

THE COMPLETE DECIPHER OF THE “CHANCE IN SYRIA CONFERENCE”, CARRIED OUT IN ANTALYA BETWEEN JUNE 1-2 2011

ANTALYA'DA 1-2 HAZİRAN 2011 TARİHLERİNDE GERÇEKLEŞEN “SURIYE'DE DEĞİŞİM KONFERANSI”NIN TAM DEŞİFRESİ

النص الكامل للندوة العلمية المقامة في انطاليا
بعنوان “التغيير في سوريا”

في الفترة ١ - ٢ حزيران/ يونيو ٢٠١١

ORTADOĞU STRATEJİK ARAŞTIRMALAR MERKEZİ
CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STRATEGIC STUDIES

مركز الشرق الأوسط للدراسات الاستراتيجية



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STRATEGIC INFORMATION MANAGEMENT AND INDEPENDENT THOUGHT PRODUCTION

CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STRATEGIC STUDIES

History

In Turkey, the shortage of research on the Middle East grew more conspicuous than ever during the early 90's. Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM) was established in January 1, 2009 in order to provide relevant information to the general public and to the foreign policy community. The institute underwent an intensive structuring process, beginning to concentrate exclusively on Middle affairs.

Outlook on the Middle Eastern World

It is certain that the Middle East harbors a variety of interconnected problems. However, neither the Middle East nor its people ought to be stigmatized by images with negative connotations. Given the strength of their populations, Middle Eastern states possess the potential to activate their inner dynamics in order to begin peaceful mobilizations for development. Respect for people's willingness to live together, respect for the sovereign right of states and respect for basic human rights and individual freedoms are the prerequisites for assuring peace and tranquility, both domestically and internationally. In this context, Turkey must continue to make constructive contributions to the establishment of regional stability and prosperity in its vicinity.

ORSAM's Think-Tank Research

ORSAM, provides the general public and decision-making organizations with enlightening information about international politics in order to promote a healthier understanding of international policy issues and to help them to adopt appropriate positions. In order to present effective solutions, ORSAM supports high quality research by intellectuals and researchers that are competent in a variety of disciplines. ORSAM's strong publishing capacity transmits meticulous analyses of regional developments and trends to the interested parties. With its web site, its books, reports, and periodicals, ORSAM supports the development of Middle Eastern literature on a national and international scale. ORSAM supports the development of Middle Eastern literature on a national and international scale. ORSAM facilitates the sharing of knowledge and ideas with the Turkish and international communities by inviting statesmen, bureaucrats, academics, strategists, businessmen, journalists, and NGO representatives to Turkey.

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INTRODUCTION

The anti-regime demonstrations which began on 15 March 2011 in Syria have been continuing and growing each day. Even though Bashar al-Assad government has tried to suppress the uprisings by force, it hasn't been successful so far. With the increase of violence towards civil society, the issue is expected to be brought more to Turkey's and international community's agenda.

The events in Syria are important from the viewpoint of both Turkey and the world, in a different way from the other oppositional popular movements which appeared in some other countries in the region. Syria is a neighbour country of Turkey with which it has the longest land frontier. Beyond the responsibility brought about by the common history and neighborhood relations, the instability in Syria is also important as it will directly affect Turkey. The immigration flow is an example of this effect. When considered from the worldly aspect, the possibility for the instability to spread to the region creates concern. In case of a possible regime change, the question of who the alternative will be and the possibility for the instability to spread to Israel, Lebanon and Iraq limit the world at the point of acting as quickly as in Egypt and Libya. However, it is inevitable that the subject will be put in UN's agenda as a result of the increase in the number of civil casualties with each passing day.

In this atmosphere, the Syria opposition held a meeting titled 'Change in Syria Conference' in Antalya on 1-2 June 2011, which grabbed the attention of world public opinion. Representing ORSAM, ORSAM advisors Prof. Dr. Veysel Ayhan and Oytun Orhan participated in this conference in which many individuals and groups of Syria opposition in and out of Syria took part and recorded all the speeches. This document contains deciphers which reflect identically the speeches made by Syrian opponents from different groups during this conference and the events in the conference. We think that this study could be considered as a historical document according to the course of the events in Syria.

We are presenting this study considered as a historical document which is of great importance in terms of knowing the opposition in Syria and understanding their expectations.

Best regards,

Hasan KANBOLAT
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THE COMPLETE DECIPHER OF THE “CHANGE IN SYRIA CONFERENCE”, CARRIED OUT IN ANTALYA BETWEEN JUNE 1-2 2011

Summary

- *The groups who addressed a speech represented these social segments and political parties: Arab tribes, Muslim Brotherhood, Kurds, Arab Alawis, Turkmens, Druzes, Christians, Assyrians, Yezidis, intellectuals (academician, artist, scientist), non-governmental organizations, the representatives of prominent provinces, Leaders of Damascus Declaration, Syrians in Europe, Syrians in US, Syrians in Middle East, Syrians in Turkey.*
- *Because of the existence of Arab Alawis in the key points of Syrian regime, in case of a possible regime change, there is a risk of the anger which existed for many years towards the government turning to the Arab Alawite minorities. This situation prevents the Arab Alawis from getting involved in opponent groups. Therefore, one of the most important subjects in conference was the publication of a notice so as to satisfy the Arab Alawis in the new system to be “established”. By this way, The Arab Alawis were “called for the uprising and tried to satisfy about the fact that the future for a new, free and independent Syria is safe after the regime collapse”.*
- *Some ideas were suggested during the Antalya meeting to weaken and demolish the regime and also to mobilize the opposition, for instance, the idea for the creation of “liberated areas” to weaken the regime was brought to agenda. It was proposed to create a region purged by the security forces of regime in the region of Euphrates and Al-Jazira. In this direction, one of the most important subjects was that the Arab Tribes and the Kurds living in these regions should make efforts. Another proposal is that a ship full of food and medicine should go to Syria with the participation of Syrian, Arab and occidental individuals to attract world public opinion’s attention towards Syria and to increase the international pressure on regime. For this initiative called “Freedom Ship”, making an effort on the organization and coordination of Antalya meeting’s plan was also brought to agenda. Another proposal was that the Syrian minorities living in every country should inform the public opinion, raise its awareness about the Syria issue and also create pressure group on their governments.*

- *The Syrian opposition has already lost its belief that the Bashar Al-Assad government could make a reform. They defend that the regime has lost its legitimacy and support the creation of a new system. However, a peaceful transition period is predicted here. In the final declaration, “a clear denial of foreign military intervention and national unity” is emphasized. The way predicted for the demolition of the regime is to continue the public demonstrations and to increase the international pressure on government.*
- *In the final declaration, the heterogeneous ethnicity of the Syria’s population was also underlined. It was confirmed that the Syria’s population consists of “Arabs, Kurds, Chaldean, Nestorians, Assyrians, Syriacs, Turkmen, Chechens, Armenians and other ethnic elements. The opponents envisage a parliamentary and pluralist social system in which these groups live peacefully. Besides; minorities, in particular the Arab Alawite minorities who are thought to be affected most by the threat in case of a possible regime change were reassured. It was emphasized that no group will be targeted in the declaration.*
- *It was seen that while Christian representatives, other minority groups and liberalists use the notion of “laic”, other opponent groups remain distant to this notion by using the notion of “civil”. “Laicism” is perceived by these groups as “opposition to religion”. The most important problem concerning the elongation of dispute on the final declaration of conference resulted from the demand for adding the laicism notion to the text. Since the parties couldn’t come to an agreement, they decided to remove the controversial topics from the agenda.*
- *The majority of opponents attended the meeting from abroad and they indicated that the basic power which will provide change in Syria is the Syrian youth who doesn’t belong to any political group intrastate. These opponents determined their function for providing an international support to the Syrian youth and uprising people.*
- *One of the biggest weaknesses of the Syrian opponent emerged during the conference. Bringing ethnic, denominational, local and tribe’s interests rather than common goals to agenda in conference was seen as the biggest weakness regarding the creation of unity.*
- *One of the important subjects in the deciphers of conference was the trust to Turkey and also gratefulness for permitting the conference in Antalya. Many speakers mentioned about these wishes. Besides, while talking about the history of Syria, session leader said that **“Syria was able to gain its independence from the Ottoman and later French colonial system. And now, it will get rid of local cruelty and dictator”**. These expressions were reacted against. One participant said that **“I’m against to the characterization of “Ottoman Occupation” and he added that no Arabic country show the support that Turkey did”**. After these words of participant, another participant criticized by saying **“I have respect all opinions but when the Ottomans came to Syria, they saved Syria from occupation and they also protected them from the betrayal of Crusaders”**. Here upon, everyone applauded and the speaker said loudly that **“People compare the Ottoman Dynasty to the French in the conference and I don’t accept this”**. Above these reactions, the session leader apologized for the expressions that he used.*

