

Hizb al-Islah wa al-Nahda (Party of Justice and Renaissance), Egypt, 2011, Translated by Fadi Alkhabbaz, Translated for the Islamic Political Party Platform Project, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, <http://kurzman.unc.edu/islamic-parties>, [3/11/14].

The Party program

Egypt has lived for a long time as a big country, with a pivotal role in the Middle East region, in ancient history, which Egypt was always the rock that shatter the efforts of external enemies, or in modern history when it contributed with a leading role in supporting the Arab liberation movements from the forces of colonialism, as the Egyptian experience in the development and renaissance was in the forefront of the Arab and Islamic experiences.

It is unfortunate that this role has declined in the last decade, due to the worsening crisis experienced by the Egyptian state under the former authoritarian regime, at the political, economic or social fields which their exacerbation has led to the internal weakness in various fields, which led to a decline in Egypt's leading role in the region, especially after the rise of the Turkish and Iranian roles at the regional level.

Then the blessed revolution of January 25th started to return to the people their freedom and dignity, and for the country to get rid of the dominance of authoritarian oppressive ruling; so the dream of renaissance had revived again in the hearts of Egyptians and a historic opportunity come to our society to establish a democratic and free system that ensures for all of the reform forces the freedom of action for the renaissance of the country.

This great revolution has brought a significant social and political movement at all levels, opened the doors of hope in progress and sparked the change in all aspects of Egyptian life, politically, economically, socially, in the media and religiously and provided a great potential to form parties and activate the political life and democracy, and improve the social and economic conditions.

In order for Egypt to be able to start the phase of construction and reconstruction after the phase of demolition and liberation so it needs a promising political party that has a comprehensive and reviving project that identifies priorities for construction and puts the broad features of reform vision, and allows all available forces in a concerted effort to build the desired renaissance in a way that these efforts integrate but do not contradict with the different orientations of their holders.

This is precisely the message that Al-islam wa al-nahda Party was created to achieve it, so that Egypt takes back its strength and leadership and for our people to enjoy security, prosperity, freedom and dignity that befit this great people.

We firmly believe that Egypt has the necessary resources and capabilities to overcome its problems and restore its leading position in the Middle East and we clarify that as following:

- Egypt is rich with the natural and mineral resources and the rich soil suitable for agriculture and it has vast expanses of desert that serve multiple purposes.
- Egypt has a huge manpower and population, mostly of young people.
- Egypt has a historical and cultural heritage that extends for thousands of years which had passed many civilizations, starting with the Pharaonic civilization and finishing with the Islamic civilization, which was like the last pearl for all those civilizations.
- The unique location enjoyed by Egypt as the heart of the whole world which gives it several unique features from the rest of the countries.
- Egypt has many rare tourist sites which gives it highly competitive advantages in the field of tourism.
- The unique nature of the coherent Egyptian people socially and culturally due the lack of different races or ethnicities and even with the differences in religions between the Muslim majority and Christian minority, both parties have lived together in peace and harmony under the umbrella of the brotherhood of the homeland and country.
- The historical originality of Egypt where it has been able to achieve many successes in impossible and critical positions throughout history as Egypt had been the forefront of the armies that stopped the brutal creep of Tatars towards the Muslim world and had been also a stumbling block in the way of invasions from the Crusades and Egypt led the Arabs toward the first real victory against the Zionist enemy in a war sixth of October.

And Egypt was and still the lighthouse, which has led the Arab peoples in the past and presently towards the revolution against oppression, tyranny and oppression.

For these and other reasons, we take along that driving confidence during our movement towards the desired future, and this is the reason for the existence of our party in the political scene so we are determined to move the hidden forces of Egypt and building its renaissance, for the happiness and prosperity of our people and restoring the respect for our country and its great position at the regional and international levels.

Where our Party aims to provide authentic and lasting solutions to the problems of our country depending in that on scientific facts, taking along the old experiences, taking into account the societal, cultural and religious constants of the Egyptian society, and making the community service as its main purpose by carrying out political activities on the ground of democratic values.

That is why our Party is a civil party that embraces, without discrimination, all our citizens regardless of gender, religion and beliefs and it seeks to find the common ground between all political forces in Egypt through the establishment of the foundations of a civil state that respects the rule of law and constitution that expresses

the identity and culture of the society and recognizes the authority accounting and supports citizenship based on the respect for pluralism and non-discrimination based on religion or gender with preserving the Islamic cultural identity of Egypt which was established by Article II of the Egyptian constitution.

Also our Party will fight strongly the chronic problems that destroy communities and governments, such as: decadence, corruption, malfeasance, profiteering, nepotism, lack of equality before the law, lack of equal opportunities, racism, partisanship and tyranny.

Proceeding from the understanding of contemporary reality and in line with the spirit of the January 25th revolution, our Party will seek before everything to rebuild confidence between all spectrums of society, that confidence which has been absent from us for decades and it is a necessary and compulsory step in order to cooperate all political and community forces to go towards overall renaissance for our great country.

