

Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken

Aan de Voorzitter van de  
Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal  
Binnenhof 4  
Den Haag

**Directie Integratie Europa**  
Postbus 20061  
2500 EB Den Haag  
Nederland  
[www.minbuza.nl](http://www.minbuza.nl)

**Contactpersoon**  
Guido Tielman  
T 070-3485005  
F 070-3486381

**Onze referentie**  
DIE-601/12

Datum 1 mei 2012  
Betreft Verslag Raad Buitenlandse Zaken d.d. 23 april 2012

Geachte Voorzitter,

Hierbij bieden wij u het verslag aan van de Raad Buitenlandse Zaken van 23 april 2012.

Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken,

Staatssecretaris van Buitenlandse Zaken,

Dr. U. Rosenthal

Dr. B. Knapen

## **Verslag van de Raad Buitenlandse Zaken d.d. 23 april 2012**

### **Birma**

De ministers verwelkomden de verdere voortgang in het Birmese hervormingsproces en stelden vast dat de hervormingen hoopvol, maar nog niet onomkeerbaar zijn. Om de hervormers te ondersteunen, schortten de ministers de sancties tegen Birma op, met uitzondering van het wapenembargo, inclusief het verbod op de uitvoer van middelen die kunnen worden gebruikt voor interne repressie, dat met een jaar werd verlengd. Op deze manier wordt de hervormingsagenda van de regering gesteund, maar blijft de druk hoog om volledig aan de voorwaarden van de EU te voldoen.

Nederland herhaalde dat de sancties pas kunnen worden opgeheven als aan alle voorwaarden voor opheffing van de sancties -- de onvoorwaardelijke vrijlating van alle politieke gevangenen, eerlijke en vrije verkiezingen en oprechte vooruitgang op het gebied van verzoening met de etnische minderheden -- is voldaan. Nederland benadrukte in de discussie dat de algemene politieke situatie en de rol van het leger, inclusief de defensie-uitgaven, moeten worden meegewogen wanneer opheffing van de sancties aan de orde zou zijn. Nederland benadrukte ook het belang van aandacht voor Maatschappelijk Verantwoord Ondernemen bij Europese investeringen in en handel met Birma.

### **Afghanistan**

De ministers steunden de lange-termijn betrokkenheid van de EU bij Afghanistan na de transitie in 2014. Zij bespraken de noodzaak tijdens de NAVO-Top in Chicago in mei a.s. en tijdens de Afghanistan conferentie in Tokio in juli a.s. een krachtig signaal af te geven dat de EU ook na 2014 betrokken is bij de veiligheid van Afghanistan en bij de financiering van de *Afghan National Security Forces* in het bijzonder. Onder anderen Commissaris Piebalgs gaf aan dat de EU hiermee actief streeft naar het tegengaan van terroristische activiteiten vanuit Afghanistan. De EU zal in Chicago nog niet in staat zijn bedragen te noemen, aangezien deze voorwerp van discussie zijn in de onderhandelingen over het Meerjarig Financieel Kader (MFK) van de Unie voor de periode 2014-2020. Daarnaast kwam het belang aan de orde van het bijdragen aan de sociaal-economische ontwikkeling van Afghanistan alsook de opbouw van de rechtsstaat, de bestrijding van corruptie, het bevorderen van het respect voor mensenrechten en de positie van vrouwen in het bijzonder. De EU spreekt de Afghaanse regering aan op de verplichtingen die ze zelf tegenover de internationale gemeenschap is aangegaan. Electorale hervormingen vormen daarbij een primair aandachtsgebied.

Hoge Vertegenwoordiger (HV) Ashton bevestigde dat co-locatie van de EU-delegatie en ambassades van EU-lidstaten juist in Kaboel nuttig kan zijn. Zij zegde toe de mogelijkheden hiertoe verder te onderzoeken.

### **Syrië**

De Raad verwelkomde de unanieme aanname van de VNVR-resoluties van 14 en 21 april jl., waarmee onder andere een waarnemersmissie (UNSMIS) van 300 militaire waarnemers, aangevuld met civiele staf, voor 90 dagen wordt geautoriseerd. De waarnemersmissie moet toezien op het staakt-het-vuren en de implementatie van alle onderdelen van het zes-puntenplan van VN- en AL-gezant Annan. De ministers benadrukten de inspanningen van Annan krachtig te steunen en riepen de VNVR-leden op hun invloed aan te wenden om zeker te stellen dat de VNVR-resoluties volledig worden geïmplementeerd. Aanhoudende druk op Rusland blijft daarbij noodzakelijk. De EU en de lidstaten gaven aan klaar te staan om op verzoek ondersteuning te bieden om bij te dragen aan het slagen van de waarnemersmissie.

Tegelijkertijd spraken HV Ashton en de ministers hun zorgen uit over de fragiele situatie in Syrië en het aanhoudende geweld. De Raad riep de Syrische regering op haar verplichtingen volledig na te komen en haar troepen terug te trekken uit de steden. De Raad herhaalde zijn zorgen over de humanitaire situatie in het land en riep de Syrische autoriteiten op om onmiddellijke, ongehinderde en volledige toegang te verlenen tot alle delen in het land zodat humanitaire hulp, inclusief medische zorg, kan worden verleend. De EU en de lidstaten hebben momenteel gezamenlijk ruim 35 miljoen euro beschikbaar gesteld voor noodhulp aan Syrische burgers, inclusief aan Syrische vluchtelingen in de regio. De EU verwelkomde de bijdragen van buurlanden van Syrië die vluchtelingen opvangen. Zoals gemeld tijdens het Algemeen Overleg met de Tweede Kamer op 19 april jl. doneert Nederland 1 miljoen euro aan UNHCR ten behoeve van de opvang van Syrische vluchtelingen in de regio, met name in Turkije, in aanvulling op eerdere en ongeoormerkte bijdragen.

