



## FOUNDATIONAL CHARTER OF THE RENAISSANCE AND THE POST-DESPOTISM SYRIAN STATE

### Introduction:

**"This land was not created to be enslaved. Its people were not born to be tortured in the name of the homeland, nor humiliated in the name of Religion. Since Syria was born on the lines of fire and guardianship, meaning has been absent, dignity deferred, and sovereignty divided between tyranny and maps."**

**"For over a century, constitutions were written in Syria's name but never represented it; regimes ruled over it without seeing its people; and competing powers never truly believed that this land had a people capable of decision — only a flock to be herded. And when the nation breathed for the first time during the uprising for freedom, its breath was stolen, its cries fragmented, and its meaning violated — until death became a daily face, fragmentation an identity, and fear the official language."**

**"Within this rubble, we do not merely seek reconstruction, but the restoration of meaning. We do not aim to present an alternative project, but an alternative to the very logic of projects. We do not want a new face of power, but an end to the logic of domination, intimidation, and the monopolization of the human being."**

**"Therefore, this document is not a political manifesto, nor a top-down proposal. It is a cry of reason and conscience — an attempt at foundational creation, not repetition — the seed of a project born from the depths of the wound, not from the leftovers of the current actors' calculations. It is the beginning of a journey, not a closed text. An invitation to engage, not to submit. A foundation for meaning, not the marketing of a new façade."**

**"Because Syria is still worthy. And because we believe that throughout the country — across its political and societal geography — there are those who still see the light despite the ashes, seek meaning despite the loss, and believe in the homeland despite the maps. We write this document in the name of all Syrians — regardless of their positions, paths, or affiliations — as long as they share the dream of a just, free, unified, and dignified Syria."**

**"We write it as a beginning of a foundational path that excludes no one, reproduces no one, but calls all to meet on the ground of shared meaning, shared fate, and shared responsibility. We do not write it to return to the past, nor to adapt to the present, but to craft what has yet to be written: the Syria we deserve — and that deserves us."**

## Section One: Historical Background and Anatomical Analysis of Collapse

### Where Did the Syrian State Fail?

#### 1. Disintegration of the National Contract

The failure of the Syrian state did not occur at the moment of its overt collapse, but was instead the direct result of the erosion of the national contract from the very first moment of its foundation. Instead of building a state that represents Syrians as equal citizens in rights and duties, the state was established on coercive balances, the interests of narrow elites, and temporary alliances between the military, sects, and landowners — without drafting an actual national charter that defines the meaning of the state, the limits of its power, and the mechanisms of its representation.

Politics was emptied of its pluralistic content from the start, and national identity became a formal mask concealing sharp power struggles in which the people had no voice, but were instead used as tools to legitimize the logic of force. The state was not founded on a free societal contract, but on a logic of top-down control, bottom-up bargaining, and the perpetual postponement of major entitlements. Thus, the national contract in Syria became fragile, superficial, and prone to explode at the first existential test — which indeed occurred with the outbreak of the revolution.

#### 2. Absence of Genuine Sovereignty

On the surface, Syria appeared to be an independent, sovereign state. But in essence, sovereignty was never a real national choice — only a consumable slogan. Since independence, Syrian decision-making has remained hostage to external pulls: from the enduring French influence through its entrenched elites, to its positioning within Cold War blocs, to full dependence on Soviet patronage under Ba'athist rule, and finally its deep entrenchment within the Iranian-Russian axis — seen not as a guarantor of the people's will, but as a lifeline for regime survival.

Sovereignty was never practiced in its true sense — the ability to make independent national decisions rooted in domestic will, not foreign dictates. Instead, sovereignty became a negotiable commodity, deployed according to the regime's interest, not that of the state. Even hostility toward Israel, which served as a public slogan for five decades, was not a genuine expression of sovereignty, but a cover to justify repression and to distract from the violation of national sovereignty in the Golan Heights and other Syrian territories.

### 3. Reducing the Homeland to the Regime

Since the early 1960s — and more profoundly after Hafez al-Assad came to power — the homeland in Syria ceased to be experienced as a unifying idea. It was reduced to being synonymous with the ruling regime. The state became equated with the figure of the leader, the homeland with the security apparatus, and the citizen with the silent loyalist or presumed traitor.

Memory was confiscated, institutions were domesticated, and nationalism transformed from a free civil bond into an obligatory pledge of allegiance to a power above the law. Through this reduction, all intermediary spaces between the state and society were crushed. There was no longer any independent media, no active civil society, no genuine political parties, and no just judiciary. Instead, the regime expanded unchecked, monopolizing all public life under banners like “historic legitimacy,” “national unity,” and “resistance to the enemy” — all slogans it used to fragment society and crush the individual in the name of the nation.

