

Shooting Shooting Shooting Bassam Naim al-Hmeda Non-Civilian Adult - Male Deir Ezzoi 02/23/14 Non-Civilian Adult - Male Deir Ezzor 02/23/14 Adnan Jamal al-Ali Omran Emad al-Hamoud al-Hamad Fuad Rasheed al-Saleh Shooting Shooting Shelling Child - Female Adult - Male Aleppo Aleppo Adult - Male Aleppo Aleppo Explosion Explosion Shooting Explosion Shooting Shooting Shooting Shooting Explosion Shooting Adult - Male Non-Civilian d Mustafa Medle Ali Moh mad al-Rajab Abdul Bagi Qutob Hamdan Khattab Aleppo Homs ader Abdul Salam al-Zho neeb al-Awdeh Deir Ezzor Deir Ezzor meed al-Shaker Homs Daraa Daraa Quneitra Quneitra Daraa Daraa Aleppo Aleppo Aleppo Aleppo Qais Farhan Mubarak al-Masri Abdul Qader Megbel Qays Abdulla al-Mafaalani Haitham Mahmoud al-Ahmac Child - Male Warplane shel Warplane shel Warplane shel Manal Husain al-Alawi Shooting Shooting Shooting Shooting Detention - Tor Warplane she Homs Quneitra Deir Ezzoi Idlib Aleppo Aleppo Aleppo Aleppo Warplane she Shooting Shooting Explosion Warplane she Civilian Civilian Civilian Child - Ma Non-Civilian Civilian Civilian Civilian Civilian Civilian Civilian Adult - Male Adult - Male Warplane shellin Adult - Male Adult - Male Detention - Torture Warplane shelling Abo Abdo Abo al-Fahem Aleppo Homs Unidentified Mohammad Hosain al-Ela Aleppo Aleppo Adult - Male Adult - Male Adult - Male Aleppo Hama Shooting Shelling Adult - Male Adult - Male Abd al-Khaleq al-Hosian Adult - Male Shooting Field Execution Hasakeh Hasakeh Adult - Male Field Execution Ragheb Hamad al-Helo Adult - Male Field Execution Ali Hamad al-Helo Field Execution Hasakeh Hasakeh Adult - Male Field Execution Adnan Ramadan al-Ezaw Adult - Male Field Execution daughter of Adnan Ramac Field Execution Loay al-Khalaf al-Dahham Adult - Male Deir Ezzor Omer Azzab al-Mashehada Junaid Mahmoud Junaid Nabeeha al-Hama al-Junaid Aleppo Adult - Female Warplane shellin Civilian Civilian Civilian Civilian Civilian Civilian Civilian Child - Male Warplane shellir Child - Female Adult - Male Warplane shellin Adult - Female Adult - Male Ahmad Kassem Jroukh Child - Male ield Execution Field Execution Adult - Male Field Execution Shooting Adult - Male Abd al-Rahman al-Banat Adult - Male Other Other Detention - Torture Shooting Shooting Shooting Adult - Mal Saeed Mansour Kadoura Adult - Male Gyath Adnan al-Khabaz Adult - Male Adult - Male Mouahmmed Talat al-Naja Kasem Awad Khalif Adult - Male Adult - Female Mouahmmed Tawfeq al-Sheikh Warplane shelling Warplane shelling Shooting Zead Rashes Tameh Adult - Male Maher Fistki dult - Male Salah Mouhammed Ali Shahb Detention - Torture Detention - Torture Ghassan Mohammad al-Ma Yousef Hussein al-Rekabi Shooting Detention - Torture Detention - Torture Detention - Torture Ahmed Amen Sad al-Dein Mohammad Nidal Halabid Hisham Mona Haj Omar Family 2 Wael Ibraheem Shihan Detention - Torture Ahmad Fozi Qotaifan Mohammad Rafe Qotaif Mohammad Anas al-Ahm Shooting Warplane shelling Warplane shelling Maher Mohammad Eid al لنخسة للطساعة Boushra Hassn Mouahn 0955/180236 Warplane shelling Kidnapping - Executio Kidnapping - Executio Kidnapping - Executio Warplane shelling Adult - Male Muhmoud Waled al-Berout Damascus Suburbs Civilian Civilian Civilian Adult - Male 02/21/14 Field Execution 02/21/14 02/21/14 Adult - Male Waled Mouhmmed al-Sayed Hama Hama Field Execution Tarek Mouahmmed al-Saye

ART IN REVOLUTION

On the 9th of May 2012, the well-known Lebanese writer Mohamad Abi Samra, wrote a review in Al Nahar daily newspaper about my play (Could you please look into the camera?) which was performed at Sunflower Theater in Beirut. In the opinion of Abi Samra, the whole play, but more specifically actors' performance on stage, was weak comparing to the «epic» performance of those who are protesting, singing, dancing, and facing real death in the streets of Syria¹. Abi Samra, like others who attended the play that night, were expecting a representation around the marvelous uprising taking place next door. Naturally, he was disappointed, as he saw a plot with characters moving in a single room, and facing internal dilemmas.

This play was built on a verbatim draft that contained real testimonies from Syrians detained in Syrian prisons during the first few months of the uprising. Before the play, I explained to Abi Samra my work on the text and I shared with him many concerns besides reflecting on the uprising; some of these concerns were purely dramatic. Nevertheless, he still had a different expectation, looking at the play from one angle, comparing between what happened on stage, and what he had seen on TV and YouTubo videos coming from Syrian

TV and YouTube videos coming from Syria. Few days later to Abi Samra's article, two other articles reviewing the play were published in the New York Times and in the Economist. I had the opportunity to discuss with journalists before they wrote their articles. Even though the drama components of the play were more analyzed in these two articles, still they mainly focused on the fact that a Syrian theatre play openly criticized the Syrian regime in a city almost controlled by its allies! The titles of these articles highlight clearly what might have been their main interest in these plays: One night only: Syrian in Revolt, on a Beirut Stage² (New York Times), (Writing as a tool of protest)³ (Economist)

There is no doubt that Abi Samra's opinion on this artistic work is totally legitimized as an audience or a journalist. For me, it was an opportunity to reflect on the ongoing debate surrounding the Syrian artistic work since March 2011. Indeed, the debate has been centered on the following questions:

What can be classified as being art within the diverse initiatives coming from Syria today? What is the role of art makers and art in general in such extraordinary period of time? How is Syrian art looked at? To which extent are we mixing the quality of the work as a piece of art, and its role as medium for protest, or act of disobedience?

Who are the actors behind the creative works associated with the Syrian revolution?

To address these questions, we first need to look at the different type of artistic works that have been produced by individuals or groups who consider themselves – in different ways –as part of the revolution, or who at least believe in the necessity of deep political change in Syria.

Here it is important to mention that works from artists close or loyal to the Syrian regime are not included in this paper. Those artists (using different mediums) have never considered what is going on in Syria as a revolution or uprising, or even a legitimate public movement. They adopted the regime narrative on protesters from day one: «infiltrators», «foreign/«enemy agents», and later on «terrorists» and «Takfiries» (ISIS and Nusra and anyone who thinks that non-Muslims should be annihilated). Consequently, it can be assumed that their art practice has been totally overlooking the notion of revolution. Obviously, their work can't be included in the interest of this paper, which is attempting to look at different types of work that has been produced as a reflection on the notion of revolution regardless of its precise definition by the art maker. The antiregime public movement in Syria is diverse, so

are the art makers (professionals or emergent). Some are leftists, some are liberals, some are religious, others are secular, and some believe in armed opposition, others believe in nonviolence even in front of this brutal regime. But all have the same desire to put an end to the dictatorship area in Syria. Hence, they use art as a tool, now, in Syria.