Tevens verwelkomde de EU de inspanningen van de Syrische Nationale Raad (SNC) en andere oppositiegroeperingen om een gezamenlijke visie neer te leggen voor het nieuwe Syrië. Zoals toegezegd tijdens voornoemd Algemeen Overleg is bij dit verslag de door de Syrische Nationale Raad (SNC) opgestelde 'roadmap' voor de transitie in Syrië gevoegd. Deze werd verspreid tijdens de *Friends of Syria* bijeenkomst te Istanbul op 1 april jl.

Om de druk op het regime-Assad verder op te voeren, besloot de Raad tot nieuwe sancties tegen het regime in de vorm van een exportverbod op luxe goederen en aanscherping van de beperkingen op de export van *dual use* goederen. Deze maatregelen worden in de komende periode verder uitgewerkt. De EU zal haar sanctiebeleid voortzetten zolang de onderdrukking voortduurt. Mede op voorstel van Nederland riep de EU alle Syriërs op zich te distantiëren van het regime-Assad.

## **Mali**

De Raad steunde de inzet van onder andere ECOWAS in Mali en verwelkomde het ondertekenen van de raamovereenkomst die voorziet in een transitieperiode met een interim-president, -premier en -regering van nationale eenheid. De Raad riep alle betrokkenen op tot spoedige implementatie van de raamovereenkomst, een onmiddellijk einde aan het geweld in het noorden van Mali en het respecteren van de territoriale integriteit van Mali. De ministers spraken hun zorg uit over de groeiende aanwezigheid van Al Qaeda en daaraan gelieerde groepen in het noorden van Mali, alsook over de dreiging die hiervan uitgaat. De Raad veroordeelde alle terroristische activiteiten en riep partijen op internationaal recht en mensenrechten te respecteren en humanitaire toegang te verlenen.

De EU volgt de ontwikkelingen nauwgezet en verklaarde zich bereid in samenwerking met ECOWAS, de Afrikaanse Unie (AU) en andere internationale partners, de transitie onder civiele leiding naar burgergezag te ondersteunen. Nederland benadrukte dat de EU-ontwikkelingssamenwerkingsprogramma's met de Malinese overheid die zijn stilgelegd, opgeschort moeten blijven totdat een acceptabele oplossing voor de constitutionele crisis is gevonden. Humanitaire hulp en hulp die via NGO's rechtstreeks aan de bevolking ten goede komt, zullen zoveel mogelijk doorgang vinden.

De recente ontwikkelingen in Mali en bredere uitdagingen in de regio op het gebied van veiligheid, ontwikkeling en de humanitaire situatie, bevestigen de noodzaak van versterking van veiligheidsstructuren in de regio en snellere implementatie van de EU-Sahelstrategie, waaronder het uitrollen van de civiele GVDB-missie in de Niger in juli 2012.

Nederland wees op de vele dreigingen in de regio, waaronder drugssmokkel, gijzelneming en bedreiging van cultureel erfgoed. Deze vragen om een geïntegreerde benadering door de EU ter ondersteuning van de activiteiten van regionale organisaties en de VN, zodat deze dreigingen op de meest effectieve wijze kunnen worden bestreden. Ook andere delegaties wezen op de samenhang tussen verschillende problemen in de regio en het belang van een geïntegreerde aanpak.

## **Sudan en Zuid-Sudan**

De Raad uitte zijn zorgen over de escalatie van de situatie tussen Sudan en Zuid-Sudan en riep beide landen op om het geweld, zowel direct als indirect, onmiddellijk te staken, troepen terug te trekken en provocerend optreden te vermijden. HV Ashton wees erop dat de bereikte resultaten in beide landen in gevaar zijn. Indien het geweld voortduurt, is dit aanleiding de samenwerking te herzien.

De Raad verwelkomde het besluit van Zuid-Sudan zich terug te trekken uit Heglig, na de brede internationale veroordeling van deze interventie, en riep Zuid-Sudan op dergelijke aanvallen niet nogmaals uit te voeren. De Raad riep Sudan op de terugtrekkende troepen niet aan te vallen en veroordeelde de Sudanese luchtaanvallen en de gerapporteerde interventies door Sudanese troepen op het grondgebied van Zuid-Sudan. De ministers riepen beide partijen op terug te keren naar de onderhandelingstafel en met steun van het *AU High level Implementing Panel* tot overeenstemming te komen over de nog uitstaande kwesties van de *Comprehensive Peace Agreement*. HV Ashton benadrukte dat overeenstemming moet worden gevonden over de verdeling van de olie-inkomsten. De regering van Sudan en de *SPLM North* moeten zich daarnaast inspannen om het conflict in Zuid-Kordofan en *Blue Nile* op te lossen. De Raad riep tot slot Sudan

en Zuid-Sudan op om als eerste, onmiddellijke stap de afspraken in het non-agressie en samenwerkings-MoU van 10 februari jl. na te komen.

Nederland en HV Ashton vroegen aandacht voor de aanval op een kerk in Khartoum op 20 april jl. Nederland wees daarnaast op de noodzaak eraan te blijven werken dat verdachten tegen wie een aanhoudingsbevel is uitgevaardigd, zoals de Soedanese president Bashir en de gouverneur van Zuid-Kordofan Haroen, alsnog aan het Internationaal Strafhof worden overgedragen.

