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As the Islamic method has the constituents of reform, it has the mechanisms of reforming humans in order to let the high moral values prevail; thus, each man wishes for others what he wishes for himself and faith increases. Consequently, man"s conscience comes to life and everyone feels Allah"s Presence; thus, the rates of corruption in society decrease on economic, political and social levels.

The Islamic method gives emphasis to man"s dignity without any discrimination based on color, race or religion and maintains all of his basic needs; as the Prophet (peace be upon him) said, "O People, just as you regard this month, this day, this city as sacred, so regard the life and property of every Muslim as a sacred trust." Thus, it frees man, releases his creative powers and upholds the values which give honor to the nation, like justice, charity, skillfulness and refusal of injustice and tyranny. Also, it gives emphasis to the consultation principle that respects the will of citizens when choosing their representatives in all the institutions of the society, whether legislative, executive, syndicates or societies, etc. and gives emphasis to their right to question their representatives and to the vote of no confidence. This is because the Islamic method makes those in public and representative posts are meant to serve the people, and not be superior over them; it is an assignment, not an honor, and not meant to give personal benefit, as the Prophet (peace be upon him) said, "The best of people are those who benefit others most."

In addition, the Islamic method has a Shari`ah that represents a way for establishing progress, development and reform, and that defines the lawful and the unlawful in legislations, dealings, sayings and actions. All this connects politics with morals and makes our ways noble and, consequently, our ends noble too.

The Shari`ah specifies the individual, collective and social duties and represents perfection for man, a system for the ruling, a fort for the community and an authority that follows the restrictive ordinance of the Almighty. Islam requires a state to practice and protect it and to

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follow its method, just like the liberal solution also requires the same.

Due to the fact that Islam denies the religious authority, the state in Islam is a civil one where the nation sets up its systems and institutions; as the nation is considered to be the source of authorities. This is an independent human judgment, among many others, that change and improve within the fixed bases of the Islamic jurisprudence, and its ruling reference over the nation and the government authorities in а intellectual order; thus, it is a civil state based on applying the Shari`ah and the restrictive ordinance of the Almighty. There is no one in Islam who has religious authority - whoever he is - except the authority of good preaching, calling for good and warning of evil. This kind of authority was granted by Allah (Exalted and Glorified be He) to every Muslim regardless of his/her social status.

Concerning the authority of the governor, it is according to the social contract between the governor and the people; established by the nation, which improves its civil institutions. Civilization denies the holiness and priesthood of the country and keeps its legitimate Islamic reference, as Islam places limits and rights. It is a state that combines both religion and state. So, the nation has the right to appoint the ruler, control him, and depose him if its benefit requires that, for he is a civil governor and it is a civil state.

the Therefore, the Islamic method is moderation that combines this world and the Hereafter. Islam is not the religion that leaves the real world and creates its own kingdom in a fanciful world; it offers both the world and the Hereafter. It cares about the people's food and clothing; as Almighty Allah says, "Verily, you have (a promise from Us) that you will never be hungry therein nor naked. And you (will) suffer not from thirst therein nor from the sun"s heat." (Ta-Ha: 118-119) Also, it cares about the rich and poor social classes at the same time by avoiding usury and by distributing Zakah among those who deserve it. In addition, it cares about using the inventions of the civilization, and developing industry and agriculture to revive the nation. In

short, all that people"s lives require are related to religion and they are religious duties. Therefore, the Islamic method is the comprehensive moderation, which is one of the characteristics of Islam and a main feature of the Islamic method for reform: the reform of soul and the human society without excess as the fanatics do, and without negligence as secularists and those who deny the role of religion in life do.

Therefore, the members of the Muslim Brotherhood consider themselves Islamic preachers who use the wisdom and the good preaching in order to apply Allah"s law as He ordered through the available peaceful means, existing constitutional institutions, and the fair ballot boxes. This will be done through:

- Raising the moderate man who adheres to the creed he chose without compulsion, and to its moral standards and behaviors.
- Reiterating that complete freedom for everyone is a basic right that was granted by the Almighty. It is considered the base of establishing the civilization of nations.
- Establishing that society should have mechanisms and rules to set up a rightly guided regime based on justice and equality among all people of the nation without discrimination based on color, race or religion.
- 4. Making use of the experiences of modern civilization which do not clash with the fixed principles of the Shari`ah, such as: separation of the authorities, plurality of parties, and peaceful circulation of power through fair elections.
- Refusing the use of violence to unlawfully grab the rights of other nations and individuals.

We would like to let our people know that they are dearer to us than ourselves and that if someone is required to sacrifice their life, it is desirable for us to sacrifice ourselves for their honor, glory, dignity, religion and hopes. It is this

emotion that controls our hearts led us to stand for elections. It is very hard for us to watch all these dangers surrounding our people, then surrender to humiliation and despair. We are working for the benefit of the people for the sake of the Almighty, more than we are doing for ourselves. We are working for you only, and we will never be against you one day.

Vision

In this program, our vision is divided into three axes:

Revival

It includes a vision on freedom, human rights, rights of citizenship, moral values, culture, development of man, media, youth, women, and children.

Development

It includes a vision on agriculture, industry, constructional development, education, scientific research, health, and environment.

Reform

- 1. A vision on the political reform which includes domestic and foreign policy, civil society, national security and the local ruling.
- 2. A vision on economic reform which is concerned about unemployment, budget deficit, internal and external debt and inflation.
- 3. A vision on social reform which tackles promoting moral values, social security services, insurance and retirement rights and health insurance.

First: Revival

Freedoms, human rights and rights of citizenship

For a long time, our nation has lived in a state of neglection of freedom and human rights. This led to the deterioration of the nation and its dependency on others concerning food, medicine and weapons. Thus, it has lost its freedom and independency in taking decisions. For that reason, our program depends on allowing freedom to the

people who are responsible for their actions; as Almighty Allah says, "And we have surely honored the children of Adam, and carried them on land and sea, and provided them with lawful good things, and have preferred them above many of those whom We have created with a marked preference." (Al-Isra": 70)

Hence, we believe in some freedoms such as freedom of belief; as Almighty Allah says, "Then whosoever wills, let him believe, and whosoever wills, let him disbelieve..." (Al-Kahf: 29), freedom of expression in all peaceful and legal forms, freedom of forming political parties, freedom of movement and travel, freedom of student activities in schools and universities. Also, we believe in some rights such as the right of forming civil societies and restoring the endowments, the right of peaceful circulation of power through ballot boxes without pressure or compulsion, and the right of standing for trial in front of the natural judge without using the exceptional laws. All these freedoms and rights are considered to be one of the main props of reform.