In order to achieve the above, we are offering a political program to achieve the following:

- Spreading the culture of freedom and citizenship based on the inherent values everywhere.
- Removing all chronic problems that Egypt faces at the political, economic and social levels.
- Moving the human and natural resources which have been unused for years in order to make Egypt steadily a producing country and growing steadily through production.
- Achieving the social justice and removing the gap caused by poor distribution of wealth in the society and then raising the living standards of the Egyptian citizens especially the poor and middle classes.
- Creating a state of synergy and cooperation between the government institutions, civil society organizations and all members of the community.
- The rule of the concept of full transparency and accountability in every field of public life.
- Achieving the comprehensive development in all fields of Egyptian renaissance, such as economy, foreign policy, culture, arts, education, health, agriculture and other vital fields.
- Restoring Egypt's leading role on the regional and international levels.

Our trust in God, in ourselves and in our great people is huge and we are confident that this program will contribute significantly in solving the problems of Egypt and

open the way for its advancement and we expect, God willing, for our program to be a real and new start for Egypt.

First: The fundamental rights and political principles.

Second: The economy.

Third: Public management.

Fourth: Social policies.

Fifth: Religious reform.

Sixth: Foreign policy.

For you we are work and for your welfare we strive and on you after God we rely...
God is the most successful and helper.

Founding members of the Council

The fundamental rights and freedoms:

The fundamental rights and freedoms are gains which humanity has possessed over the centuries and after a strong struggle and they were established by the divine laws, and on the top of them our Islamic Sharia, and the level of those freedoms is an indicator of the extent of urbanization and progress of societies and as our Party aims at Egypt occupying its decent position in the ranks of advanced countries, so we consider the consolidation of rights and freedoms and on top of them the free will of the Egyptian people.

The most important elements of building trust in the community is the belief of individuals who are living in the community that their rights and freedoms are protected as this faith is a strong base that makes all the societal, economic and political powers in the case of flux toward production including what helps in building the Egyptian renaissance as well as the respect for the rights and freedoms of individuals is a prerequisite for the building of peace and social stability and for the acceptance of people for a democratic political system.

Due to the importance of these freedoms and fundamental rights, our Party seeks to achieve the following objectives:

- Implementing the human rights standards contained in international agreements to which Egypt is a party especially the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.
- Benefiting from the views and suggestions of volunteers and non-governmental organizations in the field of human rights and establishing close cooperation between the government and those organizations and the emphasis will be placed on the participation of these organizations in identifying human rights violations and on

developing recommendations that lead to solutions and in educating in the field of human rights.

- Ensuring the freedom of thought and expression according to the highest international standards through the expression of ideas freely and considering the differences as important assets under the conservation of the community and legal constants and the ethical ancient norms, espoused by the great Egyptian people.
- The preservation of the civilizational Islamic identity of Egypt is essential to maintain the cohesion of the structure of the Egyptian society which is religious in its nature so it is a necessity of the Egyptian national security, and then we cannot separate this identity from the political life and indeed all sides of life, but in return it is not a right for any faction to monopolize speeches under the name of religion, utilize religion in its choices, mobilize the masses about its options or exploit the religion to achieve its political interests.
- All citizens have the right to access information and express their ideas freely and as one of the prerequisites for contemporary democracies is the existence of free press we will reconsider the whole legal framework on the media as it is not worthy of the honored Egyptian society to impose, on its members and institutions, sanctions against the freedom of the media in expression and we must deal with that starting from the Constitution and the freedom of the press and the visual media must be strictly protected and not to allow the monopoly of them.
- In order to make human rights and freedoms a pattern of behavior and eliminate the human rights' abuses there is a need to organize educational programs that reinforce the culture of human rights, starting from elementary schools and public facilities to conform to and uphold the value of those rights and freedoms.
- Ensuring the freedom of litigation and the right in a fair trial and facilitating the way for everyone to claim his right.
- The practices such as torture, death in custody, kidnapping and crimes which their perpetrators are not identified is unacceptable in a democratic state that upholds the value of the rule of law, so the citizens' complaints in this regard must be taken into account and the arrangements made in this regard should be deterrent and the responsible for that will not escape without punishments.
- Establishing special institutions to follow up and monitor the complaints of citizens, especially those relating to human rights violations and developing the legal arrangements to follow up the complaints.
- Developing the necessary arrangements so that all citizens benefit from public services without discrimination and in this regard there must be an end for the state of the growing lack of trust between citizens and the state .

The political principles:

Al-Islah wa al-Nahda Party considers politics as a way to serve the community and in our country politics have deviated from the main purpose, but even the political scene was closed totally before the January 25th revolution. It is from our goals that we will seek to achieve is to restore the prestige for politics and politicians and confidence of the people in them; therefore our political institutions must be characterized by honesty and integrity by making its funding a transparent and accountable thing.

The political parties are civic institutions that translate the community desires, whether economic or cultural ones where the government moves the state mechanisms to achieve the aspirations of the people in justice, freedom, dignity and decent life; therefore the task of our Party, which was established to achieve it, is to convey the agenda of the great Egyptian people to the agendas of legislative and executive bodies; as politics is the will of the community in building the future in the proper rules and methods and planning properly for the future, so our Party believes that the concept of politics in Egypt should be reviewed as a whole.