HV Ashton onderstreepte dat de EU op alle niveaus tracht de situatie te de-escaleren en daarmee zal doorgaan. EUSV Marsden, bijvoorbeeld, is in voortdurend contact met de vertegenwoordigers van de AU en de VN over stappen die kunnen bijdragen aan een spoedige oplossing.

### **Guinee Bissau**

De Raad veroordeelde de coup in Guinee Bissau en eiste een onmiddellijk herstel van het gezag van de wettige regering en het voortzetten van het democratische verkiezingsproces. De Raad zal de door de coupgelegers in het leven geroepen regeringsinstanties niet erkennen. Schenders van mensenrechten moeten ter verantwoording geroepen worden. Buitenrechtelijk gedetineerden moeten onvoorwaardelijk worden vrijgelaten. De EU steunt de inzet van de VN en ECOWAS om de stabiliteit te herstellen en democratie en respect voor mensenrechten in Guinee Bissau te bevorderen. De Raad besloot te onderzoeken tegen welke personen, die handelingen blijven verrichten of ondersteunen die een bedreiging vormen voor de vrede, veiligheid en stabiliteit van Guinee Bissau, restrictieve maatregelen kunnen worden getroffen.

Nederland wees op de bedreigingen als gevolg van drugsmokkel via Guinee Bissau en de regio. De situatie noopt tot een alomvattende aanpak.

### **Midden-Oosten Vredesproces**

De ministers hebben van gedachten gewisseld over recente ontwikkelingen in het Midden-Oosten Vredesproces (MOVP) en het vervolg van het Kwartet-onderhandelingstraject.

Op 17 april jl. is de brief van president Abbas met de hoofdlijnen van de Palestijnse vredesinzet aan premier Netanyahu overhandigd. HV Ashton heeft er bij premier Netanyahu op aangedrongen te reageren op deze brief. Geconcludeerd werd het resultaat van deze briefwisseling af te wachten, en tijdens de bijeenkomst in mei verder over dit onderwerp te spreken.

Nederland heeft onder verwijzing naar recente incidenten met EU-documenten over het MOVP nogmaals bij HV Ashton aangedrongen op adequate maatregelen om toekomstig lekken en andere vormen van niet-integere omgang met informatie te voorkomen. HV Ashton bevestigde dat het uitlekken van EU HoMs-rapporten en andere informatie een probleem vormt en dat hieraan op korte termijn opvolging zal worden gegeven.

### **Iran**

HV Ashton deed verslag van het overleg van de vijf Permanente leden van de VN-Veiligheidsraad en Duitsland (P5+1) met Iran over het Iraanse nucleaire programma in Istanbul op 14 april jl. Zij stelde dat het feit dat gesprekken gevoerd waren na een lange periode zonder dialoog relatief positief was, maar dat spoedig moet blijken of Iran serieus wil starten met besprekingen gericht op het naleven van internationale verplichtingen in relatie tot het Iraanse nucleaire programma.

Verschillende lidstaten benadrukten dat de druk op Iran onverminderd hoog moet blijven en dat de sancties strikt gehandhaafd moeten blijven om Iran te bewegen volledige openheid van zaken te geven over zijn nucleaire programma. Desgevraagd zei een vertegenwoordiger van de EDEO dat het niet mogelijk was eerder dan op 23 mei a.s. een volgende bespreking te houden, omdat voldoende tijd moet worden ingeruimd voor voorbereidende ambtelijke besprekingen.

### **Punten onder 'Any Other Business'**

#### *Suriname*

Nederland sprak ernstige zorg uit over de recente wijziging van de amnestiewet in Suriname. Nederland wees erop dat het Decembermoorden-proces de ontknoping nadert en stelde dat de geamendeerde amnestiewet haaks staat op de internationale verplichtingen van Suriname om straffeloosheid tegen te gaan, mensenrechtenschendingen te onderzoeken en verdachten te vervolgen. De wet is in strijd met fundamentele waarden en normen die ten grondslag liggen aan de relatie tussen de EU en Suriname. Nederland benadrukte voorts het belang van de

ondersteuning van de rechtstaat en van de onafhankelijkheid van rechters in Suriname, inclusief de leden van de krijgsraad, en vroeg om blijvende betrokkenheid van de EU bij de ontwikkelingen in Suriname, onder meer door het voeren van een dialoog op basis van artikel 8 van het Verdrag van Cotonou. HV Ashton liet weten de Nederlandse verzoeken te ondersteunen.

#### *Bahrein*

Op verzoek van de Deense minister van Buitenlandse Zaken deelde HV Ashton mee dat de rechtszaak tegen de Bahreins/Deense politieke gevangene Abdulhadi Al-Khawaja op 30 april a.s. zal plaatsvinden. De heer Al-Khawaja is sinds begin februari in hongerstaking. Met steun van Nederland, heeft de EU samen met Denemarken haar zorgen over de kwestie overgebracht aan de Bahreinse autoriteiten. De ministers riepen op de kwestie nauwlettend te blijven volgen. HV Ashton bracht op 24 april jl. opnieuw een verklaring uit waarin ze haar zorg herhaalt en de Bahreinse autoriteiten andermaal oproept snel tot een oplossing te komen.

#### *Argentinië*

Spanje vroeg aandacht voor de nationalisatie van een investering van een Spaanse oliefirma door Argentinië. De Spaanse minister onderstreepte de onwettigheid hiervan en wees op de strijdigheid met bilaterale en EU-akkoorden. HV Ashton bevestigde dit en zei dat verder zal worden gezien welke maatregelen de EU in reactie op deze handelingen kan treffen. Meerdere ministers spraken expliciet hun steun uit voor dit verdere onderzoek.



