foreigner" status may not legally marry Syrian citizens; if they do, the marriages are not legally recognized for either the citizen or the "foreigner," and both spouses are described as unmarried on their identity cards. The Syrian government confirmed the policy, writing this to Human Rights Watch in July 1996: "[M]arriages between Syrian citizens and [non-Arab] foreigners are not permitted, except with prior authorization by the Ministry of the Interior....[R]equests for marriage between foreigners of Hasakeh [governorate] and Syrians are studied. The ministry generally consents to the marriage of a Syrian male citizen to a female foreigner of Hasakeh, even if she has been registered as a foreigner there, to enable her to acquire the citizenship of her husband according to the citizenship law. When the ministry has reservations against consenting to the marriage of a male foreigner of Hasakeh, especially when he has not been registered as a



foreigner there, to a Syrian female citizen, it does so to preserve her citizenship, given that he has no clearly defined citizenship and his children also will not. Thus, in the case that a Syrian foreigner should have the right to marry any foreigner, whether he is a foreigner of Hasakeh or elsewhere, that marriage is considered illegal. As a result neither it nor the children that ensue will be registered in the civil registration (Emphasis added by Human Rights Watch)

The census of thirty-four years ago in Hasakeh governorate has a continuing and ever-widening impact on the lives of Kurds born in northeastern Syria, due to natural population increase. Syrian Kurds in Hasakeh governorate who do not have Syrian citizenship now number at least 200,000, according to Kurdish sources. About 73,000 live in the environs of Qamishli, Darbasiyyah and 'Amudah, and another 120,000 to 130,000 in the areas of Hasakeh city, Malikiyyah and Qahtaniyyah.<sup>34</sup> Human Rights Watch requested information from Syrian authorities in May 1996 about the population of Hasakeh governorate, the percentage of the population that is Kurdish, and the number of Kurds in the governorate who are classified as "foreigners" or *maktoumeen*, including children. The government provided information about the number of "foreigners" (67,465) and *maktoumeen* (75,000), without specifying how many were children.<sup>35</sup>

In towns and villages throughout Hasakeh governorate, there are Syrian-born families with citizenship and Syrian-born families with "foreigner" status living as neighbors. For example, there were sixty-five families in Sa'diyya village in Qahtaniyyah near Qamishli in April 1995, according to information obtained by Human Rights

Watch/Middle East.36 The male heads of household of over half (thirty-five) of these families were classified as "foreigners" while the remaining thirty were citizens. Cases from this village include:

- Tawwaf Ramadan, born in the village in 1960, is a "foreigner." His four children -- Fouad, Nadhir, Muhammed and Chiyam -- born in the village between 1990 and 1994, are not citizens.
- Ramadan Uthman, also born in the village in 1960, is a "foreigner." His six children -- Samiha, Sulayman, Shireen, Jivan, Hamid and Ohazala -- born in the village between 1981 and 1995, are not citizens.
- Farfaz Farhan Husayn, born in the village in 1960, is a "foreigner," as are his seven children: Amina, (Zulnaz, Hassan, Huzni, Gulistan, Shivan, Dali I, and Najah. The children were born in the village between 1982 and 1993.
- Mabmoud Ibrahim was born in the village in 1953. He and his twelve children are "foreigners." The names of the children, all born in the village between 1976 and 1995, are: Raniya, Nadiya, Amir, Bahzad, Fadiya, Najah, Rawiya, Sabri, Khana, Qadri, and twins Shirihan and Shirivan.

The special red identity cards issued to Kurdish "foreigners" allow authorities to identify and harass them easily. In 1993, security forces targeted the owners of small businesses in Ras *al-'Ayn*, a town west of Qamishli, close to the Turkish border. "Most of the shopkeepers have red identity cards. All that is left for them is to own private businesses, since they cannot work in the state sector. One

and a half months ago. State Security [one of the internal security forces in Syria] came to Ras al-Ayn and asked shopkeepers for their identity cards." a Kurdish political activist told us. "Those without [Syrian citizen] cards were told to go to the Ministry of Social Affairs in Rasakeh and prove that they had a right to own the businesses."<sup>37</sup> To circumvent problems such as these, stateless Syrian-born Kurds often arrange for their businesses and property, including land that they have purchased and homes that they have built to be registered in the names of Kurds who are citizens.

"when you live it, you cannot believe that it is happening to you." said a Kurdisli "foreigner" who was born in northeastern Syria in 1952. He added:

These problems have forced thousands to leave the country on false passports. There is only one good thing we have. We get married we have ten or more children, and in spite of this we will die as single men.<sup>38</sup>

## **The Kurdish *Maktoumeen***

One of the major objectives of Human Rights Watch/Middle East in issuing this report is to publicize internationally the existence of a subcategory of stateless Syrian Kurds: the *maktoumeen*.<sup>39</sup> The Syrian government refers to this group of Kurds, which includes a large number of children, as "alien infiltrators."<sup>40</sup> European diplomats reported in 1994 that there were over 20,000 stateless Kurds with this classification. "Their number was estimated four years ago at 15,400," stated the confidential report prepared by two European embassies in Damascus. "Today they may number as many as 22,000. Needless to say, their position is



even worse than those registered as foreigners."41 But it now appears that the number of *maktoumeen* is significantly higher, by the Syrian government's own admission. In a reply to Human Rights Watch received in July 1996, the government wrote that in addition to the Kurds in Hasakeh officially registered as foreigners, "there are other foreigners who infiltrated into the governorate after the [1962] census. They continue to reside there illegally and do not possess any official documents. No census of these persons has been conducted, but their number was estimated to be approximately 60,000 in 1985 and has risen to approximately 75,000 in 1995". Our request that the government provides statistics about the number of *maktoumeen* who are children -- a major concern in this report-- went unanswered.

To the best of our knowledge, it appears that Kurdish children are categorized as *maktoumeen* when one of the following three conditions applies: if they are the children of Syria-born Kurdish "foreigners" who marry women who are Syrian citizens; if they are children of "foreigners" married to *maktoumeen*; or if they are the children of two *maktoumeen*.

Unlike the Syrian Kurdish foreigners, the children born of these marriages are not only stateless but, as a matter of government policy, not provided with special red identity cards and are not listed in official population registers.<sup>42</sup> Like Syrian Kurdish "foreigners, however, they too are not issued passports or other documents that can be used to travel abroad and re-enter Syria. The policies applied to these Syrian-born Kurdish children contradict the assurances

provided by the Syrian government to the U.N. Committee on the Rights of the Child. The government's 1996 report to the committee stated that all children in Syria are treated in nondiscriminatory fashion:

"The law protects Syrian and all other children residing in the territory of the state, regardless of race, origin, religion or nationality and without any discrimination between them. No case of discrimination in regard to this protection has ever been reported in Syria.

Syrian children enjoy the same rights without discriminatory treatment on grounds such as race, origin, language or religion. They are treated equally at school and in the various institutions concerned with the welfare and protection of children. They all benefit from the same rights, privileges and services provided by the State<sup>43</sup>.

Abu Cheto, mentioned above, married a Syrian citizen in 1975 but, pursuant to prevailing state policy, the marriage was not recognized and therefore was not officially registered. Their nine children, all born in Syria in the same village as Abu Cheto and his father, were not entitled to the "foreigner" status of their father, but are *maktoumeen*. Abu Cheto explained:

There are three categories of people living in this house. My wife is a citizen. I am a foreigner (*tajnabi* in Arabic). My children are neither citizens nor foreigners, they are *maktoumeen*. I have no rights, but at least I exist on paper and have a red identity card. My children do not have identity cards.

They do not exist. Cows are higher than my children. Cows at least have registration cards.<sup>44</sup>

Abu Cheto's children are not unique. For example,

there were thirty-two Kurdish families living in Salihyya village near Ras al-'Ayn in Hasakeh governorate in April 1995. According to information obtained by Human Rights Watch / Middle East, there were thirteen male heads of household with status as citizens and nineteen classified as "foreigners." The children born in the village are categorized either as "foreigners or *maktoumeen*, depending on the legal status of their parents. The cases follow of twenty-six children in the village who are *maktomeen*:

- Ali Shaykh Mousa who was born in Khas in 1948, is registered as a "foreigner."<sup>3</sup> He married Turkiyya Husayri, who was born in 'Ainudak in 1955 and is one of the *maktoumeen*. Their eleven children, born between 1970 and 1989 are *maktoumeen*. The names of the children are- Salab Mahmoud, 'Abd al-Rahman, Dilshah, Surur, Ahmad, Kani War, Kawa, Rudi and Aveen.

- Ali's younger brother, Ahmad Shaykh Mousa, born in Khas in 1951 is also registered as a "foreigner."<sup>7</sup> His wife, Sultana Tamr, born in Salihyya in 1955, is a Syrian citizen. Their ten children, born in Salihyya between 1975 and 1994, are *maktoumeen*. The names of the children are: Najia, Hamrin, Kaska, 'Abd al ahman, Abd l-Rahim, ahima, Halima, Ghazal, Amal and 'Abd al-Halim.

- Husayn Hassu was born in Salihyya in 1957 and is registered as a "foreigner." His wife Sakina Hassan is a Syrian citizen who was born in 'Amudah in 1962. The couple's five children are *maktoumeen*. The names of the children, all born in Salihyya between 1981 and 1995, are: Raniya, Mariam, Hassan, Mahmoud, and Muhammed.

In contrast, other Kurdish children in Salihyya village -- born there in the same year as the children who are

*maktoumeen* -- have status as "foreigners." These are children whose mothers and fathers both have "foreigner status and carry red identity cards. For example, Mousa, another younger brother of Shaykh Mousa (mentioned above), was born in Khas in 1955. He married Hamdiyya Shaykhu who was born in Khas in 1957. Their six children, born in Salihyya between 1974 and 1993, are all "foreigners." Thus, the three Shaykh Mousa brothers, all born in Syria, have a total of twenty-seven children, all born in the same Syrian village in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Of these children, none are Syrian citizens, six are "foreigners," and twenty-one are *maktoumeen*.

We found a similar pattern in other villages. In Aliya al-Gharbiyya near Darbasiyyah in Hasakeh governorate, some children born in the village are registered as "foreigners" while others are *maktoumeen*.<sup>45</sup> Khalil Timi was born in Aliya al-Gharbiyya in 1955. He is registered as a "foreigner" and his seven children, all born in the village between 1980 and 1993, are "foreigners." In contrast, other children in the village, born between 1987 and 1995, are *maktoumeen*. In these cases, the children's status as *maktoumeen* appears to result from marriages between two *maktoumeen*, or between Kurdish men who are *maktoumeen* and women who are Syrian citizens. For example, 'Abd al-Hamid Dirbas, who was born in the village in 1972, is *maktoum*. He married Syrian citizen Tarfa Dirbas. Their two children, Hassan, born in the village in 1993, and Muhammed, born there in 1995, are *maktoumeen*.

In the absence of official identity cards, parents of the *maktoumeen* are forced into nightmarish procedures simply to ensure that there is some form of written documentation

of the identities of their children. "I go to the *mukhtar*<sup>46</sup> with my wife and two witnesses. We swear that this is our child. We ask the *mukhtar* to accept our testimony that this is our child, so that the child can go to school." one father told us. The *mukhtar* writes a letter to this effect, which is then brought to the local police chief for signature. For stateless Kurdish families, the letter is more a symbolic reassurance than anything else. The police chief merely attests to the authenticity of the signature and seal of the *mukhtar*: the document does not serve as an official identity document, Kurdish sources said. In its reply to Human Rights Watch in July 1996, the Syrian government presented another view: "They are given certificates of identity by the *mukhtars* stating that they are *maktoum*. These certificates are considered valid by all parties concerned."<sup>17</sup> Our query about why these Syrian-born children were not issued official identity cards went unanswered.

Human Rights Watch Middle East obtained a copy of such a letter termed an "identification certificate" in Hasakeh governorate in April 1995. It contains a photograph of the child over-which is written "*Maktoum*." At the top of the letter is the name and surname of the child, the name of the child's parents, and the child's place and date of birth. Following the place and number of registration (*qayd*, in Arabic) is written *mufqoud al-qayd* ("unregistered," or "of undisclosed registration"). The *mukhtar* then wrote as follows:

"I certify that the person whose name is identified above and whose photograph is attached above, is well known to us. The above mentioned is not registered in the census of Syrian Arabs. I sign in notification of this."<sup>48</sup>



Kurdish activists told us that this type of letters, if accompanied by a sign-off from an officer in one of the local security forces, is used by parents to enroll their children in elementary school.

Kurdish sources in the northeast also said that the *maktoumeen* cannot be admitted to school without the approval of Political Security, one of Syria's internal security forces. One man pointed to his young daughter and said: "It took me twenty-nine days, going to the police area director, to the security apparatus, to the birth registration office, just to register her for first grade. Then, the *mukhtar* had to go to Political Security, and they had to come and see the child" Security operatives make this already difficult situation even more painful for some families: "They tell us that perhaps these children are not ours, but have been smuggled in from Israel or Turkey," the man said.<sup>49</sup>

The process of obtaining permission from the intelligence service for young *maktoumeen* to attend school can also bring on harassment and pressure on the male head of household from the local security apparatus. One Syrian-born Kurdish "foreigner" who resides Qamishli told us what happened after he initiated this unofficial enrollment process for one of his children:

Political Security came to my house to investigate. Then they summoned me. I was told to go to a shop, not their office. I went to the shop and the owner told me that word; I should go to the security office. I went and was directed to an officer, who asked me questions that had nothing to do with school. He wanted to know what political party I belonged to. He asked me to cooperate with them. He summoned me several times and questioned me for a few

hours each time.

The last time, they beat me up in the presence of a senior officer. This was on 4 Thursday. They beat me and told me to come back on Saturday. I did not go back. I refused to work with them, but this is how they recruit informers. This [type of pressure] is increasing here.<sup>50</sup>

The Syrian government' informed Human Rights Watch in July 1996 that *maktoumeen* "are accepted [for admission] in all schools~" but based on information that we received. It appears- that the *maktoumeen* are treated in a discriminatory fashion and have only limited use of the state education system. After children in Syria complete the first six years of school they go on to a three-year program of study. After the completion of grades seven to nine, children take an examination and are issued a diploma from the education department which is required in order to begin the next three years of secondary school, grades ten to twelve. Children who are *maktoumeen*, however, are not permitted to study beyond the ninth grade, according to testimony that we obtained, because they are issued inferior documents by the education ministry that are not officially recognized. The government did not respond to our written request for information about the procedures that must be used to enroll *maktoumeen* children in state primary, intermediate and secondary schools.

"In normal situations, children get a diploma indicating that they finished ninth grade. The *maktoumeen* are given substitute pieces of paper, which are different from diplomas," a Kurdish university graduate told us. The substitute -- inferior -- official documents specifically note that the children are *maktoumeen*. A Kurdish parent showed

us a copy of his daughter's "special notice." It read as follows:

Special Notice of Passing [Grade] by Unregistered Persons

**TO:** *[name Omitted by Human Rights Watch]*  
Secondary School

The female student *[name omitted]*, born in Qamishli in 1977, took the preparatory school certificate examination in the school year 1993 with registration number *[omitted]*. She passed with a total grade of *[omitted]*. Because she is an unregistered person she has been granted this certificate in place of the certificate which is maintained at the examination bureau. She will only be granted that document after having been registered accordingly with the Bureau of Civil Affairs.

*Hasakeh July 22, 1993*

*(Circular stamp)*

*Director of Education in Hasakeh*

*Ministry of Education*

*[signature]*

*Hasakeh Department of Education*

*Head of the Bureau of Examinations*

*Muhammed Jad Anri*

*[signature]*

"This piece of paper has no value, the university graduate told school and college diplomas -- the *maktoumeen* are not provided with documents that are officially recognized *si*.

This discriminatory policy with respect to Kurdish children born in Syria was still in effect in 1995. Appendix D contains the

Arabic original of this document, as well as another "special notice" issued in July 1995 for a fifteen-year-old girl who was born in Qamishli.

### **International Human Rights Standards**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantees the right of every person to a nationality, and provides that no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his or her nationality. This right is binding on all nations as a matter of customary international law. The 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness is one of the authoritative interpretations of the right to a nationality set forth in the Universal Declaration and provides guidance as to the specific measures that states should adopt in order to reduce statelessness.<sup>53</sup> Relevant provisions of the Convention include the following:

- A Contracting State shall grant its nationality to a person born in its territory who would otherwise be stateless. article 1.
- A Contracting State shall not deprive a person of his nationality if such deprivation would render him stateless." Article 8(1).
- A child born in wedlock in the territory of a Contracting State, whose mother has the nationality of that State shall acquire at birth that nationality if it otherwise would be stateless." Article 1(3).
- A Contracting State may not deprive any person or group of persons of their nationality on racial, ethnic, religious or political grounds." Article 9.

The Syrian government's denial of citizenship to Syrian-born Kurdish men, women and children with no claim to another nationality is a clear case of discrimination based solely on ethnicity and gender and a flagrant violation of international human rights standards. These stateless Kurds have no basis for claiming citizenship anywhere other than Syria, yet the government has denied them the right to a nationality. The government discriminates against Syrian women who are citizens and are married to Kurdish men classified as foreigners when it denies these women the right to pass on their citizenship to their children. The Syrian government is also in violation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which it has ratified, by denying Syrian-born Kurdish children the right to a nationality in cases where their parents lack Syrian citizenship and are stateless.

Denial of citizenship to Syrian-born Kurds leaves them in the position of having no passport or other internationally recognized travel document, thus preventing them from exercising the right to freedom of movement guaranteed in the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which Syria has ratified. Freedom of movement includes the right to leave any country, including one's own, and the right to enter one's own country.<sup>54</sup> Without passports or other travel documents, stateless Kurds -- the foreigners and the *maktoumeen* alike -- are unable to exercise these rights.

The state policy of refusing to register children born of marriages between Syrian-born Kurdish "foreigners" and Syrian citizens, Syrian-born "foreigners" and Syrian-born *maktoumeen*, and between Syrian-born *maktoumeen* also violates international human rights standards. Lastly, Syrian-

born *maktou-meen* are not provided with legally recognized identity documents. This is a clear violation of Article 26 of the ICCPR, which states: "the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

## **Violations of the Internationally Recognized Rights of Women**

The Syrian government's policy of refusing to legally recognize marriages between Syrian women who are citizens and men who are foreigners is a violation of Article 23 of the ICCPR, which states in its pertinent part: "The right of men and women of marriageable age to marry and to found a family shall be recognized."<sup>55</sup>

In addition, Syria's nationality law differentiates between men and women in terms of their ability under the law to pass on citizenship to their children. According to the law, women can pass on Syrian nationality to their children born in Syria only if the paternity of the child has not been legally established. In contrast, the law states that Syrian nationality is passed on to children born in Syria or outside the country if their father is of Syrian nationality.<sup>56</sup>

By restricting the ability of women -- but not men -- to pass on Syrian citizenship to their children, the Syrian government violates the international prohibitions against gender discrimination found in Article 26 of the ICCPR, cited above.<sup>57</sup>

## Violations of the Internationally Recognized Rights of Children

The Syrian government's policies and practices with respect to Kurdish children, it has made stateless, violate international standards that have been codified to protect the rights of children.<sup>58</sup> Syria ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child in June 1993, and is violating its provisions systematically. The denial of Syrian nationality to Kurdish children born in Syria is a blatant case of discrimination based on ethnicity, in violation of the Convention.<sup>59</sup> Kurdish children born in Syria -- some of them classified as "foreigners" and others as *maktoumeen* -- are singled out solely because of their status as members of the Kurdish ethnic minority.

the Convention provides guarantees to every child to the right to be registered and the right to acquire a nationality. Article 7 of the Convention states:

1) The child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have the right from birth to a name, the right to acquire a nationality and as far as possible, the right to know and be cared for by his or her parents.

