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**the Initiative presented by the Environmental and Social Development
Centre**

“Syria homeland for all”



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Introduction:

The Environmental and social development center initiated a study of views of more than 400 Syrian figures of different categories of politicians and jurists , through the entire dialogues we were capable to sum up an initiative to resolve the military conflict in Syria, moreover; the Environmental and social development center took into consideration the whole international developments regarding the Syrian file, especially the Security Council decision , which includes fighting against the terrorist organizations " Al Nusra", the Islamic State within the Syrian territory.

The draft of the decision which was approved on August 7, 2015, stating the punishment of chemical weapon users in Syria No. / 2235 /.

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=51582#.VceUWPIViko>

The center believes that the two national resolutions provide a legal cover for punishing a large number of terrorists whether they were from on the regime side or in the ranks of terrorist organizations.

Of course our initiative is launched on the basis of the decisions of the "Geneva 1" conference which carries several steps and the most prominent is "establishing a transitional governing committee ", and trying to find a consensual points that satisfy all international parties and achieve balance in the Syrian government through the Syrians are protected regardless of their nationality, ethnical or political pertinence , and at the same time the proposed initiative paves the road to end the military conflict in Syria, in conjunction with an administrative and political change within Syria, with the broad goal of improving human rights and promoting democracy and fighting against the terrorist organizations.

The plan of the Environmental and Social Development Center



The initiative letter of the Environmental and social development center:
A democratic Syrian nation that is able to embrace and protect all its citizens.

Goals:

1. To promote the values of citizenship in the Syrian society.
2. The protection of the Syrian human regardless of his pertinence "political, ethnic, or sectarian..." affiliation, and to ensure his political representation in the approved administrative regime.
3. Fighting terrorism and dictatorships regimes that are hostile to democratic values.
4. Promotion good governance values in the state institutions.
5. The Expansion of political participation standards in decision-making of both "women, and young men."
6. Working to end the military conflict.
7. Seeking to set up a federal consensual constitution.
8. Promotion social reconciliation.
9. Seeking to ensure administrative and political transition with minimal losses.
10. Seeking to strengthen cooperation with the international community in issues such as "the protection of civilians, and supporting the mechanisms of administrative work, the provision of loans for reconstruction, and refugees and displaced files ..."

THE FORM OF THE SYRIAN IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROPOSALS OF INTELLECTUALS:

The nature of the administrative future form of the Syrian state cannot be determined, until after the end of the military conflict, otherwise; we will be subject to other unsuccessful experiences of previous studies that proved its failure in such cases, but it is important to highlight all of the options proposed by the interlocutors in this initiative, and try to illustrate all the negative and the positive points in each of them:

1. A Centralized State: the majority of the Syrian cultural and political elites see in the central system, despite its disadvantages and administrative bureaucracy, as a system which the Syrians got used to, and may be an acceptable administrative system as long as the city of Damascus is still a stable city along with its institutions. However; the current reality outside Damascus shows the impossibility of the regime to continue in its Central state, where the Syrian society lives under worsening sectarian and nationalist circumstances, and this in turn; strengthened the concept of regionalism in areas where the power of authority faded out, and even when the military conflict ends, administrative chaos will permeate these areas, especially since the administrative institutions which are capable of adjusting the daily life of citizens are missing in those areas and the mechanism of communication with Damascus is cut off for several years now, and in order to be linked once again, we need to train staffs and this is something that needs long periods of time. Moreover; the central authority in Damascus cannot be relied on because its administrative structure will be busy for years to come in the deepening the administrative stability of great human staff which surrounds the capital "Damascus and Damascus Countryside: approximately 8 million people," heading out of here, the environmental and social development center excludes this option out of its plan to resolve the military conflict, despite the presence of a large section of proponents of politicians to such a solution, who have consulted with in this respect ((nearly 31%)).

2. The Federal state: This system launches several fears with the Syrians, especially by the side of the Arab tribes in the Syrian island (Aljazeera) and the Sunni community in the Syrian Coast, and the reason for the fear is that the Kurds have been for long declaring their desire of having a self-administrative system managed by them in the Syrian island, as well as a lot of Alawites promote the idea of establishing an Alawite state in the Coast, and both the Alawites and the Kurdish parties did not initiate any conciliatory steps with the local societies, which means real fears on the side of the most administratively and militarily vulnerable sections in the Syrian regions of the island and the Syrian coast. But from a second perspective; and away from the regions of the Syrian Island and specifically the "Upper Jzeera, Ein Al Arab countryside and the Syrian coast and Homs, the applicability of Syrian federal system is quite possible, and it might take into consideration the different social specialties and privacies in the Syrian diverse environments, and as for the coast of Syria and the Jazeera, it is possible to apply a work mechanism that governs and regulates the nature of the federal system in a format which cancels the case of political favoritism as well as the tribalism and nationalism revenge systems, as we are going to demonstrate through the work mechanism of the plan of the Environmental and social development center, and the total proportion of supporters of this plan is nearly 48% where we were capable of achieving this percentage only after several dialogues and clarifications about the concepts and mechanisms of action, as we will explain later on.