# What Did the Syrian Revolution Reveal?

## 1. Collapse of the Structure of Meaning

The Syrian revolution did not only demand reform. It exposed that what had existed was not a real state, but a complete system of denial, fabrication, and repression. The popular explosion was not a reaction to a temporary grievance — it was an unmasking of the void of meaning in a state stripped of humanity and ethics. Institutions existed in name only. The constitution was a decorative tool for power, not a social contract governing the relationship between state and society. National belonging was a forced sentiment, not a bond born of free will.

The image of the state collapsed the moment the people spoke. The facade of “legitimacy” crumbled with the first chant of “freedom,” and the real Syria emerged: a Syria of fear, prisons, favoritism, discrimination, repressed sects, and marginalized groups. The revolution revealed that Syrians had not been living in a state, but in a carefully constructed control network serving the regime, not protecting society.

## 2. The Shift from Collective Grievance to Sectarianism

When Syrians first rose up with unified slogans, they were driven by awareness of injustice and a belief in shared humanity. But the regime — and later, regional actors — swiftly dismantled this emerging unity by activating sectarian grievances. Sectarian trenches were used as counterrevolutionary weapons — not because they reflected objective realities, but because they were the most effective means of returning Syrians to mutual fear.

The revolution was diverted from a cry for dignity into a battlefield of sectarian narratives, with each side claiming victimhood and accusing the other of betrayal. Instead of building a shared national project around the call for freedom, political, religious, and security elites reproduced fear of the other — not just as a sentiment, but as a political doctrine. Sects were pulled from the depths of history to become tools of a present governed by blood and suspicion, not by contracts and shared meaning.

### 3. The Opposition's Failure to Present a Unifying Project

The greatest tragedy was not the opposition's failure to overthrow the regime — but its failure to present a coherent national alternative afterward. The Syrian oppositions did not emerge from a common vision, but from divergent positions and conflicting interests. They remained bound by conditional funding, identity-based divisions, and competition for external legitimacy rather than internal credibility. As a result, they did not produce a national social contract — only narrow, reactive, externally-aligned representations.

The opposition failed the test of principle, not just power. Between those who sought an Islamist state without a state, those who wanted donor-funded liberalism, and those who aligned with regional axes fighting their proxy wars on Syrian soil, the opportunity to construct a new Syrian “we” — born from unified national consciousness — was lost.

# The Political Void and the Weaponized Legacy

## 1. Foreign Exploitation

Foreign intervention in Syria was not the result of the revolution — it was merely exposed by it. Foreign powers had long been embedded in the structure of the Syrian state — as political patrons, security guarantors, or financiers of an authoritarian system that monopolized decision-making. When the regime's grip weakened, foreign actors did not support an independent political process; rather, they sought to reshape Syria according to their geopolitical interests. Each saw chaos as an opportunity — not the revolution as a legitimate demand. Iran arrived with its militias, Russia with its jets, the U.S. with its bases, Turkey with its maps, Israel with its security doctrine, and the Gulf with competing agendas.

This foreign exploitation was not limited to military or political intervention. It also involved the reengineering of local actors themselves. Political entities were formed under regional conditions, while genuine revolutionary forces were left trapped between the anvil of repression and the hammer of instrumentalization. National decision-making became the property of operations rooms — not of the Syrian people. The very concept of "national interest" was dissolved into regional conflicts unrelated to the will of the people.

## 2. Sanctified Victimhood

Instead of building justice on citizenship, each party rushed to enshrine its own narrative of grievance — using it as a moral basis for demanding representation or dominance. Grievance shifted from being a call for redress to a tool for political bidding, a justification for exceptionalism, and a basis for sectarian, ethnic, or ideological entrenchment.

As a result, the revolution transformed from a project of collective liberation into a battlefield of irreconcilable grievances, with each side justifying its privileges, fears, and claim to speak on behalf of "its victims." What should have been a gateway to justice became a mechanism for polarization. By turning victimhood into a "political sacred," the common national ground was obliterated — and the very idea of an inclusive state was erased.

### 3. Old Tools in a New Struggle

The Syrian state failed not only because it was authoritarian, but because it clung to obsolete tools of governance unfit for an era of awareness, openness, and representation. But the deeper tragedy was that the revolution — and many of its political factions — confronted the decaying structure using the very same tools that had enshrined its failure. The return of top-down rhetoric, the cult of the leader, exclusionary identities, regionalist politics, media demagoguery, and the absence of rational programs — all served to replicate the same collapse they claimed to fight.