This paper is an attempt in analyzing artistic works from Syria since the beginning of the revolution in relation to their creative process versus their political message.

Brief classification of artistic works created in Syria since March 2011

Artistic works created related to Syria since 15 March 2011 can be broadly classified in three types:

1 — Creations that have been produced by professional art makers / writers, clearly influenced by the current situation in Syria, but with no intention to reflect or comment directly this situation. Despite that fact that they have a genuine support for the change in Syria.

In this regard, one can recall the newly released novel of the award winning Khaled Khalifa (No Knives in this city's kitchen). A novel with purely fictional characters according to Khalifa, as incidents take place in Aleppo before the revolution. The novel does describe the horrible life conditions of the Syrian society under Assad's rule (the father), but the revolution is not mentioned at any point. Other artists use metaphors, or decided that keeping up the artistic practice alive is in itself the best answer to oppression. An example is Ossama Ghanam and his Damascus Theater Lab presenting Harold Pinter's (Homecoming). In plastic arts, we can recall Yaser Safi's recent solo exhibition in Beirut, with children in streets is the centric theme in his paintings, where the indications on the power of the street in changing Syria today are present, but with no clear reference to the revolution. The veteran, wellknown, Syrian film maker Mohammad Malas, in his recent interview with Al Hayyat Newspaper, refused to classify his last film (Ladder to Damascus), as one of the revolution films. He even refused to describe what is happening now in Syria as a «revolution». Though he leaves no doubt about his rejection to the regime polices, and though the story of the film takes place during the revolution; Malas prefers not to discuss the Syrian crisis in a direct way in his film. It is known that the scenar of the movie was first accomplished in 2010, months before the revolution started.

2 — Creations produced by professional and non-professional art makers / writers directly linked to the current events.

We can recall the last novel of esteemed

Syrian novelist Samar Yazbek A Woman in the Crossfire: Diaries of the Syrian Revolution. The works of Syrian singer Samih Choukeir, and other emerging singers like Khaled Dawa and Wasfi Maasrani. Documentary cinema seems to be the best field to represent this type of work, as we have a long list of short documentaries out there on the web. Movies made by anonymous filmmakers, amateurs, professionals and citizen reporters. Some of these movies were presented by collective groups established after the revolution like: Kayani, Bidayyat, Al Sharii for Media and Development. In this field too, comes Abou Naddara, a filmmaker collective, who presented some of the finest short films in the past three years. Though the group is attempting to consistently release new movies reflecting on the current situations in Syria; I believe the trademark of its reflection has been the artistically sophisticated nature of the movies that managed at the same time to preserve clarity and direct references to the context they address.

On stage there is Malas Twin works, and the online puppet show series (Top Goon) by Massasit Mati group. Many examples can be highlighted from the field of fine arts, with paintings from the acclaimed Youssef Abdelke, but also from Tammam Azzam, Mohammad Omran, among others. We can also mention the work of famous caricaturist Ali Ferzat, and other emerging caricaturists who became known after the uprising like Juan Zero. Posters have also been used as an artistic medium by Khalil Younes, Wisamal Jazairi and Sulafa Hijazi: and the use of political posters is flourishing, like the work of the anonymous collective group <AL Chaeb Al Souri Aref Tarieko (Syrian people know their way). Internet is of course the main platform to show and circulate most of these artistic creations. The web page «Art &Liberty» was among the early initiatives to present and document all types of visual works produced in different mediums by different artists as a reflection on the Syrian uprising.

3 — Creations produced by non-art makers as an act of disobedience.

These attempts were largely not recognized as art by those who made them, at least in the beginning. They were considered as civil actions against the oppressive regime. Brilliant examples of such creations are those who, in my opinion, truly perceive an aspect of performance. Like coloring fountains in the biggest squares in Damascus with red, as a symbolic reference to the bloodshed by regime forces. It was also an act of a clear challenge to the tight security measures applied by the same forces in the capital. An other example is the famous Ping Pong balls incident (it was repeated couple of times). Where hundreds of Ping Pong balls were thrown from uphill of Muhajeerin neighborhood, close by the presidential house in Damascus. The small balls carried the famous slogans chanted by anti-regime protesters all around the country. The scene of the balls running randomly down the hill, with members of the almighty security service trying to collect them like crazy persons – this is one of the most memorable scenes from the early days of the uprising. Another famous example is «Al Qashoush Speakers» – named after the famous singer Ibrahim Al Qashoush who was found killed with his throat cut. Al Qashoush, was a wedding singer, barely known out of his hometown Hama, but with his songs mocking Bashar Al Assad and his regime during the first few months of the uprising, he became very famous all around Syria and outside it. After his assassination, different activist groups came with the idea of planting small speakers (USB) on very crowded markets, or even inside some big governmental buildings. The process was simple, but well thought about and well planned. Young people passing by among the crowds, throwing plastic bags in the trash, and continuing their way out. After few minutes the sound of Al Qashoush's song was heard from different corners within the same space. People were amazed because, not knowing where the sound was coming from, security service men, were desperately running all over the place to look for the speakers hilariously mocking Bashar Al

Simultaneously to these actions, protests in different areas were stepping up towards a new level of theatricality. Dances were more choreographed than before in Homs, Hama, Amoda, Binnish and other cities and towns. The eagerness of the revolutionary Syrians to liberate public spaces was huge. The occupation of public squares is an act of resistance with a number of motivating factors, most notably the intense desire to reclaim public space, thereby reclaiming rights both practical (the right to free movement and assembly) and symbolic (the liberation of the public arena from the images, statues and names of the «one leader»). After this first liberation of public spaces (which was temporary in some areas though), protesters began to physically celebrate their presence in these restored spaces. These were their long awaited liberated agoras! And from the mass protests a new phenomenon was born, with a growing awareness

to the theatricality of the action. Even though the aim of the action remained committed to take a political stand, the artistic aspect of these actions took more importance with time. There are many examples in this regard. The Protest of the Dead, where protesters were wearing white grave clothes, raised from tombs in a graveyard to protest against the regime! (Der Ezzor, Kafranbel, Rastan). The River Protest, where protesters in Der Ezzor and Hama organized protests in the nearby rivers, chanting and carrying banners while swimming and sailing in boats! Other actions were closer to a street performance with young people preparing and even rehearsing in advance to perform small theatrical scenes in front of an audience of other protesters who'd gather in the main square of the village or the town (Zabadani, Binnish). Meanwhile the art of making banners was being developed constantly, from the solo function that is to announce the main slogans in the protest, to a more crafty process that aims to produce witty illustrations. For many banner makers the artistic side became an important element in creating the banner, and more attention was provided to drawings. There is no doubt that the town of Kafranbel has taken the leading place in this regard, their banners have been touring around the world in exhibitions and fundraising events. Nevertheless, other towns also presented remarkable banners: Zabadani, Hass and Amoda Finally, for me the brightest example of how works classify in this category have developed gradually from being only a civic action against oppressive authorities to acquire more intentionality of having art in them, is the recent short silent movie released by Kafranbel activists (The Syrian Revolution in 3 Minutes)4. A dark humor movie showing the painful journey of oppressed people who decided to rise up against a totalitarian regime while the rest of the world is silently witnessing this tragedy, and where international powers are only looking after their

How do we look at creative works coming from Syria? Investigating different positions of writers and art makers in Syria today