Based on our understanding of politics, the will of the nation is the basis of every act so any exercise that does not translate the will of the nation will not be accepted.

In order to restore trust and respect to politics and politicians there is a must of the following actions:

- Committing to transparency with regard to the organization of political parties, their membership, their naming of candidates and their financial structures.
- The expenses of candidates must be characterized by transparency in their electoral campaigns and be subject to review and being accounted.
- Improving the democratic climate within the parties through the emphasis on individuals' legal and democratic rights in the competition.
- Reviewing the provisions on the prevention or closure of the political parties according to international standards and agreements in this regard.
- Amending the election law in line with the foundations of democracy, fairness and transparency.
- Maintain the freedom and rights of citizens in the nomination and running for elections.
- Adopting the primary election system within the parties as the basis for the selection of their candidates for the general election.
- Taking the necessary legislative measures to maintain the integrity of the political environment.

- Preventing the exploitation of politics as a way to win.
- For the elected members to provide financial disclosure with displaying these information on public opinion and controlling them with all transparency.
- Eliminating any constitutional constraints that prevent the prosecution of MPs and ministers with limiting the immunity of deputies and ministers to their political speeches and views during the parliamentary activities.
- Following a strict policy against all attempts aiming to narrow the scope of political practice or minimize its prestige and respect.

Political structure:

One of the main objectives of our Party is promoting democracy based on participatory by increasing the effectiveness of the people during the elections, in both of local or central departments and, where ‘empty thing does not give’, so Al-Islah wa al-nahda Party’s internal structure must be characterized by democracy and transparency which both form the nucleus of any a strong institution. Our Party will seek to apply its concept of politics which is to achieve the aspirations of the people and translate their hopes and the Party will first start to apply this concept within the Party itself so that it gives a good example for other parties.

Therefore; Al-Islah wa al-nahda Party, for the establishment of democracy and transparency within the party, will do the following:

- Making introductory elections within the party attended by all its members in order to identify candidates for the seats in the deputies.
- For a policy based on principles, the length of service of the party chairman and parliamentarians will be determined through the party lists.
- Announcing the Party’s expenses and budget during the year openly as well as how the party's income will be spent at the end of each year.
- Allocating a part of the Party's budget for research and development and for the regional branches of the Party.
- Ensuring that the performing of this democratic competition within the Party in an environment of free competing.
- The freedom of expression of the Party’s members in expressing their views within the framework of the Party and according to the rules and regulations of its own.
- Making collective decisions in particular cases referred to them in the regulations of the Party.

- Re-bring the interactive policy to the fore.
- Adopting the ability and merit as a basis of appointment especially for ministers when our Party up to the government.

Political system:

Regarding the reforms related to the internal political system, our vision stems from a number of ingredients and pillars as follows:

- Restoring the lost balance between the three powers: legislative, judicial and executive.

One of the worst mistakes of the former regime was the dominance from the executive power on both the judicial and legislative powers, so there was not a full independence of the judiciary or respect for the law, or any little control over the executive power from the rest of the powers.

Without taking serious steps toward restoring the balance between the three powers in Egypt, any reform steps will miss its value, and even the entire electoral process may lose its value.

As there is a must to reconsider the articles related to the powers of the President in what ensures the restructuring of power in Egypt to reduce his powers and to achieve the principle of balance between the three powers with a little dominance from the legislative power on the executive power to monitor its performance and hold it accountable with drafting a new law for the judiciary to ensure its full independence financially and administratively, away from the direct interference in its affairs by the executive power represented in the President of the Republic and the Minister of Justice.

There is also a must to reconsider the way of the distribution of powers of the executive branch, so that it is to distributed with relative balances between the President, the elected Vice President and the Council of Ministers, but to guarantee in the Constitution the powers of each of them clearly with not allowing any of them to exceed the terms of references for the other.

- Modifying the structure of the political system:

And we mean by that to rebuild the current system so that it produces a semi-presidential republic system with clear terms of reference between its essential institutions and so that no certain power to dominate other powers.

Hence the emphasis on the importance of developing a new constitution comes in which the powers are determined, starting from the terms of reference of the President and through to the way of choosing him and by the end mention his relations with

other powers and the duration of his presidency, including no more than two terms only.

So this system is the best in Egypt to reduce bullying and tyranny which are often associated with the pure presidential systems that arise in communities far from democratic practice.

It is also in light of the current weakness of the political parties in Egypt, the parliamentary system may cause a lot of turmoil and instability, as a result of the inability of any party to form by itself a strong government, making governments constantly vulnerable to successive fall.

- Re-gaining respect and credibility of the electoral process:

Elections are one of the most important indicators of the transition to democracy. It is even the most important expression of the democracy in a society and the maturity of its political culture and as far as the integrity and competitiveness of general elections, the credibility of the process of transition to democracy will be.

Hence, it is imperative to develop adequate safeguards for the integrity of the electoral process, including restoring confidence of voters and the actors of the feasibility of participation in terms of practicing and electing through the formation of a permanent body for the elections with an independent headquarter, autonomous budget and complete financial elements.

