

# **Declaration of the Capitals of the East**

*(Baghdad, Damascus, Beirut, Jerusalem)*

***Towards a Different Arab East***

# Declaration of the Capitals of the East

*(Baghdad, Damascus, Beirut, Jerusalem)*

## ***Towards a Different Arab East***

### **First: Introduction**

The Arab East today experiences a catastrophic situation due to both internal and external reasons. Internally, there is the absence of a modern democratic national state in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. Externally, there is Israel, an entity seen as both foreign and racist, occupying Palestinian and Syrian lands and currently conducting brutal aggression against Gaza and Lebanon. Additionally, there is Iran's project, which aims to destabilize state structures, dominate political and military actors, and exploit the Palestinian cause and sectarian divides within our countries.

In this declaration, we proceed from our vision of the geopolitical, historical, and cultural interconnection between the four countries, not based on any ideological viewpoint, but rather on their subjection to occupation, aggression, or dominance in various forms and mechanisms. Moreover, the complexity of these countries' realities and the intertwining of their issues have rendered many of their chronic problems unsolvable without a comprehensive perspective that places human rights, democracy, human development, independence, and sovereignty as central starting points and as an approach to political thinking and practice. This declaration focuses on the four Levantine countries currently facing aggression or dominance. However, the fifth country, Jordan, is not far from this circle of risk, even though its situation is less severe for now, and we hope it does not face the same fate as its neighbours.

In this declaration, we call upon our peoples—intellectuals, politicians, activists, and media professionals—to unite around this vision and to work in its spirit with Arab organizations, diverse civil societies, and international institutions that uphold the principles of justice and human rights. We urge them to influence Arab, regional, and international policies based on this vision.

### **Second: Surplus of Suffering and the Dilemma of Choices**

The Arab East is currently enduring complex, intertwined, and perilous conditions where regional and international relations intersect, overlap, and conflict. This situation may give the appearance of contradictions between the Mashreq's people and their interests. In reality, however, these contradictions reflect the external forces' struggle for aggression and dominance on one hand, and the internal power struggles, whether by authorities or armed groups, on the other.

Amid these painful conditions, alignments, stances, friends, enemies, allies, and partners vary widely. Large segments of the population often resort to using creed, sect, denomination, ideology, or personal interests as the primary criteria for their choices and central points of contention. Additionally, the phenomenon of double standards has intensified; indeed, nearly every individual in this region may be afflicted by this double-standard syndrome, and, perhaps most strikingly, everyone accuses everyone else of having double standards!

In our view, Palestinians and Lebanese, amid their own tragedies and suffering, should also consider the suffering of Syrians caused by the Syrian regime, the Iranian regime, and its arm Hezbollah. Conversely, Syrians should take into account the plight of Palestinians, who have endured suffering for 76 years under a regime that occupied their land, displaced them, and continues its aggression. This same regime occupies Syrian land and has displaced its people as well. Victims should refrain from comparing or prioritizing their own suffering, nor should they adopt a self-centered perspective that dismisses the pain or issues of others. The tendency of victims to compete or exhibit superiority over each other in times of tragedy and despair has, unfortunately, become a common sight, replacing what should be a scene of solidarity and cooperation against a shared tragedy.

There is an abundance of pain in the Arab East: a prolonged Iraqi suffering, a devastating Syrian anguish, a Palestinian grief that has lasted a hundred years, and a Lebanese sorrow that fades and reemerges. However, policies and stances shaped solely in the light of pain are not necessarily the correct ones. We should avoid reactions driven purely by emotional responses. While these reactions may serve to express pain or reflect the consciousness and life experiences of people living under oppression or in wartime, they cannot serve as a standard or as a foundation for a political vision.

Today, we are witnessing an exceptional polarization in which the standards of humanity, patriotism, and public interest are determined in confused and hasty ways, resulting in irrational classifications and dangerous simplifications tailored to fit the speaker's perspective. We can certainly develop coherent stances and mature choices if we start from a fundamental principle: rejecting the triad of authoritarianism, occupation, and extremism in all forms and patterns, at every moment and in every place.