1. The Important Topics of "Change in Syria Conference" Carried out in Antalya

- The groups who addressed a speech represented these social segments and political parties: Arab tribes, Muslim Brotherhood, Kurds, Arab Alawis, Turkmens, Druzes, Christians, Assyrians, Yezidis, intellectuals (academician, artist, scientist), non-governmental organizations, the representatives of prominent provinces, Leaders of Damascus Declaration, Syrians in Europe, Syrians in US, Syrians in Middle East, Syrians in Turkey.
- In case of the demolition of Al-Assad's regime in Syria, the possibility of a conflict between ethnic and denominational groups is the most important subject which worries particularly minority groups. This causes the groups of Arab Alawis, Christians and Druzes to determine their position in regime-opposition struggle in favor of the regime. The main cause of this reservation is that the minorities will be exposed to the "domination" of Sunni Arabs in case of the demolition of regime. In terms of these groups, the secular and Arab nationalist ideology of the Ba'ath Party is perceived as a security. And in terms of the Alawite society who has approximately % 10 of the population, the fear of being exposed to violence is more profound. The main cause of this situation originates from the fact that the head of state, his close friends and the top ranked security units have origin from Arab Alawis and that the Arab Alawite communities who live in some regions have the privilege during the Father and son Assad Era. According to Arab Alawite representatives who were interviewed during the Antalya meeting, only a limited Arab community had the privilege. All Arab Alawites don't support the Assad regime. Because of the existence of Arab Alawis in the key points of Syrian regime, in case of a possible regime change, there is a risk of the anger which existed for many years towards the government turning to the Arab Alawite minorities. This situation prevents the Arab Alawis from getting involved in opponent groups. Therefore, one of the most important subjects in conference was the publication of a notice so as to satisfy the Arab Alawis in the new system to be "established". By this way, The Arab Alawis were "called for the uprising and tried to satisfy about the fact that the future for a new, free and independent Syria is safe after the regime collapse". In the speeches that other minority groups made, there was an important point: "living in a reliable country".
- It was seen that while Christian representatives, other minority groups and liberals use the notion of "laic", other opponent groups remain distant to this notion by using the notion of "civil". "Laicism" is perceived by these groups as "an opposition to religion". The most important problem concerning the elongation of dispute on the final declaration of conference resulted from the demand for adding the laicism notion to the text. Since the parties couldn't come to an agreement, they decided to remove the controversial topics from the agenda.
- Some ideas were suggested during the Antalya meeting to weaken and demolish the regime and also mobilize the opposition, for instance, the idea for creation of "liberated areas" to weaken the regime was brought to agenda. It was proposed to create a region purged by the security forces of regime in Euphrates and Al-Jazira regions. In this direction, one of the most important subjects was that the Arab Tribes and the Kurds living in these regions should make efforts. Another proposal is that a ship full of food and medicine should go to Syria with the participation of Syrian, Arab and occidental individuals to attract world public opinion's attention towards Syria and to increase the international pressure on regime. For this initiative called "Freedom Ship", making an effort on the organization and coordi-

nation of Antalya meeting's plan was also brought to agenda. Other proposal was that the Syrian minorities living in every and each country should inform the public opinion, raise its awareness about Syria matter and also create pressure group on their governments.

- The majority of opponents attended the meeting from abroad and they indicated that the basic power which will provide change in Syria is the Syrian youth who doesn't belong to any political group intrastate. These opponents determined their function for providing an international support to the Syrian youth and the uprising people.
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conference and I don't accept this". Above these reactions, the session leader apologized for the expressions that he used.

2. The Decipher of "Change in Syria Conference"

Antalya, Falez Hotel, 1 June 2011.

Hamdi Abu Al-Shamat: *As- salamu alaykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh. I want to express that I'am very happy to be here today. I want to talk to our people in Damascus by looking a little at history. Dear friends, by addressing the community, the imam of Umayyad Mosque had told that he had small bags. He had also said that the women cut their hairs, put them in these bags and brought to me; they wanted me to throw these hairs above you so that you won't stay indifferent to cruelty and you will mobilize. I tell our friends here that if our men won't uprising, our women will. If the women won't, our children will, which Little Hamza who was murdered by the regime is the biggest evidence of this.*

Dear friends, I cannot understand how some people can sleep while so much blood is being spilled. Yesterday, 10 people and the previous day, 41 people were killed. We can't bear this situation anymore. Thus, I address to all Syria and the Damascus people, the youth and everyone, you should think about the responsibility and consider what people went through. Thanks to this conference, I had the chance to meet many friends. While I was walking in the corridor, I saw that these friends were thinking and talking about what they can do and how they can find a solution. I want to make a suggestion about our conference. This is the preparation and implementation of a development and improvement program or a plan for young people who direct the experience in this new stage of our lives and of Syria. Our youth don't have enough experience. So, some plans should be implemented. I don't want to prolong this speech but I want to say that the freedom is a responsibility. Thus, everyone should do their best so as to succeed. New Syria is a dream; we must collaborate so that this dream comes true. Finally, I thank this

hospitable country. This country is known for such important rises throughout the history. We should never forget the letter that Sultan Abdülhamid II sent to Sheikh Mahmud Abu Al-Samad. Sheikh Mahmud was the sheikh of the Sultan Abdülhamid. Throughout history, this country has been hospitable and it has been known for such supportive rises. Thank you.

Moderator: My friends; let's talk about the history and future later, now I give the floor to Dr. Laila Al Ansari to make her speech.

Dr. Laila Al Ansari: She begins with the bas-mala, pray and salam. Esteemed gentlemen and virtuous ladies, I totally agree with my friend before me. With every sunrise in our proud Syria, we see the mothers who sacrifice their children consecutively on television channels. Seems like she says these (a poem is read): Avoid cages even if they are made of gold, never beg to be in cage because buzzards are free, they cannot live in cages, they fly freely. Every cloud has a silver lining. If one cruel could have remained on the throne, this would be pharaoh, but the fate doesn't last long, after pain, here comes the daylight.

Finally, after the dark days, we could see the dayspring. She says a two-lined poem which states that all Syria says no to cruelty and they won't accept another solution except for the end of the cruelty. She impresses the nationalist sentiments of the participants with her phrases such as; women are as brave and active as men in the verses of the Qur'an and in all Syria, they write a glorious history by being inspired by men.

If sporters don't prepare beforehand and don't practice, they get tired quickly and die down when they participate in match and competitions. And as another human being, if we don't train, we will have to do other new exercises. When a match finishes, we will be ready for harder matches and this is one of the hardest matches. This is one of the difficulties that our people had but, we will overcome this difficulty by gaining strength like other difficulties.

Moderator: There are projects which arose in the conference and with which we must deal. We will give time for the submitter of these projects. There is a proposal submitted by the coordination committee. I suppose that our friend who offered the ship subject took enough time and we will give him the right to speak. Esteemed gentleman Safa has a proposal; he suggests opening a page called Hassan Al-Hayr. The aim of this is to satisfy the Alawite fraction. Publishing a satisfactory notice by the Alawite fraction became a current issue by some of our brothers as a proposal. The goal of this notice is both to invite the Alawite people to uprising and to satisfy them about the fact that their future is safe in a new independent and free Syria after a cruel regime. Now, our friend Sultan will tell us about the importance of opening a web page called Hassan Al-Hayr, here he is.

Mr. Sultan: I meet some of Alawite friends continually. The Alawis are among the people who began uprising. They played an active role in this respect. As you know; this regime failed at everything, it only succeeded in the foundation of the State of Israel and when Israel seized the control of Golan Heights. When Golan Heights were occupied by Israel, Alawis were shouting slogan "The Syrian army escaped, its president is in Qardaha" and then the regime let them down. Qardaha people were the leading part of all political parties and formations such as the Communist party and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party which sacrificed themselves on behalf of their country only except for the Muslim Brotherhood Organization. This regime only succeeded in one thing, not in science and technology. It succeeded in increasing and in triggering denominationalism in Lebanon, Iraq and Syria. We must be together with talk to our Alawite brothers who share the same land. They are Muslims like us, they believe in the phrase of "lâ ilâha illâ allâh" and in the same book "Qur'an". The problem which results from some of our friends is that they describe the participation of Alawis in the uprisings who want to seep into us as agents. They claim that enquiry agencies spread rumour intrastate

and that the slogans are shouted like “Christians to Beirut, Alawis to the Coffin”. We all know that this is also a lie and slander. Thus, I think that we must open the web page called “Hassan Al-Khair”. We must put up the statue of Hassan Al-Khair in Damascus Gate instead of the statue of ungrateful Hafiz Al-Assad. When Hassan Al-Khair’s brother was killed by Muslim Brothers, he said that: “One gang kills, one gang steals”. Hassan Al-Khair never gave up accusing this regime, he said to their face that they are mafia. He was always revealing that the regime steals public properties.

In the meantime, Muslim Brothers were shouting with anger. “How can you accuse us of being a mafia and gang?”. Speaker defends and I narrate Hassan Al-Khair’s sayings. Moderator interferes and he requests that the speaker should be more careful and that the other people should calm down, people shout One, one, one, the Syrian people are one” in order to prevent the dispute. The speaker continues: My brothers and Muslim Brothers were martyred by Hassan Al-Khair close by Tadmur because of the regime. Our proposal is opening a web page on behalf of this situation. We’re open to everybody who wants to join and support us. Our other demand is to act so that Euphrates and Al-Jazira regions can be purified from the public order forces of regime within two weeks. Our Kurdish and tribal member brothers should make efforts relating to this subject. The one who doesn’t make any effort for saving his country is unfaithful. Wa as-salamu alaykum.

Moderator: My friends, now our brother Tamir el-Avvam will talk about the ship proposal which was one of the ideas that was put forward in the conference.

Tamir el-Avvam: My esteemed brothers, the ship proposal is like this: it goes to Syria with the participation of Syrians, Arabs, foreigners and also some cultured and well-known people who live abroad and who are wanted to be sent back to Syria by force. In this respect, we demand the preparation and coordination of this freedom ship plan from the conference. Secondly, we demand from the conference to

send an invitation asking for the participation of some Syrian opposition parties who didn’t participate in the opposition conference. Thank you.

Moderator: Right now, a speaker from tribes will participate. I give the floor to Dr. Ahmed Al-Tahan Al-Nuaimi from the Al Nuaimi tribes in Golan Heights to make his speech.

Ahmed Al-Tahan Al-Nuaimi: He begins with basmala and salaam. First of all, I want to state that our friends who immigrated from Golan Heights are with you for the uprising and they do their best for Syria. Your brothers who were immigrated from Golan Heights especially Al Nuaimi tribe members had been exposed to cruelty by this regime. For instance, when Al Nuaimi tribe’s young people wanted to target a Syrian patrol in 2002, the regime heard about it and they were taken to court according to the orders of Bas-sam Abdul-Majid who is the former minister of internal affairs. They were also deprived of civil and military rights and they were sentenced to prison for four years. This regime which claims that it defends Golan lands arrested the Nuaimi youth who wanted to target the occupying Syrian patrol in 2002. We want to attract attention for another subject. This subject is that companies such as Rami, Hamko and Syriatel which are Syrian people’s properties are indicated as if they belong to the regime. We don’t accept that this regime takes advantage of these companies with the aim of bartering so that it could get off Syria safely like it bartered Hafiz and Rifat companies. If God allows, the property of companies will retail Syrian people who are the real owners with the collapse of regime. We address foreign investors in this conference. They shouldn’t try to buy these companies or they will take over the responsibilities and they will also suffer heavy losses. Thank you.