2. States Parties shall ensure the implementation of these rights in accordance with their national law and their obligations under the relevant international instruments in this field, in *particular where the child would otherwise be stateless* (Emphasis added by Human Rights Watch.)

In cases where authorities stripped Syrian-born Kurdish children of their nationality, such as in the aftermath of the 1962 special census conducted in Hasakeh

governorate, the government is in violation of Article 8 of the Convention, which states:

1. States Parties undertake to respect the right of the child to preserve his or her identity, including nationality, name and family relations as recognized by law without unlawful interference.

2. Where a child is illegally deprived of some or all of the elements of his or her identity, States Parties shall provide appropriate assistance and protection, with a view to speedily re-establishing his or her identity.

The state's discriminatory treatment in the area of education of Syrian-born Kurdish children with the status of *maktoumeen* violates the provisions of Article 28 of the Convention, which guarantees the right of the child to education "on the basis of equal opportunity." The issuance of inferior documents to these stateless children, upon their successful completion of compulsory examinations, is a clear case of discrimination based on ethnic and legal status.

The Syrian government's obligations under international law require it to initiate legal and administrative reforms to remedy the numerous violations of the rights of stateless Kurdish children. Article 4 of the Convention states in its pertinent part: "States Parties shall undertake all appropriate legislative, administrative, and other measures for the implementation of the rights recognized in the present Convention."



## SUPPRESSION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

Article 35 of the Syrian constitution guarantees freedom of belief and respect for all religions, but has no provisions that recognize and guarantee the rights of ethnic and linguistic minorities.<sup>60</sup> International human rights standards provide ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities in every country the right to equal protection of the law without discrimination,<sup>61</sup> and the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.<sup>62</sup> Syrian authorities violate these international standards with impunity through the use of discriminatory laws, decrees and directives that are applied only to the Kurdish minority.

Suppression of the ethnic identity of Kurds by Syrian authorities has taken many forms.<sup>63</sup> "Kurds have always been prevented from developing their cultural identity," former Syrian parliamentarian Hamid Darwish a lawyer and secretary of the unauthorized Kurdish Democratic Progressive Party of Syria, wrote in a speech that he had planned to deliver at the World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen from March 3 to 12 1995. they are not free to study, publish or officially speak and write [in Kurdish. Kurdish is not recognized as an official language." He advocated that "all restrictions against Kurdish culture and language in both education and public communications be lifted in Syria." Such restrictions have included: replacement of Kurdish place names with new Arabic names: prohibition of businesses that do not have Arabic names: not permitting Kurdish private schools; and

the prohibition of books and other materials written in Kurdish.

### Changing the Kurdish Names of Villages and Towns

One assault by the state on the use of Kurdish was an initiative to Arabize the names of Kurdish villages and towns. Authorities have changed the original Kurdish names of scores of villages in Hasakeh governorate in the northeast and in the Kurdish area in Kurd Dagh, in the northwest near Afrin. "They planned this in the 1960s, and began to implement it in the 1970s," a Kurdish political activist told us. "We still use the old names, but they cannot be used on official documents." He said that in Afrin the place names of all Kurdish villages have been changed to Arabic. He also noted some of the villages in Hasakeh governorate whose names had been changed to Arabic: Kobaniya (now 'Am al-'Arab), Girdeem (Sa'diyya), Chilara (Jowadiyya), Derunakoling (Deir Ayoub), and Bani Qasri ('Am Khadra).<sup>65</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East obtained a copy of Directive No. 15801 issued by the minister of local administration on May 13, 1977, ordering that the Kurdish names of scores of towns and villages in Afrin region of Afrin in the governorate of Aleppo be replaced with new Arabic names.<sup>66</sup>

## **Bans on the Use of the Kurdish Language**

A decree by the governor of Hasakeh dated November 11, 1986, reportedly prohibited the use of the Kurdish language in workplaces.<sup>67</sup> Two years later, another directive was reportedly promulgated by the governor, reiterating the 1986 language ban and also prohibiting the singing of non-Arabic % songs at weddings and festivals." Human Rights Watch asked the Syrian government to provide copies of both decrees, and inquired if these measures were still in effect. In its July 1996, letter this was the government's reply: "The Syrian constitution stipulates that Syria is part of the greater Arab nation and that Arabic is its official language. It stipulates further that the ban on the use of foreign languages in the workplace is not limited to the Kurdish language but includes all languages other than Arabic"

### **Refusal to Register Children with Kurdish Names**

In Hasakeh governorate, Kurds reported to us that authorities will not register children with Kurdish names. "Beginning in 1992, they refused to register children with Kurdish names--this is from the Ministry of Interior and is specific to Hasakeh area. Using Kurdish names had become so popular that everyone was doing it. If you insist on using a Kurdish name, they will not register the child," one Kurdish activist said.<sup>69</sup> He added that the decree was known as No.122. Human Rights Watch asked the Syrian government about this decree and if it was still in effect. The government did not answer the question directly, but

referred us to the statement about the ban on the use of foreign languages in workplaces, cited above, and noted that certain letters in other alphabets are not included in the Arabic language.<sup>70</sup>

### **Prohibition of Businesses with non-Arabic Names**

On February 24, 1994, the governor of Hasakeh, Subhi Harb, directed the heads of the governorate's city and town councils to take action against businesses that did not have Arabic names, giving owners one week to change the names of their establishments to Arabic. "It is not permitted to name public and private establishments with foreign (non-Arabic) words," he stated. He urged the recipients of his directive "to commit to this matter the utmost attention," and directed authorities not to issue new permits to stores, hotels, restaurants and other businesses with non-Arabic names. He also decreed that the owners of existing public and private businesses with non-Arabic names should be advised that they must rename the businesses in Arabic or face fines, closure and referral to courts for prosecution.<sup>71</sup>

While it is debatable whether the government has a legitimate interest in having Arabic names for registered business establishments, it is undeniably applying the decree in a plainly discriminatory manner. During our mission to Syria in 1995, we never saw a business establishment with a name or sign written in Kurdish language. We did see, however, many businesses with signs in Arabic and Armenian, and, in Aleppo, signs in Arabic and Russian.

## **Prohibition of Kurdish Schools**

Unlike other ethnic minorities in Syria -- such as the Armenians, Circassians, and Assyrians -- Kurds are not permitted to open private schools for the education of their children in the Kurdish language. Instruction for children in Kurdish language and culture therefore takes place informally, in private homes. Our request for comment by the Syrian government about this prohibition including its basis in Syrian law, went unaddressed in the July 1996 reply that we received.

## **Prohibition of Books and Other Materials Written in Kurdish**

Books and other materials written in Kurdish do circulate in Syria, but at considerable expense for the Kurdish groups that arrange to have them printed. One intellectual explained:

Kurdish songs, folklore, and stories are not allowed to be printed as books. We print these secretly and pay printers many times over [the regular prices] to print them. We have a cultural association in Beirut. Its main purpose is to publish books in Kurdish by Kurdish and other authors on Kurdish issues. We bring these books in and distribute them in Syria. In Damascus and Aleppo, certain bookstores will buy these illegal books from us and sell them. They buy them from us because they know that they will sell.<sup>72</sup>

European diplomats noted in 1994 that "possession of Kurdish books is tolerated, although the distribution is very limited. Printing in Kurdish, however, seems not to be tolerated, and Kurdish books therefore are (illegally) imported from Lebanon and north Iraq."<sup>73</sup>

Human Rights Watch asked the Syrian government if it is permitted to print books in Syria written in Kurdish and if it is legal to distribute and sell in Syria books written in Kurdish that are printed outside the country. The government's July 1996 reply did not address these questions.

### **Interference with Other Forms of Cultural Expression**

Authorities are not tolerant of Kurdish cultural expression that includes political dimensions. "Cultural activities, including the celebration of Kurdish New Year [Nawrouz] are tolerated, as long as the political scope of these celebrations is limited and not considered provocative by the authorities," the 1994 report of the two European embassies in Damascus stated. "In general, only the fate of Kurds in Iraq can be exposed to the public, but not the claim of Kurds in Syria. As a consequence, repeatedly incidents occurred during [Nowrouz] celebrations."<sup>74</sup> A

Kurdish political activist explained to us the significance of the celebration of Nowrouz, which means "new day" in Kurdish and also marks the traditional celebration of spring, and mentioned some of the problems that Kurds in the northeast have encountered with authorities.

"Nowrouz is a holiday related to the history of the Kurdish nation," he said. "It begins at night with bonfires set on mountaintops. Then, during the day, we go out into nature, and cultural groups dance in traditional costumes and re-enact scenes from Kurdish heritage. This lasts until the evening. We consider it both the beginning of spring and a

celebration of freedom." he added, noting that the holiday is also called *eid al-Hurriyya* ("holiday of freedom"). He explained that the tradition dates back several thousand years "A tyrant king was killed by an ironsmith. When fires were staked on the mountains this was a signal for the people to attack the king. We light the fires in memory of the ironsmith. They symbolize the fires of freedom."

Kurds in Syria had to "struggle," in the words of this activist to obtain the tacit permission of the government to celebrate Nowrouz "Once they tried to stop it by force. People gathered in Damascus and marched to the national palace in 1986 from a Kurdish neighborhood. Thousands came. The Republican Guard sprayed us with bullets, and Suleiman 'Adi was killed. Rabhan Ramadan, one of the organizers, was detained without charge for two years." He did report, however, that the government no longer suppresses Nowrouz celebrations: "Now, thousands and thousands go out on the feast day. The authorities cannot prevent it any more." But he said that other techniques are used to deter participation. "This year, they spread rumors that Iraqis and Turks were bringing bombs, to create fear and make people afraid to go."<sup>75</sup>

## **Other Forms of Discrimination**

Syrian Kurds complained to us about other forms of state-sponsored or state-sanctioned discrimination. They claimed that Kurds are not accepted in Syria's military colleges, and pointed out that army chief of staff Tawfiq Nizam Eddin, who held the post prior to Syria's unity with Egypt in 1958, was a Kurd from Qamishli who subsequently lost his citizenship and became a foreigner. "No Kurd has

been admitted as an officer in the army or security forces for the last twenty-five years." one of our Kurdish sources claimed. "There are a few old Kurdish' army officers remaining from the Afrin area -- you can count their number on your fingers -- but they have administrative, not military, responsibilities."76

Kurds also pointed out that it is extremely rare for a Kurd to be appointed a judge. "There may be a total of five nationwide. To become a judge, you need to be a Ba'thi or be supported by one of the security services." one source said. He also maintained that there is not one Kurd who serves as a prosecutor. In the last few years, it reportedly has become increasingly difficult for Kurds to gain admission to the country's three medical schools, which are located in Damascus, Aleppo and Latakia. Human Rights Watch asked for but did not receive a response from Syrian government to these allegations

The U.S. Department of State country report on human rights conditions in Syria in 1995, published in March 1996, provided meager information about state-sponsored discrimination against the Kurdish minority. There is only one sentence on this subject in the report: "Although the Government contends that there is no discrimination against the Syrian Kurdish population, it has placed limits on the use and teaching of the Kurdish language, Kurdish cultural expression and, at times, the celebration of Kurdish festivals."<sup>77</sup>

## **ARBITRARY STATE ACTIONS BASED ON ETIINICITY**

Syrian authorities have harassed suspected Kurdish political activists and, in arbitrary fashion, have dismissed



them from their jobs at state-owned companies and from educational institutions where they were studying. Kurds, including well-known political leaders, have been prevented from travelling abroad because authorities have refused to renew their passports.

### **Dismissals from State Jobs and Expulsions from State Educational Institutions**

In October 1992 the unauthorized Kurdish Popular Union Party in Syria (KPUPS) reported that the governor of Hasakeh ordered that twenty-one Kurdish workers be fired from a public road-building company, on instructions of the security apparatus, because they were judged to be a danger to state security.<sup>78</sup> Most of the men fired had been long-term employees of the company: at least ten of them had been hired between 1975 and 1979, and another ten had been hired between 1980 and 1983. Most of the men -- whose professions were heavy transport drivers, jackhammer operators, asphalt workers, technical inspectors and the like -- supported large families. Three of them supported families of twelve people and two of them supported families of eleven people, according to KPUPS.

Kurdish political activists say that dismissals of this type in Hasakeh governorate are carried out frequently and arbitrarily. "This month, they fired fifteen laborers who worked for the military housing company. Ten days ago, in 'Am al-'Arab, four teachers were fired," one of our sources said. "No reasons were given, and nothing is put in writing."<sup>79</sup>

Kurds have also been expelled from state institutes where they were studying. In Hasakeh governorate, there are

two teacher training institutes, one in Qamishli and one in Hasakeh city. Students attend these institutes after they graduate from secondary school and take a two-year program of study to qualify as teachers. Kurds are "regularly thrown out" of these institutes on the basis of suspicion that they belong to unauthorized political organizations, a political activist told us. He added that the expulsions are part of a strategy to put pressure on Kurds to become informers for the security apparatus.

At these two teacher-training schools, forty-two male and female Kurdish students have been expelled so far this year. The way it happens is that an evaluation comes in from the security apparatus, saying that they are a danger to state security. It is verbal only, there is no piece of paper. The only way to appeal is to go to Political Security, become an informer, and give them weekly or monthly reports on your colleagues. This will get you readmitted.

He said that pressure tactics such as these have forced many Kurds to leave Hasakeh governorate. He said that some 20,000 Kurds are living in a squatter community, near Dumar in Damascus, that is known in Kurdish as Zorava. "This settlement, which was started five or six years ago, has no official status and is not included in the 10 percent of the population) including problems shared by the Kurds in Syria such as "suspected statistical under representation of the size of the population"; "job discrimination in the public sector, the police, the armed forces, and other government agencies"; "reported discrimination...in admission to state medical schools" and "under representation in government" including "the upper ranks of the military, police and diplomatic service." city plan. Sewage is handled by latrines,

and electricity is stolen" he said, noting that as poverty increases in Hasakeh, more Kurds move to Damascus.<sup>80</sup>

Human Rights Watch asked the Syrian government to provide information about the administrative procedures used in cases where workers or students have been dismissed, including the right to appeal such decisions to administrative or legal authorities. In the government's July 1996 reply, these issues were not addressed.

### **Restrictions on Travel Abroad**

Syrian human rights monitors have noted that authorities have forbidden travel abroad by Kurdish intellectuals.<sup>51</sup> According to information received by Human Rights Watch, the passport of lawyer Hamid Darwish secretary of the unauthorized Kurdish Democratic Progressive Party of Syria and a former member of parliament elected in 1990, was not renewed by Syrian authorities. This prevented Mr. Darwish from travelling to Copenhagen to attend the World Summit for Social Development, held in March 1995. In a statement to the Danish Committee for Human Rights of the Kurds dated March 4 1995 Mr. Darwish complained about the denial of his passport by Syrian authorities.<sup>82</sup> The Syrian government did not reply to our request for information about the reasons why authorities might refuse to renew an expired passport and the administrative procedures that can be utilized to challenge the denial of a passport.

### **PROTESTS IN SYRIA AND EUROPE**

"The single biggest issue for the Kurdish community [in Syria] is the nationality issue," diplomats from two



European embassies observed in their 1994 report. They added:

The nationality issue is felt as a clear case of discrimination by all Kurdish factions. Some 200,000 Kurds living in Syria without enjoying Syrian nationality are confronted with serious legal and practical problems. Their case constitutes the rallying point of the Kurdish movements.<sup>83</sup>

In our own work in the field in Syria in 1995, we found this to be true as well. A young Kurdish resident of the northeast, who had been tortured by security forces, was as interested in talking to us about the situation of the stateless Kurds as he was in describing his own physical abuse.<sup>84</sup>

Despite the Syrian government's clear violations of international human rights law, Kurds in Syria have been unsuccessful in their various peaceful attempts to press authorities to address and remedy the situation of Syrian-born Kurdish "foreigners" and *maktoumeen*. This is partly explained by the sensitive ethnic politics that prevail in Syria. According to the joint report of the two European embassies:

The main obstacle to a solution of the nationality question seems to be a political one. In the Jazirah the 650,000 Kurds are a majority against ca. 450,000 Arab Sunnis, mostly of bedouin stock, and ca. 100,000 Christians, largely town dwellers. This ethnic distribution constitutes a problem for Syria as the Kurdish majority raises fears of a potential threat of separatism. By diminishing the Kurds (on paper) by 200,000, the Arab and Kurdish populations are now in balance.<sup>85</sup>

## Grass Roots Efforts in Syria: The Price of Dissent

Kurdish activists in Hasakeh governorate told us that they have organized petition campaigns, and presented 15,000 signatures -- which they gathered over a period of several days -- to the government in 1987. In March 1990, about one hundred residents of Hasakeh traveled in small groups to Damascus a twelve-hour trip by bus, for a protest demonstration. One participant told us what happened:

We went to the Republican Palace. We raised our voices and said: "We want [regular] identity cards." Security men came. They were not confrontational and started talking to us. Then cars full of security forces started coming until there were three times our number. They started beating us up, including the women. They arrested three people, put the rest of us in buses, and took us out of the city, with a helicopter following.

The men who were arrested were taken to the security detail responsible for the palace. They were interrogated in three consecutive sessions: first for ten hours, then for seven hours, and then for four hours. After the interrogations, security officers, who had verified their identities, told them never to return again and released them.<sup>36</sup>

Suspected Kurdish political activists continue to be detained, held incommunicado, tortured under interrogation, and prosecuted before the state security court for non-violent advocacy on behalf of stateless Kurds.<sup>87</sup> For example, eight Kurds from Hasakeh governorate were detained in 1992, held for over sixteen months under emergency law, and then charged in the state security court in 1993 with the criminal offenses of membership in secret organizations,<sup>88</sup>

"opposing the goals of the revolution," and "spreading false information." The "false information," according to the state security court prosecutor, was contained in a leaflet about the problems of the stateless Kurds that the defendants were accused of distributing and posting publicly. Human Rights Watch / Middle East had previously reported that on October 5, 1992, four unauthorized Kurdish organizations in Syria had published materials to mark the thirtieth anniversary of Legislative Decree No.93 of 1962, which authorized the special census in Hasakeh governorate. The groups called on Syrian citizens to support equal civil and cultural rights for the Kurds. Security forces responded with the arrest of about 260 Kurds in Hasakeh<sup>7</sup> Ras al-'Ayn and Qamishli in the northeast, and Aleppo and Afrin in the northwest.<sup>90</sup> According to the Syrian human rights organization CDF, forty of these Kurds remained in detention as of early 1996.<sup>91</sup>

In the written defense statement submitted to the court in 1994 on behalf of the eight defendants, their lawyers argued that the information in the leaflet was not false. The lawyers provided the court with detailed information about the situation of the stateless Kurds, citing at length various discriminatory government decrees and directives. The lawyers contended that no evidence was submitted to substantiate the prosecutor's assertion that their clients were members of secret political parties, and further claimed that the defendant had been subjected to "harsh interrogations, including physical and emotional torture and [treatment] in an abusive way to force them to confess to committing acts that they did not commit." The lawyers added that their clients "were interrogated while they were alone in the

absence of an attorney who could stand by them and defend them." Human Rights Watch / Middle East was not able to obtain information about the court's verdict in this case. Our written request for information from Syrian authorities, dated May 29, 1996, went unanswered.