We must take a firm and decisive stance against the triad of authoritarianism, occupation (or hegemony and aggression), and extremism (religious, sectarian, and nationalist) without favouring any one of these elements or using one to confront another. There can be no salvation without a fundamental break, both in rhetoric and practice, with this triad of catastrophe, its proponents, and its products. Each pillar of this triad is a primary contributor to devastation, under which all other matters have become, and remain, either ambiguous details or insignificant: humanity, citizenship, human rights, normal life, democracy, justice, economic efficiency, culture, science, human development, civil peace, etc.

### **Third: Between the Hammer and the Anvil**

Israel has committed war crimes and crimes against humanity in Gaza, and the genocide and terrorization of Palestinians continue, alongside its violations in the West Bank. Israel's struggle is not merely with Hamas but with the entire Palestinian people, who represent an existential reality that disproves its claims. Consequently, its aggression has persisted for nearly a hundred years. Today, it is also committing war crimes in Lebanon, with its attacks affecting Lebanese civilians in the South, the suburbs of Beirut, and the Beqaa region. Thousands of Lebanese have been displaced, their homes destroyed, in addition to its repeated attacks on Syria, under a regime concerned solely with its own survival.

The Israeli genocide in Gaza, which began on October 7, 2023, was intended to prevent any future similar attacks by warning its parties of a tremendous human and material cost. This includes the aim to crush the will to resist, even on a psychological level, among the Palestinians in Gaza and beyond, consistent with what Moshe Dayan once stated: "Israel must be seen as a rabid dog and a very dangerous threat that everyone avoids provoking or disturbing."

However, the Israeli operation involving the detonation of pager and radio devices requires special consideration regarding its seriousness and implications from a perspective beyond just the targeted party (Hezbollah). Otherwise, we will not be able to establish a standard or general principle that condemns all

crimes regardless of the identity and roles of the victims, even if they share some or all characteristics with the perpetrator. This operation is condemned regardless of who was targeted, as it opens a dangerous door for everyone and for humanity as a whole.

Over the past four decades, Iran has built its foundations in the countries of the Arab East, adopting two simultaneous populist discourses to persuade segments of the population in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. The first is based on sectarian ideology, while the second is centered around the slogan of "resistance and defiance." These efforts aim to enhance Iran's regional hegemony and improve its negotiating position with the West, utilizing the tactic of external buffers as a defense line to absorb the blows instead of Iran itself.

One of the most significant outcomes of these Iranian policies has been the disintegration and dissolution of the state in areas where Iran is present, leading to the proliferation of sectarian militias that thrive on the corpse of the state, resulting in chaos. Today, there is no state, or even a minimal semblance of one, in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, and Lebanon, in addition to the exacerbation of sectarian and sectarian hatred in the region.

We would like to emphasize, at this exceptional moment, that there is no interest for any of the peoples of the Arab East in remaining caught between the hammer and the anvil, nor in engaging in verbal battles or comparisons of stances and choices, as we are all adversely affected by this situation that is unworthy of us.

While Iran exerts its influence over Baghdad, Damascus, Beirut, Sana'a, and Gaza through various means, Israel continues to commit war crimes and crimes against humanity in Gaza and Beirut, making the Palestinian cause caught between the pincers of two parties that compete in criminality and destruction.

In this current context and under the present balance of power, the idea of unifying the arenas in the Iranian sense holds no real meaning other than a unity of ruin and certain defeat. True unity of arenas, based on humanitarian, national, democratic, and independence principles, cannot be established without linking the construction of democratic national states to the rejection of policies of aggression, occupation, and hegemony.