As for the basic human rights, they are represented in:

- 1. The right of the individual and the family of having a sufficient standard of living. All people are equal in fighting the temporary poverty represented in the unemployment of the qualified graduates, and the chronic poverty represented in the personal reasons facing such as individuals illness. disorder of the social values, lack of skills, illiteracy and unfair distribution of wealth. All this to be done through human and constructional developmental programs.
- 2. The right of having health care, which is related to what the people need, not to their ability to pay the costs of this precautionary and medical care. Also, the right to protect the environment and fight water

pollution.

- 3. The right of basic education, and providing job opportunities and productive employment. Educating girls and children in the rural areas (especially in Upper Egypt) is considered an economic right. Also, it is a social right, as it helps in increasing the income and protects citizens from facing unemployment, which affects their morale and social status.
- 4. The right of having a house is a social right; it includes constructional planning and infrastructure policies such as roads, water, sewerage, electricity and communications.
- 5. The umbrella of insurance rights should include all the classes of the society. Private insurance and solidarity funds play an important role in activating these rights.
- 6. Women should have the right of the groups that need more care, in order to perform their duties towards their families on the one side and towards society on the other, and to guarantee their rights in the political, economic and cultural fields. Also, the child has the right to protected childhood, and to his problems being solved, especially the homeless child, child laborer, child drug addict and morally bereft.
- 7. The state should take care of those who have special needs through providing schools and care centers, and educating them according to their abilities in order to allow them to keep their rights in life and to help their families with the expensive

costs of their care.

We believe that the 8. government and the society should guarantee all the basic rights for the Egyptian citizen through the state's contributions and the social responsibility of rich and the official endowments, each according to its role. This is beside the necessity spreading of the culture of human rights through the curricula, especially in the stage of the basic education, and the participation of the Muslim and the Christian men of religion and the intellectuals who have different points of view. This should be done through the artistic activities that adhere to the morals and the general behavior, the sporting matches, cultural activities and anything else that can achieve these goals.

All the above-mentioned rights must be guaranteed to every Egyptian living in Egypt. As for the Egyptians who live abroad, they should have the right to take part in the elections, to contribute in developing the country, and to return back whenever they wish. As for the foreigners who live in Egypt, they should have the right to protection, care and meeting of their needs in a way that reflects the history and the civilization of Egypt and that makes the country attractive and safe to those who want to live in it permanently or temporarily, or to visit it.

All the previous rights should be guaranteed through the rights of citizenship that can be classified as follows:

- The Egyptian who lives in Egypt has all the abovementioned rights.
- The Egyptian who lives outside Egypt has the right to contribute in developing the country.

 The foreigner who lives in Egypt permanently or temporarily has the right to protection.

Values, culture and development of man

The system of moral values which the modern state adopts, to express the culture of nations in such a struggling world, is considered a basic prop in developing the modern man who belongs to a specific nation. We can distinguish one country from another through the prevailing moral values by which the country brings up its citizens.

The system of the Islamic moral values is distinguished by truth and justice among people whatever their color, race or belief; as the Almighty (Exalted and Glorified be He) says, "O you who believe! Stand out firmly for Allah and be just witnesses and let not the enmity and hatred of others make you avoid justice. Be just: that is nearer to piety, and fear Allah. Verily, Allah is Well-Acquainted with what you do." (Al-Ma"idah: 5)

The Islamic state that we seek calls for truth and appreciates the value of justice among its citizens themselves on the one hand, and among them and all nations on the other hand. The standard is the same; and the balance that honors man is: "And we have surely honored the children of Adam." (Al-Isra": 70) Also, it encourages mercy among all people; as the Almighty (Exalted and Glorified be He) says, "And We have not sent you but as a mercy for all people." (Al-Anbiya": 107)

The tools of the societal culture should be a reflection of the nation"s identity. Furthermore, they should be based on the principles of the nation. The aims of these tools are to build a human being who is able to improve our country and who is eager to develop himself and his abilities. The strong nation cannot consist of weak members. As the backbone of development is its people, developing people is the best investment in the field of revival and achievement of goals.

Most of the problems that face our nation result from the weakness of the culture of belonging and bad manners. Thus, reviving the moral values and reforming the way of management are among the

props and the bases of change and reform. Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said, "I was sent but to complete the noble manners." Also, the Almighty (Exalted and Glorified be He) says, "And verily, you (O Muhammad) are on an exalted standard of character." (Al-Qalam: 4)

Woman

Woman represents half of the society and the nation. She is in charge of bringing up the coming generations of both men and women through directing, reforming and helping them and through implanting the values and the creed in their pure souls. Woman is equal to man. She is independent financially and has the right of doing whatever she wants with what she owns according to the Islamic Shari`ah. The main rule is the equality between man and woman; however, the Almighty kept some differences for woman which led to the variation that achieves integration. Thus, the woman has the right to:

- 1. Participate in the elections and to have the membership in the legislative councils and the like, but within the limits that keep her honor and dignity.
- 2. Eliminate illiteracy among women especially in the rural areas.
- 3. Be protected everywhere, especially in her work and in the means of transportation.
- Keep her right in having the balance between her social duties and her role in societal organizations.
- 5. Set special programs for the woman who maintains her family, and other

special programs for the small loans that should be financed by the funds of alms and the donations of the rich.

Media

Media, beside education, is the means that creates ideas, implants values, strengthens the bases of nation and determines the priorities of the society in a specific period. The last few years witnessed great development in the field of media, which led the media to have a great influence in forming the ideas and determining common values. Thus, we believe that the main message of the media is to urge the society, especially the youth, to adopt the values of liberty, and sense of belonging to home, which are considered to be the base of a serious foundation, then to adopt the values of development, positivity, justice and good citizenship.

