# ADO's speech delivered by political bureau chairman comrade <u>Bachir Isaac Saadi</u> at the gathering held in <u>Deir-Azzor on 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2005</u>

#### Dear sirs

In the beginning I would like to thank "the patriotic committee" in Deir Azzor for holding this important meeting in this very sensitive period of our country's history and Seikh Nawaf Ragheb AlBashir for hosting this meeting at his home .

#### Preamble

The impasse that the country is in today is the natural offspring of the totalitarian regime itself, which has ruled Syria since Al-Baath party took over the power, and even before that since the union between Syria and Egypt, this monopoly by alBaath party was shared since 1972 by nationalist and Marxist parties with the same totalitarian ideologies within the framework of a canned Front that has become a part and parcel of the regime. Hence the fault lies in these regimes themselves not only in people in power .This was the case with all the totalitarian regimes that have ruled more than half of the countries of this globe for about half a century .These regimes , some international some national others religious , have failed to achieve freedom, prosperity, justice and equality for their people, they have produced only replicas of themselves, generated corruption everywhere and dehumanized the people. So we think, whichever totalitarian party ruled Syria in this period we would have got this same result. The crux of the matter is in the ideology of the ruling party and the form of the regime itself, whether totalitarian or democratic.

In our opinion, the responsibility for the political dilemma in Syria does not lie only in the regime but in some opposition parties as well that still hold romantic totalitarian ideologies that go beyond the boundaries of the homeland. Some of these are Arab nationalists others Syrian nationalists some Marxists , religious and even minority nationalist parties , each one of these has his own program that transcends the country's boundaries and views Syria as a transitory phase in his broader national or religious dream . Some of them even know much more details about his dream -project than about the governorates of his country Syria . This is one of the reasons of our present crisis of loss and dispersion of forces . We further think , that all the patriotic forces should draw lessons from our past experiences and bitter failures . Syria , is the first and the last home for its sons .

As regards the points of discussion, we see the following:

#### 1- On the National level

We think that all the political forces should break relation with their dream-project that lies beyond the borders for the sake of the real homeland with the present boundaries , and further , consider this homeland as a permanent home for its sons with all their religious and ethnic diversities living under the umbrella of one equal , Syrian , national identity , an identity that would include the cultural and national diversity of all the civilizations that have prevailed on this land . Our Organization views this as a fundamental point that should be given due consideration in our debate .

### 2- Democracy

we think that adopting democracy by the national parties is considered a prerequisite for the completion of the democratic process , and here we don't mean by democracy as a means to an end , namely , seizing power through ballot boxes then reversing the process . Our own concept of democracy is a clear cut one , we believe in the same democracy now applied in the Northern hemisphere , we see in it the system that guarantees rotation of power peacefully according to the will of people and the ballot boxes . We see in it the separation of authorities , the supremacy of law , the neutrality of army ,the separation between religion and politics not society , and further, we see in it a rejection of wars and a peaceful coexistence among all people in the area and a full and positive involvement in the international community , as Syria's role had always been throughout its long history .

### 3-Human rights

We believe that the principles and values of human rights and that of democracy are closely related and – inseparable . Thus ,any democratic regime that does not adopt the principles and values of human rights has no credibility . This is the criteria for any party desiring to become democratic . By the way , we would like to say her to those who argue that these values are alien to our culture and society , that our ancestors were the first who enacted laws for human rights and the famous Hamu Rabi Code is the clearest example of that .

## 4- Means of reform and confronting outside threats

We think that playing at the outside threat is a bit exaggeration, but this does not mean that it does not exist . Besides, linking between the American threat and the Israeli one is not very accurate, this is actually the outcome of the rotting conspiracy theory so common in our societies. As a matter of fact, we lack the courage to discuss this matters openly and realistically, hence accusing others of treason is a ready-made charge in our society. Nevertheless, what interests us in this regard is how to reinforce the country against all kinds of threats. We believe this can not be achieved unless we build a strong coherent society, strong economically, culturally and above all in terms of a national unity based on justice and equality, and this can only be done through the process of reform towards democracy. Therefore, we see that the best option for the opposition to pressure for reforms is, continuing the political struggle, besides, we still consider that the safest mechanism for this change is through convening a national convention for dialogue and reconciliation involving all the national forces without distinction with an aim of reaching a comprehensive vision for reforms and working out a workable phased timetable for implementing them . We think that the opportunity is still there, and how nice it would be if the president himself took this initiative, this is the best option and it would ward off much losses and failures. On the other hand, the opposition is required to reorganize their forces and fit tightly together and put forward their political programs.

Finally, we believe that the real introduction to the supposed reform process should be based on the following:

- 1-Revoking emergency and martial laws.
- 2- Revoking all exceptional courts , such as State Security Court, and the rulings passed by them .
- 3-Relasing from prison all the political detainees and prisoners of conscious , and closing once and for all the file of political detention .
- 4-Issuing a modern democratic law, concerning the political parties, that would take into consideration the cultural, political and ethnic diversity in Syria, as well as a modern law for elections that would guaranty a true representation for all components of the Syrian society.
- 5-Granting citizenship to all those stripped of it , especially to our Kurd brothers due to the  $1962\ census$  .
- 6-Acknowledging the ChaldoAssyrian Syriacs as an original people in Syria and the Syriac culture and language as an original national one that should be revived and protected
- 7-To consider Syria as a permanent home for all its sons and the Syrian identity with all its civilized, cultural, religious and national diversity as one last, unifying and national identity.
- 8-The agreement upon the constitution starts firstly, with the cancellation of article eight stipulating the monopoly of power by Al-Baath party. Secondly, the cancellation of article three about the religion of the head of state as a step for separation between religion and politics.
- 9-To consider the declaration of human rights and the other relevant international conventions a part of the constitution and the new national bond as regards individual freedoms, equality between man and woman and minority rights within the context of the unity of sate.
- 10-Keeping the army away from politics and neutralize it , the army's duty should be to protect and defend the country .
- 11-To draw a comprehensive plan for administrative, economic, educational and media reform and to combat corruption by treating its causes.

Der-Azzor <sup>20th</sup> May , 2005