#### **Fourth: National Democratic Solutions**

Each of the four countries ultimately needs to produce a new social national contract, and there are many requirements in this context:

**In Iraq**, it is essential to end Iranian hegemony over Iraq at all levels: political, military, economic, and cultural. The continuation of this hegemony means the persistence of sectarian tensions in Iraq and the region. It is crucial to prevent Iraq from being embroiled in Iran's regional and international conflicts and extricate it from being a battleground between Iran and the United States. Reforming Iraq's Arab and regional relations is also necessary. Additionally, state control over the armed forces, security agencies, and police must be established, ending the influence of Iran and Iraqi political forces over them. Rebuilding the Iraqi army and security agencies on national and professional foundations is imperative, alongside dissolving all armed factions. Furthermore, the current political system based on sectarian and factional quotas should be abolished, and a parliamentary system should be established based on a new electoral law that allows for the election of representatives regardless of their sect or faction affiliations. Finally, it is essential to reassess economic relations between Iraq and Iran in light of the interests of the Iraqi people and to address the growing phenomenon of corruption, the continuous collapse of public services, and the high unemployment rates among youth.

**In Syria**, the current regime is an authoritarian system that has practiced intimidation, killing, repression, detention, and corruption, committing crimes against humanity and war crimes. The continued presence of its figures in power means that achieving a Syrian national consensus is impossible and presents a disgraceful image of the world's disregard for human rights. Therefore, the Syrian crisis cannot be resolved without acknowledging the centrality of achieving a genuine political transition through the implementation of international legitimacy resolutions: the Geneva Declaration of June 30, 2012, UN Security Council Resolution 2118 issued on September 27, 2013, and UN Security Council Resolution 2254 issued on December 18, 2015. These resolutions can be implemented gradually, over a reasonable timeframe, with Arab and international guarantees.

In this political change, the envisioned Syria will be a national democratic state, not a state of an individual, a clique, an ideology, a religion, a sect, a tribe, a party, an ethnicity, or a class. Its institutions will have a national character and will be neutral towards individuals, religions, sects, ethnicities, ideologies, and diverse social groups. Its system will be a decentralized democracy that safeguards the cultural and social rights of the various ethnicities in Syria. In line with this change, it is essential to release all detainees held in Syrian regime prisons and to free those kidnapped by the Syrian regime or other forces, groups, and authorities. All discriminatory policies, decrees, and procedures applied against all citizens must be annulled, and their effects and consequences addressed, with compensation provided to the affected individuals. A national body for truth, transitional justice, and reconciliation should be established to identify those responsible for violations and bring them to justice, whether they are from the Syrian regime, armed factions, or de facto authorities (especially in northwestern and northeastern Syria). The Syrian army should be built on national and professional foundations that distance it from political conflicts, party loyalties, regional affiliations, and sectarianism. Security agencies must have defined references and responsibilities, be held legally accountable on both personal and institutional levels, and operate under parliamentary oversight.

The new Syria will be a state encompassing its entire territory, refusing to relinquish any occupied part, and utilizing available means, in accordance with international law, to liberate its lands (specifically the occupied Golan Heights). It will establish its international relations based on the principles of equality and mutual respect, and on upholding international treaties and commitments. It will honor previous agreements and contracts made by successive Syrian governments, provided they do not undermine its sovereignty or harm the interests of its people (except those signed by the Syrian regime starting in 2011). Its foreign policy will prioritize Syrian national interests, foremost among them the preservation of Syria's independence, sovereignty, and unity, the protection of its security, stability, and territorial integrity, the withdrawal of all non-Syrian forces, the promotion of national economic interests, and the support of comprehensive internal development strategies.

**In Lebanon**, it is essential to restore Lebanon to the Lebanese people as a haven of freedom, peace, and openness to the world, ensuring that it is not burdened beyond its capacity. A pivotal point is the transformation of Lebanon from a battleground into a state, respecting its independence from both its own people and external forces. This requires reinstating the Lebanese state and its legitimate constitutional institutions as the decision-makers regarding war and peace. It is crucial to elect a president based on the constitution, who can act on behalf of Lebanon in both Arab and international arenas, and to form a government that possesses sufficient legitimacy.