One of the concrete results of the revolution on the art practice in Syria in the past three years is the fact that it opened new windows of opportunities for art practitioners. For many individuals, art became accessible to them, whereas it used to be mainly considered as a field for experts. More than ever, people had a space to experience art in diverse forms, and by breaking this barrier, a new margin for numerous unexpected initiatives have been created. «The link between creative resistance and active citizenship, art and civic conscience has been a strong component of the Syrian uprising. Finally, citizens have turned into peer-creators and users, who have now the tools to express their creativity».5

However, the specific timeframe of this emergent art interlinked these initiatives and political statements. Art has been more and more witnessed and reviewed for their political statement rather than for their artistic value. Recently, the wellknown theater director Omar Abu Saada created an adaption of the Trojan women³⁶ with a group of women refugees living in Amman. The play was performed at the Nation al Centre for Culture & Arts in the Jordanian capital. Most of media reviews however consisted on a political analysis of the play, rather than deconstructing the technical process involved in its creation. It is important to mention here, that the majority of these reviews were in Arabic media, and more specifically from Syrian journalists. This can give a good example of how sharp or polarized receiving art works became. Either you deliver a clear political message, or you are not brave or loyal enough for the sacrifices of Syrians. This was the clear message of an article reviewing the play in Al Arab newspaper (based in London). What's remarkable

here is that the newspaper didn't publish the full counter article by the director Abu Saada, in which he answers in details what he considers to be weak and fake claims by the newspaper! In parts of his article that was cut by the newspaper, Abu Saada considers the Syrian art makers margins of freedom to be narrower than they look like today. As a «new harsh censorship is being applied by those who give themselves a revolutionary authorities!» He adds «before we had the censorship of the oppressive regime, and today we have another one added to that, in which some people trying to condemn any critical thinking by the name of the revolution».

Today the question of media review, especially the foreign media, is an important one. This can be noticed concerning the famous puppet web series (Top Goon), about which numerous articles have been wrote, none of them – at least in my knowledge – analyze the creative process of these series, and discuss the artistic quality of the show. Neither did most of the reviews about Malas Twin theatrical work questioned the quality of the theatrical process and elements. Are they making a good theater? Many other examples can be mentioned here.

This might have consequences on the quality of artistic creations, which should be on its substance rather than solely on the political statement linked to it. Substantial debates around art are however an important tool for emergent artists. With time, art practitioners might take this creation process for granted. It is realistic to expect that the main interest in the Syrian creative works at the moment is linked to the political context. However, it is the responsibility of art makers to deal with this fact and to emphasize on the priority of the creative process.

There are two strong hypotheses today that we shouldn't take for granted without a serious negotiation. The first claims that the priority of creative work now is to carry a clear political statement / message. Art makers should contribute concretely in this radical transformation-that we are witnessing now. And they should do this by using their creative work as tools of political dissent.

While the other hypothesis claims that it

is not the time to do decent art or literature. The well-known novelist Nihad Siries put it very clear «Creative writing is stalled today. Not just for me, but for many other writers. The imagination withdraws to an interest in tangible reality. The superstars of writing today are those who write articles about (the events in Syria». How possible is it to reflect on this moment that runs like sand through our fingers? Shouldn't we stand by to allow a temporal distance to enable a

necessary critical space that enables a better apprehension of what is going on? A good work of art shouldn't be overburdened with any «must do» things, or any agendas. Or as Khaled Khalifa puts it: «It isn't the duty of literature to bear a social burden, merely to be faithful to itself.»⁸

I personally believe that both claims have

valid perspectives, considering the ongoing Syrian tragedy and how complicated the situation on the ground became. Nevertheless, I believe that there is room for both perspectives. I can't describe what it looks like, as it is a continual process of experimenting and exploring. As a writer and theater maker, I strongly believe that art makers shouldn't compromise neither the freedom of the artistic process nor the positive obsession of delivering high quality pieces of works. However, writers and art makers must use their tools NOW. The difficulty of reflecting on this on-going enormous travail does not mean that such reflection is not extremely important. Using our tools now will help us face challenges we are not accustomed to. By facing these challenges we will become aware of the weaknesses and strengths of our tools and dis cover ways to hone our craft, our structures, language, and hence our ways of thinking.

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by Mohammad Al Attar

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WOMEN IN SYRIA

They brought us by bus. We were a large group of female and male comrades, I recall that we were shackled, and increased sense of fear overwhelmed me about reaching that place, the expected interrogation, from the facing Mudar whom I thought was there, and seeing all comrades. Mixed feelings of fear and anticipation and desire and ... But it all began to disappear in the way and as I am approaching the city that I loved and I still, I did not feel the length of the road or the time it passed .. Damascus was looming in front of us.

Member of the Communist Labour Party, Amira Huweija in Douma prison between 1987-1991.

This paper will try to give an overview of women's grassroots role in the Syrian uprising in an attempt to highlight angels not widely covered by the mainstream media, be it Arabic or international. Nor does it reflect in the Syrian political opposition abroad, either. It rather excludes systematically women in forming political decisions facing the country in such a historical phase. It also fails in giving women and youth representation in their ranks, either in the local councils or in Syrian National Coalition. The paper hence is an attempt to shed light on how women in Syria have played an essential role throughout the phases of the uprising, and how the role shifts according to increased violence and rapid development on the

NO POLITICAL RIGHTS, NO WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Studying women's situation in Syria, be it now or before the break out of the revolution, without taking into consideration the government's political structure that is based on its intelligence personnel and tens of security hidden apparatuses, is a wrong path to understand how women's rights are directly affected by the government's internal policies.

As a woman who lived most of her adult life in Syria, I could not dare to initiate a women's magazine, for example, in my university, without the supervision of a governmental institution. Al-Baath ruling party had a National Students Union (NSU) implemented in each university, which not only hijacked any daring independent initiatives coming from students, but also such body was an intelligence body

that watched and monitored closely any student who's trying to lobby or organize an activity towards causes like Iraq or Palestineeven though the government boasts about being the lone defender of Palestinian rights and constantly attacks US invasion of Iraq. Yet the regime understands perfectly, that any improvised initiative, even for Palestine or Iraq, might pave the way for lobbying and organized active groups.

talking about a government that owned and occupied the public space, and what that entails, of a country for more than forty years. Citizens were cultured into not initiating, not thinking or even daring to dream about breaking the system, that was structured on political, social, military and economical levels. Not forgetting too, that the government had inserted a culture of fear among its citizens with massacres like Hama massacre 1982 and several arrest campaians later of intellectuals, leftists and Islamists, of Syrians and Palestinians, which resulted in putting voices of dissidents for more than 20 years in prison, with no access of lawyers or visits from family members . So one should be clear, that the major obstacle towards securing and enhancing women's rights in Syria, is simply democracy. Failing to support the people's revolutions, on official level or on international human rights groups level, is in fact a clear statement on supporting human rights' abuses as a whole and not just wom-

THE POLITICAL AND THE PATRIARCHAL

The regime boasts about being the champion of women's rights in Syria whereas several examples show rather its hypocrisy. To name a few, Bashar's rule have strengthened and allied with the conservative upper-class, Qubaysiyyat women in Damascus, which according to Al-Hayat newspaper, resulted in building 80 schools in Damascus alone and is hosting more than 75,000 girls. Another example is its failure to reform the personal status laws as well as its insistence on appointing female ministers in insignificant positions. A perfect example, one might add, on how intersectionality is the path to address a groups' human rights abuses than addressing it exclusively, is by looking at the governmental institution, General Women Union. The governmental body, for instance,

did not advocate an urgent national matter which is the so-called "honor-killings," to call for a punishment of the murderer for more than six months based on the article 548 of the penal code - that terminology was adapted from the French code 1810, many young girls were killed in the name of "honor" based on this article. Ironically, it was after the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions broke out in 2011, that Bashar Al-Assad himself issued the first legislative decree of 2011 to maximize the punishment of the killer for five years in prison, instead.