## Executive Summary

The Syrian National Council (SNC) believes that democratic change cannot be realized without the head of the Syrian regime stepping down, in addition to figures who are directly responsible for major crimes.

The SNC will work to form a transitional government at the beginning of the transitional phase, the primary function of which will be reestablishing security and stability through restructuring government institutions in order to continue serving the people during the transitional period and to draft a new constitution.

The SNC has prepared a plan for transitional justice, which includes clear mechanisms for fact finding and national reconciliation seeking to put an end to the blood shed, while maintaining Syrian state institutions to continue serving citizens during this critical phase.

The transitional government will organize elections to select a constituent assembly under the supervision of an independent electoral commission, who will be responsible for writing a new political parties law and a new elections law. The independent electoral commission will supervise the parliamentary and presidential elections as well, which should take place within a maximum period of 18 months.

The transitional government has prepared a plan for restructuring state institutions and its organs to make the state more transparent, responsive, and accountable. The transitional government will be charged with giving priority to the following concerns : governance, transitional justice, security, and economy.

The security administration includes procedures and specific measures from the legitimate authorities to take into account the major players on the basis of resolving issues of security and the return of normal life in the shortest possible period of time, strengthening civil society, and establishing respect for the rule of law. The sensitivity of security issues requires assurance that all basic procedures are clear and determined according to detailed and viable plans.

All security procedures in the transitional period will be taken according to considerations and priorities corresponding to the extent of need, necessary speed, and viability according to four levels of action: 1) **urgent measures to be undertaken during the first 24 hours to gain control of the pillars of security;** 2) **urgent measures to be undertaken during the first three weeks, intended to establish security and prevent the remnants of the regime from having any ability to disturb security or foster instability in the country;** 3) **medium-term measures to be undertaken during the first three months, aiming to establish security and stability;** and finally 4) **long-term measures that are to continue until the end of the transitional period.**

Syrian National Council SNC urges members of the Friends to the Syrian People conference to start Marshall's Syrian Recovery Plan immediately after collapsing of the current regime, by establishing the The Working Group on Economic Recovery and Development *WGERD*, which provides fund to rebuild Syria, and prepare the following issues:

- Immediate impact measures (for the post-crisis phase)

- Donor coordination
- Economic policy and reforms
- Business sector involvement.

In order for Syria to become one of the new emerged economies in the region, *WGERD* should prepare economic recovery road map that includes three plans:

- 1- 0-6 Months Emergency plan.
- 2- 6 Months- 2 years rebuilding plan.
- 3- 2-5 years economic future vision.

## (1) - GOVERNANCE

### General Principles

The Syrian revolution aims to put an end to tyranny and establish a civil, democratic, pluralistic, and deliberative country, a country of institutions and laws that respect the rights of all citizens. The new Syrian state will be established according to the following constitutional principles :

- Syria is a civil democratic pluralistic country which applies equal rights and duties to citizens in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, and does not discriminate between Syrian citizens on the basis of race, colour, political or ideological affiliation, national or ethnic origin, or religious or sectarian beliefs.
- The Syrian state officially recognizes the various national components of the Syrian society and assures their rights to use their own languages and traditions, and practice their rituals in an atmosphere of freedom guaranteed by law and on the basis of the territorial integrity of Syria.
- The new Syria seeks a democratic electoral system as its only choice, a system which is based on political pluralism and the peaceful transfer of power, that rejects violence and preserves the rights of its citizens, which include the rights of belief, opinion, expression, partisanship, free press, rights to work, of demonstration and striking, as well as the right of movement and creativity in various fields.
- Syria adopts the principle of elections to choose representative of the people in the parliament which has an independent legislative authority separate from the executive authority. Syria also depends on the principle of elections to choose the president of the republic for a specified period not exceeding five years. The term can be renewed once without any further extension or renewal.
- The new Syria adopts laws for political parties, elections, media, and press with a view to achieve fair competition between different political currents on the basis of equal access to utilities, public facilities, and media.



- The judicial authority is entirely independent from the executive authority, in accordance with the principle of rule of law, accountability, and impunity for no one as a comprehensive principle with no exceptions. Judicial independence will be ensured through measures that prevent the control of the executive authority when appointing the judges, and prevents their dismissal except in cases of involvement in acts punishable by law.
- Respect for human rights and the prevention of arbitrary arrests, and restrict arrests to orders issued by the public prosecution, preventing all means of physical and psychological torture of detainees, direct judicial supervision of the investigation of detainees for a period of time to be determined by law, and rendering detainees to just courts with rights of defense and legal representation.
- Establishing a fair judicial system and the abolition of state security courts and exceptional courts. Abolition of all exceptional laws and transferring the accused to competent ordinary courts. A review of penal laws and various types of political crimes invented by the tyrannical regime, applying laws that are consistent with international human rights conventions, covenants, and laws, and solidifying and respecting legal regulations.
- Rehabilitation of the security services following their restructuring, arranging their tasks and functions to ensure security and safety for all citizens, fighting crime, improving performance of security forces by providing requirements such as salaries, compensation, and the means to prevent corruption and bribery.
- A strong government with a decentralized administration, where the transitional government should work to establish a decentralized administrative system in Syria. Administrative decentralization would give a high degree of power, control, and financial responsibility to all regions. This would help to ensure that minority interests will be represented at the national level, and more room to run their own affairs at the local level. This may be a better solution than ethnic and religious quotas, which could cause divisions rather than national unity.