Many forces tried to confront Assad's structure with Assad's methods: mobilization without institution-building, loyalty without representation, crowds without contracts. The struggle devolved from a renaissance project into a new version of exclusion — where the excluded confront the excluder, not as free citizens, but as representatives of factions, projects, or foreign patrons.

### Conclusion of Section One

What the revolution revealed — and what had long been apparent — is that what was called a state was no more than a bureaucratic façade for a power structure cut off from society, lacking in legitimacy, and rooted in repression and falsification. And what was called opposition was not a true alternative project, but rather a momentary echo, or a reflection of voids, not clear national interests. Between a regime desperate to survive, oppositions that fight over illusions, and foreign actors dividing land and visions, Syria was left with no project, no state, no contract — and no meaning.

From this void, and in the name of this truth, the Renaissance Project was born — not to add another layer to the rubble, but to dismantle the rubble itself and lay the foundation for what has never yet been built.

## Section Two: The Philosophical Vision of the Renaissance

### Definition of “Renaissance” in This Project

In our project, Renaissance is not about developmental promises or an improved standard of living. It is not a temporary rescue plan, nor a technical reconstruction of a devastated geography. Renaissance, as we conceive it, is an existential and epistemic transformation in the structure of the state, society, and consciousness. It is the restoration of meaning before services; the liberation of the human being before the repair of stone; the establishment of sovereign, independent awareness — not a cosmetic renovation of a collapsed authoritarian framework.

The Renaissance here is not a political program, but a comprehensive founding philosophy that redefines the state, citizenship, the sacred, sovereignty, and the relationship between the individual and power. It is a rejection of ideological borrowing from abroad, as it is a rejection of tyranny from within. And above all, it is a decisive declaration that the human being in Syria will no longer be used as a tool for mobilization or victimhood, but is instead the goal, the source, and the principal agent in the project of state-building.

### The Human Being as the Core of Sovereignty and Meaning

The state, in this project, is not built on fear, not bestowed from above, and not justified by necessity. It begins with the individual. The free, rational, and responsible individual is the source of sovereignty — not the sacred text, nor the leader, nor the sect, nor the revolution in and of itself. Sovereignty is not a power that rises above the people, but a contractual relationship emanating from their free will and drawing legitimacy from their awareness — not their submission.

The moment the human being is reduced to a follower or a subject, the state is demolished and the Renaissance nullified. Therefore, we reject all projects that place authority above the individual — whether clothed in the garb of religion, nationalism, elitism, or militarism. The human being is the meaning. Anything that overrides, seizes, or crushes him is the antithesis of Renaissance.



## Knowledge as a Tool of Liberation and Construction

No project of Renaissance can be built on ignorance, superstition, the suppression of reason, or the confiscation of questioning. Knowledge is the cornerstone of awareness; awareness is the condition of freedom; and freedom is the foundation of the state. In Syria, knowledge has been assassinated for decades — through ignorance, sanctification, censorship, distortion, and the monopolization of discourse. Through this assassination, reason was enslaved, the human commodified, and societal action paralyzed.

The Renaissance Project begins here: by reclaiming reason as a domain of sovereignty. By liberating education from indoctrination, religious discourse from instrumentalization, memory from political myths, and media from the function of obscurantism. For awareness not grounded in emancipated knowledge will generate a revolution that turns into domination — and will reproduce tyranny in a new form.

## Restoring Meaning and National Identity

When societies lose meaning, they lose direction. And when identity is reduced to its sub-components (sect, tribe, party, region), it becomes detached from the self and hijacked for others' benefit. What we see today in Syria is not pluralism, but fragmentation — born from the absence of a national project capable of redefining the Syrian “we.”

The Renaissance is not just a political construct, but also an act of recovering meaning: the meaning of being Syrian without guardianship, without fear, without exclusion, without buried complexes. We do not seek a forcibly unified homeland, nor federated identities in separation. We seek a national identity that is flexible, inclusive, and rooted in history, destiny, language, and shared experience — not dictated by geography or tribal affiliation.

To restore meaning is to affirm that the homeland is not a trench, nor a military camp, nor a map of division — but a living participatory space, where bonds are formed through choice, justice, and affiliation to common values — not to closed entities.

## Conclusion of Section Two: Renaissance — From Idea to Destiny

Renaissance, as we conceive it, is not a reform project within the existing structure, nor an attempt to beautify the ruins of power. It is a complete foundational act that reposes the original questions: Why do we establish a state? How do we define the human being? What does sovereignty mean? Who holds rights? And how is legitimacy built?

It is not a political program, but a reclaiming of the existential/political question long stripped from Syrians: Who are we? To whom does this land belong? With what consciousness shall we establish justice in it? And with what value system shall we reconstruct our collective identity?