Moderator: Here is Dr. Habib.

Dr. Habib: After starting with basmala, Al-Firdaws decided to open a consulate in Syria and one in each Syrian city. The ones who

want to obtain visa for going to the heaven of the creator should go to Syria and record their activities by joining the young people who uprising. Security, social and regional situation surround our youth like bracelet covers wrist. By our moral obligation, we should uncover and help our youth so that they can make themselves heard by the world. *(In this part, he reads a poem which reinforces national and uprising sentiments. We support young people uprising until they obtain their rights, maybe we may not be with them at home but we can stop these wild murders by taking the support of all world. Thank you.*

One speaker: *(His name isn't stated, but he is welcomed as a chieftain):* He starts with greeting and a versicle of the Qur'an which expresses that the victory is possible only by God. I say to the President Bashar Al-Assad that: You stole from us, we didn't say anything, we were starving but we endured, you tried to divide us but we combined, but when you dishonoured our families and we spilled blood, we all rebelled. We resisted cruels in accordance with Islamic Sharia law. Wa As-salamu alaykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh.

One speaker: If we may ask who were exposed to the cruelty of this regime most? The Kurds say: We are, Muslim Brothers say: No, we were oppressed more than you and Communists say: we are too. But I say that the ones who were oppressed and exposed to the repression and exclusion most were the intellectuals, cultured men of letters and academists. Because these people are faced with the regime at the most. This regime aims at people who are capable of science, opinion, ideology, culture and art and the regime had been thinking that these people were the biggest obstacle beyond it. Thus, I demand in this meeting which is one of the concrete steps that these people regain their value and prestige for freedom. Because we establish a new future, the freedom can only be constituted and realized by opinion, science, intelligence, art, literature and research. Worldwide, more than one million people who are doctor, engineer, academist, philosopher and artist were

obliged to be deterritorialized. Since they are not well-organized and there is not any political party, establishment or non-governmental organization to which they belong, most of them don't raise their voices. We need to hear their voices because they are clever and they can devise project or plans themselves so that we can live our future best, so they are the most important individuals to whom we must listen and pay attention. That's why I want to attract attention for these cultured and elite people. Let's establish a research center which plans our future in all fields and repairs the ruins of this regime. Wa As- salamu alaykum.

Moderator: My brothers, before agreeing to any real and concrete step, decide after meeting everybody. The uprising young people who prepared an outline of communication which involves name, e-mail and country of residence so that we can get in touch with each other. The ones who fear of the security may not write their names. The ones who haven't any suspicion of security should write their names so that we can communicate. Now, I give the floor to Mahmud Al-Wakkar who played an important role in Hama.

Mahmud Al-Wakkar: He begins with basmala, praise, pray and salaam. Hama people demand you to collaborate; they say that "We believe, we are patient and we don't cause despair". Their heart is with you, don't be afraid and hesitate. They are healthy and we will gain the victory soon if God allows. I had a paper more detailed, I wish I could look at it but since our time is limited, I wanted to speak directly. Thank you all. Wa As- salomu alaykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh.

Moderator: We thank Hama, if you'll excuse me, now I will call the speakers respectively. I will call the ones who wrote their names in previous session and don't add speaker names because it is obvious that we don't have enough time. We will add their names only if there is a crucial subject. Now, I give the floor to the gentleman Walid Kuvetli to give his speech.

Walid Kuvetli: Literature should always relieve politics. If you'll excuse me, now I want to give my speech to relieve. *(He reads a literary writing which addresses uprisers as his son by assuming Syria as a mother and which reinforces spirit of rebellion in this speech).* Thank you.

Moderator: My brothers, we will organize a poem night as you want. The ones who want to participate should write their names. Now, we're going to start to call the speakers respectively whose names are in the list to address their speech. First of all, I give right to our sister Marwan Deaas to give her speech, here she is.

Marwan Deaas: She begins with basmala and salaam. I greet our patient, strong and deployed brothers at home and I demand them to be patient and stronger, we will gain the victory soon if God allows. Our heart is with you, we sacrifice our property, son and also we lay down our lives for you. My suggestion for my friends who are here is that let's swear by almighty and proud God and to all our brothers no matter who they are, little, big, man, women about the fact that we won't demand any property, prestige and seat from Syria. I swear that we give everything to Syria, we don't take anything from it. Being a Syrian is enough for us. *(People applaud and they say "Allahu Akbar").* We will gain victory soon. Let's leave Bashar and his regime behind and discuss about Syria after Bashar. My request is that if you want to swear, repeat after me. *The people in the room begin to swear altogether. We swear by almighty and proud God, we promise you O Syria. We will be faithful to you, your martyrs and Hamza Al-Khatib, we'll give everything to Syria, and we won't take anything from it. We won't demand any property, prestige, seat or position. We sacrifice our property and sons for you. God will be our witness. Let God keep you alive, make you successful in this great meeting and also help you.*

Moderator: Thank you. Now, I give the floor to Esteemed Mugira Al-Sharif. She will make her speech on behalf of the Syrians in Turkey.

Mugira Al-Sharif: She begins with salaam. My name is Mugira Al-Sharif, I'm from Daraa. I'm a member of the coordination and organization commission. I value being here on behalf of the citizens in Istanbul, God rest all our martyrs, I wish injured people recovery, our prisoners an urgent liberation and I wish Syrian people freedom, prosperity and a virtuous life. As a Syrian diaspora in Turkey, we are the first Syrian diasporas who resided abroad and supported Syrian people for their honorable uprising. We realize our activities in question by cooperating with non-governmental organizations which are situated in this honorable country. Our most important activity is organizing demonstrations in front of Syrian embassy in Ankara and the consulate general in Istanbul. We demonstrated more than 15 times. These demonstrations were realized in famous places in Istanbul or Ankara. The other example of our activities is telling murders that the regime committed against Syrian people. We realize these usually with photo galleries. You see the galleries which are situated outside. We carry out works with the help of human rights and non-governmental organizations. Besides, we make interviews with the Turkish press and journalists. Thanks to these studies, we are of the opinion that we influence the view of Turkish people concerning Syrian regime. The most important thing is that we could change the Republic of Turkey's view. Despite everything, we know that we have lots of things to do and we are decided to continue. In addition to this, I have some suggestions. We demand severe evaluation of our proposals. We should try to win Syrian ambassadors of the worldwide over. We should encourage them to take part with us in a manner which involves reproach. So, we tell murders that the regime committed against our people through photo galleries of the worldwide as I have just mentioned and as you see outside. We have a problem in Turkey that the public opinion isn't informed about what happens in Syria, we are unaware of the facts in here although we are neighbouring country of Syria. Thus, it is necessary to reflect true face of the regime and its murders against public and also to in-

form people. So, we must try all methods with galleries, internet or any pretext. Another proposal is that we should prevent fear of Syrian diasporas. The Syrian diaspora is very big here but there is only %100 or %200 participation for the demonstrations. It is necessary to establish committees so as to overcome these obstacles. We wish to overcome this obstacle of fear. Lastly, we ask to invite human rights and non-governmental organizations while conducting a conference similar to this one. Because these organizations have benefits and they can exercise efficient power on governments. Thank you.

Moderator: Thank you. Here is Esteemed Dr. Sibaii.

Dr. Sibaii: After beginning with basmala; my brothers, I don't want to harangue. But I will mention two important subjects. The first one is that I'm here on behalf of the old generation. You can call us defeat generation because we were completely defeated twice. These are the 1967 and 1973 defeats. And also there is the Hama massacre which occurred in 1982. Thus, hearing these young's words which give moral support, strong and courage recreated our souls, I can hopefully announce the good news that we will gain victory soon. This was the first subject. My friends, the second subject to which I want to attract attention is that please avoid from the speech and behaviours which target any (ethnic or religious) section or disturb them no matter how small this fraction is. Thus, there's no need to say something that breaks your heart. We try to collaborate with everyone without discriminating small or big fractions. So, if we want to attract the attention of small fractions, we must make an effort for big fractions that I mean Muslims. Syria is Islamic Syria, it is not Christian, Jewish or laic. For that reason, the government should be civil and this is different from religious or secular government. I call attention continually to these subjects. Providing that we agree on these matters, we will gain victory if God allows. Thank you. Wa As- salomu alaykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh.

Moderator: Thank you, we all are from Syria. Esteemed Mahmud Al-Nuaimi.

Mahmud Al-Nuaimi: After beginning with basmala and salaam, I want to say to our precious brothers from Alawite fraction that: I swear in the name of God that we are brothers with all political parties and all religious and ethnic sections of Syrian people whether islamic or laic. We will support you as always. Your honors are our honor. Your property is our property. Your blood is our blood. If almighty and and proud God allows, this regime won't take you hostage. Our brothers made this promise here and they keep their promises. A versicle of Surah Al-Ma'idah of Qur'an expresses that "O you who believe fulfill your obligations and be lawful to you". The other important subject is that he addresses at ambassadors. I agree with the idea to establish a commission which comprises of five people in each Arabic or foreign country. Of course, those who aren't afraid to give their names can participate in this commission, because you know that it is necessary to give the identity information to meet ambassadors. At least five people will go to embassy or consulates and talk to them, the people who are responsible in embassy and consulates will welcome them kindly. This manner is better than written manner. These are my opinions. Wa As- salamu alaykum.

Moderator: Thank you. Esteemed Muhammad Al-Shalan, he is not here, now Esteemed Rabi Al-Shea.

Rabi Al-Shea: As- salamu alaykum, I wanted to greet you. I also wanted to present your brother's compliments in Brussels. They give their kind regards to this great initiative, to these beautiful and good people. They present their compliments to everyone here and they wanted me to say to you that: Every spilled blood in Syria addresses you, O proud and free people, if there is a conflict and disagreement among you, get rid of them! Collaborate in order to resist this cruel regime and support the Syrian people's uprising. I beg you to end the disagreement among you on behalf of

the blood of our martyrs. Leave them to our meeting and speeches, we as Syrian people should be bound together before others. The citizens in Brussels tell you these things. And they also say that if one General Secretariat is established, this should be in Brussels and they will be proud of this because Brussels is very close to the European Union and to the International Decision Making Centers. We protect you with our eyes, hearts and our bloods. Thank you.

