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**English Below** 

رياض سيف، رجل الأعمال السوري والبرلماني السابق، هو أحد أبرز المنشقين السياسيين الذين تحدّوا نظام الأسد لأكثر من عقدين. وهو الآن أحد نائبي رئيس الائتلاف الوطني لقوى الثورة والمعارضة السورية.

نجاح سيف كرجل أعمال في مجال صناعة الألبسة، دفعه إلى دخول معترك الحياة السياسية في أو ائل التسعينيات، في مسعىً لتحقيق إصلاحات يوجهها السوق من شأنها أن تضع حداً لحالة الجمود الاقتصادي في سورية. انتُخب سيف نائباً كمرشح مستقلٍ العام 1994، ومجدداً العام 1998. وخلال فترة و لايته النيابية الأولى، أصدر در اسة مثيرة للجدل حول الاقتصاد السوري، تتهم الحكومة بالفساد وتدعو إلى إصلاح سياسي وقضاء نزيه من أجل استقطاب المستثمرين. وفي وقت لاحق، انتقد سيف صراحة منح شركة يملكها رامي مخلوف، ابن خال بشار الأسد، احتكار قطاع خدمات اتصالات الهاتف المحمول، الأمر الذي دفع على مايبدو بوزارة المالية، إلى اتهامه بالتهرب من دفع الضرائب، وتغريم شركته مبلغ مليوني دو لار، متسببة بإفلاسها.

اضطلع سيف بدور بارز أثناء "ربيع دمشق" الذي حفّزه وفاة رئيس الجمهورية آنذاك حافظ الأسد في حزيران/يونيو العام 2000. كما أنشأ سيف منتدى الحوار الوطني، واستضافه في منزله. لكنّه فقد حصانته النيابية بعد مطالبته بوضع حدِّ لاحتكار حزب البعث للسلطة السياسية، وبعد الإعلان عن نيته تأسيس حزب سياسيِّ جديدٍ يكون بديلاً عن حزب البعث في أيلول/سبتمبر 2001. اعتُقل في اليوم التالي وحُكم عليه بعد ذلك بالسجن خمس سنوات بتهمة محاولة تغيير الدستور بطرقٍ غير شرعية وبإثارة الاضطرابات.

ذُكر أنّ سيف كان أحد شخصيتين صاغتا إعلان دمشق الذي أُطلِق رسمياً في تشرين الأول/ أكتوبر 2005 وكان أول الموقّعين عليه أثناء وجوده في السجن، وكان. وبعد إطلاق سراحه العام 2006، قد انتُخب أميناً عاماً للإعلان. ويُذكر أنّ نشاط سيف السياسي المستمر أدّى إلى افتعال مضايقات في أعماله ووضعها تحت وطأة الضغوط، كما حال دون السماح له بمغادرة البلاد لتلقّي العلاج بعد تشخيص إصابته بسرطان البروستات. كما تسبّب له في نهاية المطاف بزجّه في السجن لمرة ثانية في كانون الثاني/ يناير 2008.

في أعقاب إطلاق سراحه منتصف العام 2010، تخلّى سيف عن إعلان دمشق و علّق نشاطه السياسي، لكنّه مالبث أن عاد إلى الواجهة من جديد بعد انطلاق انتفاضة العام 2011. كان سيف الممثل الوحيد عن المجلس الوطني السوري الذي يتخذ من دمشق مقراً له بعد تشكيله في 2 تشرين الأول/ أكتوبر. وبعد أربعة أيام، أصيب بجروح عدّة على أثر تعرضه إلى الضرب على يد قوى الأمن التابعة للحكومة في أحد شوارع دمشق، في اليوم الذي اغتيل فيه المعارض مشعل تمو، وهو ناشط سياسي كردي بارز، في مدينة القامشلي شمال البلاد. وفي حزيران/ يونيو 2012، سُمح لسيف بمغادرة البلاد لتلقّي العلاج الطبي في ألمانيا حيث استقرّ مذاك. وفي تموز/ يوليو، انضم إلى وفد المجلس الوطني السوري الذي زار موسكو للاجتماع بمسؤولين روس.

وقد اضطلع سيف بدورٍ سياسيِّ بارزٍ بعد إعراب وزيرة الخارجية الأميركية هيلاري كلينتون عن دعمها لما وصفه المسؤولون الأميركية بخطة رياض سيف" في 31 تشرين الأول/ أكتوبر. ودعت هذه الخطة، إلى إصلاح المعارضة برمتها تحت مظلة جديدة هي المبادرة الوطنية السورية، على أن تضمّ المجموعات الحالية والشخصيات البارزة الموجودة في المنفى، بما في ذلك المنشقين البارزين عن النظام على غرار رئيس الوزراء السابق رياض حجاب، بالإضافة إلى لجان التنسيق المحلية وشبكات محلية أخرى ومجالس مدنية محلية وممثلي العشائر والقبائل والمجالس العسكرية من داخل سورية. وفي 11 تشرين الثاني/ نوفمبر 2012، اتخذت خطة سيف صفةً رسميةً عندما شكّلت مجموعات المعارضة المجتمعة في العاصمة القطرية الدوحة – بما فيها المجلس الوطني السوري – الائتلاف الوطني لقوى الثورة والمعارضة السورية. وقد انتُخب سيف ليكون أحد نائبي رئيس الائتلاف الجديد.