And that body must be formed by judges, so that to be ultimately responsible fully for all tasks relating to any general election taking place in Egypt, beginning with the announcement of the schedule and preparation of voters' tables and receiving the applications of candidacy and announcing the lists of candidates and making decisions of forming the electoral commissions, their headquarters, their chairmen and their trustees as well as the guard force for each of them passing to the organization of the voting process and finishing by the tellers and the announcement of the results.

- Cancelling all laws restricting the rights and political practice:

First and foremost the emergency law, the law of exercise of political rights and the formation of parties, including what guarantees the freedom of movement and action in front of all the forces and political parties and ensuring their access and communicating with their mass bases with the freedom of management of their electoral campaigns and the freedom of conducting demonstrations and peaceful marches to show their demands without narrowing by the security forces.

There is no doubt that the continuing the validity of laws restricting the political freedoms would impede the reform process and empty them from their real content and make them just empty structures, especially if we know that the use of the emergency law and other laws restricting the civil liberties and political rights, is in the context of a desire to spare the way for effective participation in the management

of public affairs of the country and activating it predominantly in the face of political opponents who pursue a peaceful approach in the political action.

- Restructuring the system of the party work:

So that to include the restructuring process a set of standards and regulations which must be adhered to during the course of elections, whether the presidential, legislative or local.

One of the most important thing that the restructuring process should include is the need for parties to respect the wishes of the voters, which means the need of the candidate to keep its political position that he had entered with it in the elections in order to eliminate the political bribery and to ensure the composition of the boards that reflect seriously the wishes of the people.

As well as requiring the parties with a review of their bylaws to change the method of selection of all levels of leadership, to be by election for a specific period as this is the way to create a partisan leaders who are able to reach the masses, in the legislative or presidential elections and local or union or other ones.

Finally, the process of restructuring must include procedural things such as the rejection of external funding and putting a certain financial ceiling of the election campaign to eliminate the relation between power and wealth which is the largest roads leading to political corruption, with the need for the candidate not to exploit his political or executive position during the elections.

- Activating the role of civil society organizations:

And we mention specially in here the professional syndicates which are the strongest civil society organizations because of their strength and influence and the great deal of financial and administrative independence from the authority by raising and repealing laws impeding the exercise of these institutions to their role and especially the law of the guarantees of the democracy of trade unions which has contributed to the freezing of elections in the majority of the trade unions.

As well as the activation of student unions that have introduced the political leaders at a prestigious level and in line with the educational process at the universities with the possibility of serious thought in a parliament for the students of the universities that will be the nucleus of graduating personalities that are capable of the general political giving, and in what ensures the development of the political life in the country.

- Launching the media freedom:

And we mean by that launching the freedom to publish newspapers and media ownership to the Egyptians and with liberalizing the media and the national press of the control of the executive branch.

It is a right of every citizen or entity to own the media that ensures for them to talk to the mass and disseminate their ideas and attract followers for their project without narrowing from the executive branch and in what is consistent with the principles of the Egyptian nation and its civilizational and societal values.

It is also to provide an equal opportunity for the parties, political forces, civil society institutions, human rights organizations and all the trends and currents of thought to put forward their views and ideas in all of the official media of the state.

Law and Justice:

The rule of law is the guarantee to achieve the freedom and rights of citizens and therefore the democratic system does not entrench or function except in a society that respects the rule of law.

From this standpoint, our Party focuses on building the government that respects the principle of the rule of law... this term which was missed for a long time in Egypt in the times before the glorious revolution of January 25th therefore the concept of "rule of law" should be the base and the foundation rather than the concept of "the law of the state" that was prevailed under the previous regime.

And the rule of law must be based on the principles of the universal jurisdiction and human rights as well as the Egyptian community and national constants while respecting the characteristics of the civilizational and cultural identity of Egypt considering the Islamic Sharia as the foremost authority of the Muslim state, as stipulated in the Egyptian Constitution, so for Egypt to be law real state and to be able to acquire a respectable position in the international community.

We believe that the rule of law cannot be realized with the existence of a judicial system and judicial authority only, because the integrity and the honesty of the members of the judicial system who interpret the legal texts and apply them are on the same degree of importance of the provisions of the Constitution and the law itself. Therefore our Party aims to achieve the highest degree of trust, integrity and credibility of the Egyptian judicial system.

In conjunction with the mentioned observations and principles earlier, our Party will implement the following policies:

- Al-Islah wa al-nahda Party aims to create a new social contract between the society and the state that reflects the demands of the people from the state according to a democratic base. Our proposal for this new contract will be through a concise draft and clear texts which contain the following items:

- Fundamental rights and freedoms must be consistent with international standards and in line with the fundamentals of Egyptian society.