Moderator: Thank you Esteemed Can Anter.

Can Anter: Firstly, I thank those who administered this conference and I'm starting to give my speech if God allows. I want to greet you with a Syrian accent which was spoken 1500 years before. (*He's speaking Aramic and then translating some sentences into Arabic.*) This was the official language in Syria at that time. As-salamu alaykum. I'd like to greet everyone here and say that I'm a Syrian Christian. I am the religious fellow of the Priest Buhayra. I am the religious fellow of the Priest Buhayra. (Slogans: "One, one, one, the Syrian people are one" Speaker continues) We need to feel safe like our Alewi, Sunni, Yezidi, Kurd and Arab fellows. Similarly we need to feel reassured. The recent events in Tunis, Egypt and Yemen gave us hope. We don't want the unfortunate events in Iraq to take place in our country. We also don't want Syria to experience those things. This is my call to you. Participants! I want you to open your hearts! Because I'm the son of Christianity. We need to know that the Christianity on this Muslim land is under the protection of Muslims. We need to make an impression on all the other nations that we are civilized. We are the descendants of a civilization that serves as a bridge between the east and the west. We need to be attached together and unite. We should set an example to the civilizations and to the societies of the world. We're the sons and daughters of Syria. I hope you will appreciate what I'll say. As a Christian, I'm a Syrian before I am a Christian. I want my existence in Syria to be secured. This existence can only be maintained by a civilized and laic Syria. In

this country, everyone should feel home and that they belong to this land. Thank you.

Moderator: Thank you, Esteemed Doctor Hussain Al-Harhan.

Hussain Al-Harhan: As Salamu aleykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh. I'd like to express my gratitude to the fellows at Kuwaiti parliament for supporting us. I believe that our fellows here are of the same opinion. I'd like to thank especially Doctor Waleed Al Tabtabaie, Zafiri and El Mtayri. I call on the parliaments in the other Arabian countries to follow the footsteps of the Kuwaiti Parliament. They should act thusly so that the history will write that they didn't let down their Syrian siblings. Another thing I'd like to say is that I wish and I pray to the God that the ethnic and denominational division that the America imposed on Iraq won't be the case for us. Because the fact that in this ethnic and religious division this section had two, another one had three and the other one had four allocations, as you all know, led the Iraq to a war and you all saw the chaos and the blood split there. If Bashar leaves, the war of ethnic and religious division will start. Therefore, we need to be careful. We need to make sure that all our provinces are represented here. As Salamu aleykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh.

Moderator: Thank you, Distinguished Mahmood Ali Khalaf.

Mahmood Ali Khalaf: Dear brothers and sisters, As Salamu aleykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh. I greet our innocent martyrs of Syria and our free brothers and sons with respect. Virtuous fellows, the Syrian people are expecting many things from this conference. We're appealing to your inner conscience and to your national feelings and we request you to avoid doing anything that will let these people down. We believe that we will achieve these with you, we're quite hopeful. That's what we observed during our stay here. We felt assured of this at Al-Wasat Party and we saw a feeling of a new civilization primarily in Syrian opposition and then among our peo-

ple. Dear fellows, people all over Syria, forgive me for mentioning some regions' names, have sacrificed a lot. I greet them all, especially the group of which I'm a member, fellow citizens in Jabal and Az Zawiyah. The mountain of uprising and uprisers. Syrian people have made themselves clear from the beginning. (*He reads a poem here*) As we don't have enough time, I have to cut it short. Thank you.

Moderator: Thank you, Dear Can Kurd.

Can Kurd: Starts with the name of God, Most Gracious, and Most Merciful. (*In Kurdish: May God be with you*) Dear brothers and sisters, our conference is a historical accomplishment for all dignified men and women of Syria, the supporters of Syrian national opposition. However, we're not the alternative to Syrian people. Because; they are the only authority to decide on the political future of the country. Therefore, I request you to wait and let the Syrian people to decide on any subject that may lead us to a disagreement. As Salam aleykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh.

Moderator: Thank you, Sheikh Amir from Al-Igidat tribe.

Sheikh Amir: Starts with Salam, Basmala and Salaat. I am Sheikh Amir Al Mushrif Ed-dendel from Al-Igidat tribe. We came to this conference with the hope that it will be for the good of our people. We should be the ones to make an effort for our country. We have to give a positive message to our people. I request all the fellows to avoid disagreements of which I have never seen such an example. However, there are voices raised about this. We have become one for a single goal, and that goal is to overthrow this cruel regime. In Al-Bukamal, in this gracious city, we really do form a miniature of Syria. Citizens consist only of people of Iraqi origin. Their origins are in Iraq, in the cities of Aana and Rava. Besides there are members of Kurdish and Christian tribes. We live in a great unity there. Now all these groups organize demonstrations together in Al-Bukamal. Therefore, the ones talking about ethnical and denomi-

national apartheid are proved wrong. We are a little example representing the unity and the integrity of new Syria. Thank you.

Moderator: Thank you. Sheikh Al-Haznevi.

Sheikh Al-Haznevi: (*In Kurdish: May God be with you*) I'd like to talk to make one point clear. As a principle, we call our fellows the names they like. We should also call the objects their own names. Some used the name "Al Akrad" (plural for "Kurds" in Arab). This is a wrong way of calling Kurds. We'd only like to be called "Kurd". Thank you.

Moderator: Thank you, now Esteemed Zuhair Al-Sibai is going to make a speech on behalf of Syrian diaspora in Australia. He will also extend his thanks to the Australian minister of foreign affairs.

Zuhair Al-Sibai: As- Salamu Alaykum. I, Zuhair Al-Sibai, am the president of the Australian Syrian Association. I'd like to extend my gratitude to the Australian minister of foreign affairs thanks to his honest attitude and his efforts to punish the Syrian regime. We also requested him to close down the Syrian Embassy in Australia. Thank you.

Moderator: Thank you. Doctor Hassan Al-Fazal.

Doctor Hassan Al-Fazal: Says these after Basmala: I hope that I will finish my speech in no longer than two minutes. I'm calling out to the people of Aleppo and we are, if God allows, all siblings in all Syrian cities. Dignified people of Aleppo, I'm calling out to your history full of sovereignty, honour, resistance and effort. I'm calling out to you, the descendants of Ibrahim Hananu and Saadallah al-Jabiri. I'm calling you, for the blood of our martyrs. Everyday we hear on the news the death of our soldiers. I'm calling you for the ones that were sexually assaulted in Baniyas, Daraa, Al-Qamishli and Syria. I'm calling you, for the love of God. And for the mass graves all over our country. I'm calling out to you for this country, for the prosperity of the country

and to support the ones that have set out for the call of God that leads us to the path of liberty. As Salamu aleykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh.

Muhannad Jamil Dagestani: As Salamu aleykum. I'd like to thank the sponsors and the organizers of the conference for giving us the chance to support and help our people in Syira. Moreover I'd like to thank Turkey and Turkish people. I have a request from people in Syria: While designing the future of our country, the necessary attention should be paid to the right person at the right place principle. I assure you that we won't give in to the religious and ethnic discriminations. We won't establish a regime that will seem to be democratic from outside but full of discrimination on the inside. I hope the smile will never wear off from the faces and the treachery will never be able to get in. We, the youth, are in search of liberty out of ethnic discriminations, tyranny, dictatorship, corruption, favoritism and bribery. I am begging you once again that we need to pay attention to the right man –or as the lady over there pointed out right woman- right place principle. Thank you.

Moderator: Thank you. We demanded the preparation Commission to have done their parts by 3-4 o'clock. Therefore the negotiations of the final declaration will begin at 4 o'clock. Do you agree or disagree?. (Majority agrees) Of course we'll start after the options are read. As we agreed we'll meet at 4 o'clock to discuss the final declaration. If you wish to contribute to or to take part in the ship of liberty, you can contact Tamer Al Awam. I've been informed that the half of the necessary equipment was ready. Now our sister Mrs. Muhja, who had demanded yesterday that you fast, will give a speech, and after her, a young lady, Rasha Kahf will speak and then there'll be a break.

Mrs. Muhja: To be honest, there's a suggestion. In fact, it's a demand from the young people at the conference. They demand that no one over 45 speak or sit on the front row

during the first 45 minutes of the closing speech. I'd like to remind you of the hunger strike. People in our country are sharing their food, and to support them today, we're not eating anything. Thank you.

A young person: We respect the elderly; however the young always sit on the back rows. They also have the right to sit on the front, because they are the real owners of the uprising. The youth shouldn't be underestimated. Today, more than 50% of the population in Syria is under the age of 25. Now Rasha Kahf will speak.

Rasha Kahf: Hello everybody. I'd like to say that the youth should be represented more. Besides, we'd like to prove the youth in our country that the youth abroad are also making an effort. What I'd like to say is that the young people in Syria are sacrificing themselves for our freedom and prosperity, however they are not represented enough here. It has to be known that we, the young, work at the back stage. The reason why I demand more representation for the youth is that it's their uprising. Because young people form the majority in Syria, they are brighter and more hardworking. I'd like to talk to you about our ideas, as young people. We're trying to contact with the other young people abroad. Of course all young people have great ideas. The basis of our ideas is about how to help and contribute to the youth in the country. First idea is to make demonstrations and to protest. There's also the idea of ship of liberty that our fellow Tamir has mentioned and that will set off from the coasts of Spain. The ship will carry food and medical equipment to the coasts of Baniyas, which is girded. The purpose is to bring help to those people. There are also the ideas of travelling to Damascus. We, as Syrians especially as the ones that had been forced to migrate, exiled or sent away, are going to start walking from the different parts of the Syrian border. This will be done to prove that we are supporting our young people in the country. It will also be a message against the regime that says this is our country and no one can send us away from

our country or exile us. We, the young people abroad, are contacting the Syrians abroad to make Syrian diasporas take action and to make them effective on the public opinion of their respective countries. We're looking for the formulas that will have an effect and put pressure on the people in Turkey, Europe and the United States. Because, we think that the people will have more of an influence on these subjects and that they have the last say. Thank you very much.