It is essential to implement the international resolutions concerning Lebanon (Resolutions 1559 and 1701): deploying the Lebanese army in the south in cooperation with the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), disarming the Lebanese armed groups through a responsible national dialogue that leads to the

adoption of a "national defence strategy" under the authority of the legitimate government, and preventing the presence of foreign forces unless approved by the Lebanese government. This requires providing Arab and international support to the Lebanese army to enable it to carry out its missions and to ensure it becomes the only armed force in Lebanon.

It is also essential to conduct parliamentary elections based on a more just and civil modern electoral law, to establish independent and impartial investigation committees regarding the role of banks, the port explosion, the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, and several Lebanese politicians, intellectuals, and media figures, as well as other unresolved issues.

**In Palestine**, it is essential to rebuild awareness, both Palestinian and Arab, of the conflict with Israel as a political struggle, not a religious one that Israel and Iran want us to drown in. In this conflict, Israel occupies clearly defined Palestinian, Syrian, and Lebanese territories, as outlined in the resolutions issued by the Security Council and the United Nations. Throughout the course of this struggle, Israel has repeatedly committed war crimes and crimes against humanity, turned its back on international legitimacy, and continued to seize Palestinian land, build settlements, besiege Palestinians, arrest them, and assault them. Every time Israel has been given the choice between land and its security, it has chosen land, meaning it has chosen occupation. Consequently, it has left the Palestinians with no option but to confront it, despite the expected losses, amidst a comprehensive Arab impotence and a significant imbalance of power. Israel is under the illusion that military power alone can ensure its security, whereas what is actually happening is that its continuous aggressive policies are always generating time bombs that can explode at any moment.

Finding a just and comprehensive solution does not rest solely on the Palestinians; it is only possible within an alternative Arab and global context that brings about a real shift in the balance of power. This means that the recovery of the Arab East countries and Egypt is a necessary and essential prerequisite, through the transformation of these states into national democratic entities.

The clear and significant Palestinian gain over the past year has been a relative change in American and European public opinion regarding Israel and the Palestinian cause, primarily due to the genocide and war crimes committed by Israel, supported by Western governments. However, this change requires a Palestinian political entity capable of seizing, developing, and building upon it, which should be a focus for Palestinian and Arab forces. Therefore, the most important option for Palestinians at this moment is to move towards restoring a unified political representation for the Palestinian people (the Palestine Liberation Organization), and to produce a clear, step-by-step national and democratic Palestinian political project. This project should consider empowering the Palestinian people to establish their state recognized by 140 countries worldwide. Such an initiative serves the interests of all Palestinians, moves the Palestinian cause out of the realm of regional power plays, abandons improvised struggle methods, and returns the cause to its rightful owners.

#### **Fifth: Determinants and Directions in the Current Moment**

1. Take steps to impose an immediate and permanent ceasefire in Gaza and Lebanon, and to halt the Israeli aggression against Gaza, the West Bank, and Lebanon immediately. Condemn the serious Israeli violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law in Gaza and the West Bank, as well as condemn the indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks against civilians in Lebanon.
2. Condemn the international system for its failure to secure a ceasefire and hold Israeli officials accountable for the crimes of genocide in Gaza, and condemn the complicity of the United States

with the aggression. Pressure the international community to implement the International Court of Justice ruling to end the illegal occupation of Palestinian land, dismantle the Israeli apartheid system against Palestinians, and halt all annexation operations in the West Bank.