We call for the freedom of individuals and institutions owning the media, but there must be a national institution to judge their performance (a pledge should be determined). We also call for encouraging symposiums, conferences and exhibitions, and refining art to go with the values of society. We call for canceling the Ministry of Information, and reconsidering the role of the Supreme Council of Culture and the Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs and all the cultural organizations to guarantee achieving the desirable reform.

Second: Reform

Our reformatory program depends on achieving comprehensive development in the political, economical and social fields, which is based on the following points:

1. Goals

- Achieving justice, liberty, equality in the light of Allah's Law (the Islamic Shari`ah).
- Achieving self-sufficiency in all the vital requirements such as food, medicine and weapons. This is considered a

basic goal for the process of development.

- Providing the citizen with the basic needs such as food, drink and residence in addition to the main services like health, education, means of transportation, etc. This is also considered among the priorities of the development process.
- Increasing the national income, achieving a surplus in the balance of payments, adjusting the budget, paying the internal and external debts, increasing the growth rate and getting rid of inflation and unemployment.

2. Policies

- The balanced development of all the political, strategic, economic and social fields, without focusing on a certain field, represents the ruling policy of the developmental process.
- The self-development, which is based on increasing the utilization of the local resources without using them up nor resorting to loans and external aids, is our way for achieving the comprehensive development.
- The human development that cares for building the individual culturally, materialistically and morally in an integrated manner as the individual is the pivotal prop of the development process is considered the policy on which the development process will be based.
- The civil society with all its individuals and institutions is considered a strategic partner for the state"s institutions in achieving the goals of the comprehensive development.

3. Strategies

- Establishing integrated infrastructure and a developed industrial and technical base to serve and make use of the strategic goals and to contribute in achieving the social and economic goals, is

considered the backbone of the strategies of the comprehensive development.

- Setting up the integrated national projects (developing Sinai, Al-Wadi Al-Gadid, the Red sea, the Northwest Coast, the West Desert, etc.) and the specialized national programs (nuclear program, space and aviation program, armament programs, vital techniques etc.) programs, represent the most strategies the important to achieve comprehensive development.
- The developmental integration with the Islamic and Arab countries, especially Sudan and Libya, is considered a main strategy in the developmental process.
- Education, scientific research and transporting and developing techniques in the various developmental fields by using local and foreign experiences are considered some of the main methods to achieve the comprehensive development.

The industrial development

Due to the existence of the constituents of industry in Egypt, the future of industry in Egypt depends greatly on the adopted policies to increase the benefit from these constituents.

1. Goals

- Self sufficiency of food, medicine, and weapons.
- Increasing the national income, achieving a surplus in balance of payments and increasing the growth rate.
- Putting an end to unemployment and increasing the income level of the individual.
- Improving the environment and protecting its safety.

2. Policies

- Expanding the local design and industrialization of factories, machines and

equipments.

- Adopting the method of self-industry and development, starting with the material industry, then the basic engineering industries, ending with the other industries.
- Supporting the distinguished industrial cities, such as Damietta, Edco, Akhmim, Mahalla, etc .
- Expanding the industries of high added value, such as communications, programming, textiles and spinning.
- Adopting the concept of the integrated industrial mechanisms, starting with research, development, design, industry and finally financing and marketing.
- Focusing on pivotal multidimensional industries, such as chemical fertilizers.
- Expanding in building integrated industrial societies.
- Adopting the concept of the industrial sequential and interlaced chain.
- Adopting the small industries by constructing centers for technical, financial and marketing support, and database support.
- Supporting the industrial techniques that need more workers and low finance, and which is not harmful to the environment.
- Connecting educational and scientific research with industry .
- Industrial integration with the Arab and Islamic countries.

The agriculture development

Our vision on agricultural development is summarized by determining agricultural policies aiming at increasing the benefit from the agriculture resources in Egypt.

1. Goals

- Achieving self-satisfaction and increasing the national outcome of the crops of grains, oils and proteins.
- Increasing the competition ability of the export commodities.
- Improving the research in the universities and the agricultural research centers.

2. Policies

- Increasing the rate of the annual growth of agricultural production to reach 4.1% in 2071, through developing the section of the animal and the vegetables production vertically and horizontally, and also through benefiting from the proportional and the competitive advantages of the Egyptian agriculture.
- Reclamation of 35 million feddans.
- Providing an economic atmosphere to support the agricultural development, in order to increase the revenue of the investment in the agricultural production, and integration with some Arab and Islamic countries.
- Providing the means of research in the universities and the scientific research centers, connecting the research to the production, and developing and transferring the methods of the new techniques and applying them.

3. Strategies

- Increasing the production by discovering new highly productive kinds which need less water, in case of sudden emergencies. Also, rationing of water and fertilizers, and achieving a maximum return concerning the crops, in order to reach the perfect use of the available agricultural resources.
- Developing animal wealth in order to double a person"s amount of the

protein.

- Rationing of irrigation water (leveling the land and using new systems in the external irrigation, and studying the ability of changing from irrigating the gardens from the external irrigation system, to irrigation by modern methods.
- Rationing using the fertilizers and the insecticides and depending on the integrated biological fight programs.
- Encouraging local and foreign investment in the field of agricultural production, and developing the agricultural credit systems.

The constructional development

Our vision on constructional development is summarized by determining the policies that aim at achieving perfect and comprehensive constructional development in Egypt.

1. Goals

- Providing a suitable house for the individual in order to maintain the minimum limit of dignity and privacy, and to eliminate the problems of the random buildings.
- Solving the problem of the existing random buildings.
- Providing a suitable house for new graduates and for the newly-wed.
- Supporting the efforts of economic development through the settling of people in the areas of development, such as Sinai, Al-Wadi Al-Gadid, the Northwest Coast, etc.
- Maintaining the national wealth, which is represented in both new and existing establishments.
- Solving the phenomena of building residential areas on agricultural land.
 - Solving the aggravated

problems of the crowded cities, especially Cairo.