Moderator: Thank you. I'd like to say something about the first 45 minutes and over 45 years old discussion. Whoever comes here and talks is expressing their opinion, that doesn't necessarily mean that it will be applied. We don't want anyone to be excluded. If there's something wrong from our part, I'd like to apologize.

A young person: If you excuse us, we, the young demand to have more role here. Not only 40 or 45 year old ones, but all our elderly are here, and they are all notable. We respect all the things they say. It has always been the case. However, we demand more role for the young. Thank you.

Moderator: Thank you. I support the young. Now we're having a break. We'll meet you at 4 o'clock to discuss the final declaration. Thank you for your efforts.
(LUNCH BREAK)

SECOND DAY, SECOND SESSION

Moderator: Welcome to our conference, which has become a nightmare for the cruel leaders in Damascus. Regime guerillas wanted to pass the boundaries, come here and suppress us. You saw them. But they couldn't do anything, they weren't allowed, and they went back in disappointment. Now, everyone is expecting you to show how loyal you are to the uprising by making a decision based on a consensus. I guess that we made many statements of bad intention, gossip and rumour. There were rumours of lists or decisions that were prepared beforehand to impose them

on the conferees. However, I'd like to say that there's nothing more obvious than the blood of our martyrs. We are going to pay special attention to the transparency until the end of the conference. If God allows, we need to reach the level of what those heroic people did in Syria, which will soon be free and independent. Besides, some fellows opposed as they didn't want the final declaration to be issued without a transparent voting. As we care about transparency, we appreciate this attitude. Now, before starting the final declaration, as a response to these suggestions, the votes will be open. Whoever has the list should pass it to our fellow here, Ahmet and the lists will be shown as a power point slide show on the screen. The voting will be electronic. A company will provide you with the gadgets for voting. Everyone will vote on the list they want and after that the voting will be finished. We've decided to do these in view of your suggestions. After the voting is finished, the final declaration will be read out loudly. After that we'll listen to your opinions and suggestions on the declaration and then we'll carry the message to our fellow citizens that the dictator has a few days left. Yes, the lists are coming; each list has 31 names on it. Could it be more transparent?

A conferee with a Bedoin accent, name not known: Good evening. I apologize for intervening. My only intention is to explain and to apologize. I'd like to apologize on behalf of the organizers of this conference because the organizers who are gathering us, the free people of Syria – all the Syrians are free, if God allows- are organizing a gathering for the very first time, are neither organized nor politicised nor here for a particular goal. They are only endeavouring for the country, Syria, the honour, the dignity and the independence of Syria and with your presence. So, if they have made a mistake, forgive them. Because our conference is a public conference, it's the conference of virtuous and free people. For the next time, we hope to be able to organize a gathering on our own country. And we'll leave here with a virtuous and independent decision that supports the uprising in our country. Thank you.

Moderator: Now we'll project the prepared lists on the screen to give the conferees some time to think. Syrian democracy is in an exceptional state and coming true in a way that makes us proud. I expect that what we're doing here will set an example to the democracy in Syria. I hope that it will fulfill the impatient expectations of democracy of our loyal people. Esteemed Mohammed Abdullah has experienced the process of transformation to democracy in Eastern Europe. He's seen the transformation of dictatorial regimes into democracy there. Based on the change in the Eastern Bloc, which lessons can be derived from this transformation for our country?

Mohammed Abdullah: It's not easy at all to turn a comprehensive dictatorial regime into a democracy. Let me give you the example of Bulgaria where I lived for more than 10 years. I saw communism, the fall of communist regime and the passing phase of transformation to democracy. That was a really tough passing phase. Think of a public living under the control of a comprehensive dictatorial regime. Think that any political view other than the communist party or its leader is forbidden. Although it's been twenty years since the fall of the communist regimes and the communism, Bulgaria or the other Eastern European countries haven't completely perceived the democracy yet. So it's hard to reach the democracy. Awareness of democracy or thinking in a democratic way is not easy, but it's not still impossible. It only takes a lot of patience, self-sacrifice and devotion. Of course, there are some people who act according to their own interests. On the other hand, many of our people are loyal and devoted enough to endeavor for a country where every citizen can live freely. At the beginning of their uprising, Tunisian fellows acted in line with the simple demands and goals. Our objective is to put our country in a natural state. We want everyone in this country to live proudly and freely no matter what their religious or ethnic identities are. Everyone will have their own obligations and rights and will have the freedom to express their opinion and will have no fear while doing so. Everyone should be able

to express their ideas freely and not be taken to an intelligence institute some hours or days after declaring their opinion. I'd like to tell you a story about my experience. I had a Greek poet friend in my language preparation class. He was also studying in Bulgaria. Now he's one of the most important poets in Greece. Towards the end of the academic year, I told him this: All the foreign students are happy because the academic year is over. The holiday will start and everyone will be going home to see their families except for the Syrians. While all the foreign students were happy as the holidays approached, the Syrians started to feel uncomfortable. Do you know why?. Because every student even the ones that the government sent, feared that they might have written something about one of the agents of Ba'ath Party and that they might get arrested when they return to the country. You all know that this is not natural. My Greek poet friend couldn't believe what I was saying. This was the truth, we had to live with. We want our people to live naturally. We don't want Syrians to fear. I believe that Syrian people have overcome their feelings, with the help of god, the blood of our martyrs and the devotion of these courageous youth. Thank you.

Moderator: Now, I'll read you the support letters of Syrian businessman. First one is from Doctor Mohammed Bozan Ali who is a Syrian expatriate and Kurdish opposition, he has been living in Antalya for 30 years. He is ready to give whatever he can to support the Syrian uprising. As the voting and the democracy rehearsal is going on, I'd like to tell you something about the application. Now I'll give some time to the ones who have a list so that they can explain the preparation conditions and the reasons of the lists and their promises if they're elected. Each list should consist of 31 people. We have "Makumvela-Nakud" (means; we uprising, we won't give up) list which consists of 43 people. I kindly request you to decrease the number to 31. We won't take anyone out of the list, but the ones who have more than 31 people on their list should reduce the number to 31 by deciding who won't be on the list. Now, Mohammed Abdullah will tell us about his list.

The reason for the request to reduce the number of people on the lists to 31 is explained and people object to it. Moderator says that they have decided that the lists should have 31 people after having negotiated for exactly one day.

Moderator: I'd like to thank Turkey because it has been securing our conference from the very beginning and we don't want to make it even more tired. Therefore, we shouldn't prolong the conference. If your lists are ready, come and explain. You should come and prove that you are the most suitable one to be elected and who conduct this process. On what basis do you think that you should be elected or on what basis do you think that you are more suitable to conduct the transition period, to develop the international relations and support? Do you have the ideas to help the Syrian uprising or will you be able to have an influence on the world media?. Do you have effective plans or projects for Syria's future? The ones who have a good past, strength or capabilities have become candidates. I guess that these are all clear to everyone. Therefore, the election is not a formality, it's concrete. If it was only a formality, it wouldn't be of any help to Syria and wouldn't have an influence of democratic structure. Doctor Mahmoud Sayyid Digiim had proposed the idea of having the election before the final declaration. Now he'll speak.

Doctor Mahmoud Sayyid Digiim: As Salam aleykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh. I've proposed that we do the election before the final declaration because the final declaration should include the names of the National Commission members. This way, the declaration will be signed with clarity. I proposed this and I see what is on the programme as a mistake of the organizers. I respect them but I also have to tell the truth. I'd like to thank you for coming here and listening to me with patience. I'd also like to thank you for your efforts. I hope that the God will help us, fulfill the demands and do what the blood spilt for freedom deserves. We don't want much. I'm not someone who is looking for an official position or prestige, because thanks God, I think that I'm much more than that. Thank you.

Moderator: Thank you Doctor Digiim. I'm asking you to finish the lists soon. Because we'll need to listen to you. You'll tell us why you have become a candidate and why we should choose you. I know that it isn't easy to choose 31 people out of 300, we need to think and make political calculations. I hope that our calculations won't be based on individual or ethnic interests. I'd like to say that from the very beginning of our conference had an inclination towards transparency and choosing the good one. I apologize for our mistakes or if anyone wanted to talk and we didn't have time. The comprehensive goal we want to achieve is to send a unifying and connective message. This makes us more tolerant and relaxed. And makes us more violent and strong against our enemy whose fall is soon. He'll go soon, maybe in some days, maybe in some weeks, but it'll be soon. We can not expect a lot from the lists, it's impossible to prepare a perfect electoral campaign in two days. It'll be enough if you clearly explain what you want to do. The charisma and the characteristics of the people on the lists play a big role in the elections. Young people seemed willing during the session before the lunchbreak. I'd like to see a list consisting only of young people. This way, we'll see if the participants really want them. About the representation of the women, I have to say that there are only a few women and it's not enough. I wish there'll be more. The insufficient participation of women must be because of the exceptional conditions the conference is held. I know, this shouldn't be an excuse. However, it reflects the truth. Before making the lists public, is there anyone who'd like to say something about the campaign management?.

(A poem is being read)

Moderator: If you have a poem to read, please keep it until the poetry night. I do love poems but we don't have enough time to read poems here. We have already decided to organize a poetry night after the conference, you can keep your poems for that. Now our sister, Uruba Barakat has something to say.