3. A Divided country: the advocates of this project do not declare their thoughts in public but it is discussed in closed political salons, and perhaps the most prominent blocs that promote this concept are of the Alawites and Kurds. However; if we mediate the nature of the communities inhabited by these two both minority, we will realize that their independence from the Syrian homeland is nothing but a pure fantasy because the numerical lineage in their areas does not entitle them to dominate over these areas, unless if they have decided to use displacement and human transfer policy, but even when this issue occurs in some areas, yet It is socially and politically unacceptable, moreover; a large number of Kurds are in familial relations with Arab tribes, and Arab tribes are also armed and will not be satisfied to be deprived of their rights as long as they are able to resist, and in return the Turkish at the north of the Jazeera area will not allow a Kurdish-Syrian divisional project to take place. Furthermore; if we take a close look at the real identity of the Syrian coast we see the opposite of what is portrayed by the media as being of the majority of the Alawite regions, and the fact is that the percentage of the Sunni converges completely with the Alawite percentage living in the Coast, and during the period of military conflict more than four million Sunni people were displaced to the coast of Syria, and the large proportion of those displaced has owned houses, shops and has become an integral part of the Syrian market, that is why ,the displacement process of those people is not a picnic or a viable process. According to this, the Environmental and Social Development Center excludes this option, however, a support of about 9% was recorded for this ratio among those who have been consulted.

Note: 12% of those who have been consulted, rejected to provide a clear opinion on the form of the state, and their reasons were that till this day they are unable to identify the identity shifts in the Syrian file, and most of them would prefer to deal with the changes on a daily basis and not as a decision maker rather they prefer to stay as the recipient of any change, especially since the Syrian file According to them, got out of the Syrians' control.

The Strategy:

The Syrian federal state:

Heading out of the aforementioned points , it is evident that the most suitable administrative systems that matches the Syrian reality in future is the federal system, and despite the public arguments that this system is dedicated towards the division concepts in future, but the current obvious Syrian reality is that the Syrian society today is already administratively , politically, religiously and nationally divided, moreover; the idea of the federal administrative system is the one and only savior for the rest of the Civil populace which remains steadfast in its cities and towns.

For the success of the federal system, we should rely on the following strategy while raising our solutions;

THE FIRST STEP:

Asking for Internationalism Protection: This demand does not oblige the members of the United Nations to defend Syrians within the seventh item, but it requires them to embrace a plan to resolve the military conflict by adopting the following steps:

1. Obliging the Syrian government to provide full official documents including the (civil records in all the Syrian cities and towns, records of official personnel , records of members of the army and the armed forces and the internal security forces), to the Office of the Internationalist Commissioner of the Syrian file at the present, "De Mistura ," because anyway, the Syrian State is a Member in The United Nations, which is a very honest guardian side and keeps the secrets of the member countries.
2. The Security Council is to Choose a technocratic Federal Syrian Government containing Syrian competencies of those whose hands are clean of the Syrian blood and of those who obtain the popularity and respect within their local environments.

Note: "1"

(A)In case of the approval of this initiative, the Environmental and Social Development Center will provide files containing the names of a large number of such Syrian figures of those whose hands are clean of the Syrian blood , and who are accepted socially, regionally and internationally.

(B)The Environmental and Social Development Center has suggested in its first draft dated on July 25, 2015 Several examples of such personalities ,which could be seen in the following link: <http://www.etcmena.com/wp-content/uploads/ETCC-Project-for-Syria.pdf>

Note: "2": The duration of the transitional government is five years, which is an acceptable time till the establishment of stability within the majority of the Syrian cities and towns, where after a government is to be elected by the parliament.

3. Depriving the president of the previously given constitutional rights, and to depose Bashar al-Assad and his brother of any official positions in the transitional government while ensuring that they will not be convicted or not to confiscate their money (treasury) for five years within the United States of Syria.
4. The release of all opinion and political prisoners.
5. Encouraging political life by allowing the licensing of political parties and Forums
6. Encouraging the media investment and the abolition of any regulatory restrictions against it.
7. Encouraging the activities of civil organizations and facilitating their administrative and security measures.
8. The formation of a judicial structure the is concerned with putting an end to the " court of terrorism " files, in addition to ensuring the existence of international legal observers in these trials.