2. Policies

- Directing the resources of the state to plan new residential areas coinciding with the economic development plan; the infrastructure (roads, water, sewerage, telephones and electricity) and the essential utilities (police stations, schools and the health centers) should be established at the expense of the state.
- Applying suitable policies to attract private investments to work in the field of low-priced housing.
- Encouraging the working of the rental system instead of the ownership system to facilitate the action between the different activities and the areas of development, according to the requirements of the markets, and arranging the maintenance works.
- Encouraging the studies and research in the field of constructional development; concerning the planning, constructive, financial, administrative and legal sides.
- Encouraging the studies and research that solve the problem of the random buildings from its social, planning and legal sides.
- Providing resources to solve the problem of the random buildings, and providing houses for the new graduates who want to marry.
- Encouraging investment in the field of real estate by establishing specialized institutions to manage the residential areas and the activities of renting and maintenance, to keep the establishments and the utilities and to arrange the use of the different vacant areas.
- Applying new tax policies that enable the residents of the area to benefit

directly from the paid taxes.

- Encouraging the formation of the civil work institutions in order to maintain the residential environment, and activating its supervisory role.
- Reviewing the systems of building, working to increase professional competence, and arranging the apprenticeship of crafts related to construction.
- Encouraging the establishment of institutions to bear the responsibility of all the maintenance works of the existing establishments.
- Reviewing the problem of the crowded cities and reconsidering the studies that deal with this problem.

3. Strategies

- Establishing an independent institution to manage the problem of the random buildings. This institution should be under the supervision of the civil society institutions and the normal supervision institutions.
- Preparing studies to search for ways to attract investment to the field of economical housing; these studies should cover the financial, administrative and legal problems.
- The recommendations of these studies should be developed into typical and experimental projects; then, the results of these projects should be evaluated and applied on a large scale.
- Forming the laws that allow the establishment of companies to manage the residential gatherings: rental , maintenance, cleanliness and use of vacant areas. The contractual relation between the residents and the company commitments and rights of both parties should be controlled.
 - Encouraging the formation of

the civil institutions in the residential areas to develop the performance of the population, governmental institutions and the management companies.

- Charging the research centers, the universities and the professional syndicates to set up a system to raise the level of the craftsmen who work in the field of construction, through providing certificates for level of skill. This should be one of the basic conditions that the contractor should ask about before starting a job.
- Activating the role of the professional syndicates to prevent the negative effects of the competition that lead to reduce the prices and, consequently, to positively affect the quality of the executive works.
- Imposing taxes on the projects of the excellent residential gatherings; these taxes should be directed to build residential areas for the youths, to solve the problem of the random buildings, and to finance all the related researches and studies.
- Benefiting from the studies of the development axes in the country, and both completing and applying these studies in the planning, financial, and legal sides.
- Restricting the supervision on institutions that deal with the constructional development and building, and fight against corruption; through activating the role of the official supervising bodies and the institutions of the civil society.
- Forming a special body to solve the problem of the crowded cities, especially Cairo, through finding alternative solutions and applying this plan.

Education and the scientific research

Our vision for the field of education and scientific research is as follows:

1. Education before the university

- Education should have an obvious view, message, philosophy and aims that create an educational policy which coincides with the identity of the nation and the constitution, and maintains the Arabic language.
- The necessity of connecting education to the plans of development, and providing all its needs, and helping the education of Al-Azhar achieve its basic aims and providing all its needs.
- Improving the curricula and the schoolbook in order to fit the time, develop the abilities and the talents, and achieve the required aims and specifications.
- Raising up the social and the financial status of the teacher, caring for choosing the good teacher, and qualifying him educationally and professionally in order to assure the quality of the education process. Raising up the scholastic performance and solving the problem of the shortage in the qualified teachers.
- Improving the programs in the Faculty of Education, so capable teachers who have the ability to do their work perfectly will graduate.
- Applying the system of the general school (preparatory and secondary) according to its success.
- Connecting education with the work market to provide real and productive job opportunities for graduates according to their competence.
- Separating girls and boys in the different stages of education.
- Providing school buildings, which should have all the necessary services and utilities to help in decreasing the capacity of the classes.
- The necessity of qualifying the school and education administration

educationally, administratively and professionally, and evaluating scholastic performance.

- The government should increase the rate of spending on the process of education, and encourage the social participation to build the schools and support education.
- Implementing a national plan with a timing schedule to eliminate illiteracy; this should be under a restricted executive supervision.
- Eliminating the phenomena of the private lessons through raising the quality of the education process, perfecting the teacher"s performance, rebuilding confidence between the society and its scholastic institutions, and strengthening the relationship between the school and the family.
- Caring for the balanced spiritual, mental and physical growth of the students in all stages, and deepening their awareness of Islamic values.
- Achieving the basic factors of continuity, good performance and achievement of desired goals.
- Providing the basic factors of success to the non-central system and achieving all of its conditions through the serious qualified elements that aim at activating the society and improving the education process.
- Taking care of the kids during the preschool years ,(from four to six years) through accepting them in the kindergartens and setting up suitable programs for them. Increasing the faculties that serve this stage and providing them with qualified teachers.
- The necessity of revising the curricula and the education plans of Al-Azhar and promoting its quality, and connecting it with the needs of the country and the Arab and Islamic world including

the men of religion, scientists and men of education.

- The necessity of achieving privacy in teaching girls, through adding extra curricula that deal with bringing up children, managing the home, and the role of the mother.

2. The university education

- Changing the law of the universities and its executive regulation to coincide with the goals and policies of the high-school education system, and to secure stability for members of the teaching staff.
- Improving the curricula, the teaching programs and the ways of performance to achieve the goals and specifications.
- Increasing the number of teachers and their assistants, and improving their competence; in addition to improving their social conditions.
- Evaluating the performance of the education process and ensuring its quality, and financial stability from both inside and outside the educational institutions.
- Restoring and encouraging student activities in the universities without security or administrative restrictions.
- The necessity of determining the specifications of the graduate and the goals of the educational programs; and working to achieve them.
- The High Council of the Universities and the syndicates should adopt a national plan to Arabize sciences and education, through composing in the Arabic language, and translating books and research into Arabic.
- Connecting high education with the development plans of the state.
 - Working for realizing and

achieving the important role of the university in the society, i.e. leading the movement of change and reformation, and directing the society and solving all its problems and issues.