Uruba Barakat: Good evening. The Syrian youth demand us to have only one attitude. They don't want us to decide according to our political, ethnic or religious identities. I have the feeling that the conference is taking a wrong direction which contradicts with our interests. We need to have a clear attitude. Syrian people need our support. This support could be political, material or spiritual. We all know that every group or individual thinks that he is of top priority and the individual interests, which shouldn't even be mentioned here, can be the case. However, the goal of our conference is to support the uprising and the Syrian people. Therefore, let's not mention ethnic or religious issues. We need to discuss the Syrian people and its uprising first, then we can discuss the other issues. I have been wanting to say this since the beginning of the conference because I've had the feeling that everyone spoke according to their own ethnic, religious or political interests. We need to insist upon this. Besides, we need to address Arabian people. We should turn towards the Arabian people in the Arabic countries and make ourselves understood. We've supported them when they had problems. We've supported them in Palestine, Egypt, Lebanon and Iraq. They also need to support us. They need to know that it was our people, not the regime, that supported them during the hard times. Our demands in this direction should be mentioned in the final declaration. We should demand support, help, protests and demonstrations from Arabian government, people and non governmental organizations. We should demand this attitude not only from Arabs, but also from other countries. Because we have defended Chile, Cuba, Uganda and the other countries of the world. Thank you.

Moderator: Dear fellows. We need some more minutes to prepare the first list. I'd like the ones on the list of young people to introduce themselves first. Is there anyone who'd like to say something about the elections?

One of the participants: As Salamu aleykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh. We'd like to thank everyone who supports us from all the parts of the world. As young people, we are quite willing and we have started the uprising. We need more representation. Thank you.

Moderator: We're waiting for the lists for the election. Now a list has just been given to me. Is your list ready Mr. Osama?. (He says yes) Then you can come and present your list to the participants. List consists of 31 people, it won't be read again and when you choose, you choose the whole list. I present to your attention.

Mr. Osama: In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. My list consists of independent candidates and it's name is "MakumvelaNakud". This is the sentence of an upriser who lives abroad. He lives in Kuwait. When he heard that all the opposition abroad works in coordination he had told me his sentence. This means that this activity has the objective to mobilize with the governments, parliaments, non governmental organizations and other organizations in all the countries without interruption. So this means that we'll seek the support of other countries for our people in the country as much as we can. We'll seek the support for the ones who rebelled in the Syrian uprising, we won't stop until we find the support and we'll go on until the victory. When I shared these ideas with a Kuwaitian fellow, he said that "we'll rise and never fall" and repeated these words several times. I'm citing you what he said. He told me that I should go to Kuwaitian Parliament and demand support from the Sheiks. I should demand their support for the Syrians and try to convince them about the cruelty of this regime. I should tell them that this regime is the enemy to the humanity. In fact, he acted with some of our fellows and gained the support of 49 Kuwaitian councilors. The exile of Syrian ambassador from Kuwait helped us in collecting their signatures and it had a huge impact on gaining the support of Kuwaitian government for the Syrian rebellion. Therefore; fellows, we can overthrow this regime by mobilizing from abroad. As the attitude of other countries, overthrew the racist South African regime. Everyone on our list knows that, if God allows, we'll rise in order to support the uprisers and the uprisings in the country and never stop. Participants are asking where the idea of lists came from. With

the idea of the lists, it was decided that each list could contain different names. The more different names the lists contained, the more they would have the chance to be elected. On the other hand, the more reserved and the less diverse the lists are, the less chances they would have to succeed. If you gather with the ones who have different ideas and decide to work together for our country, you'll be more conscious and will have more chances of being elected. I repeat, if you have a diverse list, you'll have more chances of winning and having a say on the future of Syria. I hope that I made my point clear. Thank you.

Moderator: Of course 31 people who win the election will act together. They will choose an executive council of 9 people. This commission will be the executive branch, if necessary, they can appoint people of significance in media, politics, economy or society to help them for conducting their activities. We hope that they'll choose the ones with the experience and capabilities who have an impact on Syria and on the world. Therefore, this list can act with the commission and succeed in making Syria independent for the third time. Our people had gained their independence first from "Ottoman invasion and then from French colonization". Now they'll be independent from the local cruel dictator. I believe in this. Now everyone will explain their lists briefly. Please don't be late to convey your lists to secretariat.

A participant: *Opposes to the phrase "Ottoman invasion" and tells none of the Arabic countries had the same supportive attitude of Turkey.*

Moderator: This is the history of Syria. We have already thanked Turkey for its attitude of today. History is history, today is today and future is future. Dear fellows in the secretariat, are the lists ready?. Will they be announced in five minutes?. Alright, the lists will be announced in five minutes. Before that does anyone has something to say about the application?.

A participant says something about the application: As Salamu aleykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh. When someone speaks on this microphone, he speaks to everyone at the conference. Fellow Muhiddin wants us to express an opinion on the application. I respect his opinion but when Ottomans came to Syria, they rescued the Syria from occupation and from the treachery of the Crusaders. (*Applause. A participant say that: "I can not accept Ali Osman being compared to the French"*) Thank you.

Compliments for Turkey.

Moderator: Ok, ok. We are grateful for Turkey and that was a brave remark from our participant. We thank Turkey and if we said something wrong, please accept our apologies. This conference has to be successful and will be. Turkey wants it to be so and the Syrian people want it to be so. We can not let any opinion ruin this beautiful atmosphere.

A woman participant: Syria has been ruled as a whole for years and has preserved its integrity. We, the young, also want this integrity to be preserved and we'll endeavor to preserve it from harm. We are quite hopeful. Syria will remain as a whole, with all its fractions. Syria exists thanks to the colours from all its ethnic and religious fractions. We are tired of the monochromatic Syria. We want a pluralist Syria. Thank you.

A participant: I'd like to thank everyone who has contributed efforts for this conference, especially, the organizers of the sessions and the ones who work at backstage. If they have committed any mistakes, please forgive them because, without exception, they are participating in and organizing such a conference for the first time. I'd like to thank the ones who prepared the invitations, arranged the hotel, prepared the conference hall, moderated the sessions, etc. I'd also like to thank the Turkish government for this great contribution and their support. They have hosted this conference that will have a huge impact on Syria's future and they have supported us

a great deal. The new Syria of the future depends on your efforts and activities here. We need to support our people so that they can succeed in their uprising and get what they want in the road to freedom for which they have split their blood. Thank you.

Moderator: Dear fellows, those who haven't presented their lists have 7 minutes, please don't be late, because the secretariat won't accept lists after 5.00 p.m. A participant has a comment.

A participant: Dear brothers and sisters, I have an opinion. The elections are based on the representative lists. If someone wants to be a candidate without being on a list, they won't have this right because of the list method. Therefore I suggest that we choose people one by one instead of the list method. Because the lists reflect factionalism. And all the fractions of our people may not be presented as necessary.

Moderator: We're not inventing the gunpowder here, the principles of democracy are known globally and it's known by everyone that the elections are done by one vote for each. The elections with the list method are known. We're lucky because we have experienced democracy before the session of today. Dear Khalaf Ali Khalaf was observing our fellows who decided on the list method. He can tell you how they took this decision. The decision was taken by voting. Therefore we can not throw a method away on which 200 people including me have voted in order to find another method at the last minute. Mr. Khalaf, how did you decide on the list method?

Khalaf Ali Khalaf: In fact, we have negotiated the different methods of election. We have discussed them with a commission called the commission for election methods. First method was to make an election by giving the right to whomever wanted to be a candidate. This could have been a list of maybe 100 people. Thereby we can't take a vote at the last minute from scratch to change the election sys-

tem that was already voted by 200 people – including me – and agreed on the list system. How did you decide on list system, Mr Khalaf?

Khalaf Ali Khalaf: Actually we discussed different election methods. We discussed in a commission we called election methods follow-up commission. The first method was a direct election, entitling everyone who wants to be a candidate to candidacy. This could maybe be seen as one list reaching up to 100 people. The list would be voted and the participants would vote for the candidates they wished. Then the votes would be counted. We discussed the positive and negative aspects of this method in the follow-up commission. The positive aspects were that everyone had right to be a candidate and everyone had right to choose who they want directly. But the negative aspects outweighed. In this method, there could be two results in the final list. Firstly, it could be a nonhomogenous elected team. As you know, one of the primary principles of our studies here is to work with team spirit. Accordingly, amongst 31 people elected, to be honest, probably some might not talk to another or might not give them the time of day or someone might not approve working with someone else or might not get along well with them. So this method was discarded. The second method was compromise. The basis of this method was that they all compromised on a list which represented all sections of the participants. But the negative point of this method was that it would render the election pointless, since someone will represent every section and voting would be meaningless besides the fact that all of us would have to conform to one list instead of choosing a list. Maybe 10, 20 or 50 people would have compromised on the list but it couldn't be said that everyone did. The last method for a compromise was that some participants would take the initiative and talk to the others and prepare a list of 40 or 50 people. This number would be more than the number desired. But those people would discuss with each other to reduce the number in this homogenous list to 31 and compromise on 31 people who could work with team spirit. Of course the list was

supposed to represent all sections of the Syrian people too. This list would represent everyone and no one would be able to or have the right to remove someone from the list. In this method, everyone has to choose one of the lists already reduced to 31. And this was the method voted in our commission. Thank you.

Moderator: Now it's precisely 5 pm, the time to deliver the lists is over. We are starting to announce the lists. You were all given a device to vote, as these devices are too expensive, the company that administers the voting process asks you to leave the devices as soon as you vote. Because the number of the devices are known and every device is programmed to vote only once. So in accordance with the demands of the company please leave the devices as I'm sure you would. Now the friends in the secretariat please announce the lists, project the PowerPoint presentation to the screen behind, we should hurry because we have already spent a lot of time to prepare these lists and the people are waiting for these lists to think about the one they want to choose and to decide. Now an assistant from the company will show you how to use the device. There is just one final thing. The list that will be chosen doesn't mean it's the end of the road, it will not work alone either. It will need the effort and support of every one of you. Wherever there is a Syrian or someone with experience, they will want to contact them and profit from their experience. We are living an uprising which will change the history of Syria. So we will try to profit from any kind of experience anywhere in the world, especially Syrians. Those who win will have a hard job and the history will not forgive any kind of failure. I wish God will help and guide them. Can we see the lists now?

A Participant: I will donate 50,000\$ when the Finance Commission is formed and a bank account is opened.