Such decree was seen by many Syrians around me at the time as a pathetic attempt to appear as the protector and savior of the women's interests, especially on a fashionable subject to the West; women.

Because change in Syria could happen but through the ruling government, specifically through the president himself and the close circles around him, excluding hence the people from the right to self-determination.

THE REVOLUTION AND NEW SPACES

It is always important to remind the reader that the first to ever dare to ask publicly president Bashar Al-Assad to step down was in fact a woman, and from the minority conventional community: Druze. Muntaha Al-Atrash, daughter of Sultan Atrash, the leader of the so-called "Great Syrian Revolution" of 1925. On 12th of April 2011 when the protests in Syria where mainly asking for reforms and not for the toppling for the regime out of fear, Atrash, in a phone interview with Al-Shark Al-Awsat newspaper, called Assad to step down in respond to peaceful protests.

In 2011, Zaitounah was among many others, one of the main sources on protests' updates in Damascus and its suburbs. Women started to take the streets along with their male comrades and were detained in the process. Doha Hassan who is a Palestinian, Nura Al-Ghamian, Hanadi Zahlout, Rima Flehan, Mai Skaf, Lina Mohammad and many others in Syria I cannot name for their protection. It is important to stress here, that even though men are more targeted than women by regime mass raids and detention, but being detention and prison for women is harder than for men. Although women mostly avoid as tough a treatment as male comrades in jail, jailing

women often imposes a social stigma on them, not to mention the issue of sexual abuse.

In time, women started organizing themselves in women groups, like Syrian Women for the Syrian Intifada – SANAD, which I was privileged in meeting two of its members. The group's main activities are to support the martyrs' families as well as the detainees'. SANAD's activities broadened later on to support grassroots' activists who lost their jobs because either they were fired because of their political stances, or forced to go on hiding upon learning being wanted by the regime. The regime often arrests people from their work offices. The group would raise funds from close circles and support activists to continue their work in aid, media or securing medicine.

Not many groups were as formulated and structured like the one mentioned above. In fact, SANAD was indeed successful in forming a vision, goals and specific activities, because its members were older and more experienced in organizing. Unlike other groups of younger and enthusiastic generations, which in time vanished due to their lack of sustaining many activities they tried to maintain under intelligence control. Nevertheless, the emergence of groups like SANAD would not have been possible without the revolution and the space it provided for citizens who were denied the right to organize-but in secret- over the past forty

To give another example, most of the neighborhoods that revolted against the regime were from rural and working class. They usually are conservative and women in these areas usually work with strange men if they are doctors, nurses or old woman. Covered and uncovered female activists who come from different conventional communities, also from upper class, work hand in hand with the male leaders of these working class communities: in organizing protests, in securing banners, ink and printing banners and flags (since they were all handmade) and securing medicine and some equipment like smart phones or internet 3G.

Such social interaction, outside the common clerk-client relationship in governmental institutions, was the first, and resulted in changing and clearing some stereotypical images in those communities. Similar interaction occurred heavily between Palestinians and Syrians during the uprising. Yarmouk camp in 2012 was the main host for many internally displaced

families and was the vital point to securing medicine to other neighboring cities. I remember vividly the Palestinian mother who was giving trainings on first aid in case the camp faced shelling. It was actually the revolution that provided the space for citizens, from different nationalities, ethnic, conventional communities, socioeconomic backgrounds to unite, interact and organize a grassroots movement in the face of one common enemy: the regime.

However, such new spaces that came to exist in the first couple of years in the uprising, gradually started to reduce with the increase of regime brutality on its people which resulted in increasing as well in the militarizing front of the revolution. Women revolutionaries, who basically were working on the peaceful and non-violent front, started to face a new reality, war. Women hence produced other techniques to react and to preserve the free voice reclaimed in and because of the uprising.

REVOLUTIONARY MILITARIZED FRONT AND WOMEN'S ROLE

2012 in my view was the peak for women's essential role in the revolution. Due to the regime's systematic raids and arrests targeting especially male peaceful revolutionaries, women revolutionaries organized themselves in cells to fill in the gap and used well the sexist view on them as a "weaker gender" to pass regime checkpoints in order to smuggle medicine, food, also first-aid workers into besieged and shelled neighborhoods. In fact, revolutionary women from minority conventional communities also used the sectarian classification of them by regime checkpoints in order to smuggle in aid into besieged neighborhoods. In time, some regime checkpoints discovered some of these networks and started checking IDs and searching cars driven by any woman who is not covered and from a minority conventional community until today.

The peak of women's active and essential role in sustaining relief, among other activities, in besieged neighborhoods in Damascus and its suburbs in 2012, started to minimize in 2013 with the regime's increased brutality, amount of massacres and the lack of human capital among revolutionaries inside to respond to the humanitarian crisis. Accordingly, the belief among young men, even among some peaceful revolutionaries, that the only way to topple the regime is with arms increased, which played a big role in strengthening the militarized front of the uprising. Such development affected directly the women's role in the uprising.

Revolutionary women who used to visit other cities to train amateur media workers

and to cover professionally untold human stories under shelling, are facing more obstacles besides regime's shelling and checkpoints, to face rapidly changing areas - mostly shelled and besieged ones - into male-hegemonic spaces. Yet, women, both traditional activists and local women residing in "liberated" areas, are shacking such male spaces by their very existence. Like Marcel Shehwaro, a bloggeres in Aleppo, Razan Zeitounah and Samira Khalil in Douma, and other traditional women activists I cannot name here for their security. The very existence of these women and the work they are doing in their areas pose as a direct challenge to the growing male hegemony that is being developed during war. Such female interference with war dynamics is equally evident by local women in liberated areas such as Om Khaled in Kafranbel and many of her likes in Eastern Ghouta suburbs of Damascus. Om Khaled founded the first women center not only in Kafranbel, but the first in Idlib. The center is called Mazaya and is launched due to the urgent need for women in Kafranbel to meet and discuss their situation in war. The center gives free workshops in first aid, hairdressing, knitting and also free courses in English. The center also owns a huge library to lend women books. Again, Om Khaled is an evident example of how local women are reclaiming their voices due to the spaces produced by the popular uprising. Despite the growing militarizing front of the uprising and the growing male-hegemony, women are still able to reclaim the voice and the role that was long-stolen by the

RAZAN ZEITOUNAH: INSTITUTIONALIZING HUMAN RIGHTS

The impression that one gets from looking at the mainstream coverage of Syrian women today, we cannot help but noticing the following: women are depicted as either "raped," "sexually abused," or "displaced." The necessity to document all sort of violations committed against citizens, is unquestionable. The lack of similar effort, however, in portraying women in Syria on the ground as active participants in the revolution as writers, human rights lawyers, doctors, teachers and politicians, when they are heavily so, is indeed questionable, especially that such constructed image of 'Syrian women hasn't changed over the past three years.