### **Basic Procedural Steps**

The legitimate authority which is represented by the National Council begins to set up the transitional plan into effect according to specific rules and steps, starting with the forming of a transitional government which will be formed by the national council within one month after the fall of the regime, including representatives of the national leaders and technocrats. It will not ; however, include active duty military personnel, nor former military personnel who have left active duty less than five years before. The transitional government shall have power of control over the military. Thus, constituting a strong start to the civil supervision of all state institutions which establishes a democratic system in Syria.

### **Immediate Tasks of the Transitional Government**

- 1- Naming and assigning the office of supreme security to act as the administration of security affairs, restructuring and reforming the security services, the forming of two security organs one of which shall be responsible for internal security under the Ministry of Interior for the safety and security of citizens and another organ for the external security, for the security of the country. There might be a special security organ for the armed forces regarding its security.



- 2- Naming and setting up a legal commission, dedicated to the principles of justice, accountability and national reconciliation, and not the logic of revenge, retaliation and eradication, especially against the members of a party or the regime organs, and transfer those with the blood of the Syrian people on their hands and those who are responsible for looting public funds and corruption bringing them to just judiciary.
- 3- Immediate start of consultations with national forces and figures to name a transitional government.

### **The New Constitution**

The transitional government acting under a specific timetable, assisted by an « independent commission for elections » will prepare for the elections of the constituent assembly which shall be charged with forming a new constitution. Regardless of the outcome of the constituent assembly elections, the transitional government shall provide mechanisms for the participation of all Syrians in all stages of the electoral process in order to ensure the legitimacy of the new constitution.

The Syrian Republic Constitution of 1950 and its amendments, which was abolished on 28 Feb/Jan 1958, is considered the state constitution for the transitional government pending the drafting of the new constitution and referendum by the people of Syria.

### **Law of Political Parties**

The transitional government's focus from the start shall be the drafting of laws of the political parties to have an early organised political life which contributes to accelerate the process of democratization. The transitional government can issue campaign finance laws, in order to match the funding of political actions remains within the law. Baath party members who are not involved in general crimes shall be allowed to participate in political actions.

### **Municipal Elections and The Constituent Assembly**

The transitional government shall regulate the municipal elections which are to be followed by national elections. local elections will be organized first, in order to learn from those mistakes made at the local level and thus improve the voting process in the national elections. The delaying of national elections shall allow adequate time for political parties organize themselves in order to best engage in the electoral process. This will also help focus efforts on local security and governance during the transitional phase.

The transitional government will prepare a draft law for elections for a constituent assembly to be approved by a public referendum. Elections of the constituent assembly will then take place in order to prepare a draft law for the new constitution to be approved by public referendum.

The following principles are shall be taken into account during elections of the constituent assembly :



- 1- The enabling of representation of all national and religious components of the Syrian people, women and the political independents.
- 2- The Actualization of the aspirations of the Syrian people for transparent elections.

The electoral process will be run by an independent commission called the « independent commission of elections» which shall not be controlled by the government and which shall prepare for elections and managing the electoral process, including the counting of votes and declaration of results. The commission will charge international and local observers with monitoring the voting process and counting the votes.

The independent electoral commission will determine the electoral districts taking into account borders of regions, cities and districts, population and geography and the interests of the people according to the new law of elections.

The commission may verify the eligibility of candidates to run in the elections.

#### **Civil Society Organizations**

The elected representative council shall be protecting the civil rights by drafting laws and in particular the following laws :

- The independence of vocational and professional unions of labors, peasants, professionals, artists, writers, journalists and others, and shall prevent the interference of authorities in their internal private life and affairs and ensuring the life and retirement of their employees.
- Revitalization of existing private and civil society bodies and expanding it to include various private and civil fields, paying attention to human rights committees, childhood and promotion of women as equal to men in the rights, duties and work.

#### **The National Council**

Once the transitional government is established and the constituent assembly is elected, the National council will be dissolved automatically.

#### **(2) – TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE**

The transitional justice aims to bring justice for the victims of the totalitarian regime and abuses of its leaders, especially during the Syrian revolution, compensating them for the harm they had suffered. It also aims to accountability for perpetrators of crimes against humanity in Syria and determining the appropriate legal rules to deal with the transitional phase. So that the judiciary would envisage a dual purpose : accountability for past crimes and prevent new crimes from occurring, according to a strategy that adopts rebuilding a country in the future for all components of the Syrian people, based on respecting human rights, democracy and law enforcement.

The transitional justice is addressed on the table by identifying the quality of crimes and violations that must be held to accountability, levels of responsibility, whether it is criminal or civil and time periods required for the process of accountability.



The Syrian Revolution is the hardest of all Arab revolts which aimed to achieve a democratic change, which goes back certainly to the complicated structure of Syria in its regional surrounding as well as multi-sectarian and ethnic society of Syria, which is explained by the results of destructive practices of the regime and gross violations of human rights in the fabric of the Syrian society. Based on the presence of international principles of transitional justice, and where its applications should be subject to the conditions and specifics of Syria and the nature of conflicts and problems existing in it ; the forms of this justice will vary according to the backgrounds which will be defined and objectives envisaged of it which are to access to a point where all parties recognize the right of others in participating and engaging in the process of building a new political system which has a capacity for all, to allow the elections to produce the main forces of the society.