- Maintaining the key features of the Republic, including the main items of the state administration only without other partial details.
- Clarifying the relation between the three powers: the judicial, legislative and executive branches in a clear and brief concept.
- Implementing the principles of separation of powers accurately and making sure of the checks and balances between those powers.
 - Taking the necessary measures to make the parliament effective, independent and productive in legislative and security activities.
 - The total will to replace the will of the individual, not only within the party but in the parliament and society as well; so laws must reflect the common will in the society and not for the majority of the Parliament by itself.
 - Implementing the principle of the application of the laws and the Constitution on everyone accurately.
 - Full compliance with the law and preventing any illegal practices in all areas.
 - Emphasizing on the independence of the judiciary and ensuring the neutrality of the judicial system with a pledge to secure the judges.
 - Applying the judicial reforms starting from the study of law in the faculties of law and sharia and other legal academic institutions; in order to ensure the efficiency of professionals in the field of law and to develop their expertise... There is a must to give the lawyers, judges and prosecutors a grant in an internal and external training at the highest levels.
 - Relying on the principle of judicial specialization, in the sense that the judges to be specialists in specific areas such as organized crime, unfair competition, crimes of the capital markets and the financial, political and administrative corruptions.
 - Equipping the courts with the latest technological methods and reducing the size of their labor with ensuring the appearance of the court buildings modernly.
 - Considering the proverb that says "delayed justice is injustice", our Party will take it upon itself to ensure the acceleration of the process of litigation.
 - In order to make the Court's decisions visible to all, will provide the technological infrastructure that enables the public to check out the decisions of all courts.
 - Ensuring the independence of the courts and following the global standards and expertise established in democratic countries.

- Establishing the judicial execution devices in what is not inconsistent with the regulatory sequence and that ensures the smooth flow of the legal implementation devices.
- Reviewing the laws related to judicial proceedings in order to accelerate the effectiveness of the judicial system and the performance of its task as necessary and taking the necessary actions to do so.
- Modernizing prisons' institutions for the rehabilitation of prisoners in order to engage in the community.
- Increasing the budget allocations of the judiciary in order to meet the quality standards for judicial services which are one of the most important functions of the state.

Democracy and Civil Society

Legal rules are made in the developed and democratic countries in the consent of the citizens while the final decision and the executive power assign to the organs and institutions entrusted with that which have come in a legitimate manner through elections.

Democracy is a system based on equality among citizens so it is not permissible for some of citizens to enjoy more rights and freedoms than others, but everyone lives under the protection of the law and they are equal in rights and duties.

The fair competition between different political forces is one of the sane aspects that indicate the realization of the democratic system and this competition often ends with the arrival of the majority to power but winning in the race and coming to power do not make the will of the majority absolute.

As one of the most important aspects of contemporary democracy is the respect from the majority for the rights and freedoms of the minority where securing the minority opinions and their right to object are a strengthening element of pluralism in a democratic system.

The right of citizens to participate in the community decision-making expresses a positive interaction between the government and the people, therefore the right to participate does not mean only to be able to vote during the elections, but it also means to provide the open ways and the available means for citizens; in order for them to formulate, implement and monitor the implementation of public decisions.

Therefore, our Party is aware that the establishment of democracy in Egypt is built on the following policies in the light of the basic principles established by the contemporary democracies which their essence is the respect for the choice of the citizens:

- The breadth of the field of movement and activity of the political parties that play the most important role in the activation of the political participation from the citizens.
- The Party must transfer to its regional branches the concept of governance based on dialogue, in order for the departments and local civic formations to achieve the aspirations of the citizens.
- Facilitating the access to documents and information; so citizens can participate and control as there is a must to take the necessary measures in order to give citizens the right to benefit from this information.
- The local administrations are the cornerstone in the system of participation and representation in the democratic system; and therefore there is a must to do the necessary constitutional and legal measures for the participation of citizens strongly in them and there is a must to create new functional administrative units in order to strengthen the local administrations which will establish daily communication between citizens and the administration.
- There is a need to establish effective ways to move the viewpoints of citizens, their proposals and their complaints about the villages, centers and provinces in which they live in, so that everyone can have the effective use of services which they need.
- Considering the views of non-governmental organizations in order to amend the relevant legal measures and there is a must to draw a legal framework that puts the civil society organizations in a decent standard upon contemporary democratic countries such as establishing councils of communication, committees and offices for crisis management and other types of management in order to take the necessary on the views of non-governmental organizations, professional bodies, trade unions and representatives of the private sector.
- facilitate access to documents and information; so citizens can participate and surveillance, they must take the necessary measures in order to give citizens the right to make use of such information.
- By lowering the candidacy age to 25 years, young people will participate effectively in democratic processes and young elements will be encouraged to assume their responsibilities in the management of this country.
- Taking the necessary legal measures in order to activate the right to organize meetings and events which are the main characteristics of contemporary democracies.

Our perception about the economy

The economic task of our Party is summarized by increasing the welfare of the citizens and their happiness, as Egypt has a large economic power because of the

demographics that are youth and vitality, as well as being rich of natural elements, its distinctive geostrategic location, its natural beauty and its historical originality; therefore our Party must implement a continuous strategy of economic growth in order to benefit from this super power of our nation.

This strategy aims to reduce poverty and unemployment and to ensure an equitable distribution of income, and then, over time, our country will reach the ranks of developed nations and the standard of living of our citizens will increase and then the international community's respect for our country will increase as well.