A Participant: And I am donating 15,000\$

Moderator: Before the account of uprising is opened, there already are 65,000\$ in the fund

account to support the Syrian uprising. Aside from that, a businessman donates (it's not understood) for a week. Adib Shishakli, not the old Adib Shishakli (many incidents of coup d'etat took place in Syria between in 1940s and 1950s, Adip Shishakli is one of the colonels who staged a coup in that period) today's Adib Shishakli donates 60.000\$. 10,000 Euros from Mervan Deaas.

Another Participant: As a young girl, I donate 300\$, it is all I can do even if a bit.

Moderator: 100,000\$ from Dr. Muayed Rashad to the fund to support the Syrian uprising. A brother here donates one Syrian pound. Sheikh Said Al-Khalidi donates his satellite phone. The phone is here, if there is anyone who would like to buy it and change it into cash can do so. Another friend is donating his satellite phone. Dr. Digiim donates one Turkish Lira. 25,000\$ from Ustad Muhammad Sebeh. We have various currencies now. 10.000 Riyal from Munsif Al-Umevi.

A woman takes the microphone: In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful, 'God does not charge a soul except with that within its capacity' (Sura al-Baqarah, 286th verse) Considering the Syrian slogan 'With our blood, with our souls, we will sacrifice', I will go to the nearest medical center and donate blood there.

A Participant: I'm Abdul Vahid Khatem, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. I donate 10,000\$.

Moderator: We hadn't planned the donation part but it has been quite helpful. Now we are waiting for the lists. You are seeing the first list now on the screen. Those whose names are announced come right here please.

Someone from the secretariat speaks: We are showing the lists on the screen. We have only two lists. We will soon close the doors and give you the ballot devices to vote. Please return the devices when the voting process is finished. Then we will open the doors and announce the results. They are showing how to

use the devices.

Moderator: There are still people who want to donate. Those who donate please write their names and how much they donate on a paper and give us so that we present them to the participants after voting. Now the company is distributing the devices.

A Participant: Hello, actually I have a few things to say. It would be more appropriate if the conference was held in a planned and comfortable program with advanced notice in order to have larger participation of people who have national, political and social influence and significance. In this way, there would be a larger participation. We are also focusing on a peaceful uprising. It is very important that every step taken should be within the framework of national consensus. We are saying this to clear the doubts of those who haven't murdered. The Justice will be fair and will not persecute anyone. No one will be excluded in the New Syria, everyone will have their right.

Moderator: My brothers and sisters, now the second list is on the screen. I give the floor to Esteemed Mohammed Abdullah. I thought he had prepared a list but let alone preparing a list he himself was out of lists.

Muhammed Abdullah: As-salamu alaykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh. If you allow me, I'd like to clarify something about the first list. In the first list that our fellow Muhammed Abdullah announced, we really gave every section of Syria a seat. We gave a seat to all movements of religion, ethnicity and thought. But we had better explain that it is not right to give one third to the young ones who will be elected. Because this is an advisory council, not an executive council and the advisory council needs men and women who have had experience in the life. Therefore I respect the withdrawal decision of Muhammed Abdullah and the person I'm going to nominate as a candidate in his place is our sister Sunda.

it. I wish this list success.

Moderator: The second list, please, brothers. The second list is for the independants. Esteemed Usama al-Mallouhi, this is your list, please come here and tell us about the list. I see myself amongst the independents too. Dr Usama, on which base did you prepare the list? Quickly and in brief please.

Dr. Usama al-Mallouhi: In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. We focused on the External Coordination and we gather them in a single leadership called External Coordination leadership like at home. We prepared the names in the list regardless of ethnicity or religion, we paid no attention to this subject. As a matter of fact, I don't even know whether there are our brothers from Kurds, tribal etc. sections in our list. We paid great attention to include people who don't want to sit but stand up and serve for this sacred Syrian uprising. Thank you.

Moderator: Now let's close the doors and let the company which handles the election distribute the ballot devices. Is there anyone who sent a list but didn't see it? The first list which Muhammad Abdullah withdrew from needs to find an alternative in five minutes in his place.

A Participant: As-salamu alaykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh. If you allow me, I'd like to clarify something about the first list. In the first list that our fellow Muhammed Abdullah announced, we really gave every section of Syria a seat. We gave a seat to all movements of religion, ethnicity and thought. But we had better explain that it is not right to give one third to the young ones who will be elected. Because this is an advisory council, not an executive council and the advisory council needs men and women who have had experience in the life. Therefore I respect the withdrawal decision of Muhammed Abdullah and the person I'm going to nominate as a candidate in his place is our sister Sunda.

Sunda Suleiman: I'm Sunda Suleiman from the Party of Modernity and Democracy for

Syria, I was going to object the Kurdish or Muslim Brothers' list but I feared it would be thought that I was trying to gain a seat. Because, at first, they said I was in their list so when the others wanted me in their list I said I was already in another list and didn't join them. So I think the participants should decide whether or not I will join the list.

Moderator: My brothers and sisters, Mariam Al-Chalabi exists in both lists. You need to choose one list so that the other list can nominate someone else in your place. You can't be in both.

Mariam Al-Chalabi: I choose the independents list.

Moderator: Mariam Al-Chalabi chose the independents list. Then the other list needs to nominate another candidate in Mariam Al-Chalabi's place. Esteemed Mulhim Al-Drubi, you need to nominate someone else. Journalists and broadcasters, you know that you have to turn off the cameras during the voting process. I don't want you to get out of the room because I know that it's hard to carry your equipments out and back again. So please turn off your cameras during voting. When the voting is over, I will tell you so that you can turn them on again. Likewise I am asking for the Arab cameramen the same. I'm waiting for the first list to nominate an alternative in Mariam Al-Chalabi's place. Please project the lists on the screen so that participants can contemplate about and decide the list they will choose. Esteemed Mulhim Al-Drub, I am still waiting for a name.

Mulhim Al-Drubi: Brothers and sisters please give us five minutes because I can't give this decision alone. We give our decisions on consultation, some people's withdrawal created an opening so we need to consult each other in order to nominate someone. We will write on PowerPoint the names of those whom we agreed upon and you can see them immediately on the screen.

Moderator: I respect this democracy. I salute Esteemed Mulhim Al-Drubi and pres-

ent eternal respect to Syrian democracy. As you can see, no individual decisions are taken here. Every act is taken with agreement, compromise and consultation.

Mulhim Al-Drubi: I request the tribe representatives to discuss outside and come back with a decision.

Moderator: Mr Mulhim, voting is inside the room. Why do you want to discuss outside?

Mulhim Al-Drubi: I'm sorry, my tribe representative brothers and I accept the objections and please everyone return to their seats and sit down.

Moderator: I am really proud today. I'm really proud of this beautiful atmosphere today. I know the personality of Syrian people. But I believe that today is extra nice and a democratic behavior is in question here. We thank Mr Mulhim for this decision. Now please if the friends in secretariat could project each list on the screen for two minutes so that both lists have equal presentation. Everyone please sit down so the devices will be handed out for voting. Those who respect the voting right and want to use that right properly please sit down.

A Participant from the first list: As-salamu alaykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh. After consultation and discussion with my brothers, we decided to nominate one of our young friends, Omar Mikdad, in order to reflect our respect and love for Deraa, where the first sparkle of the uprising started.

Moderator: Mr Osama, one of the tribe leaders in the independents list announces that he has withdrawn from candidacy; you need to find someone in his place.

Osama Al-Mallouhi: I am nominating Mariwan Ahmad in the place of our brother who has withdrawn.

Moderator: Someone else from the tribe leaders announces that he has withdrawn. I don't

want to make any comments, you, yourselves, carry out freely the democracy. Who are you nominating in the place of our brother who has withdrawn?

Someone speaks: We are nominating one of our youngest brothers, Vail Farac.

Moderator: Secretariat, please write the names of those who have withdrawn from candidacy and who replaced them to be able to project them on the screen. Now the lists are complete. Please distribute the devices. Everybody sit down so that the devices can be distributed. I wish for the first Syrian democracy operation to be auspicious. Honestly, there can be no better democracy than this. Brothers and sisters, the doors will get closed. Those who get out will lose the right to vote. Please nobody get out. Brothers and sisters, the doors will get closed. It is just 5:30 pm, we have done enough speech, debate and explanation. The door will get closed and they will come to show you how to use the devices and help you use them so that we can see the committee elected before 6:00 pm. Now the doors are closed. We are starting. Journalists please turn off the cameras. Brothers and sisters, the numbers of devices to vote are less than the number of participants. This is how we will do. Those who have voted will give the device to the one behind them and get out. I ask you to vote in full transparency. I know that human desires mislead. There might be those whose desires get the better of them and vote for not once but twice or three times. So please just vote once and get out.

One participant: Brothers and sisters, we don't have enough devices. That's why those who don't have devices right now please wait outside so that there won't be a possibility of voting more than once. Those who have devices will stay and after voting the ones outside will get in and vote.

Moderator: Brothers and sisters, we can't avoid that possibility. There is another method. Everyone waits inside. Those who have devices will vote and right after that they will

give it to someone who hasn't voted. That's the best way. Our trust is firstly on you then on the devices. Now somebody from the company will teach you how to use the devices for voting. Brothers, comment, opinion and objection are finished. Now it's time to vote. Ok, ok, the problem is solved and there are enough devices for everyone now. Neither anyone comes out nor does anyone come in. We will all vote together. Now those of you who don't have a device raise their hands. Otherwise they won't be able to vote. In honor of the God and the martyrs' blood, you should be faithful to yourselves so that first election operation in democratic Syria ends auspiciously and wholesomely with success. Now our brothers and sisters here will show you how to vote with the devices.

An official: I request from everyone not to play with the devices. The moment you play with the device and push the button, you have voted, because the devices are programmed as to one vote. Is there anyone who hasn't got a device yet? We have enough devices for everyone. We have 400 devices, which means we have 100 more devices. When I notify and say that the devices are turned on and you can vote, then the devices are activated and you can vote. When you push the number one button you vote for the first list and if you push the number two button you vote for the second list. When I say finished, the devices will be deactivated and we will continue to count the votes.