Razan Zaitounah is a name that has become famous in the past three years. Zaitounah is currently still forcefully disappeared and kidnapped by an unknown armed group in Douma suburbs of Damascus along with her hus-

band, Wael Hammada and two of her colleagues at the Violation Documentation Center (VDC), Samira Khalil and Nazem Hammadi . Zaitounah is the co-founder of the Local Coordination Committee (LCC), a revolutionary secular news agency that emerged in 2011 to update the world on mass protests across Syria. The group's importance comes from being a network of women first, and for being the first revolutionary semi-organization to launch as a somewhat professional, credible and sustainable news agency being quoted and cited by international and regional media outlets. Zaitounah is also the co-founder of VDC which is the only platform inside Syria that documents a list of Syrian martyrs, detainees, kidnapped civilians as well as documenting violations coming from all armed groups besides the regime

As a lawyer, Zaitounah has been defending political prisoners under the Assads, father and son, for more than ten years. I once met her when she was on her way to visit a political prisoner family in 2010. Not many lawyers dared to follow Zaitounah's path in fear of regime consequences. She used to visit detainees families, defend them in courts -which many Syrians at the time did not dare to attend. Zeitoung would issue statements to the public informing them with the detainee's situation and the lack of transparency of Syrian juridical systems. Zaitounah was banned from traveling in 2002 and received several threats by the security apparatus for her working in human rights long before the uprising started. Ever since the revolution in Syria broke out, Razan worked underground for two years in Damascus, changing homes and places, to then settle in a "liberated area" in Douma, only to be kidnapped with her colleagues by an armed group there, also due to her work in human rights.

Despite living under constant shelling, a survivor of chemical attacks and despite the extraordinary circumstances Zeitounah facing a life underground for two whole years, Zeitounah's efforts in co-founding and develop ing LCC as a credible news agency, and VDC as a transparent documentation center of human rights violations as well as other groups inside Douma today to support local women and to secure jobs for citizens there, are attempts to institutionalize revolutionary work in Syria into sustainable and professional results. Zeitounah, who is an experienced human rights lawyer due to her work prior to the revolution, understands very well that in order for a country to reach peace-building and transitional justice, human rights advocates should document transparently what is happening for rebuilding the state in the future. Even though Zeitounah

is kidnapped today, the work of both organizations, LCC and VDC, continues still. This is the legacy of her efforts in creating a decentralized institution rather than being centralized on her sole supervision. Such efforts are rare among revolutionary groups today.

CONCLUSION

Finally, this paper tried to present a general overview of women's role in the revolution by taking into consideration the historical political obstacles that her and her male comrades face alike. This paper presents basic turning points of the development of the Syrian uprising and its affect of women's role. The paper is not ambitious enough to attempt to cover fairly the amount of work women in Syria did in the past three years. I am one of many women in Syria who have different point of views and take on the topic. I hope that my fellow women comrades are given the chance to express and document their stances too.

by Razan Ghazzawi

Razan Ghazzawi is a Syrian blogger campaigner and activist.

WATCHING SYRIA'S WAR

What a video doesn't show is sometimes the heart of the story. Liam Stack, who curates citizen video at the New York Times, explains how he finds videos and tells the stories of the unknowns. «Watching Syria's War», a New York Times video project, presents the Syrian conflict through citizen video in a way that gives insight into everyday life during wartime and raises questions about what we're not seeing.

Most importantly, each video includes context provided by Stack, including a blurb explaining what's in the video; a section called «What We Know»; a section called «What We Don't Know»; a blurb about related videos; and a couple related tweets. And there are a lot of videos.

I interviewed Stack about the project. An edited transcript is below:

There are so many videos coming out of Syria every day. Whose videos do you feature on «Watching Syria's War»?

Liam Stack: Our goal is to highlight videos that bring the voices of normal Syrians to our readers. The videos we feature generally come from either amateur filmmakers, a Syrian living his life in a conflict zone who may witness a bombing or atrocity and record it on his cell phone, for example; or activist videographers who put themselves in harm's way to capture a moment of violence or a scene from combat. But there are limits to what we can know from this footage. Each video is a window into someone's life that usually closes after a minute or two, and as such it is very hard to know for certain what we are actually seeing.

How do you find these videos?

Stack: The videos we feature come from a variety of sources. Some are YouTube clips that show footage originally aired on state media, which is becoming a more important source as the conflict moves into the heart of Damascus, territory where the government has remained in control. The majority comes from non-governmental sources, though. Syrian human rights and activist groups gather and disseminate video to international journalists and NGOs. Facebook is also a valuable resource, because different rebel groups, activist organizations and even cities and towns have their own Facebook pages where they post footage of events they may have witnessed.

There is also a vast eco-system of citizen video on Twitter, where even a simple search for #Syria could return dozens of results on any given day. To deepen my search, I primarily

use location names, like #homs and #damascus. For these searches and other research, my Arabic language skills are critical; without them, this entire world is inaccessible.

What qualities are you looking for in a video to help sift out a few telling ones from the rest?

Stack: The most effective posts on «Watching Syria's War» are those that tell a story, however small. It is my great preference to post videos that feature people, as opposed to footage of damaged buildings or bombings filmed from a distance. There are a few technical considerations that factor into this equation as well: A video must be clearly and steadily shot so that viewers can actually see what is going on; it must be long enough to establish what is happening; and it cannot show extremely graphic

I look for videos that highlight the uncertainties: If the viewer is left urgently wondering what happened to the people they have just watched once the video has ended, then I think the project has accomplished its goal for the day. There are a few posts that have really stayed with me. One featured the longest clip we have ever posted — 19 haunting minutes — and showed the men of a neighborhood in Aleppo frantically searching for the survivors of an airstrike that devastated their street. Another showed a young woman captured by rebel fighters who made her nervously confess on camera that she was a prostitute and government spy.

Both leave you wondering what chain of events led to the moments you see captured on film, and what happened to the people after the camera was turned off. In the Aleppo video there is a little boy with a gaping head wound pulled from the rubble — did he survive? In the video of the alleged prostitute — is her confession even true? How did rebels treat her, and is she still alive? These are things we simply do not know.

In those cases, when a video raises as many questions as it answers, what does it tell us? What is its value?

Stack: To go back to the 19-minute long video from Aleppo — we may not know what hap-

pened to the survivors after the camera was turned off, but without citizen video we might never know that a bustling civilian neighborhood was hit with a missile at all.

Another real benefit is geographic scope. Citizen video enables us to get a glimpse of what life is like in a Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan, what it is like to ride into battle with the Nusra Front in Deir Ezzour and how internally displaced persons in the Idlib countryside are surviving the winter.

These videos provide us with so many things: evidence of atrocities committed by both the government and rebels; a chance to hear Syrians talk about the revolution in their own words; an opportunity to see rebel fighters in action and observe the weapons they use.

And how do you address the blind spots outside the camera's lens?

Stack: One of the strengths of Watching Syria's War is that it states that uncertainty very plainly. Each post outlines the many things that fall under the category of «what we don't know», along-side the things we do know, as well as any other videos that might complement or relate to the main video featured.

The most basic step is something that any journalist in any medium would do: Rely as much as possible on trusted sources who have a

reliable track record. Another is to cross-reference videos; if multiple people are recording and uploading video of a bombing, then we can get a better sense of what happened. There are also international organizations like Human Rights Watch that closely monitor both the situation on the ground and the flow of citizen video from inside Syria.

How does social media play a role in your reportina?

Stack: Social media and YouTube have changed the way that reporters work across the industry, and that has been the case as well for foreign correspondents on the ground. When I was reporting in Cairo, it allowed me to identify and connect with possible sources, and it allowed me to learn about what was happening elsewhere in the country or city.

That said, «Watching Syria's War» is an

entirely different way of using social media because, obviously, I am not physically based in Syria. In Cairo, if a YouTube video or series of tweets left me with questions, it wouldn't be difficult to track down the answers, but reporting on the Syrian conflict from far away is another matter entirely. If I wanted to find out what happened to the injured little boy I mentioned earlier, it would be incredibly difficult. These social media tools are an incredible resource for journalists, but there are also real limits to what we can know about the world when we see it through the lens of Twitter and YouTube.