2. The administrative mechanism of the state:

- a. The adoption of the federal system of the Syrian States in accordance with the following figure:
 1. The Syrian coast" of Tartous and Lattakia," as one state, approximately"1.8 million population."
 2. Idlib and its countryside as one state, of approximately"1.5 million population."
 3. Aleppo and its countryside, approximately"4.8 million population."
 4. Daraa and Quneitra, approximately"1.3 million population."
 5. Alsweydaa about "half a million" population.
 6. Raqqa +Manbej +Al Tabaqa " one million population"
 7. Hasaka +Tel Tamer" 0.7 million population."
 8. Qamishli +Ras Al Ain +Maalikia "0.7 million population."
 9. Hama +Homs +Badia "3.2 million"
 10. Damascus - and its countryside , approximately"4.6 million"
 11. Deirez-Zor "1.2 million population."

[According to this system, the administrative sectors appear in the following format:](#)

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1. The smallest administrative sector to vote in or to recommend is a gathering with a population number of more than 60 thousand people :

a "neighborhood or a group of villages, and must be documented in official records, presumably at elections they should head to the center of at least " half a million inhabitants "in order to conduct elections for their representatives so the results of elections should approve the arrival of three representatives for each 60 000 inhabitants, and any individual is allowed to elect only within his own civil register areas or in case he has an official document showing his residency for at least a period exceeding 5 years in the village or area or neighborhood which he decides to vote in.

2. State Council:

The election results will produce representatives from all public slices in equitable human distribution in each state, so that the successful representatives in the elections become "the State Council," It serves as a mini-parliament for each state, and each state has the right ,through their representatives, to set its own laws to suit the social and culture concepts in their regions.

And the number of representatives of the state would be in accordance with the population of each state as an example (in Damascus and its countryside 230 representative), moreover; a candidate is not allowed to nominate more than twice consecutively for the state parliament.

3. The leadership of the state:

the council that governs the state and is elected by the " state parliament" according to the following standards:

a. Number: the number varies from state to state according to the population of each state, so the proportional system will be adopted in determining the number and the ratio would be 10% of the value of the number of representatives of the state assembly, "the State Council: an example of Damascus and its countryside where the number of its representatives will be composed of 23 leaderships."

B. Educational standard : the candidate who is supposed to lead the State Council should be an academic one, and specialized in one of the following areas (humanistic sciences, political science, law, administrative science, and media).

C. The candidate must have a good reputation and of those whose hands are clean of the Syrian blood during the period of military conflict.

D. The candidate should announce his estates and his assets along with all movable or immovable accounts from the moment of his candidacy for the elections.

E. The need to take into consideration the representation of women and the youth of all the leaderships of the state of a minimum not less than "two representatives from each category 2 women and two candidates under the age of 35."

- Tasks of The State Council:

a. the state Council Should Research the amendments the laws in each state as to harmonize the privacy of its residents, and these fancies will be expressed by the parliamentary of the state as representatives of the people who have been elected by, of course, during the transitional period of 5 years ,the main reliance will be on the 2012 Constitution and the overall administrative laws that were in force during

the former rule as a reference source, to be adjusted according to the views of the two parliamentarians in each state to facilitate the administrative procedures for citizens.

B. Seals and signatures demanded from Damascus will be replaced by seals of the state council offices which are distributed in each state for all services and directorates.

C. The State Council set the official directorate managers, in accordance with their functional qualifications and academic experience.

D. The State council elects administrative director of the state "as a governor as it is currently valid" and this Director is prohibited to run for parliament as long as he is running his position.

E. The Council of State has the right of questioning and investigating of directors in case of any administrative dereliction reached through citizens' complaints box.

F. The state Council has the right to convert any administrative to the jurisdiction of the Court of the state in case of any complain against the administrative from the Federal Parliament or the federal government, while ensuring the existence of media organizations and human rights organizations to which the trial sequence in public.

G. The State Council is an establishing member of the federal parliament of Syria, is none of them is allowed to nominate himself more than once to the federal parliament within 10 years.

H. The State Council is responsible for the internal security of the state, and the issues of war and peace are the responsibility of the federal parliament through coordination with the elected government.

I. The State Council is responsible for determining the administrative system in every state, "an Islamic legal system, a secular system, a civil system" and in case of any differences, the State Council has the right to do public referendum in the state, moreover; the state administrative system cannot be changed, unless after five years on the approval of the system.