Moderator: Brothers and sisters, you all have devices. Those who want to vote for the first list will push the number one button and those who want to vote for the second list will push the number two button.

Some people are asking about the number of devices and how to learn how many votes one list has.

Moderator: Don't worry. The election will be realized in full transparency. The devices were distributed according to the number of participants. We know the number of devices

handed out and it's very easy to know how many votes one list has got.

Some people: Brothers and sisters, this is our day, let's trust in God, hold hands and vote for Syria.

Syrian National Anthem is sung in chorus.

After ending the National Anthem with applause, unity and solidarity slogans are shouted.

One, one, one, the Syrian people are one...

One, one, one, the Syrian people are one...

One, one, one, the Syrian people are one...

Azadi, azadi, azadi (Freedom in Kurdish)

Moderator: In the name of azadi, liberty, Syrian people, for the sake of a new victory, we trust in God and start to vote.

Tekbir cries are shouted and accompanied by applause.

One, one, one, Syrian people are one...

One, one, one, Syrian people are one...

One, one, one, Syrian people are one...

God, Syria, Freedom and that's enough. God,

Syria, Freedom and that's enough. God, Syria, Freedom and that's enough.

The People want to bring down the Regime...

The People want to bring down the Regime...

The People want to bring down the Regime...

Moderator: Please those who have voted leave the devices. I don't think there is, but is there anyone who encountered a technical problem? 244 people have voted. You push the button only once to vote, put your hand on your heart and then vote. 250 votes have

been cast. Is there anyone who hasn't voted? Someone is saying that he still hasn't voted.

Calls for vote, vote, are rising in the room with applause. Vote, vote which is the real joy.

Azadi, azadi, azadi... Azadi, azadi, azadi... Azadi, azadi, azadi...

Freedom, freedom, freedom... Freedom, freedom, freedom... Freedom, freedom, freedom...

The People want to bring down the Regime...

The People want to bring down the Regime...

The People want to bring down the Regime...

Moderator: Brothers, brothers, somebody has mistakenly voted twice for the first list. We are not going to count that. In fact one vote won't change a thing because the first list has won. I celebrate the winning list.

Someone from the second list is speaking: In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. If God allows, we will continue on our way and we are fully approving the election and the results. We say, Allahu Akbar, free Syria is for everyone, for all ethnic and religious sections. If Almighty God allows, we will act together with this list even if we didn't win.

Applauses and slogans are rising.

O Bashar, listen, listen, Syrian's blood can't be sold, sold... O Bashar, listen, listen, Syrian's blood can't be sold, sold...

O Bashar, listen, listen, Syrian's blood can't be sold, sold... O Bashar, listen, listen, Syrian's blood can't be sold, sold...

O God O Jabbar, let us triumph against Bashar... O God O Jabbar, let us triumph against Bashar...

O Bashar, listen, listen, Syrian people won't be oppressed, won't be oppressed.

A Participant: O World who remained silent, here is the Syrian people, O World who remained silent, here is freedom. O World who remained silent, come to reason and stop the massacres of Bashar regime against the innocent Syrian people, our children, our women and our elders. Here is the Syrian people, each and every one of them wishes for freedom. Long live Syria, down with evils and murderers. Freedom, freedom, freedom.

Freedom, freedom, freedom...

Syria we are with you till death, Syria we are with you till death...

May death be but you may fall into contempt,

May death be but you may fall into contempt...

Moderator: Brothers and sisters, Esteemed Doctor Mulhim Al-Drubi will speak on behalf of the winning list and then we will give a break for 15 minutes and be back.

Mulhim Al-Drubi: In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. My esteemed brothers and sisters. My esteemed brothers and sisters, let us please stand in homage to the souls of our martyrs for a minute. One minute silence for the souls of our martyrs brothers and sisters and let`s recite the Fatiha on their souls.

They recite the Fatiha together. They take an oath. Mulhim Al-Drubi speaks and the people in room repeats.

May God be my witness that I take an oath to support and serve our brothers and sisters by working together with my brothers and sisters from different ethnic, political and religious sections and cults and to support the Syrian uprising till Bashar leaves and Syria meets democracy and freedom.

I promise to you, even if we had lost the election, our vision wouldn`t have changed.

Moderator: Brothers and sisters, now we may announce the good news to the Syrian people, our conference was a success, our

claim based on our young people turned out to be true and successful. Now everyone sit down. Please sit down. Everyone leave the devices. No one should get out. If anyone has anything to say, summarise or share about the results, please say so. Please return to your seats, please sit down. We won`t have a break, please everyone sits down. The final declaration proposed will soon be read. Please sit down. Our happiness right now is truly immeasurable, we are in a historical moment. It will be committed to the memories. It will soon be read. Brothers and sisters, while the final declaration is being read, please don`t applaud or interfere. Let it be read comfortably so that we can understand the declaration clearly. No applause nor interfering. So that of course we could clearly understand it. After it`s fully read, whoever has an opinion or thought about it may speak as they wish. Dear friends in the secretariat, the later the declaration is read, the later democracy in Syria starts. In the name of God and with his blessing, in the name of the young people who died in the uprising, in the name of the Syrian people waiting for the democracy, the final declaration is ready. There won`t be any applause, interfering or slogan until it`s finished reading so that we can clearly understand it... Now we have a legal committee who got more than 200 votes. Whoever has an opinion, objection or suggestion should present it to the winning list. Because he himself is the legal responsible for the final declaration to take effect and he will contact you in order to benefit from the experiences of all Syrians. The final declaration of the Change in Syria Conference will be read by Esteemed Dr Mohammad Al-Abdallah.

Mohammad Al-Abdallah: I start in the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Syria is going through its most sorrowful and hardest times. But at the same time, it`s going through the dawn of a new freedom that the Syrian youth sacrificed their life through peaceful demonstrations in our territories. And this puts the Syrians, wherever they are, at home or abroad, under obligation to reshape the future of their country together

with their brothers and sisters. Certain Syrian patriots took initiative with a view to hold Change in Syria Conference, as a result of the refusal of the dictatorial regime to the legitimate demands of the people towards democracy and freedom and taking measures for keeping the public order, to take a clear stand and stop the shed of blood and they invited all social and political powers, ethnic and religious sections in the Syrian arena.

The Change in Syria Conference took place between the dates of 31 May and 3 June 2011 in Antalya, with a view to save Syria from dictatorship and to search ways to attain freedom and dignity. The Participants reached to the following decisions:

1 - Participants should devote themselves to the Syrian people's demands such as, the resignation of the President, the overthrow of the regime and support for the peaceful revolution of Syrian people for the sake of freedom and dignity.

2 - Participants demand that the President Bashar Al-Assad resign from all his duties as soon as possible and pass his authorities to the Vice President in accordance with the constitutional procedures till a council which will prepare and implement a constitution to hold free and transparent parliamentary and presidential elections before one year after the resignation.

3 - Participants put forward that they support the Syrian revolution which neither represents any party nor target any group and which emphasises peace, patriotism, territorial integrity of Syria, clear denial of foreign military intervention and national unity till they reach their aim.

4 - Participants affirm that the Syrian people consist of Arabs, Kurds, Chaldeans, Assyrians, Turkmen, Chechenians, Armenians and other ethnic elements. The conference recognizes legal and equal rights of all elements with a new Syrian constitution based on national unity, civil government and a pluralist, parliamentary and democratic regime.

5 - Participants put forward that they will show all necessary efforts in order to achieve a democratic Syria where the human rights of all Syrians including the freedom of belief, expression and to practice religious duties under a civil government which adopts democracy and ballot as the sole governing means and based on the separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers.

6 - Participants assume hard and serious duties such as ensuring economic welfare and scientific and cultural development under the umbrella of justice, peace and security.

7 - Participants invite all the Arabian people, Organization of the Islamic Conference, Arab Union and international community to take a legal and ethical responsibility and prevent the violation of human rights and the crimes against humanity directed at armless civilians and to support Syrian people's freedom and democracy demands.

The conference is finished by appointing a follow-up credentials committee with the participation of lists comprised of certain candidates at the request of some participants. The duty of this committee is to prepare a practical plan as executive branch and to coordinate all activities and organizations that support the Syrian uprising at home and abroad. It is to realise the change that everyone desires in peaceful ways by coordinating them.

Antalya, 2 June 2011.

Slogans are shouted and accompanied by applause.

We arrived, O Syria, Our uprising is for the country...We arrived, O Syria, Our uprising is for the country...We arrived, O Syria, Our uprising is for the country...

Syrian heroes who uprised, we hail you from Antalya...Syrian heroes who uprised, we hail you from Antalya...

It is for God, for God, neither for the reign nor for prestige...It is for God, for God, neither for the reign nor for prestige...It is for God, for God, neither for the reign nor for prestige...

Arabs, Kurds Assyrians, Syriacs, Muslims, Christians. Our uprising is for unity, for country...

One, one, one, Syrian people are one... One, one, one, Syrian people are one... One, one, one, Syrian people are one...

Azadi, azadi, azadi... Azadi, azadi, azadi... Azadi, azadi, azadi...

God, Syria, Freedom and that`s enough. God, Syria, Freedom and that`s enough. God, Syria, Freedom and that`s enough.

Moderator: Brothers and sisters, i would like to thank you with all my heart and soul for your enormous efforts. You disappointed all those who said there would be conflicts and disagreements between us. If God allows, the next conference will take place in Syria.

With our blood, with our souls, we will sacrifice for you martyrs...With our blood, with our souls, we will sacrifice for you martyrs...

With our blood, with our souls, we will sacrifice for you O Hamza...With our blood, with our souls, we will sacrifice for you O Hamza...

Moderator: Brothers and sisters, whoever has any view, opinion, idea or objection, now we have a committee elected, you can go to them and contact them. You know who they are, you know those people, now you can meet them. One last note, please give the devices you voted back. There are still missing devices which haven`t been delivered. It wouldn`t be right to get out of the room without delivering them. I thank you all. I thank you all over and over again. If anyone has any opinion or idea, please present it to the committee because the role of the conference is over now. From now on, it`s the elected committee`s role, initiative and authority.

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