In conjunction with this strategy, our Party has identified its principles, objectives and economic policies, and developed a governmental concept for the implementation of that strategy effectively.

These principles are as follows:

- Considering manpower as a source and a goal of the economic development's goals, not a burden that we try to get rid of it and a peg that we hang on it the economic backwardness of Egypt.
- Adopting a strategy of market economy with all its mechanisms and institutions.
- Reducing the burden on the state and avoiding it from interfering in all the details of economic activities.
- The function of the state in the economy is the regulation and supervision; therefore providing a sound system for the flow of information and documents is very important.
- The right privatization is the locomotive that will lead the process of constructing a strong economic structure.
- Implementing the structural transformations caused by globalization at the lowest possible cost and the best way to do that is to increase the strength of Egypt competitiveness in the international market; therefore we believe that increasing the competitive strength of our country has a strategic importance for our political and economic future.
- Foreign capital will play an important role in the transfer of the experiment "Know-How" and the foreign expertise which will contribute to the development of Egyptian economic.
- Quality, productivity, efficiency and satisfaction of citizens should be the main characteristics of public services.
- Achieving the moral values according to the international standards under the umbrella of our cultural values and civilizational identity in every economic activity.

- Positive relations with the European Union, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other global institutions are essential thing to achieve the necessary requirements for our economy and realize the benefits for our nation.

Through this framework, our main objectives will be as follows:

- Increasing the production of goods and services.
- Reducing unemployment, preventing the rising of living cost and achieving justice in the distribution of income.
- Fighting against graft, unfair competition and non-deterrent penalties with forbidding monopoly and other crimes that prevent the economic stability.
- Making changes at the level of concepts and bureaucratic procedures for investment in order to help private companies and give more freedom to entrepreneurial activities.
- Achieving the development in the foreign trade sector and increasing the export process.

In order to achieve those objectives, our Party will be pursuing the following policies:

- The optimum utilization of our national resources in order to create a productive economy based on experience, competence, technology and productivity.
- Encouraging foreign and domestic investments to increase the employment rate.
- Assisting the financial sector in order to support the production and develop the new financial methods.
- Taking the necessary measures in order to reduce the gap between the different geographical sides and confirming the investment of economic power in all bodies effectively and productively.
- Starting in the reform of the tax practices.
- Reforming the procedures for the spending of public money.
- Implementing a judicial system in line with international standards and at the same time using judicial realistic and feasible means that preserve the rights of ownership and the ease of access to markets and resources freely.
- The participation of non-governmental organizations working in the economic field in the preparation and implementation of those policies.

· Reforming the economic management in order to be effective and realistic and to be able to achieve the sustained economic growth, through:

- Implementing the economic concepts that are characterized with reality, reform, dynamicity and long-term, not short-term concepts.

- Taking the necessary legal and administrative measures in order to give the community the right to know the major economic criteria correctly and in the right time.

- Eliminating the administrative chaos in the economic sphere by redefining the competent institutions, their internal structures and the rules governing cooperation and coordination among them and reconsidering their administrative methods and governing principles for their production and control.

· **Public Finance**

A. Budget:

The distribution and spending the taxes collected from the people and other of savings from individuals represent a great moral responsibility rests with governments and at the same time, the people have the right to know the areas where these taxes have been spent in, so it is necessary to prepare the budget and apply it as follows:

· The economic balance and stability are a basic standard in the preparation of the budget and the application of mechanisms that ensure transparency and accountability with regard to that budget.

· Increasing the effectiveness of Parliament in the preparation and review of the budget submitted by the government, where the size of the budget should be discussed in the Plan and Budget Committee and the budget of various sections to be discussed in the specialized committees.

· Developing the regulations' laws that enable the CAA to review the implementation of the budget and for the people's congresses and specialized committees to consult the CAA for the disbursement of this budget, while the adoption of the audit of the parliament for the budget not the executive branch and all of that must be done under the umbrella of CAA.

· Restructuring the government measures related to disbursement aiming at improving the performance of public services, which means more stability, transparency and effectiveness and greater productivity.

· Increasing the share of social spending especially on education and health in the context of the available budget and there is a must to increase the quality of those services up to international standards.

- Developing new principles to restore the effectiveness of internal and external audits of financing, capital accounts audits and the institutions and bodies and social facilities and specialized accounts and others of bodies within the structure of public institutions.

B. Taxes:

Taxes mean people's participations with the state, and in this sense, taxes impact on spending and investment decisions related to economic units; therefore tax policies which coincide with the continuous and sustained growth are a very important thing.

Therefore, our Party:

- Seeks to facilitate tax regulations, reduce the types of taxes and the tax tariff and achieve the justice in taxes.
- Seeks to use taxes more effectively as an engine that achieves the economic and social objectives, rather than having a financial purpose only.