3. Call for the release of all Palestinian prisoners and detainees in Israeli occupation prisons, and urge the release of Israeli hostages held by Hamas. Actions targeting Israeli civilians, particularly children and the elderly, are unacceptable and condemned, and do not serve the Palestinian cause.
4. Oblige Iran to respect good neighbourly relations and cease its interference in Palestinian, Lebanese, Iraqi, Syrian, Jordanian, and Yemeni affairs, and expel Iranian Revolutionary Guard elements from Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq, and immediately remove Hezbollah and Iran-linked militias from Syria. Iran has not reviewed its policies over the past years, and its current regime shows no interest in achieving a historic reconciliation between the Iranian people and the Arab peoples of the region. It remains committed to adventurous policies in our countries—policies that will not protect Iran or its regime from danger, especially since the Iranian state is not stronger or more stable than the four Arab countries under its influence. The United States, Turkey, and Russia should also be compelled to end their military presence in Syria, emphasizing the importance of establishing positive relations based on mutual respect between the new Syrian state and these three vital countries.
5. Condemn extremism in all its forms—national, religious, sectarian, and ideological—recognizing that extremism is the root of all terrorist practices. Condemn violence in all its forms, manifestations, and sources, as well as any incitement to, justification for, promotion of, or defense of violence. Denounce any incitement that fosters feelings of hatred, revenge, and hate speech, whether based on religious, sectarian, ethnic, ideological, regional, or sexual grounds.
6. Any weapon outside the framework of existing states is considered illegitimate. All armed groups must hand over their weapons to the existing state, which alone has the right to possess and use arms. Any armed action outside the framework of the existing state or outside a nationally agreed-upon political umbrella in the absence of legitimate state authority (as is the case in Syria) is deemed unlawful. There is no interest for Syrians, Palestinians, Iraqis, or Lebanese, etc., in any armed group that raises the banner of religion, sect, or ethnicity, or that adopts the Iranian-style resistance slogan.
7. Reject any geographical or demographic changes in the region and acknowledge the right of every individual to return to their homeland and home at any time. Encourage the dignified return of displaced and refugee Palestinians, Syrians, and Lebanese, as anything imposed by the force of arms is unacceptable and condemned. Facilitate the delivery of aid and medical assistance to all areas and allow international relief organizations to operate freely in Gaza, Lebanon, and Syria.
8. Condemn foreign military interventions in the Arab East and denounce any party in the region that seeks assistance from foreign military forces to resolve an internal conflict. Criminalize any armed force, whether a regular army or an armed group, that attempts to intervene in conflicts outside its own country.
9. Normalization with Israel: We condemn all normalization processes with Israel. Any step taken toward Israel by any Arab state is condemned unless Israel fully withdraws from the Palestinian territories it occupied in 1967 (the West Bank and Gaza Strip) to establish the Palestinian state, as well as from the Syrian Golan, based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. This Israeli arrogance is now terrifying, humiliating, and painful. While Israel grows larger, our countries, or what resembles them, are increasingly fragmented and diminished. Therefore, we have no interest, nor political dignity, in any step toward normalization unless rights are secured according to international legitimacy.

**10.** Normalization with the Syrian regime: For many Syrians, normalization with the Syrian regime is deeply painful and humiliating on both political and psychological levels. Any step taken toward the regime must, at the very least, be contingent on a genuine commitment, under Arab and international oversight, to take effective measures on its part, including the release of all detainees and the cancellation of all arrest warrants against Syrian citizens, along with a commitment to implementing international resolutions related to Syria with Arab and international guarantees.