4. The Federal Parliament:

all the representatives of the leadership of States will meet and gather in to discuss the steps of development and reforms and reconciliation in coordination with the Transitional Federal Government. The Parliament is not entitled to bring down the assigned government under the international guardianship, except after five years, and then its first priority will be to elect the out of the same components of parliament, and a period of five years will allow the growth of the political and media work and this definitely will highlight blocks of political parties that will attract the street. The Parliament has the right of objection to the performance of the work of some members of the transitional government to the UN envoy who is in charge of the Syrian file by the Security Council.

THE SECOND STEP:

a. What distinguishes Syria is that the majority of its states are fertile and its resources cover its needs. Thus, the underground resources do not belong to the state, but are owned by the federal government responsible for the support of any provisions of any state which needs assistance in case of any proposals approved by the federal government, but the federal government is not allowed to employ non-citizens in their states.

B. the federal government is prevented from imposing the dictates on the Council of each state, rather

the federal government is responsible of assisting the State Council in the planning and implementation of projects theoretically, or else the federal government may hinder the work of the state in case of any violation or legal violation of the terms of the contract, and the federal government is allowed to expose it within the media and show all abusive elements in the state assembly.

C. the media is Free and independent and its reference is the federal government where no province has the right to impose any charge against it, as long as the federal government did not forbid it.

D. The task of the ministry of justice is to follow-up the work of the various ministries in every state, and to prosecute any guilty person who violates the law of his state.

E. In the federal system any council has the right to choose the administrative system that suits it, for example: If the state board decided an Islamic legal system, it is our duty to respect this decision within the federal government, it is not allowed to change the system, except after five years of the approval, and the same issue works if The State Council has decided to choose a homosexual system, or a civil marriage in any state, and all States should officially recognize this decision in according with the federal system.

F. The main target of the army and the armed forces is to protect the country from any external danger, where the Syrian federal army is a professional army that offers all recruits a monthly salary in local Syrian currency an amount that is equivalent to US \$ 600, and is committed to the federal army and supported by the administrative authorities in any state under any circumstances or occurrence of terrorist activities or armed rebellion, and is committed to the Federal Army in partnership with the international coalition in the war against terrorism and coordinate military operations to flush out the organization of the Islamic state and the NUSRA out of the Syrian land.

G. No individual or institution is allowed to violate any of the others ownership or exploit it , where the abuser is required of immediate eviction without accountability and In case he decided to continue his dominance on the documented property included in the official records of the United Nations, he is obliged to pay financial compensation for each year, equivalent to 10% of the assessed property value financially by the Ministry of Economy in the transitional government, or any subsequent government elected by the parliament.

H. A federal system is a phased system of 10-year and can be renewable if succeeded.

I. Any state is forbidden to gain its independence as long as the ruling federal system does not allow it .

G. Each state is committed to providing a tax amount of federal services, and this amount is determined of as 8% of the purchase value of any commodity.

K. The federal government revenues turned periodically "every two months" from the local currency into gold bars kept in the Federal bank, and is used to support the Syrian pound or in disasters and wars, or in case of a budget deficiency of any state.

STEP THREE:

- A. Syria is affiliated and subsidiary to the Arab League countries.
- B. Syria is a multi-ethnic state which respects the national idiosyncrasies of the various nationalities.
- C. Arabic is the official language. The Kurdish language, Syriac, Assyrian and Arami and Armenian are authentic languages within the Syrian society that is ethnically and religiously manifold.
- D. Any human assembly is allowed to open schools and cultural institutions, radio stations, TV in their own public languages without any limitations or censorship as long as their activities do not affect or violate the national security in charge of it, which is the Syrian federal government

STEP FOUR:

Syria is a member state in the United Nations, and is committed to the ratification of all protocols on human rights, and is committed to United Nations General Assembly resolutions.

STEP FIVE:

- A. Syria is a law state which respects the opinion and the other opinion, and prevents any political arrest as long as it adheres to the limits of political expression.
- B. Defamation is prevented against any individual or institution, and anyone who attempts defamation is legally pursued.

The Executive strategy of the federal government:

1. The stage of the solution to the armed conflict: // the duration of this stage is two to three years // Divided into the following stages:

1. guardianship and conference stage for the selection of a government of technocrats// This stage may take 10 months to nearly a year//, through which it is required:

- A. Eliminating any armed presence in the capital Damascus.
- B. Asking the regional countries supporting militias to impose on their local armed partners in Syria to act within the restraint policy and move away from Damascus.
- C. Forming a security board that protects the capital, Damascus, formed of the rest of the Syrian army, with the assistance of the international military coalition consultants.
- D. Assigning the Government ministers to their tasks and linking them to consultants or consulting firms that are contracted with, and the commitment of ministers to live in Damascus, and not to leave it except within the framework of official business.
- E. Reliance on the Syrian Constitution amended in 2011, as an administrative basis with deposing all executive powers of the post of President of the Republic.
- F. The formation of committees to monitor the elections in unstable regions, which follow the administrative institutions of the Syrian state