Authorities also reacted harshly in 1993 when the Democratic Unity Party in Syria, a coalition of five Kurdish parties, wrote a critical report about the "Arab belt" policy<sup>92</sup> and distributed it to some foreign embassies in Damascus. Diplomats reported that a party representative provided these details about the crackdown:

In October 1993, ninety-eight members of the Unity [Party] were arrested of whom twenty-one still remain in prison and their cases are currently before the [Supreme State Security Court] in Damascus. Two have been convicted, eight stand trial and twelve remain in prison without any accusation brought before them. Other Kurds arrested were six members of the Popular Union Party because of illegally publishing a newspaper and six members of the Democratic Progressive Party and five Kurds from Malikiyyah, including one woman (Asia Muhammed). Four members of [the Democratic Unity Party in Syria] were in hiding, including its Secretary General Ismail Amr, who went underground when he lost parliamentary immunity when the last parliament was dissolved.<sup>93</sup>

## **Initiatives in Parliament**

Kurdish and other Syrian legislators have tried to raise the issue of the stateless Kurds in the elected parliament, but

without success. According to the report of the two European embassies:

A first letter, signed by forty-seven members of Parliament (Kurds and Arabs), was addressed on 8 June 1991 to the President of the Parliament. But the Prime Minister and the Ba'th Party responsible, Abdallah al-Ahmar, refused to have the matter discussed.

On 13 March 1992 a second letter signed by thirty-two members of Parliament was handed over to President al-Asad who promised to try to find a solution. No measures have been taken until now.

Two Kurdish parliamentarians of the Ba'th Party were reprimanded for signing the letter.<sup>94</sup>

Such initiatives in the parliament were in part possible because legislators elected in 1990 who served until 1994 included three Kurds from Hasakek governorate who were independent of Syria's ruling Ba'th Party.<sup>95</sup> "This was the only year that the elections were not faked," claimed a Kurdish political activist. He added that a major reason the election was relatively fair had to do with the fall of the Soviet Union: "The government was afraid. There was a lot of talk about democracy. And Kurdish political groups mobilized behind independent candidates."<sup>96</sup> As a consequence, advocacy on the citizenship issue in a national forum was possible. "Fifteen Kurds were elected to the outgoing parliament, among them some independent candidates openly raising specifically Kurdish issues." Damascus-based European diplomats wrote in 1994: "Of the fifteen eleven were independents: Six from Afrin three from Hasakeh and two from Damascus. "In the new parliament [elected in August 1991], the independent Kurdish



representation seem-s to have diminished, the diplomats added.<sup>97</sup>

The hundreds of thousands of Kurdish residents of Hasakeh governorate currently have no independent representatives in parliament. "We did not participate in the 1994 election because we knew that it was going to be faked the political activist told us. He said that Hasakeh governorate is allotted fourteen parliament seats, and added:

Usually, the Ba'th puts out a list often party people and there are four seats for "independents," who are controlled by the Ba'th. They did not do this in 1990. They allowed us five independent seats, and three Kurds, one Assyrian and one Arab won. All of them were independent of the party and the government.

But the parliamentary election held on August 24, 1994, reverted to previous methods of manipulation by the Ba'th party. Kurdish political activists obtained a copy of an official directive from the national leadership of the Ba'th party, dated August 21, 1994 and numbered 9144, which instructed the party apparatus in Hasakeh governorate to work on behalf of four "independent" candidates: Mahmoud Shawakh al-Boursan and Muhammed al-Fares from Group A, Muhammed Ahmad al-Musleh and Zayya Malik Ismail from Group B.<sup>98</sup> "We ask that you direct those who are active members and supporters in the syndicate and party apparatus in the governorate of Hasakeh to elect the candidates and independents who are mentioned above," instructed Abdel Aziz Nuaimi, the secretary of the Ba'th Party in Hasakeh, in a letter that was sent to Ba'th party divisions in the governorate, numbered 2661 and also dated August 21, 1994, following upon the orders of the party's

leadership in Damascus. "The party began to work on this weeks before the date of the directives," our contact said. "And they had each Ba'thi bring five different identity cards to vote for these candidates."<sup>99</sup> All four men were elected members of parliament: none is a Kurd.

## **Please for International Support**

On October 21, 1995, Syrian Kurds living in exile in Germany held a demonstration in Bonn, Germany, that concluded with a protest rally in front of the Syrian embassy. They delivered an appeal to the embassy calling for the lifting of emergency law, the release of all Kurdish political prisoners in Syria. They also noted that two Kurds from Hasakeh who won parliament seats were members of the Ba'th party, and one was a communist. "The Kurds of Jazirah," discriminatory laws and practices that are applied to Kurds in Syria. In a statement prepared for the demonstration, the overseas branch of the Syria-based Kurdish Popular Union Party sought international support to press the Syrian government to act affirmatively on its demands, including the following:

- Recognize the existence of the Kurdish ethnic minority in Syria, and guarantee Kurdish political and cultural rights in the Syrian constitution.
- Grant permission for an international committee of human rights organizations to visit Syria and investigate the situation of the Kurdish minority.
- Release Kurdish and other political prisoners in Syria and cancel Syria's long-standing emergency law.
- Cancel discriminatory laws and decrees issued by Syrian authorities.

Earlier in 1995 Kurdish political activists in northeastern Syria had stressed to Human Rights Watch/Middle East the importance of information dissemination and advocacy by international human rights organizations and other members of the international community on the issues of the stateless Kurds and the Syrian government's violations of minority rights. They told us that they were seeking international support for their efforts to persuade Syrian authorities to acknowledge the existence of Kurds as an ethnic minority in Syria, to provide guarantees of minority rights in the Syrian constitution, and to respect and enforce the rights set forth in international human rights instruments that the Syrian government has ratified. One activist from northeast Syria put it this way:

Our main demands are for acknowledgment of our existence as an ethnic group and fixing this in the constitution. As long as we have duties in Syria, we should have rights, including the right to political freedom and representation in parliament. The government should cancel all the discriminatory anti-Kurdish plans and policies, including the [1962] census [results], the Arab belt, and the use of exceptional laws to expel Kurds from places of work and education. What we primarily want is for Syria to be democratic and pluralistic in its ethnicity.<sup>100</sup>

As the recommendations in this report indicate, Human Rights Watch/Middle East believes that these demands have merit.

APPENDIX A



EMBASSY OF THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC  
2215 WYOMING AVENUE, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

July 12, 1996

Mr. Eric Goldstein  
Research Director  
Human Rights Watch/Middle East  
1522 K Street, NW, Suite 910  
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Mr. Goldstein,

In response to your letter dated May 29, 1996, regarding the above, kindly find enclosed the related information, as received today from Syria. As you had requested we are forwarding the information in Arabic for translation in your offices.

This letter with enclosures will be faxed to you today and the original will follow by mail.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'S. Al-Ayoubi'.

Souad Al-Ayoubi,  
Minister Counselor (DCM)

With reference to your letter 7(103/80) dated June 10, 1996, I hereby present a summary statement on the situation of the Kurds in Hasakeh governorate. This is in response to requests for clarifications on their situation made in the attached letter from the Executive Director of Human Rights Watch Middle East.

I: Overview at the beginning of 1945, the Kurds began to infiltrate [Latakiyyah] into Hasakeh governorate. They came singly and in groups from neighboring countries, especially Turkey, crossing illegally along the border from Ras al-'Ain to al-Malikiyya. Gradually and then legally, they settled down in the region along the border in major population centers such as Dirbasiyya, Amoudeh Qamishli, Qahtaniyya, and Malikiyya, until they began to constitute the majority in some of these centers as in Amoudeh and Malikiyya. Many of these Kurds were able to register themselves illegally in the Syrian civil registers. They were also able to obtain Syrian identity cards through a variety of means, with the help of their relatives and members of their tribes. They did so with the intent of settling down and acquiring property, especially after the issue of the agricultural reform law, so as to benefit from land redistribution.

In view of the increase in illegal immigration in this governorate and the resulting increase in the percentage of registrations that had been illicitly inserted [yandassuna] into the civil registers, it was decided to conduct a general census in the governorate. The purpose of the census was to purge

[tan qiyya] the governorate's registers and to effect a reliable and precise reorganization of these registers so that they would contain only the registrations of those whose Syrian citizenship could be established, and eliminate the alien infiltrators. 102 Ordinance 93, dated August 23, 1962 was issued. In accordance with this ordinance, a census of all persons actually present in the governorate was conducted on October 5, 1962. As a result of the investigation of the [completed census] forms of those who were present for the census, the registration of those who had established that they were citizens of the Syrian Arab Republic were made in the new civil registers for Syrians. The others were registered as foreigners in special registers for this purpose.

2- The essential regulations employed in establishing the nationality of those who were present for the census

In order to clarify the rules and procedures to be followed to establish the nationality of those who were present for the census, the Ministry of the Interior issued a special directive in this regard, number 21697 dated September 1, 1962 Paragraph 10 of this directive required the registration committees and the Central Committee for the Census to verify the correctness of the answers on the [census] forms filed by each person, especially the answer dealing with nationality. It also required them to establish nationality in accordance with a summary, appended to this directive, which includes the acquisition of Syrian Arab nationality.

Some errors appeared in the results of the census, including the registration of a large number of persons of Syrian Arab origin as foreigners and the registration of others who do not have Syrian Arab nationality as Syrian. in

addition, some members of Arab tribes were not included in the census because they were absent during the census. For these reasons, it was decided to grant the right of appeal to those who were not considered Syrian as a result of the census. It was also decided to grant the High Committee of the census full authority over these protests, the right to correct errors, and the right to consider as Syrian citizens all who fell into one of the following categories:

a) those registered in the old civil registers prior to 1945, or who were members of the Christian denominations or the Assyrian minorities and who were registered in those registers as late as 1950

b) those who could prove that they resided in Syria prior to 1945;

c) Those who were civilian or military employees of the state and its public institutions at least 10 years prior to the date of the census.

As a result of the investigation of these protests and successive extensions of the deadline for their submission, the number of those registered as foreigners decreased from 84,000 persons in 1966 to 40,587 in 1986. Then the number rose due to marriage and the registration of the *maktoumeen* children that were born subsequently, to 54,218 on August 1985 and to 67,465 on October 31 1995.

Furthermore in addition to those registered as foreigners there are other foreigners who infiltrated into the governorate after the census. They continue to reside there illegally and do not possess any official documents. No census of these persons has been conducted, but their number was estimated to be approximately 60,000 in 1985 and has risen to approximately 75,000 in 1995.

### 3. The treatment of those registered as foreigners in Hasakeh

Pursuant to directives currently in force, those limitations and restrictions applied to other foreigners are not applied to the foreigners of Hasakeh. Rather, they exercise the rights and undertake the activities that are in principle confined to Syrian citizens, which include the following:

1. In the domain of identification and the registration of changes in personal status [*al-waraqī'aat al-madainyya*]:

They are granted special personal or family papers [*wathaa'iq*].<sup>104</sup> Whatever changes in personal status, such as birth, death, marriage, divorce, that occur are registered in their [individual or family] entries in their special registers.

2. In the domain of Education: Their children are accepted [for admission] for all levels of education in private and government schools.

3. In the domain of work: They are permitted to work in the institutions of the public sector, the joint [or public and private] sector; and the private sector.

In the same way, all those who have university degrees in medicine, pharmacy, law, and engineering are permitted to open their own professional offices.

4. In the domain of property ownership: They are not permitted to own real estate, or to register mechanized vehicles or automobiles. However, they may in fact do so on the strength of private contracts in their own names or through the intermediary of their friends or relatives who are Syrian citizens.

5. In the domain of allotments: They are not granted



food allotment cards [to purchase food] at official [i.e., supported] prices. They are, however, permitted to obtain the foodstuffs [illegible] they need at free market prices, using as documentation their special personal or family papers.

6. In the domain of travel:

They are permitted to travel within the country on the basis of the special identity papers they carry. In addition, they are permitted to travel outside the country under specific circumstances for medical treatment or study. They do so on the basis of a one-time exit document and with the consent of the Minister of the Interior.

7. In the domain of marriage: Females among them are permitted to marry Syrian citizens and to acquire their [Syrian] citizenship. Males, however, are not permitted to marry female Syrian citizens, in order that the latter maintain their Syrian citizenship.

8. On staying overnight in hotels:

They are permitted to do so, after they have presented the special identification papers they carry and the hotel branch [of the intelligence service *shit'bat al-fanaadiq*] has ascertained their validity and returned them to their owners.

#### **IV. The treatment of alien infiltrators**

1. They are given certificates of identity by the mukhtars stating that they are *maktoumeen*. These certificates are to be considered valid by all parties concerned.

2. Their children are accepted [for admission] in all schools.

3. The policies governing *maktoumeen* status were discontinued in the governorate in 1987 when the period

prescribed for it ended.

**V. A clear and detailed response to certain questions raised by the remarks of the organization's Executive Director**

**1- With reference to the claim of the Hasakeh foreigners - to the right to acquire Syrian Arab citizenship:**

It is based on Paragraph C of Article 2 of the Citizenship Law, number 276 dated November 24, 1969, which legally grants citizenship to anyone born in the country of two unidentified parents, two parents whose nationality is not known, or two stateless parents.

-- With study, the purport of this paragraph and the means by which it is to be applied, following the general statutes governing the acquisition of citizenship as set out in legal commentaries, it is clear that the following basic conditions must be fulfilled:

a. It must be established that the child's birth took place in the country. This requires, first, the verification that the presence of both parents in the country at the time of the child's birth was legal. That is, they entered the country legally and resided there legally. In addition, a birth certificate is required, issued by a legally authorized party. This certificate must clearly give the place and date of birth, and the name and description of the child, with attestations by two witnesses over the age of 18 as to the date of birth. At this point, the necessary official investigation can take place to verify the validity of the certificate.

b. The birth must be legitimate, that is, the two parents

must be legally married.

C. Both parents must be identified if their nationality is not known or if they are stateless.

d. Both parents must prove beyond a doubt that they do not know what their nationality is or that they are stateless, a process that requires a detailed investigation by the responsible parties as to the validity of this proof.

-- With this paragraph, the law clearly has as its aim handling of individual cases that may occur, and this is for humanitarian reasons. The law does not mean to make it easy for foreign groups to acquire citizenship in a country to which they do not originally belong and into which they have illegally infiltrated for the sake of political objectives and ethnic ambitions.

Article 5 of the Citizenship Law stipulates that citizenship may not be granted except in individual cases, and makes an exception for members of a single [nuclear] family. This confirms that the law categorically does not permit citizenship to be granted on a collective basis, even by means of forms completed for or by individuals.

## **2. On the issue of statements on the number of Kurds registered in the Syrian civil registers or on the results of the census:**

Take as a starting point the provisions of the Constitution as specified in Article 25, which stipulates that all citizens are equal under the law as concerns their rights and duties. Therefore, no governmental institution in Syria differentiates between Syrian citizens and non-citizens, Kurdish or others. It is not feasible for this reason to know what the number of Syrian Kurds is by means of civil

registers or population censuses, and it is impossible to provide any figures as to their numbers.

### **3. On the ban on the use of the Kurdish Language in workplaces and the singing of non-Arabic songs at festivities and weddings:**

The Syrian Constitution stipulates that Syria is part of the greater Arab nation and that Arabic is its official language. It stipulates further that the ban on the use of foreign languages in the workplace is not limited to the Kurdish language [page 5] but include all languages other than Arabic.

### **4. On the ban on registering Kurdish children under Kurdish names:**

See the preceding statement on the non-use of languages other than Arabic. The Arabic language does not contain *afaa'* with three dots [the letter "v"]. 105

### **5. On the ban on the transfer of the civil registrations of the citizens of the governorate to other within**

In conformity with directives currently in forces, any citizen may request the transfer of his civil registration from one governorate to another This is on condition however that he obtain the consent of the Ministry of the Interior to this transfer due to organizational considerations and considerations of housing.

These directives are not limited to the Kurds, but include all citizens, regardless of their ethnicity, religion.

political opinions, etc. The transfer of registration within a single governorate does not require consent either of the Ministry or of other institutions. It is sufficient that the citizen submit an official request for the transfer, and his request will be granted without impediment.

#### **6. On the marriage of Kurdish foreigners to female Syrian citizens:**

Law number 272 of 1969 stipulates that marriage between Syrian citizens and (non-Arab) foreigners are not permitted, except with prior authorization by the Ministry of the interior. This measure has been in force since its issuance and applies to all foreigners regardless of their nationality. The Ministry adjudicates the authorization or refusal of all requests for marriage in light of the political and security considerations that must be taken into account.

In accordance with the provisions of this regulation, requests for marriage between foreigners of Hasakeh and Syrians are studied. The Ministry generally consents to the marriage of a Syrian male citizen to a female foreigner of Hasakeh, even if she has been registered as a foreigner there, to enable her to acquire the citizenship of her husband according to the Law of Syrian Citizenship. When the Ministry has reservations against consenting to the marriage of a male foreigner of Hasakeh, especially when he has not been registered as a foreigner there, to a Syrian female citizen, it does so to preserve citizenship, given that he has no clearly defined citizenship and his children also with not.

Thus, in the case that a Syrian female should have the audacity to marry any foreigner, whether he is a foreigner of Hasakeh or elsewhere, that marriage is considered illegal.

As a result, neither it nor the children that ensue will be registered in the civil registers.