- Increasing the number of the national universities and decreasing the numbers of the students in them, improving the resources and limiting the building of foreign universities.
- Developing the admission system in the universities and institutions to coincide with the abilities, desires and talents of the students.
- Reviewing the high education system, other than the university, and supporting it to achieve the desired goals, and connecting it with the development plans of the state.
- Seeking for granting the universities administrative, educational and financial independence.
- Caring for the supervision and the evaluation over the universities and the private institutions.

3. The scientific research

- Improving the high studies in the universities to help in qualifying a researcher who adheres to the moral values.
- Connecting the scientific research (in the universities and the research centers) with the centers of production, services and utilities to help in activating the units of research and improvement in industry.
- Increasing the specific rate of the scientific research from the general national income to reach 2% within the coming 10 years, to push the scientific research to achieve its goals in case of peace and war.
 - Setting a national strategy to

facilitate transferring and applying technology.

- Businessmen and the institutions of the society should support the scientific research.
- Activating the role of the teaching staff and their assistants, and the cadres of the research centers, in forming the development plans of the state and supervising their implementation.
- Encouraging and supporting the ways of creation and invention, and maintaining the rights of the intellectual ownership.
- Spreading the culture of the vital role of science and the scientists in solving the problems of the society.
- Seeking for establishing different research centers in the Egyptian universities.
- The necessity of having a national plan to determine the fields of research according to the priorities, and creating an accurate database of all the elements of the scientific research.
- Confining the educational expeditions to the new specializations, which miss the local experiences, and also the necessity of benefiting from the national abilities in the different specializations.
- Encouraging serious participation in the internal and the external scientific conferences, and making use of their results.
- Providing a good standard of living and suitable atmosphere to those who work in the field of the scientific research; and watching and evaluating the results to achieve the needs of our nations.

Third: Reform

It includes our vision on reform in the following three fields:

The political reform

It includes the following issues:

- Releasing the political liberties
- The local administration
- Supporting the civil society
- The foreign policy and the national security

The economic reform

It includes the following issues:

- The bases of the economic reform
 - The economic fact
 - The good economic life

The social reform

It includes the following issues:

- Insurance and contractual rights
- Health insurance (health and environmental aspect)
- Reforming the individual, the family and the society

The political reform

Releasing the political liberties

Our principles

We, the members of the Muslim Brotherhood, assert our adherence to the state system as a republican, parliamentary, and constitutional system, under the umbrella of the principles of Islam. The president is charged with the strategic tasks such as the defense, national security and foreign policies; while the prime minister is charged with the developmental tasks such as agriculture, industry, trade, education, health and others.

This system is based on the confirmation of general freedoms for all citizens without

discrimination or segmentation of these freedoms; as freedom is a condition for progress and it is the necessary beginning for all aspects of reform.

The reality

The Muslim Brotherhood sees that Egypt has suffered for long time from the absence of democracy, the monopoly of wealth and authority, the rising of corruption, the abundance of laws and clauses that oppose public freedoms and human rights, the increasing number of the political detainees and the various types of torture.

The solution

This case needs many efforts, such as:

- Issuing the ministers' prosecution law during their duty, as the clause (159) of the constitution stipulates.
- Decreasing the number of the recent ministries by merging the ministries which have similar powers, and canceling the ministries that limit the freedoms of the civil society such as endowments, social affairs and others.

The local administration

The local administration means transferring the powers and the authorities of the ministries to the governorates, and this is known as financial and administrative decentralization.

The decentralization means that the local residents administrate their affairs and define their needs and the priorities of carrying out the projects through electing their representatives. Thus, we call for:

- Modifying the recent election system through holding the election at more than a stage (governorate – centre – city - village).
- Judicial supervision of the elections of the municipalities to prevent

forgery.

- 0 Reconsidering the administrative division of Egypt by taking consideration the population growth and the available resources in each governorate achieving the integration, then the and comprehensive and equivalent development different among the governorates (both the rich and the poor).
- o The necessity of giving control to the municipalities financially, to own their i.e. resources, to be able to cover the greatest part its financial from expenses.
- o Transferring all the ministries' powers to the local councils within five years by law.
- Supporting the 0 administrative and the financial bodies in the governorates by experts and specialists of the ministries, as long as will the powers be transferred to the municipalities.
- o The elected councils must have a basic role in selecting the leaders of the municipalities, in order to create harmony between the executives and the elected persons, to serve the citizens.
- o Establishing training programs for the executives and the

elected persons in order to inform each party of its role and to avoid conflict.

- o Activating the woman's role in the effective societal participation, as being a basic partner in the process of development.
- Activating the role of civil society organizations to participate in the efforts, resources and ideas, which can support the civil society.
- 0 Confining the role of the ministries to drawing up the plans and polices. The municipalities should carry out these plans and policies under the of supervision the concerned bodies in the framework of the general policy, the general plan and the approved budget.
- o Asserting the financial independence of the municipalities, so that they impose and collect all customs and taxes in their territories without needing the approval of the central authorities.
- o The elected councils and the local leaders should have a basic role in reviewing the governorate"s general plan in order to be convinced while implementation.
- o Activating the supervisory role of the municipalities upon the executive body, in order to prevent corruption;

and defining the municipalities" role in questioning and dismissing the officials.

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- Increasing the authorities of the executives and the powers of the governor, in order to carry out the policy of the state within the governorate without obstacles from the central bodies.
- o Transferring the governor's powers and authorities to the chiefs of the local units within the units.
- О Establishing a private system of wages and allowances for the local leaders, in order to them to motive accomplish their role, prevent bribery and maintain their dignity.
- 0 The university and the syndicates should have a basic role in serving the local society by providing the local leaders with the researches, studies and ideas in order to solve the local problems of the society (the environment, the population growth and the local development).
- Reconsidering the of the local system province"s development in order to achieve the actual integration among their resources and activate their role for the developing governorates, in

cooperation with the municipalities of the concerned governorates.