2. The stage of creating the mainstream democratic elections: /nearly two years/

- A. Elections begin in the stable cities and countries that directly belong to the authority of the transitional government.
- B. The transitional government begins a media campaign that aims to attract the regions that fall outside the Syrian state authority areas, and trying to organize them administratively by converting the militias to become army and police officers.
- C. In case of refusal to join the federal government by any militia dominate on a particular geographic area, the following actions are organized:
- Providing food and housing to all civilians in that region.
 - Demanding civilians to leave the area and to protect them full protection while they are away from their areas.
 - Depriving the region after the departure of civilians, including from all the federal services "Electricity, water, fuel," and the prohibition of passing any supply of goods or getting involved in any commercial exchange.
 - The Transitional government imposes pressure through the regional parties on the leadership of these militia, and it is possible that they are classified as terrorist militia because of their acts and practices that hurt the existence of civilians.
 - the armed forces of the area are assigned to fight the rebels, with the help of expertise from the international coalition.
- D. The transitional government regulates the entry of relief organizations in the safe areas.
- E. The Department of the Army begins the placement of volunteers and organizes training courses in coordination with the international coalition, and the task of the army at this stage is to ensure the security and stability in the areas of the distribution of the federal government's authority.

2. Anti-terrorism stage: // an extended period which is not linked to a limited timetable //

But this stage cannot be started, if the Syrian army is not prepared and well-trained, and perhaps the last three-year period is a good stage, and certainly its operations with the international coalition throughout the air movements, will facilitate the following tasks:

- A. Attacking the militias that refuse convergence in the body of the transitional government, and the option of attack will be determined by the military priorities and these priorities will assume to attack the areas that are near to areas of the federal government's authority.
- B. With the gradual expansion of the areas of influence of the federal government, a campaign to restore services to the new areas of the federal government will begin.
- C. A campaign targeting to return the original inhabitants of their areas who were evicted back to their regions, and cooperation will take place with the UNHCR and there is no doubt that the EU will contribute in an effective contribution in this file, which will close the illegal immigration file.

3. The stage of the parliamentary policy:

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After five years of work by the transitional government, it is supposed to show significant achievements ,and of the most prominent are:

1. expansion of federal authority of the state to include the majority of the Syrian geographical regions.
2. The success of the electoral system in the majority of the Syrian areas.
3. The production of professional and national team in monitoring the elections which cooperates with international observers.
4. Security control at high rates in the majority of cities and towns.
5. The emergence of powers equal representatives in the countryside and cities, and that means a fair distribution of services between the countryside and the city.
6. The amendment of the country's constitution to become a constitution that represents all Syrians, and achieve full citizenship requirements which cancels gender, religious and class discrimination.
7. The Adoption of a unified flag that represents the Syrian federal homeland.
8. Members of parliament proceed with the election of a new Syrian government.

The electoral system:

1. The prevention of any candidate to be elected again in two recurrent elections.
2. The transitional period is considered as a trial period during which time it is possible for the nominee to be re-nominated and elected for two courses.
3. The period of the electoral term is 5 years, and it may be extended for an extra year in case of any emergency "natural disaster", external invasion, and it is considered as an emergency government ...

The financial resources of the federal government:

Within the first five years, the government will be forced to borrow money from the World Bank, especially since the tax system will not be stable until after five years, as underground resources are not within the upper investment capacity.

As the interim government will be forced to ask for financial assistance from the Group of Friends of the Syrian people, such as the Iranian and the Iraqi government.

1. It is possible that the EU takes care of a large amount of funds ,such as pre-made tents produced by the IKEA Foundation, and these tents are possible to be installed in cities and towns that were destroyed where these tents are made in a way that keep from cold quite well and provide lighting and heating for residents within.

2. The project of establishing the professional Syrian army may be financially financed by the "Friends of the Syrian People" in addition to Iran and Russia.

References:

1. population distribution in the United States based upon on the statistics in 2011:

https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%B2%D8%B9_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%8A%D9%85%D9%88%D8%BA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%81%D9%8A_%D9%81%D9%8A_%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A7

2. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=51582#.VceUWPIViko>

3. Meeting in social Media around one month,

4. the Initiative presented by the Environmental and Social Development Centre at 07/31/2015: <http://www.etccmena.com/?p=3400>

5. Demstora plan: <http://www.etccmena.com/?p=3444>