**Finally, we emphasize our positions, we the undersigned, in the following key points:**

- 1.** The fundamental criterion that should be adopted in addressing all the facts and events around us is the criterion of building a modern state with all its components (independence, human and citizen rights, democracy, modernity, development), whether in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, or Palestine. Anything that brings us closer to this goal is beneficial, and anything that distances us from it is harmful, even if it appears to be based on flashy slogans. Only through a modern state can we become active entities in the international community and have a significant impact on it, allowing the voices of the people in the region to gain value and weight, thus entering the realm of global public opinion instead of remaining on its margins.
- 2.** It is the right and duty of any people to struggle against the occupier and aggressor at any moment. For "resistances" to serve this humanitarian and national goal, they must be nationally formed and oriented, free from sectarianism or tribalism, and independent in their decisions from external states. Moreover, they must commit to protecting civilians at all stages and should not obstruct the state from performing its natural functions, nor should they exclude or negate any democratic political project for state-building. They should possess sufficient flexibility to adapt their forms and means (political, civil, armed, etc.) based on available resources, the balance of power, expected benefits, and consequences, instead of reducing the concept of the balance of power to mere weaponry and relying solely on an excess of arms.
- 3.** The Arab East cannot emerge from its chronic defeat or break the cycle of decline, decay, and disintegration without firmly opposing the triad of authoritarianism, occupation/hegemony, and extremism. This means rejecting all authoritarian regimes, rejecting all forms of occupation, aggression, and hegemony, and rejecting religious extremism in all its religious, sectarian, and ethnic references, as well as ideological extremism in all its forms.
- 4.** Today, the importance of producing a new media that is aligned with the rights of peoples and their issues in nationalism, democracy, human rights, and combating authoritarianism, extremism, and foreign hegemony is paramount. This media should contrast with the two prevailing types of media: the first, dominated by emotion but lacking rationality to some degree, which contributes to trivializing our issues and reducing them to mobilizing slogans, thereby drowning our peoples in illusions about themselves and others, especially promoting anthems of victory while defeat looms and destruction surrounds the region and its peoples. The second type appears superficially rational but is devoid of heart, which leads to the promotion of a dismal and shameful reality of surrender.
- 5.** There is a significant and exceptional importance today for cooperation and coordination among the intellectual, cultural, political, civil, and media elites in the five Arab Eastern countries: Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan. This cooperation should be based on humanity, nationalism, and democracy, as well as confronting the triad of authoritarianism, external aggression, and extremism through political, cultural, and civil means.



## **The signatories:**

1. Ibrahim Awad (Syrian political activist)
2. Ahmad Al-Asrawi (Secretary-General of the Arab Democratic Socialist Union Party, Syria)
3. Dr. Ahmad Al-Youssef (Syrian academic and researcher)
4. Ahmad Kaabour (Lebanese artist)
5. Dr. Ayoub Abu Dayyeh (Jordanian academic, philosopher, civil engineer, and President of the Jordanian Association for Energy Conservation and Environmental Sustainability)
6. Bassam Jawhar (former Syrian officer and political prisoner, writer)
7. Bakr Al-Husseini (Political Bureau member of the Arab Democratic Socialist Union Party, Syria)
8. Bahey eldin Hassan (Director of the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies)
9. Thaer Mousa (Syrian TV and film director)
10. George Sabra (former President of the Syrian National Council)
11. Hazem Al-Amin (Lebanese writer and journalist)
12. Dr. Hazem Nahar (Syrian writer, Editor-in-Chief of Maysaloon Magazine)
13. Hossam Abu Hamad (Syrian-Palestinian journalist)
14. Hasan Abd Al-Azim (Lawyer, Political Bureau member of the Arab Democratic Socialist Union Party, Syria)
15. Dr. Hasan Majid Al-Obeidi (Iraqi academic, Professor of Philosophy and its History at Al-Mustansiriyah University, Vice President of the Arab Philosophical Union)
16. Hussein Mdakhanah (Political Bureau member of the Arab Democratic Socialist Union Party, Syria)
17. Hussein Nour Al-Din (Political Bureau member of the Arab Democratic Socialist Union Party, Syria)
18. Khalil Diab (Palestinian activist, Director of Mosaic Cultural Center in Berlin)
19. Dalal Al-Bizri (Lebanese writer)
20. Diana Moukalled (Lebanese journalist and writer)
21. Dr. Raymond Al-Ma'louli (Syrian academic and professor)
22. Dr. Zahraa Sohail Al Tashem (Lebanese researcher, PhD in Philosophy)
23. Dr. Sari Hanafi (Palestinian researcher, Associate Professor of Sociology at the American University of Beirut)
24. Dr. Said Nachid (Moroccan thinker, researcher, and writer)
25. Samih Shuqair (Syrian artist)
26. Samir Al-Zabin (Palestinian writer)
27. Dr. Sayyar Al-Jmayil (Iraqi academic, Professor of Middle Eastern History, based in Canada)
28. Dr. Sayyed Ahmad Qujaili (Algerian academic, Professor at Doha Institute for Graduate Studies)