It is a rupture with the logic of domination — not with history; a liberation of the mind — not revenge against power; a revival of a homeland that has not yet been born — but one that deserves to be born.

The Renaissance Project does not begin at the head of the state, but from the roots of the human being; not from the constitution alone, but from the meaning that constitutes it; not from the balance of power, but from the balance of awareness; not from negotiations, but from the moment of truth with the self.

Thus, Renaissance is not a goal to be attained, but a consciousness to be generated — a path to be drawn, and a responsibility that no power, elite, or authority can monopolize. It is a collective right, a transformational act, and a historical duty that begins with the restoration of dignity — and does not end until the restoration of sovereignty, in all its meanings: over land, over decision-making, and over meaning itself.

## Section Three: The Foundational Principles of the Project

### Sovereignty – The First Principle

Sovereignty is not a slogan to be raised, nor a bargaining chip to be waved. It is a foundational element without which no project can stand, and no state can be built. A state that does not possess its decision-making power, does not shape its future from within, and does not determine its choices based on the will of its people — is not a state, but a provisional functional entity, no matter how stable or recognized it may seem.

In the Renaissance Project, sovereignty is understood as the collective freedom to define identity and destiny, and as the right of society to control its resources, borders, balance, and laws — free from foreign guardianship or internal monopoly. Therefore, we reject:

- Any form of international or regional tutelage that reshapes Syria according to the interests of non-Syrians;
- Any form of intellectual or religious domination that seeks to confiscate sovereignty by monopolizing meaning or truth;
- Any attempt to replace popular sovereignty with top-down projects, temporary deals, or imposed solutions under the pressure of arms or money.

In this project, sovereignty is not a point of negotiation — it is the starting point. No Renaissance can be conceived without Syrian decision-making, born of free will and expressing the supreme interests of the Syrian people in all their components — not the interests of sponsors, guarantors, or controlling powers.

### Justice and Accountability – The Conditions of Meaning and Legitimacy

A free state cannot be built without justice. Justice cannot be built without accountability. Modern Syrian history has been written in blood, accumulating countless collective and individual grievances. These cannot be overcome through political deals, nor bypassed through forced amnesia.

In the Renaissance Project, justice is not merely a judicial mechanism, but an act of recognition, a reconciliation with truth, and a foundation for the ethical base without which the state cannot rise. Therefore, we believe that:

- There is no amnesty without acknowledgment.
- There is no reconciliation without revealing the truth.
- There is no political transition without actual accountability for those involved in crimes against humanity and society.
- No one shall be protected because of their position, religion, or affiliation.

Justice here is not revenge — it is liberation of memory. It is not a political weapon — it is a moral condition for rebuilding the state. Any project that overlooks this truth, delays it, or buries it, places itself outside the true path of Renaissance.

## **Equal Citizenship – The First Foundation of the State**

Syria will not rise if it remains divided into sects, loyalties, and maps based on religious or ethnic divisions. It will not rise if people continue to be represented as "Sunnis," "Alawites," "Druze," "Kurds," or "tribes." These are not political identities — nor should they be. In the Renaissance Project, citizenship is not merely a legal status. It is the foundational base where all privileges and collective representations based on sub-identities are abolished.

In this project:

- No sects in politics.
- No sacred ethnicities.
- No groups shielded by grievance, history, or religion.
- No collective representation above the free individual representation.

The citizen is the individual — free, rational, responsible. Anyone who claims to represent a group without mandate, or who demands a share of power for a component in the name of “balance,” is threatening the very foundation of the state. For the state is built on justice, not division; on equality, not quotas; on contract, not domination.

## **Freedom – The Condition of Dignity and Meaning**

There is no meaning to any Renaissance project if its primary goal is not to free the human being from fear, from guardianship, from indoctrination, from alienation. Freedom is not an article in the constitution — it is the spirit of the contract, the key to dignity, and the essence of politics. Dignity not practiced through freedom remains false. A homeland ruled by intimidation or repression — even under lofty slogans — is a usurped homeland.

In the Renaissance Project, freedom is understood as:

- Freedom of thought, belief, expression, and organization;
- Freedom of the body from torture, freedom of the mind from indoctrination, and freedom of society from surveillance and censorship;
- Freedom to dissent, freedom to hold accountable, and freedom to say “no” without fear.

There is no citizenship without freedom, and no state without free citizens. Whoever confiscates freedom in the name of the sacred, or the sect, or the system — merely produces a veiled form of slavery, not a living society.

## Knowledge – The Foundational Value of the Political Order

When a state is built upon ignorance, it produces submission — not citizenship. When laws are drafted without collective awareness, they become instruments of repression — not guarantees of justice. Therefore, in the Renaissance Project, knowledge is:

- The foundational condition for building the political system;
- A safeguard for the social contract against manipulation and misinformation;
- The base by which awareness is generated, positions are formed, and public action is regulated.