## APPENDIX B

Ahmad Ismail  
["receding lines written by hand]

[illegible handwriting]  
Photograph with stamp [Ministry Stamp]  
of the Ministry of Local Affairs,  
City of Qamishli, Hasakeh Governorate]

Identity Certificate

Name and Surname: [blacked out]  
Father's Name: [blacked out]  
Mother's Name: Saafiya  
Place and Date of Birth: Qamishli 1980  
[illegible]

Place and Number of Registration [qayd]'06 [illegible]

We, the Mukhtar of the Quarter of [illegible] in Qamishli, certify that the picture attached to this certificate is the picture of the person who is named above. It was given to him in order to obtain a release of status of foreigner [qayd al ajanib].<sup>07</sup> His name did not appear in the records of the Court of Hasakeh Governorate, to which I sign in attestation.  
[illegible handwriting and signature]

Qamishli 20/10/[illegible]

[two rubber departmental stamps and two adhesive tax stamps]

Unregistered [*maktoumeen*] [written over photograph ]

Identification Certificate

[illegible]

Name and Surname: [entry crossed out]

Father's Name:

Mother's Name:

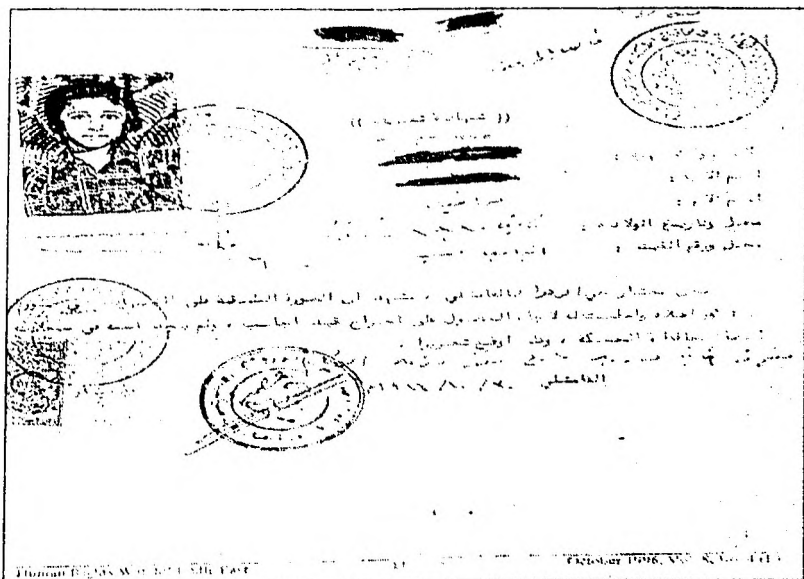
Place and Date of Birth:

Place and Number of Registration [qayd]: Unregistered [MaktozIn7 al-qayd by hand]

Family status: Bachelor [by hand]

We, the Mukhtar of [illegible], certify that the person whose name is identified above and whose [illegible] photograph is attached above is well known to us. The above-mentioned is not registered -hayr niusajjal in the census of Syrian Arabs. I sign here in notification.

[illegible] on the [illegible] 8/1990 the mukhtar [illegible] [illegible][illegible][tax stamp]



الاسم: ~~محمد~~  
 الاسم الاب: ~~محمد~~  
 الاسم الم: ~~محمد~~  
 محل ولادة: ~~البحرين~~  
 محل إقامة: ~~البحرين~~  
 رقم الترخيص: ~~1234~~  
 النوع: ~~البحرين~~

---

تم إصدار هذا ~~الترخيص~~  
 لاسم والبطاقة ~~البحرين~~  
 المعرفه بان ~~البحرين~~  
 واسم ~~البحرين~~

التاريخ: 1990 / 12 / 15  
 المشتبه: ~~البحرين~~

رقم الترخيص: ~~1234~~  
 رقم الترخيص: ~~1234~~





## APPENDIX E

[Handwritten] Resolution Number 15801

[Typewritten] Minister of Local Administration

In accordance with Administrative Reform Law Number 496 dated 21/12/1957 and [illegible] and Legislative Decree Number 146 dated 3/9/1963 which comprises the restoration of State Resolution Number 97 of the year 1959.

And Legislative Decree Number 36 dated 12/8/1971 comprising the proceedings of the Ministry of Local Administration

And Resolution Number 9 of the District Assembly of al-Bab dated 22/2/1977

And Resolution Number 63 of the District Assembly of Afrin dated 21/2/1977

And Resolution Number 5 of the District Assembly of Ain al-'Arab dated 14/3/1977

And Resolution Number 107 of the District Assembly of A'zaz dated 16/3/1977

And Resolution Number [number illegible] of the District Assembly of the Center of Aleppo Governorate dated 14/4/1977

And Resolution Number 300 of the Executive Office of the Assembly of Aleppo Governorate dated 23/3/1977

It is resolved that:

Article 1 The names of the following towns and villages in the Aleppo Governorate are replaced by new names legally assigned to each.<sup>109</sup>

### **District of Afrin Sub-District: Towns of the**

#### **Center of Afrin**

Article 2-- This resolution is published and the parties charged with its implementation are notified. Damascus 18/5/1977

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NOTE: See Document No.27

# The References of Document No.9

<sup>1</sup>The largest number of Kurds in the region, approximately ten to fifteen million, live in Turkey. There are six to eight million Kurds in Iran, and an estimated four million Kurds in Iraq. Smaller numbers of Kurds -- several hundred thousand -- live in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

<sup>2</sup>The Kurds of the Jazirah."

<sup>3</sup>Salah al-Din al-Ayoubi, the famed Sunni Kurd military leader, replaced the ruling Fatimids in Egypt. "He was able to mobilize the strength and religious favor of Egyptian and Syrian Muslims in order to defeat the European Crusaders who had established Christian states in Palestine and on the Syrian coast at the end of the eleventh century. The dynasty founded by Salah al-Din, that of the Ayyubids, ruled Egypt from 1169 to 1252, Syria to 1260, and part of western Arabia to 1229." Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991), p.84. Salah al-Din's tomb is in the old city of Damascus, and his castle, one of the most impressive Crusader-era fortresses in Syria, is on a high mountain ridge between Latakia and Aleppo.

<sup>4</sup>The Kurds of the Jazirah." a confidential report prepared by two European embassies in Damascus, dated September 1994, puts the figure at 10 percent. Human Rights Watch/Middle East obtained a copy of this report from a European diplomat in 1995. Nicholas van Dam a specialist on Syria, provides a lower estimate of 8.5 percent of the population. *The Struggle for Power in Syria*, (London and New York: 1996, I.B. Tauris Publishers), p.1.

<sup>5</sup>The government did, however, provide Human Rights Watch with current statistics on stateless Kurds in Syria; see below. Appendix A contains the unofficial English translation of the Syrian government's reply, received on July 10, 1996, to a letter from Human Rights Watch dated May 29, 1996 that contained questions and requests for clarification about issues raised in this report.

<sup>6</sup>Historian David Fromkin, for example, wrote this in his widely-read book: "The Kurds are a scattered, tribal people who inhabit the plateaus and mountains where Iraq, Iran, Russian Armenia, and Turkey now overlap... There were perhaps two and a half million of them in 1921; there are no reliable figures. There may be seven million of them today. They continue to

fight for autonomy and are a subject of current concern to the governments of Iraq and Turkey." David Fromkin. *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* New York, Avon Books: 1989), p. 503fn.

<sup>9</sup>See Appendix D for copies of documents issued by the Ministry of Education.

<sup>8</sup>See "The Maktoumeen," below, for additional information.

<sup>9</sup>See Appendix A for additional information provided to Human Rights Watch by the Syrian government.

<sup>10</sup>See Middle East Watch, *Syria Unmasked: The Suppression of Human Rights by the Asad Regime*, QFrew Haven and London.

Human Rights Watch Books Yale University Press, 1991), pp.96-97.

<sup>11</sup>Human Rights Watch Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>12-771e</sup> Jazira Plain is the vast level expanse of grassland and semi-desert that lies between the upper arms of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers ('azira means 'island' in Arabic). It is watered by the Balikh and Ichabur Rivers, both tributaries of the Euphrates, and with its good rainfall forms Syria's granary." Warwick Ball, *Syria: A Historical and Architectural Guide*, (Essex, England: Scorpion Publishing Ltd and MCS, 1994), p. 4.

<sup>13</sup>Human Rights Watch Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

"Until superseded by petroleum in 1974, cotton was Syria's most important industrial and cash crop and the country's most important foreign exchange earner, accounting for about one-third of Syria's export earnings." Thomas Colleb, Editor, *Syria: A Country* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1988), p. 141.

<sup>14</sup>In an attempt to reduce Kurdish presence along Syria's northern border, plans were made for their deportation and implantation of Arabs along and in between Kurdish areas. In 1963 a study by a lieutenant of the Syrian Secret Police in the Jazirah, Talib Hildal, advocated massive deportation of the Kurdish population from the Jazirah. This followed the 'census' of 1962, allegedly to halt infiltration of Turkish Kurds into Jazirah, resulting in the 'Arab Belt' policy. This was never fully implemented, but ca. 120,000 Syrian Kurds were declared to be aliens and their nationality was taken from them. Apart from ideologic and demographic considerations, the presence of oil reserves in the middle of the Kurdish area seems to have played a role," wrote the authors of "The Kurds of the Jazirah."

<sup>15</sup>Non-Arab grnu PS [in Syria] generally live in partial isolation from each other, either in their own villages or cluster of villages or in specific quarters of towns and cities, mostly in the area north of Aleppo or in the Jazirah region of the northeast. The Jazirah is particularly heterogeneous; among its settled population, the proportion of non-Arabs is much greater than in any other

region. The concentration of non-Arab groups in Halab Province [Aleppo governorate] and in the Jazirah gives these areas a distinct character and has caused concern in the central government about the maintenance of order there." Thomas Collelo, Editor, *Syria: A Country Study*, p.62.

<sup>16</sup> "Kurdish villages in the area in contrast, are much smaller, with as few as thirty homes each.

<sup>17</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>18</sup> "The Kurds of the Jazirah."

<sup>19</sup> "from a defense statement submitted by the lawyers on behalf of eight Kurdish political prisoners to the Supreme State Security Court in Damascus in 1994.

<sup>20</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995. Abu Cheto is a pseudonym that this interviewee asked us to use. "Cheto" means rebel in Kurdish.

<sup>21</sup> "This information and similar data about the status of individual Kurdish families cited throughout this report was obtained by Human Rights Watch/Middle East through the efforts of Syrian Kurds in northeast Syria. At our request in April 1995, they visited three Kurdish villages in Rasakeh governorate -- Salihyya, Sa'diyya, and Aliya al-Gharbiyya -- and carried out a "census" of residents in each village, documenting the status of parents and their children. Copies of the information that was collected are on file at Human Rights Watch in English translation as well as the original Arabic; the original documents remain in northeastern Syria.

<sup>22</sup> "Defense statement submitted on behalf of eight Kurdish political prisoners to the Supreme State Security Court in Damascus in 1994.

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>24</sup> "Syrians nationality law grants a child born in Syria the right to acquire the nationality of his or her Syrian Arab father, if the father is known, or the nationality of his or her mother if the mother is Syrian and the father is unknown. See below for additional information about the nationality law.

<sup>25</sup> "Some of the children are classified as "foreigners," like their fathers, but others are maktoumeen (unregistered). See below for explanations of these terms.

<sup>26</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>27</sup> Human Rights Watch / Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995. To protect the identity of this individual, we must withhold his name and additional details about his case.

<sup>28</sup> See government reply to Human Rights Watch in Appendix A.

<sup>29</sup> "The government also noted that they are not permitted to "register mechanized vehicles or automobiles," while adding that "they may do so on

the strength of private contracts in their own names or through the intermediary of their friends or relatives who are Syrian citizens." See Appendix A.

<sup>30</sup>They are not granted food allotment cards [to purchase food] at official [supported] prices. They are, however, permitted to obtain the [foodstuffs] they need at free market prices, using as documentation their special personal or family paper." the government informed Human Rights Watch in July 1996.

<sup>31</sup>They are permitted to work in the institutions of the public sector, the joint [public-private] sector, and the private section" See Appendix A.

<sup>32</sup>All those who have university degrees in medicine, pharmacy, law and engineering are permitted to open their own professional offices." the government wrote to Human Rights Watch in July 1996.

<sup>33</sup>See Appendix A

<sup>34</sup>The Kurds of the Jazirah."

<sup>35</sup>See Appendix A.

<sup>36</sup>The information was collected for Human Rights Watch/Middle East in April 1995 in an unofficial "census" in the village conducted by Syrian Kurds at our request. Copies of the census data, in the original Arabic and English translation, are on file at Human Rights Watch.

Sa'diyya is the Arabic name of the village; it is known in Kurdish as Girdeem. See "Suppression of Ethnic Identity" below, for information about the government's change of Kurdish place names to Arabic.

<sup>37</sup>Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>38</sup>Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>39</sup>Maktoumeen is a plural form of maktoumeen, which means hidden, concealed, suppressed; kept secret; or undisclosed. It is the opposite of what occurs through a report, survey, discovery, list or record. In this report, we render the term "unregistered" or "not appearing in the records," following the term maktoumeen al-qayd used in documents issued by Syrian government ministries to indicate the status of this discrete group of stateless Syrian Kurds. In the Syrian Kurdish context, the word is used to refer to those Syrian-born Kurds whose names have not been recorded by authorities in official population registers (ghavr initsajjalji al-sajaloat, in Arabic).

Historically, according to one Syrian Kurdish source interviewed by Human Rights Watch, the word maktoumeen was applied in Syria to the nomadic Bedouin tribes who wandered with their livestock across national borders. These Bedouin had never been registered with the central government, and their number, location and status were "unclear" and "uncertain," conveyed by the use of the term maktoumeen, our source said. He emphasized that the situation of the Syrian Kurds is different. The Kurds were settled in cities,

towns and farming villages, and had been registered with official agencies, he said. He added that for the Syrian Kurds the term *maktoumeen* means the deprivation of citizenship or national identity. Syrian authorities might describe this as a bureaucratic *masfala* (*masala Uraa 'ijy a*), but for the Kurds, he said, it is a political matter (*masala si'aa siyya*). He noted that from the point of view of the Syrian government, the status of the Kurdish *maktoumeen* is "unclear" or "still to be determined," and that this has been reflected by the state's adoption of another term -- the more widely recognized *qayd al-dars* (under investigation) -- to refer to the Kurdish *maktoumeen*.

<sup>40</sup>See Appendix A.

<sup>41</sup>-The Kurds of the Jazirah."

<sup>42</sup>Not providing such documents contradicts the assertions of the Syrian government in its 1996 report to the U.N Committee on the Rights of the Child. The Government's report states: "Syrian law seeks to ensure that every person born in Syria has an identity that clearly specifies his or her civil status. The father or, in his absence, relatives, as well as the physician, the midwife or directors of official institutions have an obligation to send the birth certificate of every newborn child to the Civil Register. This ensures that every child is entered in the official State registers." (Emphasis added by Human Rights Watch.) The report continues: "Under Syrian law, every Syrian must hold a personal identity card specifying his or her civil status. According to Article 70 of the Civil Status Act: On reaching the age of 14 years, every male and female Syrian Arab must apply, within one year, for a personal identity card to be issued by the Civil Registry at his or her place of registration or residence. Application therefore prior to the said age is voluntary." U.N Committee on the Rights of the Child, Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties Under Article 44 of the Convention, Initial reports of States parties due in 1995, Addendum, Syrian Arab Republic, CRC/C/28/Add.2, 14 February 1996, pp.15-16.

<sup>43</sup> *bid.*, pp.53-54.

<sup>44</sup> He explained that registration cards for cows are the same red color as the special identity cards issued to Syrian Kurdish "foreigners." The cows' ears are marked with the number on the registration card, which is used to obtain fodder from the state.

<sup>45</sup> This information was collected in an unofficial "census" carried out in the village for Human Rights Watch/Middle East in April 1995 by Syrian Kurds. Copies of the census data, in the original Arabic and English translation, are on file at Human Rights Watch.

<sup>46</sup> The person serving in the office of *mukhtar* functions as a channel of communication between local residents and administrative officials.

<sup>47</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>48</sup> See Appendix B for a copy of this document.

<sup>49</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>49</sup> The same thing is done with secondary documents that are officially recognized.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

Individuals are also summoned in writing by security forces. See Appendix C for a copy of a summons issued in 1995 by the head of the Darbasiyyah office of General Intelligence. "In case of tardiness, we shall inflict the severest of punishments," the last line of the summons read.

<sup>51</sup> Human Rights Watch Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>52</sup> Article 15.

<sup>53</sup> Syria has not signed or ratified this convention.

<sup>54</sup> Article 12(2) of the ICCPR states: "Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own." Article 12(4) of the ICCPR states: "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country."

<sup>55</sup> Article 23.(2)

<sup>56</sup> Article 3 of the Syrian Nationality Act No.276 of October 1969, as amended, provides: "The following persons shall be deemed, ipsofacto, to be Syrian Arabs:

a) Anyone born in or outside the country to a Syrian Arab father.

b) Anyone born inside the country to a Syrian Arab mother but whose paternity has not been legally established.

c) Anyone born inside the country to parents who are unknown, of unknown nationality or stateless. A foundling discovered within the country shall be deemed to have been born therein at the place in which he or she was discovered, failing proof to the contrary. d) Anyone born inside the country and who, at birth, was not entitled to acquire a foreign nationality by right of affiliation."

<sup>57</sup> Syria has not ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which bars all forms of gender discrimination, including in matters of nationality. Article 9(2) of the Convention specifically provides:

"States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children."

In a 1995 report, Human Rights Watch / Middle East noted that Kuwait's citizenship law discriminated against women. The report concluded in its pertinent part: "It is clear that the rule in Kuwaiti Citizenship Law which denies Kuwaiti women --but not men -- the right to pass on their Kuwaiti citizenship to their children discriminates against women. In addition to its

violation of international law by 'creating' statelessness -- children of Bedouin fathers and Kuwaiti mothers are classified as Bedouins in Kuwaiti law -- it violates CEDAW, which bars all forms of sex discrimination, including in matters of nationality." *Human Rights Watch/Middle East, The Bedouins of Kuwait: Citizens without Citizenship* New York: Human Rights Watch, August 1995), p.99.

<sup>58</sup> Syrian law defines a child as a person under eighteen years of age.

<sup>59</sup> Article 2(l) obligates States Parties to "respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's or his or her parent's or legal guardian's race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status."

<sup>60</sup> Despite Syria's multi-ethnic population, the 1973 constitution is replete with references to the Arab nation, the Arab revolution, and Arab society. Article 1(3) of the constitution states: "The people of the Syrian Arab Region are part of the Arab Nation, who work and struggle to achieve all-embracing unity." The constitution also states that Syria's educational and cultural system "shall aim at bringing up a national Arab generation" (Article 21). It further stipulates that any candidate for the presidency of the republic must be an Arab (Article 83).

<sup>61</sup> Article 26 of the ICCPR states: "All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

<sup>62</sup> Article 27 of the ICCPR states: "In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language."

<sup>63</sup> European diplomats offered this assessment in 1994:

Kurdish language cannot be taught in schools but can be used in everyday life. Print of Kurdish texts and books is not allowed but Kurdish texts do circulate in public." "The Kurds of the Jazirah."

<sup>64</sup> Cultural rights are not formally recognized, but in practice the expression of Kurdish identity is not likely to lead to serious problems with the authorities.

<sup>6</sup> A copy of the speech, dated March 4, 1995, is on file at Human Rights Watch. Mr. Darwish was prevented from attending the conference in Copenhagen



because Syrian authorities refused to renew his passport. Also see "Arbitrary State Actions Based on Ethnicity," below, for additional information about restrictions on travel abroad.