29. Shahadah Mahmoud Al-Shehabi (Syrian-Palestinian journalist, Greece)
30. Dr. Dia Wajid Al-Muhandis (Iraqi academic, President of the Iraqi Experts Council)
31. Abdul Wahhab Badrakhan (Lebanese writer and journalist)
32. Abdul Rahman Mattar (Syrian writer, Canada)
33. Dr. Azzam Amin (Syrian academic, professor in France)
34. Ezzat Mohyeseen (Engineer, Political Bureau member of the Arab Democratic Socialist Union Party, Syria)
35. Ezzo Fuleitani (Political Bureau member of the Arab Democratic Socialist Union Party, Syria)
36. Ali Mohammed Hasan Al-Amin (Lebanese writer, Editor-in-Chief of Janoubia website)
37. Dr. Ali Murad (Lebanese university professor)
38. Dr. Ghassan Murtada (Syrian academic and university professor)
39. Dr. Ghiath Naissa (Syrian politician)
40. Dr. Fayez Al-Quntar (Syrian academic and professor in France)
41. Faraj Beyraqdar (Syrian poet)
42. Fadel Al-Saqqal (Palestinian Journalist, Germany)
43. Fawzi Faris Abu Saleh (Syrian civil activist, Occupied Golan)
44. Dr. Qahtan Al-Khafaji (Iraqi academic, Professor of Strategy at the College of Political Science, Al-Nahrain University)
45. Kamal Jandoubi (former Tunisian minister, former President of the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network)
46. Dr. Mazen Aktham Suleiman (Syrian poet, critic, and academic)
47. Mazen Adi (Syrian politician)
48. Ma'moun Khalifa (Syrian politician)
49. Mohsen Hazam (Syrian political activist)
50. Dr. Mohammed Al-Hajj Ali (Syrian Brigadier General and researcher)
51. Mohammed Al-Shihabi (Syrian-Palestinian activist, Sweden)
52. Mohammed Amir Nasher Al-Ne'am (Syrian writer and researcher in Islamic thought)
53. Dr. Mohammed Al-Hassouni (Iraqi doctor and writer)
54. Mohammed Zaki Al-Huwaidi (Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab Democratic Socialist Union Party, Syria)
55. Mohammed Ali Sayegh (Lawyer, Aleppo-Syria)
56. Mohammed Musa Manasra (Palestinian writer, Bethlehem)
57. Mahmoud Al-Wahhab (Syrian writer)
58. Mustafa Al-Wali (Syrian-Palestinian writer)

59. Dr. Mansour Abu Karim (Researcher in political affairs and international relations, Palestinian Planning Center, Gaza)
60. Dr. Munir Al-Kshaou (Tunisian academic, Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy)
61. Nada Mustafa Al-Khesh (Syrian politician, engineer)
62. Nashwan Al-Atassi (Syrian writer, France)
63. Naseer Shamma (UNESCO Artist for Peace, Iraqi musician)
64. Dr. Hani Mjalli (Egyptian academic, Senior Fellow at the Center for International Cooperation, New York University)
65. Dr. Huda Al-Zein (Syrian academic)
66. Waha Al-Raheb (Syrian artist)
67. Wasan Al-Zuhairi (Iraqi civil activist)
68. Dr. Waad Al-Khazraji (Iraqi academic and journalist in France)
69. Wafa Melyh (Moroccan writer and novelist)
70. Youssef Bazzi (Lebanese writer and journalist)
71. Dr. Youssef Kafrouni (Lebanese academic, former Dean of the Institute of Social Sciences at the Lebanese University)
  