As the new legitimate authority is aware of that there should be emphasis on the principle of the profit for everyone, and that they all should be aware that to negotiate together is the guarantee of a democratic change, also ; it has the duty of educating the victims of violations that the future of Syria is related to the extent of thier ability to overcome the past in order to be partners in the Syria of future, this will not be a road map for the democratic change, which require from it to do the following measures :

- Conduct a comprehensive national dialogue on how to deal with the past in the framework of the transitional justice, under the supervision of the transitional government and in partnership with civil society organizations.
- Determine a period of time to track the accused of critical criminal violations, search for the truth and work on compensating the victims by compensating the material and moral harm, achieving real reconciliations and achieving comprehensive institutional reforms on the legal, judicial and security levels.
- Forming a commission or a supreme body of the truth to uncover past abuses, to include representatives of all judicial, legal, media, academic, military, security, health, psychological fields and sectors in addition to civil society organizations ; and this commission to have a moral and considerable personality, guaranteeing its financial and administrative independence, to be done legally by referring all cases to it those are related to assassinations, torture, imprisonment, corruption or other crimes.
- Establishing the center of shared memory for the victims of abuses and the transitional justice center of consultations and researches. We should start working from now with human rights organizations and activists as well as the revolution coordination committees for documenting the abuses and violations to bring justice for the victims.
- Emptying prisons and detention centers of all detainees, political, opinion prisoners and prisoners of conscience ; enabling them a civilian dignity life. Parallel to the closure of detention and torture dungeons across the country and stamp them with red wax pending to make a decision about them.
- Reforming the security services through the so-called process of Rehabilitation and changing their functions from protecting the regime into achieving the security of people.

- Prosecution of the symbols of regime and anyone who was found involved in crimes against humanity and cases of systematic looting, and the court is empowered to punish those who were found guilty or pardon pardon in the absence of proof of the charges, or in cases decided by the court that those individuals have corporated with it in the detention of certain crimes, also te court has the right of self-compensation to the affected.
- Applying the culture of accountability instead of the culture of impunity which gives a sense of safety to the victims and directs a warning to those who are thinking of committing future violations. It also gives a measure of fairness to the suffering of victims, helps to stop the practice of revenge, satisfying people of what they can really see of themselves, it also offers an important opportunity to strengthen the credibility of the judicial system that has become corrupted or was not functioning properly in the past.

### (3) - SECURITY

Security management includes specific actions of the legitimate authority taking into consideration the key players based on three basic principles :

- 1- Resolving the issue of security and shifting to normal life in the shortest possible period of time.
- 2- Promotion of civil life
- 3- Establishing respect for the law

The sensitivity of the issue of security requires to emphasize that all basic procedures are clear and pre-determined according to detailed plans applicable in advance.

Security measures that must be applied by the transitional government in the first few days and weeks :

#### Security Forces

The Free Syrian military army and the regular military army and and people's committees will undertake maintaining the security during the transitional period in addition to joint international and Arab peace-keeping forces, and forming two security organs only or three : one is for the internal security under the Ministry of Interior to maintain the security of citizens, the second one for the external security to protect the security of the country and the third one for the security of the armed forces after eliminating all other branches and organs of security.

#### Police and People's Committees

The transitional government relies on local police to maintain security and it allow for the leaders of local community to form people's committees to assist in maintaining the security within neighborhoods in collaboration with the local police if needed. This will help to provide the immediate level of security in the cities during the first period of instability. Also, it is possible to seek the help of civil and regional organizations such as Arab Red Crescent and World Health Organization to provide health and basic services.



### **The Return of The Army to The Barracks**

The transitional government will direct orders to the armed forces to return immediately to the barracks, an action will be taken directed to the Fourth division and republican guards includes disarming their weapons so to assure that this steps are to ensure security and not a beginning of punishment, as the government will constantly pay their salaries and assigning new leaders for all forces. This will help to restrain some of the armed forces loyal to the regime of undermining security in light of the new government that came to power. This also help to prevent revenge action of the armed forces by individuals of dome revolutionary forces. The legitimate authority to start immediately large-scale movements preparing for restructuring the army and transforming it into a professional national army.

The new legitimate authority will deploy forces from the regular army from the units that have not immersed or engaged in fighting or protecting Al-Assad family for the protections of borders and state-owned assets.

### **The Return to Employments and Institutions**

The transitional government will direct the civil servants including everyone in the armed forces and intelligence services to go back immediately to their official directorates to perform their official jobs. It assures also that the civil servants will receive their salaries and benefits as usual.

### **Leaders and Directors of State Organs**

The transitional government will dismiss immediately the leaders of armed forces, intelligence services, police chiefs and the civilians in the ministries that supervise officially those organs. The transitional government will assign instead of them national leaders based on their experience, integrity and abilities in performing their duties and commitment to the democratic revolution. The government will retain the political, administrative and technical experts who were not involved in the suppression of the revolution and crimes against humanity.

### **Arresting The Criminals of The Totalitarian Regime**

The transitional government will establish procedures for the immediate detention of the accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity, including the arrest of senior officials and members of the militia loyal to the regime «Shabeeha». The steps that must be taken now should be determined in coordination with experienced human rights organizations to identify the responsible for crimes against humanity and detain them. That help to bring that helps to bring those people to justice and preventing them from undermining the security of the new regime.

### **Armed Forces**



The regular armed forces that didn't engage in suppressing acts can be used with the Arab peace-keeping forces to assist in immediate filling of the security gaps.

### **Borders**

The transitional government must secure the borders immediately, as it will prevent the flow of elements might cause Instability. The transitional government can consider the request of Arab peace-keeping forces to start –temporarily- this role or deployment of reliable units of the Syrian armed forces. It is possible to seek the help of Peace-keeping forces from neighboring countries to coordinate efforts for securing the borders.

### **Protection of Vital Public Institutions**

The transitional government will decide immediately to deploy military units to protect state-owned assets to prevent them from looting and destroying during the transitional phase. This will assure to the Syrian people that the important buildings and institutions in Syria will not be destroyed, including enterprises with cultural and historical value. There should be special efforts to protect the vital institutions such as banks, hospitals, security centers, power generating center, religious and cultural centers.