- o Transferring the administrative subordination of the new constructional societies to the governorates, after completing their utilities within a stipulated time.
- o Giving the governorates the right to collect and spend the alms within the governorate firstly, and transfer the surplus to the central authority.

Supporting the civil society

Our principles

The Muslim Brotherhood considers that the basis of achieving reform in Egypt is that the nation restores its real and active role; as reform and development depend on the serious and active participation of all members and powers in solving the problems of the nation.

The reality

The Muslim Brotherhood considers that the absence of democracy, the imposition of the emergency law since Oct. 1981 up till now, and other obstacles which limit the freedoms have resulted in the individuals abstaining from participating in the general work that will lead to a better future. Whatever the efficiency of the government may be, it cannot alone develop the society and achieve a good standard of living for the people.

The solution

In order to activate the role of the individuals and the civil society in popular participation, the Muslim Brotherhood calls for:

o Modifying the current law of the societies in order to allow

establishing the civil societies by notification; in case of objection, the administrative bodies should object judicially. Also, it calls for canceling all the clauses which give the Ministry of Social Affairs the power over these societies.

- Canceling the law (100) of 1993 and the law (5) of 1995, which the professionals and their general assemblies refuse them; and resorting to the law of each syndicate alone.
- Canceling the current 0 law of the labor syndicates, enacting a new law thatallow the syndicates to manage their affairs away from the ruling party or any other political power, and allowing the unemployed individuals to join the syndicates.
- o Regulating foreign finance within the civil societies to prevent penetrating the society; however, these regulations should not turn out to be obstacles.
- o Supporting the consulting role of the syndicates towards the state, and finding joint frameworks to activate this cooperation.

The national security

The national security is a basic axis for the governing system and a prop for the institutional state. The national security is based on the stability of the internal bloc and the power of the

external bloc. Thus, the sound rule is based internally the satisfaction and on interconnection between the regime and the people, and the peacemaking between government and the nation. It is based on the freedom, especially the nation's freedom to choose its rulers and representatives. The mutual consultation is the basis, and democracy is the acceptable mechanism in the modern state. The peaceful circulation of power asserts that the nation is the source of all powers and the ruler is the nation's employee. The economic stability, respecting the values and the culture of the society, and the independence of its identity and reference will lead to the internal stability of the nation. This stability will unite and present a strong internal front that has the ability to protect its geographic borders from all kinds of foreign invasion, westernization, threats, and aggression.

Thus, the ruling regime should give the highest priority to support the armed forces so they can protect the peace and defend the nation"s security. Also, the regional Islamic relations are one of the keys of the national security, especially the relations with Libya and Sudan because they are the geographical and historical extension, the developmental natural dimension and important strategic areas for Egypt's stability. In addition, the government and the ruling regime must take care of the Egyptian eastern gate where Sinai, Palestine and the growing conflict with the Zionists are. Furthermore, it is very important for the ruling regime to take an interest in the international diplomatic efforts that raise the value of the nation"s reference.

Hence, the Muslim Brotherhood believes in the necessity of:

- Supporting the national resistance in all Arabic territories (Palestine
 Golan Iraq) by all possible means.
- Supporting the movements of boycott and normalization resistance.
- Adopting one Arab policy for encountering the Zionist policy.
- Reconsidering the nature of the Egyptian Zionist relations.

- Holding an annual conference attended by the political powers, parties and research centers; the recommendations of this conference should be the basis of the Egyptian, American and Zionist relations.
- Canceling the laws and resolutions which prevent the financial aid to the occupied people (especially the military governor's resolution number 4).
- Supporting the integration projects between Egypt and Sudan, and drawing up a timetable for accomplishment.
- Caring for the countries of the River Nile"s basin and activating trade agreements among them for saving the Egyptian interests.
- Supporting the role of the Arab League, and extending it in the political, strategic, social, cultural and economic fields, especially the Arab joint market.

The economic reform

The Muslim Brotherhood thinks that achieving economic abundance and living a good life is a religious duty and a human necessity. The international economic reality requires an economically strong nation, otherwise the nation will lose and its people will live in frustration and be enslaved by other nations.

The Muslim Brotherhood watches the local and the international development, and sees that the absence of democracy, and the imposition of the emergency law since October 1981 up till now has led to the monopoly of wealth and power by a few persons; consequently, corruption has spread everywhere.

The economic conditions become catastrophic in the following aspects:

o Unemployment

According to official data, the work force in Egypt is 20 million workers; while according to the data of the World Bank, it reaches 26

million. The unemployment rate rose from 3% in the beginning of the 1980s to 20% in 2005, so that there are nearly 4 million unemployed.

Nearly half a million citizens —particularly the graduates of the institutions and the universities -are added annually to the work force; this means that the unemployment rate will double in eight years, and this is a real catastrophe.

Thus, the ruling regime wastes the greatest wealth, i.e. the Egyptian youth who are able to work. The state should exert all efforts to achieve real economic development for the benefit of the youth. For the past 20 years, consecutive governments have failed solve to the unemployment problem; rather, they have aggravated it.

o The great rise of prices

The government declared suddenly in January 2003 the floating of the exchange rate; thus, the Egyptian pound deteriorated rapidly and therefore prices rose greatly, especially the main goods such as the foodstuffs which are important for the poor classes. This, along with the fixed wages for nearly 6 million governmental employees, and in addition to 2 million unemployed, raised the poverty level and the number of the poor. The failed economic polices are responsible for that because they did not take into consideration the poor, and basically cared only for the upper class, i.e. the businessmen and corrupt bureaucracy.

o The budget deficit

The deficit in the annual government budget is a chronic problem in the Egyptian budget, with the exception being from 1995 to 1998. The deficit reached 2.8 billions pounds in 1997/ 1998, and reached 28 billion in 2002/ 2003; this means that the deficit rose to tenfold in less than five years. In 2004/ 2005, the deficit reached 60 billion pounds. The deficit is not expected to stop rising. Thus, some dangerous and dramatic steps will be adopted; the government will desist from providing the basic services to the citizens and the general debt that exceeded 500 billion pounds in 2005 will rise continuously. Consequently, poverty will prevail more and more and the process of development in Egypt will be threatened.

o The general debt

The local debt rose from 217 billion pounds in 1998 to about 4250 billion in 2004 because of the annual growing deficit. The local debt is growing with an annual increasing rate due to the annual budget deficit and the government dependence on the local loan.