We do not believe in a political system that treats the people as followers, ignorant, or a mass to be emotionally manipulated. We believe in a state that restores the centrality of knowledge — not only in education, but in administration, judiciary, media, religion, and politics. A state that respects the intellect, and is founded on inquiry — not ready-made answers.

## Conclusion of Section Three – Principles as a Foundational Threshold

The five principles upon which this project rests — sovereignty, justice, citizenship, freedom, and knowledge — are not independent items to be selectively adopted or ignored. They are an integrated structure, with each principle leading to the other, and each drawing its meaning from its connection to the very essence of Renaissance.

- Sovereignty without justice becomes brute authority.
- Justice without citizenship becomes selective revenge.
- Citizenship without freedom becomes disguised dependency.
- Freedom without knowledge turns into chaos or deception.
- Knowledge without sovereignty becomes a tool of subjugation — not liberation.

Thus, these principles are not slogans. They are not optional reference points, but foundational prerequisites for any project that seeks to rise from the ruins of tyranny and destruction. They are not subject to political negotiation, power balances, or temporary consensus tactics. Rather, they represent a red line for the new identity of the state — the decisive criterion between a Renaissance project and any reproduction of tyranny in a new guise.

Any attempt to build a state, authority, or project that does not begin from these combined principles is nothing but a distorted replica of the catastrophe we seek to escape.

## Section Four: Features of the Aspirational New Syrian State

### A Unified Syria Without Dominant Centralism

There is no Renaissance without a state, no state without unity, and no unity without justice in representation, distribution, and decision-making. In the new Syria, unity will not come at the expense of diversity, and decentralization will not be a pretext for fragmentation. We believe in a geographic, political, and administrative unity for Syria — but one built on balanced representation, not authoritarian centralization.

The centralism that turned Damascus into a capital-state, and reduced the provinces to marginal spaces governed from above, must come to an end. In the Syria of the Renaissance, the relationship between “center” and “periphery” is redefined on the basis of partnership, not subordination — through a distributed national administration that respects local specificities, reflects reality, and lays the foundation for rooted political life at the local level.

We reject all partition projects, just as we reject a state that functions as an authoritarian machine imposing itself in the name of “unity” while practicing internal marginalization and exclusion. Coerced unity does not generate loyalty — only unity founded on justice and dignity creates a homeland.

### A Civil, Democratic, Representative State

There is no place in future Syria for a religious state, a military state, or a closed party state. The state we believe in is civil — representing all, and speaking in the name of none. It has no official religion, no predefined political allegiance, and no authority elevated above society. At the same time, it is a democracy — not a performative one, but a genuinely representative system where powers emerge from the people, are held accountable before them, and are changed by their will.

We reject all forms of “fake civility” used as a cover for a security, military, or even religious authority. We also reject a cosmetic democracy that reproduces the same elites and grants false legitimacy to imposed authority.

Civility and democracy are not mere forms of governance — they are the essence of the relationship between the state and society. Society is not represented through its factions, but through its citizens. Power is not exercised through sacred mandates, but through contract, accountability, and renewal.

### A Legal Structure Above Power

There can be no talk of a state without the law, nor of law without its independence from power. In the new Syria, no one is above the law — not the president, not the army, not the party, not the community, not the cleric, not the leader. Law is not an instrument to subjugate

the weak — it is the standard to which power is held accountable first, and by which the citizen is protected before all.

There can be no Renaissance without a living, just, flexible, and consensual constitution — born of the will of the Syrians, not of power balances. This constitution is not to be imposed, granted, or written in closed rooms or under external pressure. It must be built through a deep, representative founding process — with the participation of all vital forces and social segments — so that it becomes a right for all, not a constraint on anyone.

Law is not to be written in favor of authority — it is to regulate it. A constitution is not tailored to suit a regime — it is founded to safeguard the homeland, the people, and the state together.

## No Return of Intelligence Agencies, No Militias, No Political Sectarianism

Syria will not rise as long as the instruments of repression that destroyed its people remain in operation — even under new names. Therefore, any project that does not begin with dismantling the authoritarian security apparatus, disarming illegal armed groups, and halting the political use of sect or creed — is a cosmetic project, not a foundational one.

- There is no place in future Syria for a security apparatus overseeing education, interfering in the judiciary, monitoring the media, or terrorizing society.
- There is no place for militias imposing themselves by force of fact, under any name, cover, or claim of “resistance.”
- There is no place for political sectarianism that legalizes fear and divides the people into political or representational shares.