T. Public debt:

The public deficit in Egypt exceeds the acceptable rates and then it causes problems affecting the economy as a whole, and as a result, the funding that will be used by the private sector have become insufficient and the credit costs have risen and then the state of the economy has become critical. In order to reduce the requirements of borrowing and control over this matter, we will do the following:

- Mobilizing new sources of income, adjusting the spending and increasing the efficiency and productivity of public services.
- Achieving the flow between the true cost of borrowing and the rate of growth.
- Directing long-term borrowing to investment so as to the ability of investors to return those amounts.
- Directing the short-term borrowing towards regulating the cash balance rather than funding purposes.
- Managing the debt effectively, taking into account the real costs of domestic and foreign debts.
- Effective coordination between the Treasury, the Central Bank and the Ministry of Finance and other operating economic sections with tracking the financial flow allocated to the public institutions in order to determine the borrowing requirements.

Privatization

Privatization is important to create a more robust economy, it is the locomotive that increases the economic production and takes the state out of the activities that would destabilize the competitive environment, so there is a need to:

- Take the legal and administrative measures that ensure the rapid and transparent privatization at the same time.
- Review the privatization transactions by CAA.
- Give the priority to workers in the institutions themselves to own in these institutions, then to the population of the area where the institution is located in then the specialized bodies, that those shares to be traded on the stock exchange.
- Ensure the link of the privatization process to the increasing of the Egyptian national income and contribute to the reduction of unemployment rates and increase training for Egyptian labor.
- Create a climate of confidence and encourage our citizens abroad to participate in the privatization process.
- Prevent the privatization in sensitive sectors that are related to the main needs of the public, such as: water, electricity, security, and other sectors of the Egyptian national security.

Production and investment policies

The capable production for international competition is important in order to achieve the economic stability as the economic growth cannot be achieved except by increasing production; therefore the State grants the necessary infrastructure for production and the encouragement of production is a top priority.

The businessmen invest in the private sector, and they are the driving force of production, in the stable economic and political environments, where the principles and laws are clear and the transparency is achieved and where the contracts are associated with strong commitments and where the major rates of economies such as inflation and foreign exchange rates can be measured and where they can do economic measurements.

Our Party seeks to create this climate, the climate of confidence that drives the existing entrepreneurship seriously in the community and accelerates the rate of entry of foreign capital into the country and then achieves a significant increase in the production.

Therefore, our Party seeks to:

- Launch real production practices that drive the wheel of investment in Egypt forward.

- Effective investment of resources by supporting and establishing centers of attraction for industry and agriculture, taking into account some important things such as: raw resources, energy, labor, transport and market power.
- Support the services provided to investors by providing a great deal of the flow of foreign currencies and operational capacity and expand the credit services.
- Encourage the local national industries and encourage the Egyptian companies until their production reaches the level of international quality standards which increases the quality and productivity.
- Support the research and development activities.
- Develop the cooperation between industrial enterprises and sciences universities especially in the research and technology fields.
- Reduce the labor costs in order to increase the productivity and competitiveness of the private sector.
- Encourage the use of public and private sectors to modern economic tools such as: computers, the internet and information technology.

Industrial property

- The protection of patents, trademarks and engineering designs and supporting the investment that respects the industrial property is one of the most important elements that had led to the success of developed countries.
- As we believe in the importance of attracting the foreign investment and transferring the technology to our country and preventing the brain drain and increasing the proportion of exports and the importance of manufacturing based on industrial property for the global competition so our Party prevents any regulations hinder the discoveries and new inventions and protects the rights of the patent and licensing rights according to international standards.

Foreign Trade

The increase of Egyptian exports is one of the most important political tools for our Party's strategy in order to achieve the continuous and sustainable economic development and this depends mainly on increasing our ability to compete. Therefore our Party aims to:

- Remove all the bureaucratic obstacles whether the financial or administrative ones which hamper the export.
- Take all necessary measures to increase export to neighboring countries; as it is the easiest types of export.

- Increase the participation of Egyptian banks in the development of exports; to encourage the financing of exports and export-oriented industry.
- Intensify the efforts of the Egyptian missions abroad in order to increase exports.
- Cooperate closely for the development and application of export policies, with the professional associations working in this field.
- Provide incentives for companies to expand and consolidate the slogan "Made in Egypt" abroad.
- Provide the research and development services and support investment in small and medium-sized enterprises that are export-oriented in order to produce products that give an added value and reduce the manufacturing cost.
- Provide incentives for the manufacture of exportable products, which give high added value, such as: technical materials, electronic products, agricultural and food products and the automotive industry and others.
- Rely on regional trade as a helping element to move the wheel of sustainable and continuous economic development.

Financial Services

The financial services sector plays an important role in the economic structure, therefore it is important that the financial institutions function efficiently and with high productivity, and then there is a must to prepare the climate for a clear balance of inflation, interest rates, foreign currency exchange rates and other financial variables.

In this way, the dynamicity and competitiveness of the economic units will increase and in order to achieve this purpose, there is a need to:

- Increase the savings rates in order to use them in the economy, in various types of financial brokerage and appropriate dealings to economic, social and cultural needs.
- Support the coordination between the organization and monitoring institutions for the financial sector and supply those institutions with the necessary capacities to achieve the effective audit.
- Take the necessary measures in order to strengthen the competitiveness of this sector.
- Encourage the private insurance systems in order to protect the means and resources owned by the private economic units owned by the country and expand the range of the insurance services for the production of goods, services and the specialized activities in order to increase the quality of services and products.