As for the foreign debt, Egypt got rid of half of it because of its stance during the Gulf War, and it reached about 26 billion dollars in 1997. Egypt tried not to increase this amount until 2001. But, the expensive dollar bonds raised the foreign debt, so it exceeded 30 billion dollars.

o The investment climate

The government economic polices and the spread of bureaucracy and corruption led to expelling the investments. There are still bureaucratic procedures, many complicated measures and stipulations, and delay in approval of projects. In addition, the customs law is still marked by inefficiency, bureaucracy and intense slowness in the release of the imported or the exported goods.

Although the new tax law achieved some reforms, there are still unrequired exemptions; taxes are still imposed upon the temporary and seasonal workers, while there is no exemption on the bond profits which result from the dealing in the stock exchange.

The new tax law needs another reform, because it reduced the stock companies taxes while it canceled the given exemption to the professionals such as the engineers, doctors and accountants. All the previous factors lead to the absence of trust in the economic policies management, and in those who are responsible for the economic policy due to the spread of corruption in all sectors.

Our vision on reform

- Improving the work climate to attract more investments which are required for development, by making a just tax law for simplifying and developing the customs systems, motivating investment and facilitating the measures and permits

which are required for the projects.

- We should create the trust as a beginning to improve the climate of investment and issue the ministers' prosecution law during their duty, as the clause (159) of the constitution stipulates.
- Rationing the governmental expenditure and calling to account those responsible for the budget, as the elements of expenditure that are not listed in the budget exceeded 10 billion pounds. This does not occur in any country which respects the country"s constitution and law.
- Implementing a time table for showing how the government will pay the local debt from real sources, without affecting the services offered to the citizens or losing their rights at the insurance and pensions body.
- Releasing the charitable endowment and modifying the law 48 of 1946 and the amended laws, for achieving an active participation in the process of development and decreasing the general budget pressure, may help in reducing the rate of unemployment.
- Establishing a civil institution in each governorate to collect and distribute the alms in order to guarantee a suitable standard of living for the poor. It is also possible to use this money to establish projects for reducing the rate of unemployment. The surplus in each governorate should be used in national projects for meeting the needs of the poor.
- Utilizing and integrating with the Arab, Islamic and African world, and establishing joint projects by Arab capitals for paving the way for the economic Arab unity.

· The social reform

Insurance and retirement rights

The social insurance systems are very important in each state; as they ensure a

continual income, especially in cases of injury, incapacity for work and death cases. Also, these systems are very important, as the previous and the present governments seized the pensions to solve the deficit of the general budget, without adopting alternative ideas such as rationing the expenditure and limiting wasteful spending., etc.

The most important problems of the current insurance system are:

- The multiplicity of the social insurance laws.
- The social insurance system that was issued in accordance with the law 79 of 1975, relating to the employees.
- The social insurance system, which is applied on businessmen and that was issued in accordance with the law 108 of 1976.
- The comprehensive social insurance system that was issued in accordance with the law 112 of 1980.
- The social insurance system, which is applied on Egyptians who work abroad and that was issued in accordance with the law 50 of 1978.
- The private alternative insurance systems, which are organized by the law 64 of 1980.
- The actual coverage of the existing systems is less than the target (only 18 millions are insured), because of non participation or participation with fewer wages.
- Issuing many rules which assert on unconstitutionality of some texts of the social insurance law that was issued in accordance with the law 79 of 1975, as well as many of its judgments are appealed concerning the constitutionality.
- Increasing the indebtedness of the public treasury to the Egyptian insurance body.
 - Accumulating the debts of some

bodies, especially the journalistic institutions and some of the public and private business sector companies. These debts accumulate for a long time and are not paid to the social insurance fund.

The national insurance body should deposit its list of incomes and monetary reserves in the National Investment Bank according to clause 625 of the law 119 of 1980, which stipulates establishing the National Investment Bank. Also, the national insurance body should not invest its incomes and the monetary reserves in any field without the approval of the bank. This money is a private ownership for the individuals of society and they have the right to invest it properly for achieving their interests and increasing their savings.

The suggested solutions

- Combining the existing social insurance systems in one law. It is important not to ignore the constitutional and legal aspects and the pensioners" rights in the present law. Also, an economic study should be conducted to achieve the maximum benefit for the low-income class.
- Raising the efficiency of present bodies concerning exchanging and collecting, and supporting these bodies legislatively to get their due amounts from the institutions of the public and private sectors.
- Suggesting optional systems by giving additional pensions to be financed by the beneficiaries only.
- Reconsidering the law of the National Investment Bank, for allowing the national insurance body to deposit its reserves in the accounts which can achieve the highest proceeds in the Egyptian banks, and allowing the body to seek help from local or foreign experiences.
- Concluding agreements with the other states, especially with the states where the Egyptians work, for avoiding the

double insurance payments and maintaining their insurance rights.

- Facilitating the pension change and expanding in delivering the pensions to the old and the sick in their houses, and considering the idea of opening some offices during the evening.

The health and environmental aspect

Hospitals and health services

Health care is one of the human"s social and main rights; the constitution guarantees this right in the clauses (16 and 17), and it is also guaranteed by the state legal obligations through its joining to the international concerned covenants, especially the international agreement relating to the economic, social and cultural rights (clauses 9 and 12).

We think that healthcare is a result of integrated economic and social factors which belong to a certain society and involve many environmental, educational and economic circumstances.

The most important means of treatment:

- Connecting the health and the environmental interest with Islam, through the mass media; as the Prophet (peace be upon him) said, "The strong believer is better and more beloved to Allah than the weak one." And, "Cleanliness is a part of faith."
- Counting the factors which increase diseases and establishing a plan to counter them.
- Reinstituting the health and environmental structures in many districts such as providing drains, and an effective garbage removal system.
- Spreading health awareness in the media (radio, television, newspapers and magazines).
- Implementing strict laws and calling to account those responsible, when there is a breach.