Freedom cannot live under the watchful eye of intelligence agencies, nor under the weight of rogue weapons, nor under a sect that claims to speak in the name of the state — or in the name of God.

## A National Army, Independent Judiciary, Free Media, and a Productive National Economy

A state cannot exist without genuine sovereign institutions. Sovereignty cannot be restored without its independent and just instruments. In the new Syria, the institutional structure must be rebuilt from the root — not through cosmetic reform, but by redefining its function, role, and relationship with society.

- The **national army** is not a tool in the hands of the regime, nor a guardian of political decisions. It is a defensive apparatus bound by the limits of the law and the constitution, representing the people — not the regime — and subject to full civilian oversight. It is not used against the interior, nor diverted for sectarian or regional interests. It serves to protect borders and sovereignty only.

- An **independent judiciary** is the first condition for justice. No judiciary run by instructions, no appointments based on loyalty instead of merit, and no use of law as a tool of intimidation. In the new state, the judiciary does not follow power — it restrains it. It is not subject to any political, security, or religious authority.
- **Free media** is not a mirror for the regime, but a voice for society — a space for questioning, and a tool for accountability and oversight. No media that incites, indoctrinates, or intimidates — only media that liberates minds and re-produces truth, not submission.
- A **productive national economy** must be liberated from the logic of rent, corruption, and regime-linked looting. The economy in Renaissance Syria is sovereign — it invests national resources in human development and liberates wealth from the grip of corrupt elites and economic militias. There is no future for a homeland whose economy is run as a spoils system.

## A Constitution from the People — Not from Power Balances or Foreign Imposition

A constitution is not a technical document. It is an expression of a people's vision of themselves, their identity, and their destiny. In the new Syria, there is no room for constitutions written to fit a regime, or imposed by international powers, or produced by coercive deals made over people's heads.

We believe that any legitimate constitution must:

- Be born of an open, representative, and transparent founding process — not an elite pact;
- Be written in the language of the people — not the language of the apparatus;
- Establish a new social contract — not reproduce centralization, sectarianism, or the monopoly of power;
- Define the powers strictly, limit them through rights, and guarantee full separation of powers;
- Emerge from within, be drafted for the will of the interior, and be presented to the people — not imposed upon them.

The new Syria will not be built through an imposed constitution, nor through selective principles, but through a shared charter that reflects Syrians' consciousness after the catastrophe — not the balance of power during the war.



## **A National Identity that is Pluralistic — Not Sectarian or Ethnic-Exclusive**

What we are experiencing today is not an identity crisis — it is the deliberate assassination of a unifying national identity. When identity is reduced to sect, ethnicity, party, or region, the homeland loses its meaning — and affiliation becomes a trench or a political card.

In the new Syria, we redefine the Syrian “we” — not as neighboring blocs, but as partners in history and destiny. Identity is not a closed inheritance — it is a living space renewed through shared experience. We reject governance through competing identities contending for legitimacy — and affirm instead a pluralistic national identity that represents everyone, without being hijacked by anyone.

No Sunni Syria, no Alawite Syria, no Kurdish Syria, no secular Syria, no Islamic Syria — but a Syria that embraces everyone without becoming anyone’s state, or a battleground of identity wars. This is not idealism — it is a condition for the state’s survival.

## **Conclusion of Section Four: The State We Believe In**

The state we aspire to is not a deferred promise nor a polished version of the old regime. It is a new foundational model in which homeland, power, and citizenship are redefined on the basis of freedom, sovereignty, and justice.

The Syria we envision is:

A single, unified state — but without coercive centralism;

A civil, representative state — neither military nor religious;

A just state — not a selective one;

A legal state — not a security one;

A national state — not a factional one;

A knowledge-based state — not a propaganda-based one.

Its army is national — not ideological; its judiciary is independent — not subordinate; its media is free — not controlled; its economy is productive — not rent-based; its constitution stems from its people — not imposed upon them; and its identity is inclusive — not hijacked.

Anything that contradicts or circumvents these foundations merely reproduces the very causes of collapse.

The features of the desired Syrian state, as outlined here, are not merely theoretical aspirations. They are actual conditions for the survival of the homeland and the restoration of meaning. It is not the state that triumphs for one side, but the one that ends the logic of dominance. It is not the state that pleases everyone superficially, but the one that guarantees everyone their rights in practice. And above all, it is the state we deserve to belong to — not the one we fear.

## Section Five: Mechanisms of Action, Transition, and Founding

### How Do We Move from Idea to Action?

The Syrian crisis lies not only in the absence of the state, but also in the failure of actors to transform idea into project, vision into action, and awareness into structure. Therefore, the Renaissance Project does not stop at theorizing — it affirms that any founding effort must go through realistic, cumulative stages, built from within, beginning with the human being and culminating in the state.