### **Strategic and Dangerous Weapons**

The new authority must ensure immediate protection of strategic and dangerous weapons which includes missiles, biological and chemical weapons and warplanes.

### **Protecting Citizens from Reprisal Operations**

The new legitimate authority will send immediately International or joint peace-keeping forces to secure any region that might witness sectarian reprisal actions during the transitional period in the regions loyal to the regime for protecting the citizens. It is possible to seek the help of some units of the regular army those that were not involved in any suppression operations or those that are not expected to engage in any possible reprisal operations.

All mentioned security measures which will be taken in the transitional period according to priorities and considerations related to the extent of required need and speed and the ability to achieve it, are completed in four levels of acts :

Urgent procedures and measures that should be carried out during the first 24 hours to gain control of the key pillars of the security (such as the closure of land and sea borders, closure of airspace, securing the vital institutions and sensitive governmental headquarters, prisons, airports, energy facilities, securing places of dangerous weapons and chemical and biological ones...etc...)

Urgent procedures and measures that should be taken in a relatively short period of time in the first three weeks aiming to establish security and prevent the remnants of the regime to be able to do any actions the might lead to loosening of security or lead to instability in the country (such as : putting all armed military and civilian groups under the command of the Free Syrian Army, disarming the weapons of the Fourth



division, republican guards, Baath party militia, popular organizations and control their weapons, protecting the citizens in the areas that might witness sectarian reprisal operations, appointing temporary leaders for the security organs and its branches, and some military units, especially the fourth division and republican guards, securing international borders, emptying prisons from political prisoners and keeping the members of terrorist and fundamentalist armed organizations...etc...)

Procedures and measures of medium-term in the first three months which aims at establishing security and continuing stability of the country (such as : reforming and restructuring security organs, excluding anyone who was suspected to be involved in managing bloody suppression operations, taking ensured movements in the army, starting the process of integrating the Free Syrian Army in the units of the Regular Syrian Army, taking procedures to achieve transitional justice, reducing the state of alert and returning to normal life...etc.)

Long-term procedures which requires to be taken in a period exceeding the year (such as : building security expertise for the security organs members in modern principles, and training them to obey the decisions of civil political institution and to be subject to law and have commitment to human rights standards, developing observatory institutions, taking concrete steps aiming at enhancing security through the consolidation of justice by reforming the judiciary system and achieving its independence, reviewing the emergency law being in force and amending it till new laws to be approved by an elected legitimate government at the end of the transitional phase...etc...)

#### (4) - ECONOMY

The features of the SNC National Economic vision are focused on the following:

1. Embracing the criteria and indicators of good governance adopted by the United Nations (e.g., government effectiveness, rule of law, corruption index view) and the elimination of political and administrative corruption, impositions of fees and forced shares to the pockets of the regime's men on our businessmen and industrialists.
2. Sincere application of social market economic policies, adopted by the 10th 5-year plan, with its five-pronged strategy: respect for human rights, the rule of law and its enforcement, public participation in the political process, a societal market economy, and applying development-oriented government measures.
3. Support and encourage the private sector, and facilitate "clean" business away from the existing corruptions in order to enhance its functions as it provides employment for two-thirds of the Syrian labor force.
4. Establish mechanisms to encourage the corporate and joint sectors in an environment of trust, transparency, and a free press.
5. Create a safe and fair investment environment that would place Syria among the top hundred countries in 5 years after the revolution.
6. Encourage the Arab direct investment in Syrian industrial and financial sectors.



7. Create proper atmosphere that draw foreign direct investment FDI.
8. Work against monopoly and corruption, and create a transparency environment of investment opportunities.
9. Reform the public-sector enterprises to ensure their efficiency without favoritism to avoid social disasters, and finding ways to encourage successful projects and to adopt socially safe solutions for the failing public enterprises.
10. Raise the standard of living of workers and support the purchasing power of all Syrians.
11. Develop effective and practical programs in cooperation with the private and public institutions to raise the capability of human resources and the efficiency of workers to increase their productivity.
12. Increase the efficiency of financial markets and boost confidence in their performance to reflect real economic activity.
13. Revitalize private banks and strengthen their international role.
14. Implement real reforms in the banking sector and expand its local, Arab, and international networks and strengthen the role of Islamic banking, which has achieved great steps in the past decade, and benefit from the Arab and Islamic Countries' experience in financial development in particular and economic growth in general.
15. Raise the efficiency of real estate, agricultural, and commercial banks to contribute to bridging the needs for housing; promote trade and agriculture and bring a real increase of income to the Syrian peasants.
16. Improve the infrastructure by building new roads, bridges, and tunnels necessary to facilitate the movement of goods and services and to raise the level of services in rural areas to ease out the migration of the villages to cities, which causes congestion of cities and loss of effective and productive use of agricultural lands.
17. Reform the tax system to ensure fair taxes within a framework of transparency, which requires senior state officials to disclose their properties including the president and all senior officials in the administration.
18. Strengthen the role of Chambers of Commerce and Industry in economic revitalization, and monitor elections to ensure that elected positions and term limits are established in accordance with qualifications, not loyalties and favoritism.
19. Emphasize the role of modern industry, encourage its introduction to Syria, develop policies supportive of production, marketing in cooperation with global bodies, removal of all restrictions on internet and communications, and developing domestic electronics industry and services with capacity to expand internationally.