We're seeing an increasing reliance on citizen reporting, including video, throughout mainstream media. What have you learned that you think all reporters could take from your process of finding citizen videos and using them in their reporting?

Stack: In Syria and elsewhere, the most important thing to keep in mind is that so much of what we know about the story comes to us mediated by someone else — a filmmaker who may have an agenda. It is essential for journalists to become comfortable with, and really fluent in, the various strengths and weaknesses of social media and citizen video, because the industry is only going to rely on them more and more.

by Madeleine Bair

This story originally appeared on Witness.org's blog. Madeleine Bair curates the Human Rights Channel on witness.org, an international nonprofit-organization that uses video and storytelling to open the eyes of the world to human rights abuses.

O.T.

Februar 2014 – Emsiges Treiben herrscht an einem kalten grauen Sonntagnachmittag am Viadukt im Zürcher Kreis 5. Autos und Fahrräder drängeln aneinander vorbei. Es wird gehalten, geparkt, aus- und abgestiegen. Normalerweise herrscht in dieser Zürcher Shoppingmeile nur samstags so viel Betrieb. Doch heute wird hier nicht eingekauft, sondern abgegeben: Pralle schwarze Abfallsäcke und schwere «Türkentaschen» werden in den Tangoclub getragen. Gefüllt mit Kleidern, Schuhen, Decken und Spielsachen, sind sie bestimmt für syrische Flüchtlinge in der libanesischen Bekaa-Ebene, 900 Meter über dem Meeresspiegel, eingebettet zwischen dem Libanon- und dem Antilibanon gebirge. Dort wo einst syrische Billiglohnarbeiter auf den Feldern, die sie bearbeiteten, in notdürftigen Behausungen lebten, suchen heute geschätzte 200'000 syrische Flüchtlinge Sicherheit vor Tod und Zerstörung. Der Raum des Tangoclubs füllt sich mit Säcken und Tüten, deren Inhalte sortiert und neu verpackt werden. Es ist wie in einem Bienenhaus, ein hektisches, fast fröhliches Treiben. Helfende Hände packen an, Stimmen weisen die Ankommenden auf hochdeutsch, schweizerdeutsch und arabisch an, was wohin soll. Kräftige Männerhände füllen Lieferwagen mit den zum Transport verpackten Waren.

Die junge Libanesin, die diese Sammlung organisiert hat, sprüht vor Leben und Energie. Rajan ist stolz und glücklich, dass ihre Aktion so erfolgreich ist. Ein voller Schiffscontainer mit Überflüssigem aus Schweizer Haushalten wird in den Hafen von Beirut gelangen, um von dort aus Menschen in der Bekaa-Ebene das Flüchtlingsleben ein bisschen würdevoller zu gestalten. Mit Unterstützung von libanesischen Geschäftsleuten in der Schweiz ist es möglich, diesen Transport zu finanzieren.

Bereits 2012 und anfangs 2013 gab es andere private Initiativen von Syrern in der Schweiz, die mit Privatautos und Kleinlieferwagen über die Türkei nach Syrien in damalige befreite Gebiete fuhren. In den Säcken voller Kleider und Decken waren lebensnotwendige Medikamente versteckt. Anfangs wurden diese Transporte an der türkischen Grenze problemlos hineingelassen, es herrschte so etwas wie Solidarität. Doch war es zunehmend schwieriger, überhaupt nach Syrien hineinzukommen. Die Transporte wurden gezielt

durchsucht und vor allem Medikamente konfisziert. Türkische Grenzbeamte hatten für sich ein lukratives Geschäft entdeckt – sie verkauften die hochwertigen Medikamente aus Europa an Landsleute und an syrische Flüchtlinge, die es sich leisten konnten. Hier in Zürich steht beim Türken um die Ecke seit langem eine Sammeldose an der Kasse. Das Geld ist für medizinische Hilfe syrischer Flüchtlinge in der Türkei bestimmt. «Ja, es kommt bestimmt an, wir kennen unsere Leute, wir vertrauen ihnen. Spenden ist eine Pflicht, wir können nicht nichts tun.»

Grosse Demonstrationen und Kundgebungen bleiben weltweit aus. Die Betroffenheit findet ir den Medien statt, auf Videoportalen und Facebook-Seiten. Vielleicht hallt die Frustration über die vergeblichen Proteste gegen einen Angriff des Irak, der 2003 Millionen Menschen überall auf der Welt auf die Strassen gehen liess, nach. Vielleicht fühlen sich mittlerweile viele vom «arabischen Frühling» verunsichert, überfordert. Zu Beginn schien alles einfach: Ben Ali floh aus Tunesien, Hosni Mubarak trat in Ägypten zurück, Muammar Al Gaddafi wurde getötet. In Syrien jedoch reagierte die Regierung von Bashar al Assad von Anfang an mit ungebrochenem, kaltblütigen Widerstand. Revolutionäre Hoffnungen haben sich mit den diplomatischen Blockaden von Russland und China – und nicht zuletzt durch das Erstarken fundamentalistischer Kräften – aufgelöst. Die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Drahtzieher auf regionaler und internationaler Ebene sind berechenbar: Sie haben nichts, aber auch gar nichts mit der Resolution für Menschenrechte zu tun. (Während ich dies schreibe, am 22.Februar 2014, wird verkündet, dass Russland einer UN-Resolution für einen humanitären Zugang zustimmt. Assad wird zudem unterrichtet, dass er das Aushungern der Zivilbevölkerung nicht als Kriegswaffe einsetzen kann.) Im Moment ist nur gewiss, was bleiben wird: Humanitäre Katastrophen, mit deren traumatischen Auswirkungen Generatio nen beschäftigt sein werden. Was aber auch bleibt, ist die kreative Kraft aus Syrien, die mit Strategien künstlerischer Mittel die eigene Deutung aufrecht erhält und vermittelt.

Der (Roman eines Schicksalslosen) von Imre Kertéz wurde 1975 bei Sorstalanság, Budapest, veröffentlicht und jahrelang ignoriert. Erst 1996,

einundzwanzig Jahre später, wurde er von Christina Viragh übersetzt und erschien im deutschen Berlin Verlag.

Heute müssen wir keine Jahrzehnte warten, bis wir die Stimmen von innen wahrnehmen können - Stimmen, die vom friedlichen Widerstand handeln, vom Überleben in all seinen Schattierungen, Stimmen gegen die Ohnmacht. Eine wichtige Rolle spielt dabei das Internet, die digitale Seite des Lebens. Das Hochladen von Videos und deren virale Verbreitung ist heute dank vereinfachten Technologien ein Kinderspiel Den AutorInnen ist es wichtig, dass ihre Botschaften universal zugänglich sind; das ist ihnen wichtiger als Tantieme. Das Gleiche gilt für Fotos, Karikaturen, Poster und Texte. Letztere können mithilfe von digitalen Übersetzungsmaschinen, wenn auch oft nur radebrechend, in die verschiedensten Sprachen verständlich gemacht

Für syrische BürgerInnen und AktivistInnen sind Facebook und Skype seit Beginn der Revolution wichtige Medien, um in Kontakt zu bleiben, Botschaften auszutauschen und Archive anzulegen. Das Internet ist ihre Verbindung zur Welt. Vor der Revolution kontrollierte das syrische Regime den Cyberspace: Inhalte wurden gefiltert, NutzerInnen überwacht, der Zugang zu sozialen Plattformen wie Youtube und Facebook waren gesperrt. Für viele überraschend gab die Regierung von Bashar Al Assad anfangs 2011 den Zugang für Facebook und Youtube frei – wenige Wochen bevor sich die friedlichen Aufstände im ganzen Land ausbreiteten.