<sup>63</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>64</sup> See Appendix E for the original document and the unofficial English translation.

<sup>65</sup> Decree No. 1012/sad/25, as reported by the Committees for the Defense of Democratic Freedoms and Human Rights in Syria (CDF), "Rapport Annuel 1995" (France: 1996), p.15.

The governors of Syria's thirteen provinces, or governorates, are not elected. Governors are "nominated by the minister of interior and appointed by the central government." Thomas Collelo, Editor, *Syria: A Country Study*, p.193.

<sup>68</sup> Order No. 1865/sad/24 CDF "Rapport Annuel 1995," p.15.

<sup>69</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>70</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>71</sup> See Appendix F for the original document and the unofficial English translation.

"In urban areas, local municipal councils license businesses, control public services and utilities, and levy taxes. Some members of these councils are elected and some appointed." Thomas Collelo, Editor, *Syria: A Country Study*, p.194.

<sup>72</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>73</sup> "The Kurds of the Jazirah."

<sup>74</sup> "The Kurds of the Jazirah."

<sup>75</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

The use of rumors is a technique used by Syria's security apparatus to create fear or foment sectarian strife, according to Kurdish sources. "Each security apparatus has its operatives who are directed to spread a rumor" one of our sources in the northeast said. "These agents start speaking, then people begin to spread the rumor themselves. As political activists, we have to work hard to counteract this."

<sup>76</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>77</sup> The State Department's 1995 country report on Egypt, in contrast, included a detailed list of various types of discriminatory state practices against members of the Coptic Christian minority in that country (which, like the Kurds in Syria, comprise about

<sup>78</sup> The names of the twenty-one men are on file at Human Rights Watch.

<sup>79</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>80</sup> Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>81</sup> CDF, *Rapport Annuel 1995*, p.15.

<sup>82</sup>-A copy of this letter is on file at Human Rights Watch/Middle East.

<sup>83</sup>-*The Kurds of the Jazirah.*"

<sup>84</sup>-We interviewed him in Qamishli, Syria, in April 1995. The account of his torture is included in Human Rights Watch/Middle East, "Syria: The Price of Dissent." A *He'ran Rights Watch Short Report*, vol. 7, no. 4, July 1995, pp. 33-34.

<sup>85</sup>-*The Kurds of the Jazirah.*"

<sup>86</sup>-Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>87</sup>-For information about torture under interrogation and state security court trials, see Human Rights Watch/Middle East, "Syria: The Price of Dissent."

<sup>88</sup>-The unauthorized, clandestine Kurdish Workers Party in Syria, the Kurdish Popular Union Party in Syria, and the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria. The umbrella organization for these parties is the Kurdish Democratic Union in Syria.

<sup>89</sup>-Their names are: Muhammed Hassan Yosuf Muhammed Sharif Abu Zayd, Ahmad Muhammed Ibrahim, Zaki Muhammed Hajji, Dara Nayif Hasso, Yunis Hammi Hussein, Muhammed Bashir Mulla Ahmed, and Muhammed Walid Abd'al-Qadir Haj Hussein.

The vaguely formulated charges against these eight men are typical of the charges used to prosecute suspected political activists in Syria before the state security court. For additional information, see "The Price of Dissent."

<sup>90</sup>-Human Rights Watch, *Human Rights Watch World Report 1994* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993), p. 335.

<sup>91</sup>-CDF, "Rapport Annuel 1995," p. 15.

<sup>92</sup>-See *Background: Arabization in Northeastern Syria*, "above, for information about the Arab belt.

<sup>93</sup>-*The Kurds of the Jazirah.*"

<sup>94</sup>-Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>95</sup>-Their names are: Hamid Darwish, a lawyer; Kamal Darwish (unrelated to Hamid Darwish); and Fouad Ah Koh.

<sup>96</sup>-Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>97</sup>-*The Kurds of the Jazirah.*"

<sup>98</sup>-According to European diplomats, three of these "independents" were Arab tribal chiefs, and Zayya Malik Ismail an.]

<sup>99</sup>-Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>100</sup>-Human Rights Watch/Middle East interview, Qamishli, Syria, April 1995.

<sup>101</sup>-The term used here, *istiitaan*, is also the term used to refer to the process of Israeli settlement in the Occupied Territories. This footnote, and the ones that follow, are from the Human Rights Watch translator.

<sup>102</sup>-The term *al-niutasalijjin al-'aghraab*--the alien infiltrators--is used

consistently throughout the document to refer to those who are considered neither Syrian citizens nor foreigners.

<sup>103</sup>-The Arabic text uses verbs of acquisition and attainment to refer to the process of becoming a citizen, preserved in the translation

<sup>104</sup>-These are unspecified in contrast to the more well-defined Syrian identity cards described in section I, above.

<sup>105</sup>-The Arabic alphabet is adapted for use in other languages by making minor changes in existing letters, such as in the number of dots above or below a letter to represent sounds not present in Arabic.

<sup>106</sup>-Qay'd, "registration," appears here without *naktoimi*.

107- i.e., registration as a foreigner

108-In this and the following document three different Arabic terms can be rendered into English as registration: *iktū'ab*, *qayd* and *tasjeel*. Only *qayd* occurs in construct with *maktūm*.

The full expression, *maktūm al-qayd*, can be translated in a number of ways, the simplest of which is "unregistered." Alternatively one might choose the more ambiguous phrase "of undisclosed registration" for *maktūm al-qayd*. The abbreviation could then be rendered as "undisclosed" (for the singular, *maktūm*) and as "undisclosed persons" (for the plural, *maktūzjmeen*).

Regardless of the translation, the appearance on government documents of both the full phrase and its abbreviation is significant, because the abbreviation, *maktūz-jn*, can describe both the registration and the individual.

<sup>109</sup>-Translator's notes: The names are transliterated rather than translated.

Consonants are generally

translated according to Classical Arabic pronunciation. Vocalization is approximate.

The first page of the original is translated in its entirety. The following pages provide partial translation from the last three pages of the eight page Arabic resolution.

## Document No: 10

### The Syrian Authorities Pursue Compulsion Against Kurds

Compulsion against the Kurds is continually pressed in Syria in different means and it doesn't take the national and racial form only, but compulsion is oftenly practiced as

economical block to oblige the Kurds to be hungry and repressed.

When the Syrian Security Regimes controlled tidily upon the Kurdish regions, they became the only power rules the Kurds, learning and building the projects, even prevent them to repair their houses, leaving and being employ in addition to urge and encourage some Kurds to fight others by political or tribal means as it appeared clearly since the beginnings of the previous summer.

Al-Hasakeh Governorate boss, decided recently to dismiss 21 Kurdish labors from General Roads foundation Company according to the instructions of the Security Authorities and justified that because they had considered Them dangerous element for the State Security as well as they are Kurdish, they don't serve the securities regimes and a copy of the decision text signed by Al Hasakeh Governorate to which had been mentioned previously in this book.

### **The Kurdish Popular Union Party**

#### **In Syria-Europe Organization**

10/10/1992

#### **Document No:11**

## **Calling For World Opinion**

To stop the compulsory procedures which are practiced by the Syrian Regime against the Kurds, This calling had been sent to:

Amnesty-London

- International Federalism For Human Rights-Departments

- Middle East Watch Organization-New York U.S.A.
- Dependence Freedoms Committee & Human Rights-Syria-abroad.
- Human Rights Committee European Parliament-Strasbourg.
- Arabic Organization for Human Rights-Qairo. Egypt.
- Defense Committees of Human Rights in Germany Parliament-Berlin.

As we have told you previously through four announcements since October 1992 up to date, the Syrian Authorities peruse the ethnic discrimination policy against the Syrian Kurds. The Syrian Government Couldn't hide it's aggressive situation against the Kurds particularly when did as an active partner in the triple Turkish's meeting in which a plan had been put down to face the will of Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan concerning with Federalism government which is legislated by the majority of the Kurdish Parliament there.

Since the above mentioned date. and up to date, the Syrian Regime called and inquest with 160 Syrian Kurdish citizens and 30 of them still prisoner and nothing known about them. This Syrian politics are not wonderful for it is known that the regime in Syria is judged by dictatorial and racial Party and the record of this Party is well Known to all the international organizations concerning with Democracy and Human Rights; e.g. 7000 political prisoners are still in the secret prisons in addition to the tens of others are lost as the previous Syrian president Nooreddin Al Atari who died in the prison and no one knew a thing about him-This

regime doesn't Confess that a Kurdish people of 2-5 million or 12-15% of the Syrian Total Population is exist in Syria.

The Syrian Delegator to the conference of Minorities Society which belongs to The Human Rights Society in Geneva, held at the past year. He mentioned during his inquest about the Syrian Kurds, that they have indulged within the Syrian society and there is no anything Called national Kurdish case in Syria, as he pretended as well and there is no any mark points to the Kurdish existence in the Syrian Constitution. If it is why then there is imprisoning among the Syrian Kurds? Why do the exceptional politics are practiced in the Kurdish regions and these regions had been change into military regions with out civil society? Why thè Kurds are deprived from working, learning and their human rights?

The Syrian compulsory procedures nowadays are so crude that couldn't be neglected because they threaten the Kurds neglected their existence national characteristic, and its future development, specially after the Syrian Regime had prevented them of naming their children with the Kurdish names and obliged them to have the Arabic names according to a repressed list achieved by the Security offices in the Kurdish regions and according to the enteric ministry order No. 122 in 30/9/1992 which was specially taken for Al Hasakeh Governorate and other Kurdish regions. This order obliged all the Kurds arbitrary to have security office's agreements to record their newborn children in the civil records.

Since October 1992 up to date, there are tens of the Kurdish children with out names because of the governmental denial to record their Kurdish names in the

civil record offices. We are looking forward to have your support and solidarity with our repressed Kurdish people in Syria.

The Kurdish Popular Union  
Party In Syria

**Document: 12**

## **Calling to Human Rights Organizations**

Since 3 October 1992, our Party observes curiously the compulsory procedures had been practiced against the Kurds citizens in the north and the eastern north of Syria, particularly, what had been taken after the Turk triple arrangement between the governments of Syria, Turkey and Iran which is dated with the 30<sup>th</sup> memory of putting down the laws of ethnic discrimination between Arabs and Kurds in Syria 1922.

More than a political declaration issued by the Kurdish parties pointed out to that There is a wide expedition of in poisoning the Kurds included about 260 Kurdish Citizen as well as some of them have no any relations with politic, So many of the political faculty had been obliged to hide themselves afraid of imprisoning. Some of those prisoners had been released after incepting them, others are still in the prisons (40) persons, are still in the prisons, as well as (19) of them are the members of our Party-The Kurdish Popular Union Party In Syria-which adopts all the Kurds prisoners because all of them imprisoned for their opinions, so we call and demand all the organizations to move with us to gain Freedom for all the prisoners in Syria.

This imprisoning was accompanied with constraining a large number of Kurdish employees and dismissing (12) workers from The General Company Of Roads Building.

In 3<sup>rd</sup>. Sep. 1992 the discussion of Interior Ministry No.122 issued concerning with linking the Kurdish newborns with the agreement of Security offices and since October 1992 up to date, there are tens of the Kurdish children without names because the Security offices refusal to record their Kurdish names. The Governor of Al Hasakeh decided recently to prevent all the songs and Singing in Kurdish during the private parties and celebrations of wedding as well as there are more than two millions of Kurds in Syria, and 150 000 of them are stateless; without nationality card and have temporary identity cards as foreigners.

The Kurdish political movement in Syria started during the fifties. The Kurdish Democratically Party formed in 1957, and Sirage Security Office which belongs to the Syrian Government, imprisoned several leaders of this Party in 1959, and since this year up to date the Syrian unjust procedures pressed against the Kurds there; e.g. the law No. 93 Dated 23/8/1962 issued and followed by a procedure of depriving 120 000 Kurdish citizens of the Syrian Nationality as well as followed by declaring what is called the Arabic Belt which obliged the Kurds whom were living by the Syrian Turkish territorial boundaries to immigrate and leave their regions for Arabs. When the emergency condition announced in 8/3/1963, this direction had been supported by depending up on Lieutenant Muhammad Talab Hilal as a Security police officer, who considers the Kurds a people without history, without civilization and without ethnic



origin as well as he was who called to achieve the Arabic Belt project.

And since 1970 the Syrian Government politic had been built up on reconsideration some classical Kurds characters as persons as well as negation the right of political movement, The right for Corporation rights. Cultural, Social and civil freedoms for the Kurdish people.

The Syrian authorities faced In 1980, the Kurds whom tried to celebrate with their national feast Nawrooze at March and the facing led to several killed persons and many wounded In 11/11/1986 the statement No. 20/3/S/52 issued to prevent using all the non Arabic languages in the public and private places of work in addition to the celebrations and prates. It was obvious that the Kurdish language is aimed.

Another statement issued at 6/12/1989 from Al Hasakeh Governorate to assure the previous one and the compulsory procedures against the Kurds which increased during the last four months in Syria, Turkey, Iran and Iraq. So it is important for the dissipaters of human rights to observe the common position there more seriously and anxiously.

Our organization and the International Federalismt for Human Rights condemn the Syrian Government to respect the political, as well as we condemn all the procedures of compulsion and ethnic discrimination against the Kurds in Syria.

We urge the human rights organizations to take care of this case in Syria, Turkey, Iran and Iraq as well as we deny entirely to take care of the political considerations as a side or a part of this case.

**Paris, 31/1/1993**  
**Dr. Haitham Manna'a**

**Document: 13**

## **United Nations Human Rights Society**

Article (1, **The Forty Ninth Course (1-2 to 12-2)**)

-Article (1) of program list: The Case of human rights for all the persons whom exposed to any form of arresting or imprisoning forms (French Language)

-Justice Foundation in Syria. Lebanon bad Tunisia

-The International Federalism for the Human Rights Letter: pronounced by Dr. Haitham Manna. the responsible man of the international affairs at the defense societies for democratic freedoms and human rights in Syria at the nations palace in Geneva at the front of human rights society which belongs to UN at 13/2/1993.

Our organizations consider the continuous exceptional condition in Syria is the main reason of human rights disclosure. The information's that we have, which had been included into the report No. 164 is issued by Federalism Organization in addition to the letter had been exposed to your excellency, show the disastrous results of human rights disclosure after thirty years of the emergency conditions in Syria, as following:- more than 42000 persons knew the prison because they had expressed their own opinions 3000 persons are still lost and for this case our both organizations will send a team of work to inquest about those compulsive cases. It is very difficult to give a limited and accurate number of the deeds during Hamah events in 1982 as well as

to numerate the destruction's committed during the period 1979-1982. The president Excellency,

The programmed margining for justice led to an alteration in values and created a case of un development actually in judgement which can be described with domination of the exceptional courts entirely is quite contrast, in text and action, to the present courts which does judge more than 450 prisoners of opinion and that is a great evidence assures that the law is absent in Syria.

Whenever we hair that some compulsively arrested persons have gained freedom and a fetor a while, other news come to emphasize that groups are protected by the users of the emergency conditions are still preps the compulsion.

On August 1992 a thousand person gained their freedom, but several thousands are still rested repressedly, and 45 persons of them are Kurds had been rested recently, then 33 prisoners of them died in prisons and some of their names are: The loner Shukur Tabban, Mr. Muhsin Abdullu and Mr. Quasim Hassow.

One ten dissipaters whom had been judged by an exceptional court and judged of unjust sentences in the past March, are still in the prison in addition to other three of our strugglers who are in the prison without courting since a year ago, and they are: Najib Atta Laiqua, Jihad Hazim and Ibrahim Habib. Please, we would like to point to our written interference, which we have offered to your society, which is included, much of disgraces. Mr. President.

The Federalism Organization and The Defense Committee would like to believe that the common says which are talking a bout close releasing of rested persons since more than (21) year without judgement or whom

ended their judgements since 1982 or whom had been rested in a minimum levels of health conditions or those whom were the 'strugglers of human rights, but we think that it would be urgent to support our all the steps and procedures could result to release them all the prisoners of opinion and we hope to remove the exceptional courts in addition to the emergency conditions.

**Document: 14**

## **The Kurdish Case In Austrian Parliament**

The Austrian Parliament legislated a project of discussion concerning with the Kurdish Case after had been offered by a group of the parliament members in 10<sup>th</sup>, March 1992. The importance of this decision is in its treatment the Kurdish case in all the four parts of Kurdistan as well as the decision considered the case as a political and national case in addition to its human sides.

The project was offered by; Dr.Coll, Dr Cab, the loner Mrs. Marina Crandetz, Stain Boer and other fellows. The subject of the project was the international attempts to treat the Kurdish Case.

The political position in the Middle East characterizes with unsettlement in addition to the Kurdish position is still forming the political case and as long as this case stays without justice solution main wouldn't be peace or settlement there, particularly in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. The region will face a dangerous position and such a Position should be avoided to achieve settlement in the

region, the Kurdish case should be treated in a world frame settlement.

The special agreements between the countries concerned with the Kurdish people didn't achieve the solution along all the past time, because the Kurdish case couldn't be solve by a temporary or periodical human helps, but it demands a justice solution achieves peace.

The Kurdish Position in Iraq, nowadays, could be described; that the Iraqi authorities still peruse their political strategies which aim to remove the Kurdish people and to end the national case forever as well as the same practices are proceeded against the Kurds in the Kurdish regions in Turkey, and Syria.

In all these 4 regions the Kurdish people is deprived of its minimum human rights for destination and all other rights. All the efforts are spent to improve the Kurds Position there should take care of the main principles of human rights for destination.

According to that the duty of UN is being to assure whether it's possible to hold world conference under an international observation to design a justice solution for the Kurdish problem. Because the new national system nowadays takes care to treat differences and gives a special importance to the Kurdish problem which should be solved by peaceful means we hope of the UN to achieve its moral duty with the Kurdish problem, and here we have to mention to the UN's part in Iraq in which there is a thousand of employers achieve human helpful projects in addition to the security watch.

We have to point out also to the Austerian human helps for the Kurdish people during the past year, which had been

offered by the Austrian government in addition to the Herman organizations and others.

According to what we have said, we demand the parliament to decide the following listed advicemnts:

1-we would like to please the Minister of the foreign relationships to:

A-follow and peruse the efforts which support the political and human rights of the Kurdish people in all the UN states specially the world Security Council

B. To use his all the meetings with the four concerned countries (Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria) to point to the Kurdish problem there.

2-To adopt holding a world conference concerning with the Kurdish Case and to ask all the representations of Austeria in New York and Geneva to call for holding such a conference.

In addition to all what we have mentioned we would like to please the Foreign Relations Minister to take care of what we have discussed in the Parliament during June 1991 find a complete peaceful solution for the Middle East Poisson according to the following principles:

1-Confess Israelis existence Security and boundaries.

2-confess destination for the Palestinian People.

3-Achieving justice peace in Lebanon.

3-Concerning such a field, the Austrian Foreign Politic should support the Kurdish People's Legislated rights in destination, and self-management in the regions in which the Kurds live.