ولد سيف في دمشق العام 1946 من عائلة من الطبقة المتوسطة، وهو سنّي ذو ميول ليبر الية. في البدء، درس العلوم الطبيعية في الجامعة لكنّه لم يكمل تعليمه بل انخرط في عالم الأعمال. انطلق سيف في مجال الأعمال من معمل لصناعة القمصان العام 1963. وفي العام 1993، حصل على رخصة لتصنيع منتجات أديداس في سورية عقب تخفيف القيود المفروضة على الاستثمار الأجنبي. وفي مقابلة لاحقة، ادّعى بأنّ مصنعه غطى حاجات السوق السوري وصدّر إلى الاتحاد الأوروبي. وخلال و لاية سيف الأولى في البرلمان، توفي ابنه إياد في 2 آب/ أغسطس 1996، في "ظروف اعتبرها سيف غامضة ومشكوك فيها". حصل سيف على جائزة فيمار لحقوق الإنسان غيابياً العام 2003 فيما كان يقضي عقوبته الأولى في السجن. وبالإجمال، كان سيف قد أمضى ثماني سنوات في السجن حين غادر سورية العام 2012.

عن مركز كارنيغي للشرق الأوسط

Formerly a prominent Syrian businessman and parliamentarian, Riad Seif is a leading political dissident who has challenged the Assad regime for more than two decades and is one of two vice presidents of the National Coalition of Syrian Revolutionary and .Opposition Forces

Seif's success as a businessman in the garments industry led him into politics in the early 1990s as he sought market-oriented reforms that would end Syria's economic stagnation. He was elected to parliament as an independent in 1994 and again in 1998. During his first term, he published a controversial study of the Syrian economy that accused the government of corruption and called for political reform and an honest judiciary in order to attract investors. He later openly criticized the awarding of a mobile-telecommunication-services monopoly to a company owned by Bashar al-Assad's cousin Rami Makhlouf. This apparently prompted the Ministry of Finance to accuse Seif of tax .evasion and to levy \$2 million in fines on his business, bankrupting it

Seif was a leading figure during the "Damascus Spring" that was spurred by the death of then president Hafez al-Assad in June 2000. Seif also formed the Forum for National Dialogue, aimed at promoting political debate and freedom in Syria, and hosted it in his own house. He lost his parliamentary immunity after calling for an end to the monopoly of political power by the ruling Baath Party and announcing his intention to create a new

political party as an alternative to it in September 2001. Seif was arrested the next day and subsequently sentenced to five years in prison on charges of attempting to change the .constitution by illegal means and inciting strife

While in prison, Seif reportedly co-authored and was the first signatory of the Damascus Declaration, which was officially launched in October 2005. He was elected its secretary general after his release in 2006. Seif's continuing political activity led to harassment, pressure on his business, denial of permission to leave the country for treatment following .his diagnosis with prostate cancer, and eventually a second prison term in January 2008

Following his release in mid-2010, Seif left the Damascus Declaration and suspended his political activity, but he returned to the political forefront at the start of the 2011 uprising. He was the only representative of the Syrian National Council to be based in Damascus after the group's formation on October 2. Four days later, he sustained multiple injuries after being beaten by government security forces on the same day that fellow opposition figure Mashaal Tammo, a leading Kurdish political activist, was assassinated in the northern city of Qamishli. Seif was allowed to leave the country in June 2012 for medical treatment in Germany, where he has remained ever since. In July, he joined a Syrian .National Council delegation that visited Moscow for meetings with Russian officials

Seif occupied political center stage after U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton endorsed what U.S. officials referred to as the "Riad Seif plan" on October 31. The plan, which he published the following day, called for revamping the entire Syrian opposition under a new umbrella framework, the Syrian National Initiative. This would incorporate existing groupings and prominent figures in exile, including high-profile regime defectors such as former prime minister Riyad Hijab, and the Local Coordinating Committees and other grassroots networks, local civilian councils, tribal and clan representatives, and military councils from inside Syria. On November 11, 2012, Seif's plan was formalized when opposition groups meeting in the Qatari capital, Doha—including the Syrian National Council—formed the National Coalition of Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces.

Seif was elected one of the new coalition's two vice presidents

Born in 1946 to a middle-class family in Damascus, Seif is a liberal-leaning Sunni Muslim. He initially studied natural sciences in college but pursued business interests instead of continuing his studies. Seif began his business career with a shirt factory in 1963, and in 1993 he acquired the franchise to manufacture Adidas products in Syria after the rules on foreign investment were relaxed. In a later interview, he claimed that his factory met the needs of the Syrian market and exported to the European Union. During Seif's first term in parliament, his son Iyad, then twenty-one years old, died under what Seif called "mysterious and suspicious circumstances" on August 2, 1996. Seif was awarded the Weimar Human Rights Award in absentia in 2003 while serving his first prison sentence.

In all, he had spent over eight years in prison by the time he left Syria in 2012

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Carnegie Middle East Center

## اقرأ أيضا



إعلان دمشق

## كلمة جمائة سيف في مدينة فايمر

كلمة جمانة سيف في مدينة فايمر

سبتمبر 22, 2020 لا توجد تعليقات



إعلان دمشق

## حسن عبد العظيم في مذكرة بالدفاع الشفوي عن المتهم رياض سيف

حسن عبد العظيم في مذكرة بالدفاع الشفوي عن المتهم رياض سيف

سبتمبر 22, 2020 لا توجد تعليقات