Doch das «demokratische» Internet ist zu einer Falle geworden. Schnell verfeinerte Assads Regime mit Hilfe von amerikanischen und iranischen IT-Firmen die Möglichkeiten der Ausspähung, Überwachung und Ortung von BenutzerInnen. Accounts werden gehackt und sensible private Daten gesammelt. Mit Internetblackouts wird die Kommunikation oft tageund wochenlang unterbrochen. Eine pro-Assad syrische elektronische Armee, die Syrian Electronic Army, kurz SEA, verbreitet Spams und Viren und hackt internationale Webseiten von Organisationen und Zeitungen, die sich kritisch gegenüber dem Regime äussern. Unter diesen sind BBC News, Associated Press, Financial

Times, Al Jazeera, Human Rights Watch, Forbes, The Daily Telegraph, The Washington Post, University of California Los Angeles, Harvard University und Reuters. Ebenso wurden Barack Obamas und Nicolas Sarkozys Facebook-Accounts mit Spams blockiert. Im Oktober 2013 wurde der Zugang zu einer der wichtigsten syrischen Webseiten des in London ansässiger Netzwerks «Syrian Network for Human Rights» von Facebook gesperrt. Diese NGO hat es sich seit 2011 zur Aufgabe gemacht, Verluste, Opfer und Verbrechen an Menschenrechten zu dokumentieren. Da die UN im Januar 2014 verlauten liess, dass sie ab jetzt davon absieht, die Liste getöteter SyrerInnen weiterzuführen, sind die einzigen verlässlichen Quellen für die Doku mentation von Verbrechen an der syrischen Bevölkerung weiterhin AktivistInnen, die unter lebensbedrohenden Bedingungen diese Arbeit fortsetzen. In vielen grossen und kleinen syrischen Städten gibt es sogenannte LCCS, Local Coordinating Committees of Syria, die Aktivitäten koordinieren und Daten sammeln. Razan Zeitouneh, Anwältin und eine der MitbegründerInne des LLC-Netzwerkes ist auch massgeblich an der von Istanbul aus geführten Webseite «Violations Documentation Center» beteiligt. Zusammen mit anderen AktivistInnen schrieb sie einen Brief an Facebook-Gründer und CEO Mark Zuckerberg, mit dem Hinweis, wie wichtig die sozialen Medien für ihren gewaltlosen Kampf und Widerstand sind. Sie bekamen nie eine Antwort. Am 9. Dezember wurde Razan Zaitouneh mit ihrem Ehemann und zwei KollegInnen von bewaffneten Männern entführt. Seitdem gibt es von ihnen kein Lebenszeichen. Die syrische Revolution ist eine der bestdokumentierten. Noch nie war es möglich, fast zeitgleich an Geschehen, Verbrechen an der Menschheit und dem Widerstand so nah dran zu sein. Geschehen, die einerseits neben Grausamkeit auch unglaubliche Willenskraft zeigen, andererseits aber Botschaften, Aufforderungen an die Welt sind, solidarisch für eine menschenrechtswürdige Welt einzustehen.

von Rayelle Niemann

Rayelle Niemann ist Organisatorin des Festivals «Grosse Fluchten – Kleines Asyl», das vom 28.Februar bis 14.März in der Roten Fabrik stattfindet. Sie ist Kuratorin und lebt zwischen Kairo und Zürich.