20. Facilitate financial credit for the industrial sector, particularly manufacturing industries that create more jobs.
21. Establish a special organization for micro finance to fulfill the financial needs of the youth and small and traditional crafts and businesses in order to increase their productive abilities and economic level of living.
22. Support the agricultural sector and raise the capability of irrigation policies. Supply this sector with the modern equipment and leverage international expertise to advance the agricultural sector. Address water issues responsibly, re-energize the agricultural banking services and enhance the efficiency of agriculture education. The revolution will prepare an economic plan to encourage the people of the eastern region return to their home and create appropriate jobs for them.
23. Establish legislation that supports the information sector and supply it with the required modern technologies.
24. Encourage the tourism industry and facilitate its role in development. Provide the required public facilities and services, and assure easy credit to assure the development of an international tourism marketing plan.
25. Raise the efficiency of the Syrian airlines. Expand its fleet with the latest aircrafts and contract with major international players to start marketing Syrian Airlines at the international level. This will be achieved by encouraging the private sector to compete in this sector. This will create new diversified job opportunities in place of the currently sub-standard airports and aircrafts.
26. Attract the technical, economic, and trade expertise of Syrian expatriates by appointing influential Syrians to the Ministry of Expatriates to serve as a liaison between Syria and its citizens abroad. Develop programs to benefit from the enormous experience of the expatriate community by reviving the cultural movement in Syria. Identify medical, engineering, and scientific Syrian expertise abroad and activate them for the development of our country and the growth of a year-round tourism. Facilitate investments by Syrian expatriates who have long desired to invest at home in an environment of good governance and transparency.
27. Implement the revolution's project of one thousand years for Syria by attracting at least one thousand Syrians of high industry qualifications in their fields to contribute one year of their experience and investment for the development of their home land.
28. Attract international investments to help stimulate the Syrian economy, in cooperation with the Chambers of Commerce and Industry to supplement global investment partners who are knowledgeable about local investments.
29. Advance economic freedoms for all Syrians and issue policies that take into account social, health, and educational safety measures.
30. Raise the efficacy of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor to better respond to the urgent needs of the Syrian laborers and employees and seek help from the private sector to supplement the ministry with



the latest technologies to maintain accurate statistics on unemployment and job seekers, and create an extensive network of cooperation with Syrian companies.

31. Revive the Anti-Unemployment Agency under the name of the Employment Agency, which must enjoy full freedom within a budget determined by technical studies led by qualified national expertise that also considers the advice of international experts and continues to receive international job-creation grants.

32. Revitalize the Awqaf and creating investment mechanisms to increase the productivities of Awqaf properties and lands in order to increase its contribution to the society and ability of creating new jobs.

**There will be a Mandate for the Working Group on Economic Recovery and Development of the Friends of the Syrian People. SNC proposed the following structure:**

1. The Working Group on Economic Recovery and Development aims to be the central forum of the International Community for planning and coordination of assistance to the economic recovery and development of Syria.
2. The Working Group will work closely with designated representatives of the Syrian National Council and other members of the opposition. It will seek the advice of the civil society, the Syrian business community and economical experts.
3. The Working Group will initially be convened and co-chaired by Germany and the United Arab Emirates jointly, until the Friends of the Syrian People designate new co-chairs.
4. The Working Group is open to all Friends of the Syrian People and relevant International Organisations.
5. The Working Group will report to the Friends of the Syrian People. The Working Group will conduct meetings with other relevant working groups if these are established by the Friends of the Syrian People.
6. The working group will, in particular (but without prejudice to adding further items if necessary), take up the following issues:
  - Immediate impact measures (for the post-crisis phase)
  - Donor coordination
  - Economic policy and reforms
  - Business sector involvement.

Subgroups will be formed as necessary.



**Marshall Syrian Recovery Plan MSRP** starts by establishing the The Working Group on Economic Recovery and Development **WGERD**, which provides fund to rebuild Syria.

*MSRP* will Increase productivity, stimulating economic growth, and promoting trade.

*MSRP* will enhance, in the long run, the Living standards, and strengthening economic, social, and political structures in Syria.

*MSRP* will contribute in the long run to the political stability of future Syria.

*MSRP* will restore the economic infrastructure of Syria.

*MSRP* will restore confidence of consumers and business, and will improve the investment environment to draw more foreign direct investment to Syria.

*WGERD* has representatives of each participant member in the Friends to Syrian People conferences, and interested in contributing in enhancing the Syrian economy after the fall of the current Syrian regime.

*WGERD* meets monthly. (Rotation among *WGERD* Countries)

*Each country represented in the WGERD should be committed to certain monetary amount.(suggested \$1billion dollars at least)*

*WGERD Executives* along with the Syrian National Council *SNC* Finance and Economic Bureau executive *SNCE* will file a monthly progress report (or activities briefing) to *WGERD*.

*WGERD Executives* and *SNCE* prepare economic recovery road map that includes three plans:

- 0-6 Months Emergency plan
- 6 Months- 2 years rebuilding plan
- 2-5 years vision to up lift Syrian economy to join the emerging economic forces in the region.

*WGERD* will prepare reports to Friends to Syria Conference meetings.

*WGERD* Executive and *SNC* Executive will prepare budget to start preparing full *MSRP* report within certain timeframe (i.e. 6 Months) about the following issues:

- Immediate impact measures (for the post-crisis phase)
- Donor coordination
- Economic policy and reforms
- Business sector involvement.

*WGERD* approves the budget, and then verifies the commitment from all *MSRP* countries contributions in the forthcoming *MSRP* immediately after collapsing of current Syrian regime.



**WGERD** Executive and **SNC** Executive follow up on the readiness of MSRP countries.

**WGERD** Executive and **SNC** Executive follow up on the implementation of the economic recovery road map from day one after collapsing of current Syrian regime.