4-To achieve an ever-peaceful solution we have to take care of the following principles:

- a) Decreasing the weaning competence and doing whatever could be done to remove the Atomic weapons wherever exist.
- b) The region should be empty of the Atomic Weapons
- c) Avoid exporting the nucleic technology and weapons to the Middle AST.
- d) Founding a territorial security system to treat the problems in the future.
- e) Demanding to achieve democracy in the region.
- f) Achieving the peaceful sultan for territorial border problems and by cooperation to solve the security and weapons problems in addition to the economical, environmental, waters and immigration problems.

5- According to these principles we hope and ask the Foreign minister to support the Austerian part concerns with peace efforts.

6- We would like to please the prime minister to peruse the human helps for the Kurdish people.

**Document No: 15**

## **Al-Hasakeh Prison Fire**

**A journalistic declaration Published By  
Abroad Organization for the Kurdish Popular  
Union Party in Syria**

At eleven O'clock night 24<sup>th</sup>., March 1993 a great fire burned inside one of the rooms of the Central civil Prison of Al Hisaka City-Al jazirah. The fire extended as well as the

fire men refused opening the doors and fire departments didn't come until the next morning.

We have waited for a while to see weather the local responsible authorities will dare to announce an explanation about the event or not, particularly the Interior Minister Muhammad Harba was present in the place of the event and he should knew all the details, but nothing announced uptodate. The authorities stated drawing a thick curtains over the event and preventing all the news to slip out of the prison unless those asides that had been well programmed by the scurity Regimes there by means of their different methods, so we have to announce for the general world opinion the following:

1-The governorate in which the harmful event happened is engaged by a majority of Kurdish population and living exceptional conditions. The Security Regimes are the actual ruler there. The Interior Minister has issued a generalization at the past September in which he decided to prevent naming with the Kurdish names there in addition to the authorities there achieved in October several compulsive procedures; e.g. the wide expedition of resting against the Kurds citizens there as well as the other Kurdish regions. There are more than (40) political persons and the official politic of the Syrian Government started increasing the compulsive procedures against the Kurds since the past February; while the triple meeting held between the Foreign Ministers of Iran, Turkey and Syria up to date concerning with the Kurdish Case aiming to face and contain the Kurdish national movement. The Syrian press since a long time concentrate upon negation the Kurdish existence in



Syria by means the ambassadors abroad in addition to other elements to achieve such procedures.

2-Within these conditions and events, the disaster of Al-Hasakeh Prison happened in which more than sixty persons died and thirty ones wounded dangerously, according to the primary information's being available. and all the victims were Kurds.

3-Because the news of Prison were top secret no details were available we could not know the unknown truths about, and the Syrian authorities are still going to peruse drawing curtains over the truths by broadcasting the asides could hide the part of governmental sides in that criminal procedure for several reasons; we can summarize them as political and ethnic racial reasons concerning with the wrestling among the governmental regimes about

Illegislated trade bargaining.

4-Our Party and the Kurdish and Arabic democratic political national movements inside homeland and abroad will do every thing to disgrace all the truth concerning with the event so we demand to form a commute consists of, respecters of law sides, parents of the victims and delegates of all the Parties in the governorate to inquest in the details of the event to be able to point out the results. If the Syrian Government Dennis such a public request, the tied conditions will increase and the Government is alone the responsible, at the same time we have to call the general public world opinion and human rights organizations in addition to the free press, Newspapers and journals to face their responsibilities seriously and move to press on the Syrian Government to disgrace the details of that dangerous event and to announce it for the public opinion

30/3/1993

**The Kurdish Popular Union Party  
In Syria  
Abroad Organization.**

**Document No: 16**

## **Announcement**

### **New Details about Al-Hasakeh Central Prison Disastrous Fire**

Concerning with our announcement of 30/3/1993 about AlHasakeh Central Prison events, after disgracing some details, would like to inrush the world public opinion with some more information's about the reasons and results of that disastrous event in which tens of the victims died. This information is still top secret for the authorities and over which thick curtains drawn and dislike being disgraced:

1-Colonel Muhammad Yousif Mansoor, The Police Guide of Al Hasakeh Governorate, in his report No. 1321-S-dated 27<sup>th</sup>. March, 1993 to the Interior Ministry, says that the actors of fire are a group of adductors (Hashasehin) and numerates a few names-we keep the text of his report of the prisoners.

2-five days before the fire event, a Security Committee held a meting in the Governorate under the observation of Colonel-adenine Bader Hasan-to inquest about the murdered citizen from Al Debris city killed by one of family members from the same city. All the members of this fumble were deprived of the Syrian Nationality because the killed person was a secret detective for one of the known Security Regimes there. The Committee didn't wait for the judgement procedures being end by a court dicion concerning with such criminals.

3- Five of the Fire victims were the members of this family and it is obvious that the authorities well planned to

use the event to erritate the ethnic tendencies as well as to find out a justification for a new plot would be achieved against the Kurds there in addition to draw a curtain over the compulsive procedures achieved there at the ends of the past year.

4-The majority of the fire victims were from one chamber in which there was 160 prisoners while the chamber capacity is only (60) prisoners.

5-The chambers of AlHasakeh Prison-as it is obvious from the report-are containing all the different kinds and levels of the prisoners; e.g. the normal criminals, addicts and political arrests ...Etc.

6-At the event day, 400 Army elements brought from Aleppo to Alderbasia City which there were brought from its population. But in spite of all the security keepers and Armed security patrols, a great popular demonstration, of about 30,000 citizens, achieved there.

7-According to the confesses of an eyewitness rescued from the burned chamber; who said that the management of the Prison ordered at seven o'clock evening in which the event happened to empty the chamber and all the prisoners got out, some of the officers started spray a white powder with a good perfume inside the chamber and they pretend that it is an insecticide. The same eyewitness added that the fire presses for 12 minutes only. This period was enough to burn every thing in the chamber. This eyewitness had been hide and put into a singular chamber, his name is Abdulrahman Ramathan, and he is a barber.

There are other two witnesses had been threatened crudely, so they have kept silenced till now. Their names are Abdulkhaliq Abdulrahman haymow and Ragheb serving

8-The Syrian Government formed a committee to follow up incepting about the event but this committee announced nothing but the material losses considered as five millions Syrian Lira-This Committee consisted of:

1-Colonel Abdulla Da'abool, The'chief of Management

2-Colonel Nasim the Manager of Prisons.

3-Colonel Ma'an Alsheishakly.

4-Colonel Wajeeh from the Political Security Management of Damascus.

9-The procedures appeared up to date are; transferring the police Guide of Al Hasakeh Governorate to Damascus according to the Interior Ministry order, arresting the president Jihad shaikhalla, arresting the president yousif yousif, the officers responsible at the event night both are arrested by the Political Security Regime to inquire with them. It's obvious that there is an attempt to block the event and its details under the control of Security Regimes instead of the judgement courts.

#### 10-Victims Names List:

Full Name	Birth Date and Place
1-Muhammad Aref Muhammad	1960 Raselain
2-Fakher Quazah	1954 Aamooda
3-Husain kamel Quasim	1971 Jeelah
4-Rita Almay	1960 Allathiqia
5-Abbas Majed kerkotly	1970 AlHasakeh
6-Kamal Faith Farhan	1943 Alderbaiah
7-Ferhad Farhan Alali	1972 Kaselain
8-Abdulquader Rammy	1970 Alderbasiah
9-Nawras Quailawy	1967 Alderbasiah
10-Muhammad Zeki Alabbod	1957 AlHasakeh

<b>Full Name</b>	<b>Birth Date and Place</b>
11-Muhammad Rhair Farhan Alali	1977 Raselain
12-Jasim Muhammad Alkhair	1937 Telhemais
13-Abed Farhan Hassow	1941 Alderbasiah
14-Mahmood kheder Abdi	1938 Raselain
15-Said Shaikhmoos Sidow	1948 Raselain
16-Jamal Sha'lan	1975 AlHasakeh
17-Badran Aswad Alali	1952 der Alzour
18-Khalaf Muhammad Alali	1944 Almalikiah
19- Ramathan Mahammad Aljerow	1970 AlHasakeh
20-Jehad Easa Kail	1960 Alderbasiah
12-Abdulmajid Hassaw	1969 =
22-Abdulbari Shaikhy	1969 =
23-Muhammad Hasan Alali	1965 =
24-Walid Fawzi Alsha'er	1963 AlHasakeh
25-Khalaf Shaikhow Berow	1928 =
26-Sulaiman Aziz Khalaf	Iraqi Nationlity
27-Abdulahakim Aljerow	1964 AlHasakeh
28- Muhammad Behow Alahmad	1956 Raselain
29-Muhammad Riath Alkhalaf	1973 =
30-Rdiny Ali Ayoub	1957 Alderbasiah
13-Yousif Awath	1971 Almalikiah
32-Mustafa Farhan	1977 Alderbasiah
33-Abdul karim Sbatt	1967 Adleb
34-Ahmad Abdulaziz Amin	1960 Almalikiah
35-Ali Awad Husain	1968 Teltamer
36-Buland Farhan	1964 Alderbasiah
37-Hazany Authman	1955 Amoda
38-Khalaf Ead	1972 Alhusakah
39-Abdulrahman Derky	1951 Alhderbasiah
40-Ramathan Shaikhmoos	1960 =
41-Jamil Jozaty	1951 =
42-Abdulwahab Abdullah	1971 =
43-Ahmad Abdullah	1957 Unknown
44-Towman Abdullah	1962 AlHasakeh
45-Abdulghafoor Ebrahim	1967 =

<b>Full Name</b>	<b>Birth Date and Place</b>
46-Furat Farhan Hassow	1958 Alderbasiah
47-Ahmad Husain Hasan	1931 Teltemer
48-Muhannad Baker	1958 Amooda
49-Mahmood Barakat Bairem	1966 Ainelarab
50-Jalal Ghazi Alkurdi	1958 unknown
51-Rheder Ahmad Easow	1971 Alderbasiah
52-Haitham Da'edoosh	1977 =
53-Ahmad yosif	1976 =
54-Faisal Easow Aleasow	1976 =
55-Tareque Da'edoosh	1977 =
56-Muhammad Shaikhow Hamy	Unknown =
57-Kamal Sulaiman	1955 =

(In addition to the unknown names).

**April, 1993**  
**The Kurdish Popular Union Party in Syria**  
**Abroad Organization**

**Document No: 17**

## **Another Announcement About Al-Hasakeh Central Prison Disaster**

We have disgraced the truths and backgrounds concerning with Al Hasakeh Central Prison events for the public opinion through our previous announcement dated, 24<sup>th</sup>. March and 30<sup>th</sup>. March 1993. The victims were (57) Syrian citizens and there were 38 Kurdish persons among them whome burned entirely.

As we have emphasised previously that the reasons of that disastrous event were ethnic and political in addition to the wrestling between the governmental scrutiny regimes concerning with power and finical reasons. And we have demanded to form a partnered commute consists of the representatives of all the different concerned sides to inquest the confused reasons of event; we had been suddenness with the journalistic conference held by the Interior Minister, Muhammad Harba, in 24<sup>th</sup> May 1993 in which he tried obviously to slip away from the responsibilities and attacked whom irritated the subject and accused them, as usual as he does, of high treason and he Declared clearly that the victims were (34) Syrian citizens only and the rests were foreigners or of temporary nationality whome he means the Kurds whom had been deprived of the Syrian Nationality since 1962 for the ethnic and political reasons. This is the first time, an official Syrian responsible man confesses that there is such a problem. The Minister declared also that five (5) accused persons had been hunted because of burning the prison, and all of them were Kurds; but without clearing the reasons and impulses of committing the crime, and this means obviously that he wanted to cross the way of gaining the evidences would disgrace the real reasons and the criminals.

As we are following up our persuasion to disgrace the truths concerning with such a criminal event we ask all the world organizations concerned with the human rights to act to press upon the Syrian Government to clear the reasons of the event and to stop all the compulsive procedures against the Kurdish people in Syria as well as to confess the national, political cultural and to give up arresting and

imprisoning the Syrian national democratic and human rights callers.

June 1993  
Abroad Organization  
The Kurdish Popular Union Party in Syria

**Document NO: 18**

## **The Official Story About Al-Hasakeh Central Prison Fire**

**The Syrian Arab Republic**

**Interior Ministry Alhaskeh Governorate Police  
Leadership**

Dept. of Procedures and Training-The Daily Report of  
Criminals and Events, Date 25<sup>th</sup>. March, 1993 No. 1321-C-  
S.

At 21-30 o'clock 24<sup>th</sup> March, 1993, some prisoners in AlHasakeh Central Prison, burned a fire in the Second and fifth Chambers by means spraying kerosene on the floor. The fire extended to include all the contents of the second chamber after the door had been locked by the fire burners. The policemen tried to open the locks, but they were packed by wooden sticks but the policemen could break the doors and rescue whom could de helped while many of the prisoners exposed to fire and suffocation and as soon as possible I have harried to the place of the event and applied the required procedures as well as the fire-brigades and emergencies cars helps were presented at once to transport the burned person to the National Hospital. We have



controlled and put off the fire. The result was (57) prisoners died in addition to four persons wounded and they are still treated in the hospital: public prosecutor. The Governor of AlHasakeh and all the chiefs of Security Regimes inquest the event. The main reasons were that some prisoners tried to resort protestation against the inquisition held by the chief Yousif Yousif concerning with the addiction tablets belong to the prisoner Abdulquader And Alrakrak whom had been arrested by a martial order for he was steeled the tablets from the prisoner Ali Mahmood Qasim. An incision report had been written under No. 8 and dated with its time. The corpses had been sent to their awnsers formally after the required procedures. It is appeared during the incision that:

1-Farhan Sagvan accused of addiction by AlHas-akeh Judge.

2-Hasan Farhan Saqran accused of having addiction materials, by Aleppo Military Court.

3-Ali Mahmood Quasim accused of addiction materials.

4-Kamiran Sharif Ebrahim, arrested by a martial order, accused of robbery and homosexuality.

5-Farid Mahmood Jabry, judged of one year because of escaping by Aleppo Court.

6-Quahran Jamhor, arrested because of addiction by Aleppo Military Court.

7-Muhammad Amin Ahmad Muhammad Amin, accused of stealing by the Judge of AL-Qamishli.

The following list contains the names

**Of the burned dead Prisoners:**

<i>1-Muhammad Aref Muhammad</i>	<i>1960 Ras Al-Ayn</i>
2-Fakher Quazah	1954 Amouda

3-Hasan Kamel Qaasim	1971 Jeilah-Aynshikak
4-Riath Alemari	1960 Allathequiah-Alrowa
5-Abbas Shaker Kerkoutly	1970 AlHasakeh-gheren
6-Kamal Faith Farhan	1943 Alderbasiah
7-Farhad Farhan Alali	1972 Kaselain
8-Abdulquader	1970 Alderbasiah
9-Nawras Quablawi	1967 Alderbasiah
10-Muhammad Zeki Alabbood	1957 Alhaskah-Alaziziah
11-Muhammad Khair Farhan Alali	1977 Raselain
12-Jasim Muhammad Alheiz	1927 Tel husais-Aljenwa
13-Farhan hassow	1941 Alderbasiah
14-Mahmood kheder Aubaidi	1938 Raselain
15-Saidow Shaikhmoos Saidow	1948 = Eastern Qu
16-Jamal Shalan	1975 AlHasakeh
17-Badran Aswad Alali	1952 Der Al-Zoar- Alhasan
18-Khalaf Muhammad Alali	1944 Alyarubiah
19-Rehmadan Muhammad Alhaj	1970 AlHasakeh-Aumelmaghr
20-Jehad Easa Quabil	1960 Alderbasiah
21-Abdulmajid Hassow	1969 =
22-Abdulbari Shaikhy	1969 =
23-Muhammed Hasan Alai	1965 Alswaida
24-Walid Eawzi Alsha'er	1963 Alqumishly-Tay Qn

25-Rhalaf Shaikhow Berow	1928 AlHasakeh-Alaziziah
26-Sulaiman Azizkhalaf	Iraqi Nationality
27-Abdulkarim Aljerow	1964 Alhaskah
28-Muhammad Berholahmad	1956 Raselain
29-Muhammad Riath Alkhalaf	1973 =
30-Rdainy Ali Ayoub	1975 Alderbasiah
31-yousif Awath Ayoub	1975 Alderbasiah
32-Mustafa Farhan	1977 Aldmalikiah
33-Abdul karim Subbatt	1967 =
34-Abdulaziz Amin	1960 Alyarubiah
35-Ali Awad Alhusin	1968 Tel-Temer
36-Buland Farhan	1964 Alderbasiah
37-Hazani	=
38-Haitham Dadoosh	1973 =
39-Ahmad yousif	1967 =
40-Faisal Easow	1976 Alderbasiah
41-Tareque Dadoosh	1977 =
42-Muhammad Shaikhow Hamy	= =
43-Ramal Sulaiman	1955

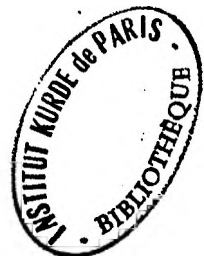
The wonded prisoners are:

- 1-Abdul Khaleque bin Abdalman Ali Alderasiah  
2-Jamil Hassow Aumar 1920 Amooda  
3-Ahmad Mustaf Alnadry Wanod 1959 AlHasakeh  
4-Raghd Ali Serneeny 1959 Alderbasiah

The judge peruses the inquisition and I'll announce the rest of the details about the materials lost. The security condition is calm.

Hopping to know

Al-Hasakeh 28-3-1993  
Colonel, Muhammad Yousif  
Mansour-The Guide  
Of Al-Hasakeh Governorate  
Police Power



**Document: No.19**

**A decision Concerning With The  
Kurdish Case Legislated by The Sweden  
Democratic Socialist Party During The Thirty  
Second Conference**

The world society should deal more seriously with the Case of Kurds position in Syria, Iraq, and Turkey. This people consists, totally, at least of 20 million became the victim of different forms of compulsion of those four countries and what the Kurdish people demands is to respect its democratically human rights.

Those countries understanding for such Kurds requirements was very limited and because of this limitation of understanding, the Kurdish people became the victim of ethnic regimes power there; e.g. the Government which had been selected democratically in Turkey has no enough power to control the organized parties guide the Kurdish to gain Self -rule within the frame of democratic government and we have invited those parties to be the guests of this conference while some Kurds tribes in Turkey selected terrorism as a means of struggle, and for this reason, we can not support them.

The Syrian, Iraqi and Iranian Regimes have no any desire to response for the Kurds requirements but the Kurds in Iraq selected their own Parliament which rules now the northern part of Iraq under UN shelter. This democratically being is worthiness relay our support.

The Iranian Regime persues following the Kurdish Democratic Prates members and leaders, and the procedures

practiced there which led to commit murder the Iranian Kurdish leaders, e.g. Quasimlow in Vienna 1989, and Sharaf Kidney in Berlin 1992. These practices show how the practice means are crude and violate.