Abdullah Abd al-Rahman Gazal	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Nori Mohammad al-Farrouh	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Shelling
Ahmad Mohammad Kanjo	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Hosain Omer Hasan	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Mohammad Abd al-Hamid Jobran	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Mohsen Hasan Qaddah	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Mohammad Ashour	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Mahmoud Knas	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Mohammad Ahmad Qobrsi	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Zakkour Hamadeh	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Shelling
Kasem Moustafa Mahjoub	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus	02/19/14	Shelling
Sira Eddin Srewel	Civilian	Child - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/19/14	Other
Mohammad Ziad Bakeer	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/19/14	Shelling
ahmad Ghandour Jezoun Nader Hatem al-Sheikh Ahmad al-Jasem	Non-Civilian Civilian Non-Civilian	Adult - Male Adult - Male Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs Damascus Suburbs Damascus Suburbs	02/19/14 	Shooting Shelling Shooting
Yaser al-Omer	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Ritaj Wafa Omar	Civilian	Adult - Female	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Mohammad Waseem Omar	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Abdul Rahman Jameel Jebraiel Kawthar Jebraiel Zainab Mohammad Deeb Jomaa	Civilian Civilian Civilian	Adult - Male Adult - Female Adult - Female	Aleppo Aleppo Aleppo	02/19/14 02/19/14 02/19/14 02/19/14	Warplane shelling Warplane shelling Warplane shelling
Buthaina Waseem Omar Ahmad Wasim Omer Intizar al-Ramadan	Civilian Civilian Civilian Civilian	Adult - Female Adult - Male Adult - Female	Aleppo Aleppo	02/19/14 02/19/14 02/19/14 02/19/14	Warplane shelling Warplane shelling
Omer Abd al-Rahman al-Abdullah Mohammad Fawaz Mohammad Saied al-Zouabi	Civilian Civilian	Adult - Male Child - Male	Aleppo Aleppo Daraa	02/19/14 02/19/14	Shooting Detention - Torture Warplane shelling
Unicentified	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Shelling
Mahmoud Tawfeeq Helwani	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Shooting
Ahmad Abd al-Kareem Oso	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Shooting
Thaer Mahmoud Kharajeh	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Shooting
Raefat Asad al-San	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Shooting
Mohammad Mahmoud Aboud	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Shooting
Hassan Ahmed Fahed al-Dadoush	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Homs	02/19/14	Shooting
Rami Salebi	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Shooting
Ibrahem Khaled	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Shooting
Ahmed Othman Jima'a	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/19/14	Detention - Torture
Omer Aboud Shqouder	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Explosion
Mahmoud Zoher	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Homs	02/19/14	Shooting
Waseem al-Hawari	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/19/14	Shooting
Saeid Rahmoun al-Shraim	Civilian	Adult - Male	Hama	02/19/14	Shelling
Muhmoud Jalal al-Hussein	Civilian	Adult - Male	Deir Ezzor	02/19/14	Detention - Torture
Ali al-Alewi	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Mohammad Abdul Baqi	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Abdul Rahman al-Qanawi	Civilian	Child - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Abo Hafs	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Ahmad Alewi	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Salah Mohammad Farouh	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/19/14	Warplane shelling
Ammar Yaseen Waleed al-Ahmad Omar Ahmad Tamouri	Civilian Non-Civilian Non-Civilian	Adult - Male Adult - Male Adult - Male	Aleppo Aleppo Aleppo	02/19/14 02/19/14 02/19/14 02/19/14	Warplane shelling Shooting Shooting
Fatima Walid Damalakhi fetus Ahmad Wafa Omar Moughmmed Hakom	Civilian Civilian Civilian	Child - Male Adult - Male Child - Male	Aleppo Aleppo Damascus Suburbs	02/19/14 02/19/14 02/19/14 02/19/14	Explosion Warplane shelling Warplane shelling
Wawl Saleh al-Naser Sedra Alwan al-Kayed Ibtsam Yousef al-Zoubi	Non-Civilian Civilian	Adult - Male Adult - Male Child - Female Adult - Female	Homs Daraa	02/19/14 02/19/14 02/19/14 02/19/14	Shooting Shelling
Fadi Alwan al-Kayed Haitham Abdul Salam Jaafar	Civilian Civilian Non-Civilian	Child - Male Adult - Male	Hasakeh Daraa Damascus Süburbs	02/19/14 02/19/14	Warplane shelling Shelling Shelling
Muhmoud al-Mouat	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus	02/19/14	Detention - Torture
Khaled Ali al-Omer	Civilian	Adult - Male	Hama	02/18/14	Detention - Torture
Salem al-Hateti	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Daraa	02/18/14	Shooting
Bara'a Radwan Knesawi	Civilian	Child - Female	Idlib	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Abdo Hussein al-Khaled	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Unidentified	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus	02/18/14	Detention - Torture
Khaled Abd al-Karem al-Darwesh	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Hama	02/18/14	Shooting
Mouahmmed Haran	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Hama	02/18/14	Shooting
Omer Azzam	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Ahmad Moein Shraih	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Uniqentified	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Hama	02/18/14	Shooting
Mahrous Abd al-Hai	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14	Shooting
Kamal Mengash	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14	Explosion
Unigentified 1	Civilian	Adult - Female	Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14	Explosion
Unigentified 2	Civilian	Child - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14	Explosion
Unidentified 3	Civilian	Child - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14	Explosion
Omer Saleh Shareef	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Abo Alae	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Hosain al-Ahmad al-Bioushi	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Sokaina Ahmad al-Mohammad	Civilian	Adult - Female	Aleppo	02/18/14	Shooting
Ibrahem Haroun	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14	Shooting
Samer Nusair	Civilian	Child - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14	Other
Zain Mohammad Alya	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14	Shelling
Musiafa Mershed al-Falah	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14	Shelling
Mohammad Abdul Kareem Mkhebra	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Homs	02/18/14	Shooting
Ahmad Sulaiman	Civilian	Adult - Male	Homs	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Abdul Razag al-Saga	Civilian	Adult - Male	Homs	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Abdul Razaq al-Saqa Wadi Khaled al-Thalji Zuhair Hasan al-Qadour Riza, Saleem Sarhan	Civilian Civilian Non-Civilian	Adult - Male Adult - Male Adult - Male	Homs Hama Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14	Warplane shelling Warplane shelling Shooting
Mohammad Bassam al-Fahd al-Omer	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Hama	02/18/14	Shooting Field Execution Field Execution
Najah Yosef Abo Khaleel	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus	02/18/14	
Khadeje Mohammad Saied Haded	Civilian	Adult - Female	Damascus	02/18/14	
Rahaf Najah Abo Khaleel	Civilian	Adult - Female	Damascus	02/18/14	Field Execution
Mohammad Fraikh al-Raheel	Civilian	Child - Male	Daraa	02/18/14	Shelling
Marwan-Emad al-Taleb	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Daraa	02/18/14	Shooting
Qasem Mohammad al-Yateem al-Meqdad	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Daraa	02/18/14	Shooting
Musiafa Abdul Kareem al-Hmaidat	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Daraa	02/18/14	Shooting
Abdul Rawof Ahmad Abdul Rawof al-Sabah	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Daraa	02/18/14	Shooting
Hanan Sameer al-Khateeb	Civilian	Child - Female	Daraa	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Amsna al-Abdulla	Civilian	Adult - Female	Daraa	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Mozhar Khalaf al-Jareoud	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Hama	02/18/14	Shooting
Zad al-Khair Khaleel Abo Shelle Eide Khaleel Abo Shelle Mohammad Khaleel Abo Shelle	Civilian Civilian Civilian	Child - Female Child - Female Child - Male	Daraa Daraa Daraa	02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14	Warplane shelling Warplane shelling Warplane shelling
Maysaa Ali al-Jawabra	Civilian	Adult - Female	Daraa	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Hourie al-Said	Civilian	Adult - Female	Daraa	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Hasna al-Kharoubi	Civilian	Adult - Female	Daraa	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Batool Omar al-Seedi Waleed Khaled al-Qudsi Hayel Hasan Awaid al-Sbaihi	Civilian Civilian Civilian	Adult - Female Adult - Male Adult - Male	Daraa Daraa Daraa	02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14	Warplane shelling Warplane shelling Warplane shelling
Yazan Bashar al-Ghorani Waleed Khaled al-Khebbi Zakariya Saleh al-Maysawi	Civilian Civilian Civilian	Adult - Male Adult - Male Adult - Male	Daraa Daraa Daraa	02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14	Warplane shelling Warplane shelling Warplane shelling
Omer Abd al-Azez al-Ajoua Ahmad Zwawi Ahmed Othman Naser	Non-Civilian Civilian Non-Civilian	Adult - Male Adult - Male Adult - Male Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs Daraa Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14	Shooting Warplane shelling Shooting
Ahmad Hasan al-Dali Gayda'a Saneor Mohammad Ghaleb al-Dali	Civilian Civilian Civilian	Adult - Male Adult - Female Adult - Male	Daraa Damascus Suburbs Daraa	02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14	Warplane shelling Warplane shelling Warplane shelling
Mouahmmed Darwesh	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs Daraa	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Mahmoud al-Hasheesh	Civilian	Adult - Male		02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Ahmed Abd al-Hai Munther al-Hasheesh Nader Shoulden	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14	Shooting
	Civilian	Adult - Male	Daraa	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus Suburbs	02/18/14	Shooting
Salah Munther al-Hasheesh	Civilian	Adult - Male	Daraa	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Zakrya Moustafa al-Sagher	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus	02/18/14	Shooting
Zaher Mohammad Hazzaa Smerat	Civilian	Adult - Male	Daraa	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Mouahmmed Nedal al-Ayoubi	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus	02/18/14	Shooting Kidnapping - Execution Kidnapping - Execution
Unidentified 1	Civilian	Adult - Male	Idlib	02/18/14	
Unidentified 2	Civilian	Adult - Male	Idlib	02/18/14	
Unidentified Unidentified 3 Unidentified 4	Civilian	Adult - Male	Damascus	02/18/14	Shelling
	Civilian	Adult - Male	Idlib	02/18/14	Kidnapping - Execution
	Civilian	Adult - Male	Idlib	02/18/14	Kidnapping - Execution
Adnan Taha Moustafa al-Kasom	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Hama	02/18/14	Shooting Shooting Shooting
Abo Ali al-Nouami	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Quneitra	02/18/14	
Abo Ma'an al-Nouaemi	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Quneitra	02/18/14	
Mouahmmed Ali Shahab	Non-C <mark>ivilian</mark>	Adult - Male	Quneitra	02/18/14	Shooting
Swed Ahmed al-Hussein	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Quneitra	02/18/14	Shooting
Mohammad Rabea Yehya Khello	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Ali Yehya al-Hamdan ´	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Hasan Emad Eddin al-Husain	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Mohammad Khaleelo al-Waheed	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Warplane shelling
Ali Ahmad Temmo Waheede Mohammad Shihab Unidentified	Civilian Civilian Civilian	Adult - Male Adult - Female Child - Male	Aleppo Aleppo Aleppo Aleppo	02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14 02/18/14	Warplane shelling Shooting Warplane shelling
Onidentitiea	Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	vvarpiane snelling
Mahmoud Ahmad Najjar	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Shooting
Ahmad Dasuqi	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Kidnapping - Execution
Abdul Rahman Ahmad Khoja	Non-Civilian	Adult - Male	Aleppo	02/18/14	Shelling
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