72. Ismail Al-Ashqar (Syrian civil engineer, based in France)
73. Dr. Ismail Salman Abu Assaf (academic and university professor)
74. Intisar Al-Khatib (Syrian activist)
75. Ahmad Darkaznli (Syrian political activist)
76. Ahmad Kabsu (Syrian civil activist)
77. Ahmad Mathhar Saadou (Syrian writer and journalist)
78. Ayat Ahmad (Syrian activist, member of the Syrian Women's Political Movement)
79. Iyad Sharabaji (Syrian journalist)
80. Dr. Bassam Ibrahim (Syrian-Palestinian doctor, France)
81. Tharwat Hamido (Syrian civil activist)
82. Jalal Murad (Syrian writer and researcher)
83. Hassan Al-Aswad (Syrian lawyer and politician)
84. Hassan Refaa (Syrian lawyer)
85. Khaled Qanout (Syrian politician, Canada)
86. Khuzama Faisal Al-Ali (Syrian activist)
87. Dr. Khidr Zakaria (Syrian academic)
88. Khalil Hussein (Director of the Al-Safeena website)
89. Rasha Rizk (musician, singer, and composer)

90. Riyad Drar (Syrian Democratic Council)
91. Samer Al-Mousfi (Syrian politician)
92. Said Lahdo (Syrian poet and researcher)
93. Suleiman Al-Kafiri (human rights activist and politician)
94. Samaan Bahdeh (Syrian poet and artist)
95. Samihah Nader (General Coordinator of the Syrian Democratic Committees – Amargi)
96. Samir Haider (Syrian politician)
97. Samir Nashar (Syrian politician)
98. Shadi Akkad (Syrian academic)
99. Salah Badr Al-Din (Syrian Kurdish politician and writer)
100. Dr. Tareq Hejazi (doctor and social-political activist)
101. Taleb Ibrahim (Syrian writer)
102. Abdul Munim Freij (activist and economic consultant)
103. Absi Smeism (Syrian journalist)
104. Ezzedine Aboud (Syrian artist)
105. Issam Dimashqi (Syrian politician)
106. Ali Al-Kurdi (Syrian novelist)
107. Ali Al-Mansour (engineer, Syrian political activist)
108. Ali Khalaf Al-Darwish (Syrian politician)
109. Imad Al-Shufi (teacher)
110. Omar Mohammed Omar (member of the Syrian Media Union)
111. Firas Saad (Syrian politician)
112. Fawzi Ghozlan (Syrian poet)
113. Qasim Al-Khatib (Syrian politician)
114. Ma'moun Al-Bunni (TV and film director)
115. Mohammed Bitar (Syrian journalist)
116. Mohammed Hijazi (Palestinian writer)
117. Mohammed Zakwan Baaj (Syrian politician)
118. Dr. Mohammed Abdullah Al-Ahmad (PhD in Political Science)
119. Mohammed Masharqa (Director of the Taqaddum Center for Policies – London)
120. Moukhlis Al-Khatib (Syrian university lecturer, France)
121. Marouf Azar (Syrian poet and political activist)
122. Munir Al-Hariri (Brigadier General)
123. Mohannad Al-Baali (political activist, lawyer)
124. Mowaffaq Al-Hallaq (activist)

125. Mowaffaq Zreik (writer and political activist)
126. Mikhail Saad (Syrian writer, Canada)
127. Dr. Michel Sattouf (Syrian doctor and politician)
128. Nahid Al-Atassi (translator and civil activist)
129. Nidal Bousobh (Syrian politician)
130. Wasim Hassan (civil activist)
131. Walid Youssef (Syrian-Palestinian, interested in culture and public affairs, Canada)
132. Wahid Al-Haj Yahya (Syrian political activist)