Recently, one of the Turkish Governmental parties, our fellowship, confessed that the Kurdish demands have their justifications and should be well responded and we have to support such a direction.

The Democratically Socialism Conference demands; all the sides of wrestling to get rid of terrorism means as well as demands the Syrian, Iraqi, Iranian and Turkish movements to confess the Kurdish peoples human rights in addition to rule themselves by themselves inside the countries boundaries in which they live, and the Kurdish case should be delta seriously by the United Nations.11/9/1993

**The Sweden Democratic Socialist  
Party**

The text published in "Al-Ettihad" No. 9, Jan. 1994

**Document: No. 20**

## **A calling for Kurdish People Outside The Homeland**

You all the nationalists, men and women, whatever you are; workers, students, cultured and politicians, wherever you are in your expulsions, we have to call you all to take care of the Kurdish people position in West -Kurditan and of what it suffers from. The position there is very critic and dangerous which result duties we have to response them accurately.

The western part of our home Kurdistan, is so neglected that it is very difficult to talk about the national Kurdish Case there as well as it is impossible to expose our legislated national case to the public opinion because we have become close to the public opinion, for we had been deprived of our nationality in addition to our homeland in which 2.5 million Kurdish should live whom are the victims of killing tactics practiced by some relatives. Because of the political and organizational in divisions and differences which lacking to the justifications, our people suffers from existence and nationality crises and this reflects duplicatedly upon the outside the home which confuses the aspects and opens the doors through which could be slipped from the duties and spreads the Kurds energies in a wrong place, and in such conditions, our enemy could be ready to pierce into some Kurds selves as well as to buy others and use them: e.g. what we can see have and there Kurds who are seeking unxiously and above groundlly or secretly to content the Syrian centers. These strange feature which Far away from the Struggle morals of our Kurdish people.

Our empress to expose this crises belongs to our national aspect concerning with uniting our peoples energies in every part of Kurdistan to achieve the progress, thereafterm in addition to achieve the Kurdistanian deliverance national movement unity in all the parts through a public national conference to gain an independent political decision and uniform leadership as well as to cross the main block-as our private experiences proved-which face the unity of energies and activities practiced by the Syrian Kurds inside and outside the home because the personal actions which stay limited couldn't achieve a Kurdistanian

plural work. In the same direction, that will be the main condition and the real approach into an active Kurdish cooperation concerning with the democratically struggle in our home Syria for gaining Public democratically freedoms and human rights side by side to the Arab democratically forces to build up home and preserve its independency, progress, natural development and to support the selected unity between the Kurds and Arabs and all the rest ethnic minorities, specially the Arams and Armenians.

An important step leading to such direction had been achieved at home after the democratically Kurdish ally which opened the door to include all the creative and positive energies in addition to the steps achieved outside home. We call you all to move to scorrect direction towards the union and unity.

Early 1993  
The Kurdish Popular Union Party in Syria.  
Abroad Organization

## **Document No.21**

# **Announcement**

After the recent procedures against Kurdish groups, We demand a balanced European Situation with the Kurds

After the prevention procedures which applied by the French and German Governments against PKK, the security regimes at both above mentioned countries applied a wide expedition of arresting and following up as well as attaching the members and sympathetic with this party, accompanied by a wide tirade and propa- ganda well directed against the

Kurds there to show them as terrorists. In front of these procedures, we have to explain:

1- The French and German Governments as well as the governments of all the European countries have their own right to apply their laws upon their citizens as well as the residents on their lands and all the population including the Kurds should respect those laws.

2- We have to confess that the Kurds refugees in European countries gained many social, cultural and political rights as well as other national rights according to the laws applied there. We have to confess also that there were many social and political European forces sympathized with the Kurdish people and it's national case as a justice and legislated case, according to the democratically freedom and human rights principles.

3- Undoubtedly, the German-French procedures had been taken by European decision to support the unity application decision and the attempts of finding new markets and partners in the middle east countries like Syria, Turkey and Iran to distinguish Europe from America.

4- We look forward that these procedures will not go a head more than their limited and exceptional aims as well as not to be a central situation against the Kurds and their national deliverance movement, as it had been declared by the French Government officially and obviously, while this situation hadn't been announced by the German Government obviously and this is calling to anxiety.

5- Europe (specially Germany, France and England) bears a historical responsibility concerning with the Kurdish people crises since the eastern colonization division at the beginnings of nineteenth century and those



countries should response to correct the great historical mistake practiced against the Kurds by means of supporting their struggle and cooperate with them to find a real stable solution for their national case according to the right destination inside the territorial countries under a world observation and UN guidance .

6- Taking the law procedure in some of these countries against the Kurdish groups leading their national struggle in a part of Kurdistan, should be accompanied with the same procedures against - in volume and methods against them the dictatorial regimes and governments which are repressing the Kurdish people and practicing, against them all the compulsive actions and if it is important to condemn any terrorist action, it should include the state terrorism against them at the same time.

7- The European group did nothing worth to be mentioned for the Kurdish people problem and all what they achieved didn't pass the will of the Governments of countries had controlled Kurdistan parts and 30 million Kurdish still waiting for gaining their right to destination and the European support for this right and discuss it with the UN organizations as the European Parliament advised as well as several European countries Parliaments did singularly. The Kurds still waiting the European Group to deal with Kurdish national movement as a political movement has its own personality and leaderships.

8- The Kurds asking why the Austrian and German Governments keep silent about murder, on their lands, the Kurdish leaders Abdulrahman Quasimlow and Sadiq Sharaf Kindly and their comrades in Vienna and Berlin.

.9- The Kurds feel anxious about the diplomatic relations, particularly the martial and security, between the European countries, specially Germany Government and the governments in the Middle East countries, like Turkish, Iranian, and Syrian which repressing the Kurdish people there, although these governments take care of terrorism according to Amnesty's evidences and UN organizations certificates. The Kurds are wondering if these relations will be on account of the Kurds and their national deliverance movement again?

Facing these procedures, we have to urge the European Governments to revise their Kurdish politic and have a balanced politics deal with the Kurds as a strugglers people for a justice case and that this people become the victim of the World bargains exchanged between the Europeans and Americans.

Those governments should treat with the Kurdish people and it's national legislated freedom movement in more respect manner and should stop at once all the procedures against the Kurds to be able to have the democratic peaceful solutions.

To achieve such aims we propose to hold a well planned and calm dialogue between the European delegates and the representatives of Kurds and their national deliverance movement to remove all the misunderstandings in addition to correct all the mistakes practiced to rebuilding new Kurdish- European relations to achieve peaceful benefits and settlement for all as well as to cross over the way of evil callers wherever they come from.

Sep. 1993

**The Kurdish popular Union party In Syria  
Abroad Organization**

**Document No: 22**

# **A letter**

**Kurdistan Human Right Commission**

**Governorate 4, 6211 HT, Masstricht, The Netherlands.**

**Tel: 043.255655**

**Masstricht, 13/ 1/ 1994**

**Mr. Bel Clinton, USA President**

**Washington, White House, USA**

In the name of all the human rights strugglers we demand you to use your execution to stop the Kurdish carnage in Turkish Kurdistan.

The Turkish authorities had been encouraged by supporting of some western countries under the justifications of facing terrorism, they began aachieve a wide expridation of violation against the Kurds who live in the Turkish and Iraqi lands . Their villages had been destroyed as well as there deveral villages completely burned.

The situations of some western countries against the position in Turkish Kurdistan remind us with the plural annihilation expedition against the Iraqi Kurds during 1978 – 1990 by Saddam Husain's authorities in which thousands of Kurdish citizens were became victims and killed by VIX gases or buried alive plural or died during inquisition-Saddam Husain's power, at those days, was receiving all the financial and military support and helps from several western and Eastern countries un legislate under very weak justifications.

The dictator Saddam felt victory against the Kurdish people, so he started fighting the entire world and occupied Kuwait. The repentance felling of different countries leaders there after was useless and couldn't repeat the lost life for the thousands of victims, and remaining the dictator with his criminal group on the top of the Iraqi power is an ignominy for all the world society.

The Turkish authorities justifications of destroying and burning the Kurdish villages to fight terrorism and defense of democracy but they were a big lies if they were actually fighting PKK only, they might not need to burn the Kurdish villages and kill the un guilty Kurdish old men, women, and children in their safety homes. And if the Turkish authorities believe in democracy they should response for the simplest Kurdish demands in learning, culture, press and the right for selecting their representatives democratically. As you know, 13 million Kurdish had been deprived from these rights in Turkey.

The Kurds, as you know, wherever they are; in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria had been treated as slaves crudely. Isn't a time for those thirty million Kurdish to live free without compulsion, without ethnic discrimination? We have to beg you in the name of humanity to defend the human rights in Kurdistan and prevent the governments in the region to stop attacking them by force by using your execution and press upon the Turkish, Iranian, Iraqi and Syrian governments to find a solution for the Kurdish case by means dialogue and negotiation without terrorism. With our best wishes and respect.

Sincerely yours

Frank Ramar

Kurdistan Human Rights Commission  
The Netherlands - Holland

**A letter To The  
European Union Countries  
Represented Eisen Top Germany  
9-110.12-1994**

Respect Dears, The European Union representatives: -

By occasion of your top meeting is holding we would like to allow us to put in front of you the following truths:

1- We hop that 30 million Kurdish disaster is not repeated in the Middle East as it had been repeated during several previous periods by the world society , specially when world had been organized in a new peaceful system to coordinate the world regime after both world war, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>, and then after , the cold war and the serious attempts which had been taken to build up a new calm world and unndertakings for the sake of building up priciples of a new middle east which setteled peace , so the same historical mistake shouldn't be practiced again with 30 million Kurdish people in the colonized parts of kurdistan.

2- We hope you'll not forget the main principles when you deal with the countries occupied and divided Kurdistan as Turkey, Iran and Syria. Because all these countries are equally, and without exception, are guilty and still practice or support terrorism, attacking democracy, kicking away the human fights and practice the ethnic discrimination compulsion against the Kurdish people.

3- The Kurdish people in Syria–The western part of Kurdistan– which is about 2.5 million live there the emergency law, ethmicdiscrimination and no one admit their existence

there although they form more than 15% of the total Syrian population as well as the actives of Kurdish national movement exposed for arresting and imprisoning. There are about (40) of them in the Syrian prisons in addition to tens are followed up continually by the security regimes and more than 150000 Kurdish deprived of the Syrian nationality to dismiss them out and them to Arabize their regions.

4- We hope you will take care of the Kurdish position during your meeting to support the Kurdish human rights and to confess their rights for destination. We hope to treat the Kurdish national case during a world conference. The old Europe gave a share in dividing Kurdistan, we hope the new Europe will take the necessary correct actions, so that this historical fault will be reminded well enough. With our respect.

Sincerely Yours  
The Kurdish Popular Union Party In Syria  
Abroad Organization  
Sep. 1994

**Document No: 24**

**A New Project for Inhabiting  
The Palestinian Refugees in Syria  
Al-Hasakeh Governorate**

Amman-From Khalik Khermah, Al-Bayan Newspaper gained an American document text had been decided by The Refugees Commission during multiple negotiations concerning with the solution of Palestinian Refugees by means inhabiting them in each of Syria, Jordan and Lebanon as well as to transport the refugees from Ghazzat to those countries. According to this document, the numeration of the refugees since 1948 was as following:

1-5 million in the grouping camps in Jordan

401000 refugees in Lebanon

213 000 refugees in Syria

469 000 refugees in Chazzat

500 000 emigrated refugees from Jordan.

Through the frame of peace compromise in the region and solving Arab-Israeli wrestling according to the previous UN decisions the American decided a plan assured that the minorities balance in Lebanon should be protected and preserved, so this country should be empty of the Palestinian refugees by transporting them to Syria and dwelling in Alhasakeh Governorate while 45000 Palestinian refugees remain in Lebanon cities. To achieve the population balance in Jordan, the UN refugees commission should build houses in which the healthy conditions available in the regions; Alazarque and Alsady to inhabit in them a great group of camps population for the people who were spreaded previously in Jordan in addition to those who came from Kuwait after the Gulf War. Because the abilities of Jordan are limited while the number of refugees is great, 100 000 families will remain and those will be in habitude in Al-Hasakeh which is selected for inhabiting the Palestinian refugees in Syria.

The above mentioned document says that 182 000 camps refugees plus 31 000 refugees of cities and of 213 000 refugees in Syria should be transported to AlHasakeh to be inhabited there with the refugees whom will be transported from Lebanon, Jordan and Ghazzat. The document also says that Syria had adopted this aspect to be achieved with a condition of a complete peace agreement in the region, while the refugees of Ghazzat should be transported to Syria

because the area there is so limited that couldn't be inhabited by 392 000 but 200 000 refugees may be convenient for AlHasakeh Governorate and the healthy, modern houses should be built for them there.

The document included also that this procedure should be achieved after signing the peace agreement between Jordan, Syria and Lebanon with Israel, During (3) years: from 1995 – 1998 as well as the refugees will receive compensations according to the UN list from the world Financial bank Box to improve their. Living conditions.

The exiled Palestinians of 1967 are about 500 000 persons living in Jordan and having had buildings in the western bank and a part of them will return to their regions in western Bank , but such decision will remain under the Jordanian government watch in which the refugees gain a good careness but the better than elsewhere among the other Arab countries.

## **Document No: 25**

### **The Complete Text Assay of Comrade Salah Badruddin The Secretary General**

Of Our Party during the eighth Kurdish National Conference in Northern America – California 21- 23. 7. 1995

Dear Dr. Najmeddin Karim, The President of KNC

Dear The members of Management Faculty

Dear Members

Dear the guests



It is pleasing me to share you this conference representing the Kurdish Popular union Party In Syria and it is pleasing me to tell you the greetings of Kurdish people in the Western part of Kurdistan with their respect for the Kurdish Democratic Ally which represents all the Kurdish political parties and organizations there in a form of a national front in western part of Kurdistan.

Our people in the western part of Kurdistan as the rest of our brothers in the other parts, suffer from compulsion deprivation and neglecting in addition to denial the Kurds existence there by the ruler regime. Our people there exposed to the plans aiming to decrease the Kurdish region areas to decrease the ethnic Kurdish existence there by means of well studied plans in Arabization and immigration and these plans conducted since thirty years and pursued up to date. So our people there had been obliged to defend its existence by all the means available to face such plans.

Because of the political and public struggle,, our Kurdish people there exposed to a compulsive immigration arresting, imprisoning and depriving of all the civil rights. It is seldom to find a Syrian prison empty of the national Kurds. After the known public population census had been proceeded, more than 150 000 Kurdish citizens were deprived of their Syrian Nationality as well as the Arabic Belt security had led to a wide immigration and Arabization of several Kurdish regions. nowadays we face a new dangerous ethnic plan in a territorial and international form, the plan which aims to inhabit the Palestinian refugees in the Kurdish regions in Syria - in Aljazirah, We don't wander the kind and the aims of this plan, but we wander about who design it . This plan had been formed and

proposed by the American side during one of the multiple nationalities negotiations which were held to discuss the different matters concerning with Arab- Israel peace process as well as the Palestinian refugees problem and their fate and future after the peace process. Undoubtedly, such a solution might please each of Syria and Israel, but irritates and harms the Kurdish and Palestinian people's benefits. We have to call your conference to discuss this subject and ask the American Government about it and its dangers for the Kurdish national future in Syria.

We, in the Kurdish Popular Union Party and the Kurdish Democratic Ally will pursue the cooperative work to defend our people case and to face all the realistic plans and disgracing them for the public world opinion in addition to disgrace all the disastrous truths in which represented the Syrian Regime practices against the democracy and human rights.

Through the documents of Human Rights Organization, Middle East Watch, Democratic Freedoms Defense and Human Rights In Syria, World Federalism Commission and Amnesty, we can see that there is more than 5000 political arrested in Syria and tens of those political prisoners are Kurds and many of them are the members of our party, and we have to point here to the part of those organizations concerning with taking care since years ago of the Kurdish Position in Syria and we have also to mark the efforts achieved by the Middle East watch Organization which visited the Kurdish region in Syria and

Stayed there for some days and rearily we will have the report concerning with the position. (\*\*)\*

Dear Brothers...

We are a part of the Kurdistan Deliverance National Movement and our Kurdish people in Syria is a part of the Kurdish Nation and influenced negatively or positively by the conditions around. We try since forty years (5<sup>th</sup>, Aug. the 38<sup>th</sup>), memory of the Kurdish political movement in Syria to gain reconsideration for the Kurdish existence and protect our people existence there. We practice our political conflict publicly to gain our people's right to destination and to have a justic solution for our national case in democratically frame by means of brotherly and peacefully dialogues with our Arabs brothers side by side so we had to direct our people to the democratically national ideology and support the Kurdish national struggle in the other parts of Kurdistan.

We support strongly our people's struggle in the northern part of Kurdistan and we have to assure and support their abilities there to achieve their legislated aims as well as we support the existence of federalism of our people in the southern part of Kurdistan. We emphasize that we will not be a side of the brothers fighting's when and wherever of Kurdistan.

Dear, Brothers...

We are going to celebrate this year the 300 memory of famous Epic Mum and Zin, and Khani in which announced the first national declaration for the Kurds Unity and

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\* The report had been published in this book under title document No .9

forming the Kurdish state, so let us try to achieve the dreams of this sincerely son of the Kurdish nation.

We are now, before passing to the next century invited to achieve our duties without hesitation and the duties are the followings:

1- To achieve peace for all the Kurdish teams and forces and to support the brotherly relations and the exchanged respect, the ideological dialogues between Kurds as well as to apply the political and ideological multiplicity in addition to forbidden fighting between the Kurdish brothers.

2- To form and found a united national center as an only one authority for the Kurdish national decision to support our struggle and react with the world and local newels as well as to pursue the world developments.

3- To be aware of the Kurdistan colonizers plans and dealing with them carefully because the four colonizers regimes don't tend to treat and find a justice solution for the Kurdish national case, but they may attempt to change it into a critiques to create harms for the Kurdish people wherever of Kurdistan. We think that the main source of the Kurdish conflict is the Kurdistan colonizers.

4- These duties couldn't be achieved without a wide Kurdish meeting and a democratically dialogue to put a cooperative program and to form commissions as we have mentioned to a Kurdistan meeting project previously.

Dear, Brothers...

Again I have to express my great pleasure to share your conference and to express my great respect for your organization KNC which added a world cover for the Kurdish national case. We look towards your organization as the most important one among the Kurdish organizations. We should announce that KNC is covered with a good Kurdistanian cover and breathed as a Kurdish spirit and we hope it will be the only legislated representative for the Kurds abroad, and thanks.

## **Document No.26**

### **A Letter Sent To the President Of Palestine Deliverance Organization About Inhabiting Palestinians In Al Jazirah – Al Hasakeh Kurdish Region**

Dear brother, Yaser Arafat

The Palestine National Power President

It is well known that our Kurdish people in Syria exposed to many ethnic discrimination plans. The first one was depriving 190 000 Kurdish citizens of the Syrian nationality along thirty years as well as this number duplicated several times since thirty years ago up to date in addition to the plan of the known Arab security belt which

aimed to immigrate all the Kurdish people in its regions from Aljazirah and the authorities are going to apply those plans there by means of different compulsive projects according to the martial and emergency laws which had been adopted by Ba'ath party power in Syria.