No shortcuts, no leaps, no haste, no imposition — but rather a studied transformational path, beginning with the question of awareness, translated into societal, elite, and political movement, then restructured into representative and constitutional institutions — provided that the starting point is the project itself, not the balance of power, alignments, or fleeting interests.

### Phase One: Awareness and the Free Core Group

Every project begins with awareness — not mobilization; with reason — not emotionalism. Therefore, the first phase in the Renaissance path is the formation of a free awareness core, transcending traditional loyalties, to re-pose fundamental questions: What is the state? Who is the citizen? What is the meaning of authority? Where does legitimacy begin? And how is sovereignty built?

This core is not generated by the media or entrenched elites, but by people who have freed themselves from the authority of fear and forced affiliation — and have begun to reclaim themselves as citizens, not as followers. This core is what lays the foundation for the project — not the other way around. It is the cornerstone for building new legitimacy whose strength comes not from the outside, but from the reclaimed inside.

### Phase Two: Societal, Elite, and Political Engagement

Awareness alone is not enough if it is not translated into organized societal action. Therefore, the second phase is based on organizing cooperation between the aware core and authentic professional, intellectual, and political elites — to overcome the binary of “oppressed base” and “isolated elites,” and to build a horizontal interaction network that reconnects society with itself.

In this phase, civic and political vitality is re-produced — not through traditional parties or funded fronts, but through participatory representative platforms that practice critique, produce vision, and immunize awareness against regression.

The goal here is not to compete for power, but to build a new political environment that redefines representation, legitimacy, and responsibility — and launches a mature internal dialogue, not a frenzied external alignment.

### **Phase Three: Institutional and Constitutional Founding**

When the free core becomes firmly rooted, and the political–societal action network is built, the work begins on the phase of institutional and constitutional founding — i.e., drafting the new contract that ends the state of void and launches the project of the actual state.

This founding does not occur in closed rooms, nor through ready-made texts, but through:

- A broad participatory process — representative and rational;
- A living, not imposed, founding committee;
- The participation of society in drafting the supreme principles and fundamental rights;
- The production of a founding constitution submitted to the people — not granted in their name.

The goal is not merely to write a text — but to produce founding legitimacy that establishes a state that does not reproduce the crisis.

### **Phase Four: Building the Broad National Coalition Based on the Project — Not Positions**

No Renaissance project can succeed without a broad national coalition — not one that gathers elites, but one united around a clear vision. Therefore, the Renaissance Project does not seek to build a temporary political front, but to establish a long-term sovereign national coalition — comprising those who believe in the principles, not those who seek positions.

This coalition is not built on quotas — but on explicit commitment to the founding document and the national contract it produces.

- It allows no maneuvering, no double-speak, no dualism between inside and outside.
- It does not accept conditional funding, nor compromises on principles.
- It excludes no one who commits to the project — but rejects anyone who obstructs its conditions.

True coalition is not a top-down agreement — it is convergence in methodology, vision, and responsibility. It is the final condition for completing the act of founding — and for the birth of a new Syria from the womb of Renaissance, not from the ruins of tyranny.

## Conclusion of Section Five: From Vision to Action

It is not enough to dream of a new Syria unless we realize that building it requires a precise, long-breathed path — beginning with the liberation of awareness, and not ending until the actual founding of a state of rights and meaning. The Renaissance Project is not a political statement, nor an emotional initiative — but a foundational plan rooted in human awareness, structured through society, and culminating in a shared contract born from the heart of the Syrian interior.

From awareness to action, from action to structure, from structure to state — the phases of this project proceed with a transformational breath that rejects haste as much as it rejects poisoned settlements. It is a gradual ascending path — not a leap; built through awareness — not calculations; building legitimacy from the people — not through imposition, from vision — not from alignment, from within — not from ready-made arenas.

Only through this can Syria be rebuilt — not as another replica of its past, but as a homeland worthy of all, drawing its legitimacy from a unifying project — not from a temporary balance, and from a conscious will — not from a passing dominance.

## **Section Six: Founders' Commitment and the Charter of Partnership**

### **An Ethical and Intellectual Commitment to the Syrians and to History**

We, the undersigned of this document and its principles, do not claim to represent anyone, nor do we pretend to possess the truth, nor do we speak in the name of any group, party, or movement. We address all Syrians — individuals and communities — from a place of ethical and historical duty, not from a place of entitlement or mandate.

Our signing of this document is a clear commitment — before our conscience, before the memory of this people, and before its future generations — that we shall not reproduce the logic of domination, shall not turn into a closed elite, and shall not use the project as a ladder for personal rise, dominance, or monopoly.