- Building healthy and environmentally friendly places and resorts, and overcoming the problem of resistance to migration (work education health housing, etc.); then encouraging the citizens to move to these areas.
- Increasing the number of sports fields in the neighborhoods, and encouraging the citizens to take a personal interest in sports.
- Organizing medical courses for the citizens (first aid) to reduce the state burdens.
- Building more hospitals with sound specifications, and providing all means to give complete care to the citizens.
- Expanding on transferring the industrialization technology of medicine, and encouraging industrialization locally to surmount the rise of prices.
- Providing a comprehensive health insurance umbrella for all citizens (treatment and medicine).
- Enlarging on the establishment of motherhood and childhood centers.
- Expanding on the building of specialist hospitals.
- Just distribution of treatment centers in all areas of the state.
- Providing effective healthcare in the rural areas, and giving money incentives to the doctors and the workers there.
- Sending doctors and specialists in the health and environment fields on learning missions to the more advanced countries.
- Coordinating between the health and agriculture ministries for putting a plan into action to get rid of the different types of pollution.

- Implementing strict laws for encountering the vandalism in the health and agricultural fields.
- Forming specialized administrations to deal with problems which may harm the citizens.
- Rationing food and medicine consumption to lessen the threat of disease.

Our vision on tackling the health insurance problems

- Separating the budget of the development, renewal and buying the apparatuses from the budget of the treatment, medicine, operations and workers wages.
- Charging a specified tax on some of the entertainment and service activities for the benefit of the development and renewal operation. Spending the entire treatment budget on the treatment and wages aspects only.
- Adopting mechanisms to ration the consumption of medicine and get rid of the health insurance medicine abstention by offering a medicine list. This is renewed and approved annually by a general conference. Offering the health insurance medicine in refills that cannot be sold outside the insurance pharmacies; as the developed countries do.
- Holding a conference every two years with participation by the health insurance doctors. The aim will be to draw up a new list for distributing the allowances and awards, and accounting the work points.
- Preparing a new list of the health insurance bodies' board of directors in hospitals, sectors and insurance itself so that there will be a balance between who represents the patient, the doctor, the society and the state; so the chief of each sector or hospital will not be alone with the measures and decisions.

- Buying more medical services for the health insurance patients through the private and investing hospitals, as will as grading the contracts with these hospitals, and instilling a program for follow-up, and observation.
- Implementing a general health insurance system for all citizens, beginning with the doctor of the family and the society. Then, with the gradual development, all the hospitals of Egypt will be able to offer good medical service. This system can be applied in some governorates as a first step.

Why We Stand for Elections?

A Message from Mr. Muhammad Mahdi Akef – Chairman of the Muslim Brotherhood

In the name of Allah. All praises be to Him; and peace and blessings be upon His Messenger Muhammad, all his family and followers.

The eighth legislative course of the Egyptian Parliament came to an end, affirming for the Egyptian society, officials and people, Arab and Islamic worlds, and for the whole world that the motto the Muslim brotherhood raised i.e. "Islam is the Solution", was not playing with Islamic emotions of the people, as some claim; or is an unachievable motto as some others claimed. What the deputies of the Muslim Brotherhood in the last five years confirmed is that our Islamic project of setting up a regime is achievable. The final goal of the Muslim Brotherhood to get in the Parliament or other elected councils, syndicates and all civil society establishments, is set up the Muslim society which leads to setting up the Islamic state in which good for all human beings, whether Muslims or non-Muslims, is achieved.

Throughout years of Islamic activism and under different regimes, the members of the Muslim Brotherhood struggled to achieve that goal. The martyr Imam Hasan Al-Banna said, "We call upon people to practice Islam, of which government is a part. Freedom is one of the obligations of Islam." For that reason, the Muslim Brotherhood decided to work in all fields to spread

good in the nation, because spreading Islam as a whole and by its details guarantees for the nation - if it was its method of ruling - stability, development, revival, prosperity, sovereignty, peace, security, safety, truth and justice. All these will be achieved only by Islam, as it is indeed the solution for all our problems, and it is the way to achieve all what we need and wish in all fields, economically, politically, culturally, socially and educationally for the sake of our homeland; including men, women, the rich, the poor, the rulers and the ruled. How great Allah is when He stated, "Verily, this brotherhood of yours is a single brotherhood, and I am your Lord and Cherisher: therefore serve Me (and no other)." (Al-Anbiya": 92) . For that all, we say and declare with all pride that "Islam is the solution".

Our way is known. Our goals are specified. Our ends are real and not imaginary. Our activities in all fields of civil, societal, public, political, and parliamentary work are recognized and known by all. No one with sight and insight can deny them in students unions, syndicates, clubs of teaching staff, youth clubs, charities, municipalities and the parliament. People tasted some fruits of these activities, so why not let them revive it again with all good, mercy and justice for all the people!

Almighty Allah says, "We sent you not, but as a Mercy for all creatures." (Al-Anbiya": 107)

Over the last twenty years, starting from 1984 elections in which the Muslim Brotherhood allied with Al-Wafd party, then in 1987 elections which witnessed the birth of the Islamic alliance of the Muslim Brotherhood and both Al-`Amal and Al-Ahrar parties, then 1995 elections which ran according to individual system and the Muslim Brotherhood won one seat, and lastly, 2000 elections in which, by the grace of Allah, and because of the judicial supervision the Muslim Brotherhood won seventeen seats, the Muslim Brotherhood parliament deputies had many activities and participation in different work mechanisms of the parliament like legislation and judicial review. Such acts were recognized by everyone and by fair media and civil society establishments.

Herein we are continuing our mission, and aim to complete what we started. We ask Allah that

the 2005 legislative elections for the ninth legislative course for 2005 be more democratic and more free, in order to get people from the noble nation to join the Muslim Brotherhood and to take upon themselves the responsibility and to let this effort benefit the nation and home. Allah (Exalted and Glorified be He) says, "And Allah has full power and control over His Affairs, but most of men know not." (Yusuf: 21)





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