Our people there suffered of the Regimes procedures by which they had deprived of all the citizenship rights social, political, living, personal and cultural rights as well as your people suffered and still from the same disasters as well known to you.

During the last two years, we have noticed that the Syrian regime is going to apply its compulsive process concerning with the Kurds immigration to get the Kurdish regions empty of the original population to inhabit there 400 000 Palestinian refugees. We have to remind here the friendship and respected relations between our both peoples so we have to ask your excellency to announce your denial for this plan to tell all the concerned sides that such a plan is a away from your people will and leadership as well as it's just a compulsive project aims to repress the Kurdish people and Arabizing him arbitrarily

Dear brother;

I would like to invite you and your fellows in the Palestine national Power to face such a compulsive plan sincerely, with our all the best wishes for your people in gaining victory and success, and thanks.

**24th. Aug. 1995**

**Salah Badruddin**

**The Secretary General of**

**The Kurdish Popular Union Party in Syrian**

## **The Kurdish Names Changing**

It is known that the Arabization politic is still applied in different Kurdish regions since the beginning of sixties. It started in AlHasakeh Governorate – Aljazirah and then extended to include Ayn Alarab (Kobaniah, Afrin, the Kurds mountain, then Aljazirah again. The Arabization included the persons names, cities, villages and different Kurdish regions, and as it is known, several documents about this process had been announced in AlHasakeh Governorate and we don't need to mention it again, but here we have to mark the complete texts of those formal documents concerning with Arabization process in Different Kurdish regions:

Decision No. 580, Minister of Local Management

According to the Management Adjustment Law no. (496) in 21-12-1957 and according to the legislated drawing No. 146, in 3-9-1963 which included reactivation the Republic decision No. 97 in 1959.

The Legislated drawing No. 36 in 12-8-1971 which included foundation the Local Management Ministry and the Decision of Albab region Council No. 91 in 22-2-1977

Decision No. 63 in 21-2-1977 Afrin Region Council

Decision No. 5 in 14-3-1977 Ainelarab Region Council

Decision No. 107 in 16-3-1977 Azaz Region Council

Decision No. 36 in 14-4-1977 Aleppo Region Council

Article No. 1 The Following names should be changed into the new names. Here we attach the following list names.

**Afrin Region Villages – Afrin Center**

	<b>The Old Name</b>	<b>The new Name</b>
1	Bableit-Kersanah-Jadida Kersentash	Bableit - Kersana
2	Burge Abdalow	Burge Abdulla
3	Bulee Auba	Al- Kabirah
4	Jumke - Shakh Saido	Al-Khadra- Almshtora
5	Jweiqu - Staro Ain diba	Al-Khadra- Almshtora
6	Khalnir	Al-nirah
7	Trendah	Al-tharifah
8	Arshquiar	Al-hawa
9	Ghazi Tappa	Tal Ghazi
10	Kawkaba - Bawzika	Kawkaba - Al Zawia
11	Chetal Ziara	Al ziarah
12	Soghana	Al Bassaliah

### **Afrin Shwan**

<b>No</b>	<b>The Old Name</b>	<b>The new Name</b>
1	Jumanly	Hajjan
2	Sigerly	Sinkri
3	Kartappa - Kortic	Tall Alaswad - Alhufrah
4	Kastal Kushek	Al Kastal
5	Quort Quoloque	Al dub Alsaghir
6	Quort Quotaque Al Kabit	Al dub Al kabir
7	Guabalac	Fatirah
8	Matinly	Al thuha
9	Midanly - Dood berly	Al maidan Aldawodia
10	Naz Aushaghi	Al mudallalah
11	Ballorsink	Alballoriah



No	The Old Name	The new Name
12	Eaky Dam	Dama
13	Dor Aquly	Dor aquah
14	Daimku Tash	Al amood
15	Zitmonak	Al zaitonah
16	Sarenchic	Al se'er
17	Arabwiran – Alhamilia	Aluorobah Alhamiliah
18	Aumer Simow	Sim
19	Quastal Jand- Quastl Jendow	Quastal      Jund Iadida
20	Tortic Saghir	Alquarah
21	Wairken (Wairkan)	Al Baiah
22	Bazi Bagh	Al Kuroom

### Efrin – Almu'aitly

No	The Old Name	The new Name
1	Abraz – Rottow	Abraz – Almunazilah
2	Anbarly	Anber
3	Axozly	Alyatimiah
4	Eaky Khoul	Bakhor
5	Bremcha – Mazra Selow	Bermaja – Alsulaimanian
6	Haj Quasemly	Haj Qasim
7	Hamlork	Al daqulah
8	Dar kebr	Dar kabir
9	Smalek	Alsahal
10	Showrba Aughly	Alshowrbah
11	Shaikh Kilow	Al shaikh khani
12	Shaikh kanly	Sherkan
13	Shirkanly	Sherkan
14	Sanianly	Al baya'ah
15	Sari Ashaghi	Alsafra

No	The Old Name	The new Name
16	Arab Aushaghi	Arab Shaikhow
17	Arab Shikoaw	Shikhelarab
18	Gamrouk	Algemrigiah
19	Krik	Al surrah
20	Kurkan Tahtany	Al tahir Al tahtaniah
21	Kurtan Fawquany	Al rahira Alauliah
22	Gurgan Fougquani	Al jezronia
23	Muaitly - Quatranly	Muatly - Alquatran
24	Masra jin- Jumazanly	Almeasara, Alballotiah
25	Korzil	alsaeedah
26	Kailani	Almalihah
27	High Aughly	Alaliah
28	Hiamly	Alnoor
29	Se'hly se'arkanly	Alsa'era

### Efrin - Jenders

No	The Old Name	The new Name
1	Aghjaly	Albayatha
2	Blatghoze	Alreihan
3	Jeghally Jerm	Jerm
4	Hлма - Abokab	Halamah Abokab
5	Julpun	Jalak
6	Haj Hasanly	Haj Hasan
7	Remadia - Jamilek	Kamadia - Jamil
8	Zendakan	Zenda
9	Quarabash	Raselaswad
10	Kawerkan	Alkamha
11	Quojaman	Althakhem
12	Kafer Safra - Tatranlly	Kafer Safra - Altatar
13	Keresh Burge	Burge Kemrash
14	Kuran - Jerbatly	Kuran - Jerban
15	Merwan	Marwan

## Efrin – Bulbul

No	The Old Name	The new Name
1	Abil Aujaghi	Abel
2	Baqcha Quotan	Baqujah
3	Sialy Koy	Baly
4	Beg Aubasi	Auba
5	Beg Aushaghi	Altefla
6	Bilad Koy	Bilan
7	Hasan Dairly	Dair Hasan
8	Kheder Banly	Al kheder
9	Khalilat Ausheghly	Al- khalil
10	Deek Aunacy	Aldeek
11	Sharquanly	Sharkan
12	Sagher Auyace	Sager
13	Solavy Ali Bek	Almarwia
14	Abodan Haftarow	Abodan Alnbe'e
15	Ashona (Ashany) Zeftic	Ashona
16	Alikar	Ali Alatrash
17	Auknaly Alijaber	Aukan Ali Jaro
18	Quash Aughly	Alhejab
19	Quezelbash	Alraselahmer
20	Quort Aushaghy	Houszn
21	Qurna – Aubasy	Qurna Almahmoodia
22	Quriqoul	Alyubesa
23	Qutanlly	Quttan

## Efrin – Rajow

No	The Old Name	The new Name
1	Rajow-Hobkanly Kjarab Majid Kharab, Smaq khrab	Rajow- Alquaderia
2	Badanly	Bait Adin
3	Chatal Toyou	Albarain

4	Charkhatly	Almusanna
5	Hacmac Saghir	Alswan Alsaghir
6	Jacmac Kabir	Alswan Alkabir
7	Janjally	Janjala
8	Jobanly	Joban
9	Jelanly	Alghezlan
10	Hajekanly	Alhajij
11	Hajmanly	Hajman
12	Hamishlik	Hammosh
13	Darwaish Aubasy	Aldarwishia
14	Zerkanly	Alttalla
15	Shedianly	Alshadidan
16	Tagh Aubasy	Aljabalia
17	Atmany Panic	Atman, Pan
18	Aumer Aushaghy	Aumer
19	Dounbaly	Alaumsia
20	Quood Koy	Almurafi'a
21	Kemresh – Ralkshoor	Altakia
22	Koranly	Koran
23	Kolian Tahtani	Althahac Altahtani
24	Kolian Al foquani	Althahac Alfokani
25	Maskanly	Masican
26	Matinly	Althady
27	Mamal Aushaghy	Almamal
28	Mousic Aubasy	Mosiah
29	Holilow	Helial
30	Ada manly	Ada
31	Balilkow	Bhaliah
32	Smalic Rajow	Althulathiah
33	Ansoda Qurababa	Alsouda
34	Shaik Muhammadly	Shaikh Muhammad
35	Kawonda	Albatra

36	Kosanly	Kosan
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**Efrin – Shaikh Alhadid**

No	The Old Name	The new Name
1	Arand	Almezaina
2	Bazianly	Albaziah
3	Jequally Tahtani	Wadi Althalab
4	Al Khazafia	Alkhazafia
5	Khalil Kolkow	Alwardia
6	Demakanlly	Darmash
7	Souljic	Alsahlia
8	Shaikh Jequally	Jal Al thaleb
9	Satty Aushaghy	Alsatty hajbilal
10	Mestakanly	Mistakan
11	Maghar Haque	Manar
12	Rottanlly	Almazoula

Article: 2 This decision should be announced and be executively obliged.

Damascus in 18 – 5 – 1977

Minister of Local Management

According to the legislated drawing No. 36 in 11-8-1977 which included the Local Management ministry foundation and the Law No. 56 in 15-7-1980 as well as the decision of the excessive office for Alhasaka Governorate No. 541 in 28-10-1997 in addition to the agreement of General Architectures and Museums Management No. 5451 & 5 in 14-10-1997 the following statement decided:

Term: 1, The names of 55 fifty five villages in Alhasaka Governorate should be changed into new Arabic names as following lists:

	<b>The Old Name</b>	<b>The new Name</b>
1	Abolson	Alswan
2	Thamod Humood Taweel Kabir	Thamood
3	Arnan Shimaly	Mardan Shimaly
4	<i>Anan Qibly Sahgi</i>	Mardan Guibly
5	Mulook Sharqui	Alalia Alsharkia
6	Molook Gharbi	Alalia Algharbia
7	Basis Fawkani	Bustan
8	Jekia	Hakima
9	Minat Kabir	Miah
10	Marbakhath	Alaurooba
11	Kaber Alshaikh Hasan	Alhusainian
12	Alkewalia	Alzahrath
13	Muzour	Almazar
14	Jrbagha (Barigha)	Bir Alhajar
15	Baba Mahmood	Mahmoodia
16	Bir Kefri	Bir Alhajar
17	Bir Kanis	Alkanz
18	Babrah (Birke')	Albaric
19	Alturba (Kikia)	Alrabia
20	Telbis	Albustanian
21	Telbeshic (Kerbeshic)	Telelarles
22	Telboom (Korkend)	Telel helhel
23	Tel Kadir	Tele hesan
24	Tel Kabir	Hamozala

	<b>The Old Name</b>	<b>The new Name</b>
25	Jon tahtani	Jon Tahtani
26	Jonrash fowkani	Jera Fawkani
27.	Khoraza	Nables
28	Dehaila Talec	Jabal Alshaikh
29	Reehania Fowkani	Reehania
30	Alsiha Kikia	Alsamah
31.	Delik	Alliwa
32	sirala	Swiss
33	Shafacat	Shafaka
34	Alshier (Shirak)	Sadwan
35	Sour fowkani	Souran Fokani
36	Efriet	Afra
37.	Qualia	Allid
38	Haram Rash	Alahram
39	Balla (Ballak)	Aldamam
40	Bir kosan	Al Ba'ath
41.	Tel dow	Tel Allaban
42	Jeriba	Jonnia
43	Janaza	Aljannat
44	Dwan	Theiban
45	Daibak	Aldaha
46	sinjic Kikia	sinjar
47.	Shamooka	Alshima
48	Shour Sharki	Shoubalarab
49	Shikh Fatemy	Fatma Alsherkia
50	Shaikh Fatemy gharbi	Fatma Algharbia

	<b>The Old Name</b>	<b>The new Name</b>
51.	Faulan Thtani	Jaolan Thatani
52	Faulan Fokani	Jaolan Fakani
53	Lilcage (Kharab Quara)	Alhathaba
54	Tel Heyou	sou
55	Wahshic	Alwajiha

Term: 7 ; The names of (49) fourty nine farms should be changed into the new mentioned names in Al Hasakeh Governorate as the following list:

Afrin – Almu'aitly

<b>No</b>	<b>The Old Name</b>	<b>The new Name</b>
1.	Keshtow	Shahba
2.	Dour Taboula	Aldurra
3.	Shef Kehfa	Kahef
4.	Kharaba Alyabis	Kharaba Alghazal
5.	Bougha	Baha
6.	Tel Khalzir	Tel Alahed
7.	Tel Barem	Tel Alharam
8.	Bir sin Albalad	Alquasir
9.	Reehania Terfia	Aldwawil reehania
10.	Rasem Rahja	Rasem Rahja
11.	Mesharf Malia	Mushirka
12.	Shagrabia	Shahria
13.	Soujam	Soufa



<b>No</b>	<b>The Old Name</b>	<b>The new Name</b>
14.	Kharajow	Kharaba Jauow
15.	Alaf Ziarat	Ziarat
16.	Mutmashren Rajan	Raja'an
17.	Tel Hadash	Tel hanan
18.	Kherbafrisa	Alfursan
19.	Dabshow	Tel Aljadeb
20.	Kherba Ajelia	Ajila
21.	Alkarakir	Karbala
22.	Toujil	Tawakal
23.	Tel Na'arir Kabir	Alabah
24.	Jowlan	Jellen
25.	Mabania Kuboor	Mu'eedal
26.	Aum Aryana	Awamer
27.	Kherbat Quaraye	Alwa'er
28.	Al bradia	Alhariza
29.	Kherbat Allaban	Basman
30.	Sinkaly	Wahran
31.	Zurafa Sharkia	Rizafa
32.	Kundic	Kadada
33.	Farhia Kawry	Farisa Shariba
34.	Kharab Kort	Alwasher
35.	Sour Tahtani	souran Tahtani
36.	Makhatta	souran Tahtani
37.	Douzad	Souran Tahtani
38.	Jadida dakok	Jadid Thihyan
39.	Saihat Risgan	Saihat Rizgan

No	The Old Name	The new Name
40.	Farhia Doukan	Farisiat dibah
41.	Shour Qhurbi	Shaha Al

Term: 3 This decision should be published and obliged executive

**Damascus in 20-12-1997**  
**Local Management Minister**  
**yehya Abo Asaly**

**Document No: 28**

## **The Decision No. 14875**

### **In 6 – 1- 1998**

To be generated for all the party sections for obliged execute obliged by all leaderships of party sections, police leaderships, guidance, the under presidents of Governorate, The presidents of divisions committee's the members of executives offices, Watch and alternation central faculty section, the central financial watch system, the managers of Regions, The farmers Unions, The Secretary of Civil Records in Al Hasakeh, Roselyn and Alderbasia The Management's of Planning, Numeration, Tourism, Architectures, States Benefits, The Art works, Agriculture's Water Institutions, electricity, Educational, Technicians services Telephones, Post offices, These practices management's, The Archive, The original copy to be achieved and seen applied and shown.

**Al-Hasakeh Governorate**  
**The Executive President Office**  
**Subhy Arab**

## **Declaration to the World Opinion**

The political security of Aleppo arrested comrade Mustafa Juma'a at night of April 26th 1999. He is one of our Party activists as well as he had struggled hardly the Syrian arbitrary discrimination practices.

To arrest comrade Mustafa in such conditions around Syria, is a violation to the International Law as well as it's against the national work principles, democracy and human rights.

So, we have to call all the national forces, parties and organizations to cooperate to release comrade Mustafa Juma'a as well as all the political prisoners in Syrian prisons. It is urgent to demand for a solution for all the national cases such as democracy, Kurdish position and the Syrian society in addition to ethnic problems to achieve a national unity.

Freedom for comrade Mustafa Juma'a and for all the political prisoners and prisoners of our Kurdish people.

May 1999

Kurdish popular Union party in Syria  
The Central Committee

## **Declaration for World Opinion**

To support our national movement inside Syria and back Kurdish national demands. The European Organization for Kurdish Democratic Alliance in Syria decided to conduct a hunger strike and proceed at peaceful march during Oct. 14-16th 1999, in Bonn – Germany, so we ask all the forces and activists of freedom and equality to support world peace by responding to our legislative rights.

We have to call for practicing pressure upon the Syrian authority to constitutionally confess the existence of 2.5 million Kurds on their historical lands in Syria, as well as to have a peaceful dialogue with representatives of our Kurdish people.

**The Kurdish Democratic Alliance in Syria  
The European Organization**



## The Translator

- Ahmad Shawkat, An Iraqi kurdish writer.
- Born in Mosul city, Iraq. 1951.
- Lives in Kurdistan of Iraq, Erbil city.
- Educated of Mosul University college of Science.
- He is the Auther and Translator of the following published books :
  - The pottery, Baghdad, IRAQ 1974.
  - Childhood and Adolesce, Mosul University 1976.
  - The Snow and the sparrows, short stories, Egypt, 1978.
  - And Thus..., short stories, Mosul 1995.
  - The Prison of Gavar, A Kurdish novel, Kurdistan, Erbil, 1998.
  - Hoybon And Agri Revolution, Kurdistan, 1999.
  - West Kurdistan, Kurdistan, Erbil, 1999.







## Salah Badruddin

*He belongs originally to a national family lived in the northern part of Kurdistan, Batman state. The family was called; Dibow Alikan and suffered often from Otomanian compulsion. When the period of Kamal Atatürk started, the family had been divided into two parts, the first with some leaders had been exiled to the north of Turkey. Compulsory practices pursued during the revolution of Shaikh Sa'eed Peran in 1925, the second part exiled to the south part of Turkey which is now known as western Kurdistan.*

*Salah Badruddin born in 1945 in a village called Ne'amaty-Al-Qamishli region-Al-Hasakeh Governorate-and because he grown up in a family always repressed by the Turkish authorities and became homeless for their national tendencies, he grown up with the national ideas and the opposite directions to the injustice and repression. When the PDK formed in Syria for the first time, he had enrolled to be a younger member, then he pursued struggle working in the farmers organizations in his living region. Thereafter, he became the responsible of the Party students at the schools of Al-Kamishly in which he pursued his study for five years in the primary school of Al-Jama'ea village. He is the author of Five books dealing with the Kurdish national case .....*