We do not issue this document to lead anyone — but to serve the meaning we believe in, and to serve a homeland that deserves from us sincerity before any other ambition.

### **Rejection of All Forms of Monopoly or Domination Within the Project**

The Renaissance Project bears no sacred name. It is not built upon a leader, nor run with a closed organizational mindset. It is an open project in vision, but strict in its principles.

Therefore, we declare our rejection of any form of monopoly, appropriation, open-ended mandate, decision-making monopoly, or reproduction of the logic of the supreme leader, the ruling party, or a group claiming to speak for all.

No one owns the project. No one is excluded from it. Whoever commits to its principles is a full partner. Whoever violates them cannot seek shelter under its name. Loyalty grants no legitimacy, and opposition does not mean exclusion. The decisive factor is the stance toward the principles.

### **Opening the Door to Intellectual and Practical Participation — Not Organizational Subordination**

This document is an open invitation to everyone who believes that Syria deserves a new project; to everyone who saw truth amid the rubble; to everyone worn down by both regime and opposition alike.

We do not ask for organizational affiliation, nor do we set partisan conditions. Rather, we call for a partnership that is intellectual, emotional, and practical — where the only standard is clear commitment to this project and its principles.

There is no guardianship within the project. No followers. No pledges of allegiance. Only free citizens who participate in the founding, who differ within the framework, and who share responsibility and destiny. This is not a front, nor a party — but a mature Renaissance covenant that lives through thinking, critique, and development — not through obedience or sanctification.

## **Toward a Transitional Project Built on This Document**

### **A Beginning, Not an End**

This document is not a final station — but a moment of inception. It is a founding declaration for an open journey — not a completed text or a closed formula. It is a clear invitation to everyone who believes in meaning — to take part in transforming this text into a real political process and an actual transitional project.

We do not claim to hold all the answers — but we believe that answers will not be born from above, but through collective, free, and deep thinking — laying the foundations for the post-collapse future:

- How will the transitional phase be managed?
- How will the constitution be rewritten?
- How will new institutions be founded?
- And how can we ensure the passage from chaos to sovereignty — without reproducing guardianship, chaos, or tyranny?

Thus, we do not offer a ready-made roadmap. We open a shared horizon for building this roadmap together — in a spirit of participation, responsibility, and principled commitment. And this will be the focus of the next stage: transforming this document into a living foundation for a detailed transitional project — shaped not from above the people, but from their heartbeat, with them, and for them.

## Conclusion – The Founding Declaration

As we write the words of this document, we are not drafting yet another declaration in a time saturated with declarations — nor adding another paper to the rubble of failed projects. We are launching a founding act that seeks to regenerate the homeland from meaning, the human from dignity, and the state from sovereignty.

We are not carriers of ideology, nor claimants of representation, nor heirs of any incomplete legitimacy. We are witnesses to a catastrophe that was not fate — but consequence. And we are actors in a time where we no longer accept our country to be ruled by guardianship, domination, or fear. We sign not in the name of a party or group — but in the name of everyone who refuses to live imprisoned by a map, held hostage by discourse, or subjugated by what was imposed in the name of nationalism, opposition, or the sacred.

This document is not a moment of emotion — but a station of awareness in a long journey. It rises from the root — not the surface. From the human — not from calculations. We write it to declare the breaking of the vicious cycle: between a regime whose survival is fed by fear, an opposition that reproduces failure, and an external actor bargaining over blood as over commerce.

We declare this the beginning of a journey whose end we do not know — but whose beginning we know well: it starts with honesty, with courage, with an idea, with commitment, with the people, with pain, with meaning.

We place this document before you — not to ask for a signature, but to offer a pledge. Not to lead — but to participate. Not to found a new elite — but to restore to the people their right to found a homeland that is not a replica of anyone, not gifted to anyone, and that excludes no one.

♦ **With this document, we declare the birth of the Renaissance Project and the Syrian State-Building After Despotism** — an open project for every Syrian who sees in their homeland more than a trench, in their present more than a disaster, and in their future more than a gamble.

♦ We declare it a reference for the upcoming journey — not as a final text, but as a starting point for everything to follow: a transitional charter, a founding constitution, and representative institutions derived from the people's will.

♦ We declare it a beginning that is not reduced to signatures, nor measured by the number of its signatories — but by its ability to awaken awareness, restore meaning, and build the path toward the Syria that has not yet been born.

♦ **Symbolic Location:** Syria — where meaning resides, even if place is absent.

♦ **Symbolic Signature:**

**"For the Syria we dream of — not the one they imposed upon us."**