- Manage the insurance system of saved deposits according to the international standards.
- Commit to transparency and realism with regard to the financial data provided by the financial institutions.
- Evaluating the financial institutions must be done by credit rating companies.

In this context, there is a need to:

- Encourage investors to enter the market in order to make the capital markets more efficient and deeper.
- Improve the structures and functions of the capital markets.
- Raise the efficiency of the Egyptian Stock Exchange and its entry in the ranks of global stock markets.
- Improve some forms of financial transactions such as: investments and partnerships in the field of real estate and making them as attractive things for investment.
- Develop deterrent measures to prevent any transactions based on leaked information into the money markets.
- Protect the rights of small investors in the stock market.
- Support the emerging markets in order to increase the ability to make calculations of the markets and reduce the impact of oscillations in the capital markets

Traders, craftsmen and small and medium-sized enterprises

These groups contribute importantly in increasing production, employment and the added economic value to the country but they even represent the backbone of the economic and social structure in developed countries. Supporting those is one of the most important goals of our Party in order to re-form the middle class in the society which was about disappear under the regime of pre-January 25th revolution. In this context, we will do the following:

- Implementing a plan that ensures the financial support for these projects which is represented in tax incentives and removing the bureaucratic obstacles.
- Expanding the circle of protection against unfair competition to include these groups in facing the owners of large corporations.
- Giving the traders and artisans the opportunity to contribute to the decision-making of local administrations competent in the field of their commercial activity.

- Increasing the government support from the state and local administrations for the expansion of training centers that provide training for craftsmen and traders.

Agriculture and Livestock

One of the most important goals of increasing the production in the agricultural sector is securing a stable income for producers and in order to achieve this purpose we need the following:

- Taking the necessary measures to transform the production units in the agricultural sector to economic companies.
- Encouraging the use of technology to increase productivity and reduce the cost of inputs in rural areas.
- Establishing exchange of goods and products in places where agricultural production is concentrated.
- Developing policies for the transfer of surplus labor rationally from the agricultural sector to other sectors.
- Supporting the export companies to showcase the agricultural products in global markets.
- Developing the agricultural insurance in order to protect farmers against losses caused by natural disasters.
- Promoting the environmental plantings and production of high-quality grain.
- Achieving the self-sufficiency in strategic food commodities such as wheat and rice.
- Restoring the high international reputation for agricultural commodities that Egypt enjoys its leadership, such as the Egyptian long-staple cotton.

As for animal husbandry, there is a need to do the following:

- Increasing the proportion of high-yield strains of animals in the animal market.
- Promoting the food products of the sea and fresh water according to the geographic distribution of our country.
- Promoting the cultivation of animal feed according to the economic structure of our country.
- Forming livestock auctions and converting them to be able to implement the long-term transactions.

Energy

The special energy policy adopted by our Party is based on the confirmation of energy conservation and its sustainability through the establishment of the energy market, based on competition and preservation of the environment and the health of the Egyptian citizens that we place on our top priorities.

To achieve that policy, Al-Islah wa al-Nahda Party will do the following:

- Privatizing the existing ineffective facilities as soon as possible in order to be refurbished and for their capacity to be increased.
- Starting serious scientific and technical projects to generate the hydrogen power, which will be the energy of the future, and implementing the necessary studies to move to the implementation phase in cooperation with other developed countries.
- Making the licensing and privatization procedures transparent and open to competition.
- Supporting the projects of reducing the energy loss and increasing the awareness of the issue of energy conservation for the Egyptian citizens.
- Supporting the establishment of private sector for power plants in conjunction with other energy sources such as solar, wind and geothermal.
- Promoting the exploration for gas and oil.
- Using the natural gas as energy alternatives and there is a must to implement the nuclear power generation projects that were locked in the drawers for decades, with taking the safety action and environmental protection, in addition to wind power to provide inexpensive energy to run the economy.
- Avoiding the dependence on a single source of energy.
- Our party realizes that Egypt occupies a strategic position that represents a bridge to the foreign sources of oil and natural gas and a gateway to global markets, where Egypt is located at the crossroads of three continents: Asia, Europe and Africa, in addition to the presence of the Suez Canal which has the important global strategy, and therefore there is a must to exploit this strategic location effectively by turning the country into a station of power distribution.

Mining

The rich underground mineral resources gives our country a distinguishing feature, and our Party must apply a mining program as soon as possible, so that those resources contribute to the raising of the national economy.

Our goal in this area is to provide inputs for the local industries to produce goods with high added value that increase the amount and spreading of our exports. In this range, there is a must to:

- Support the private sector, promote the foreign investments and remove the obstacles that stand in the face of the manufacturing process.
- Explore, operate, produce and export the strategic minerals using scientific and technological methods.
- Benefit the most of our mines by improving their operating or privatizing them

Transport and Communications

Our Party believes that the transport and communications represent one of the most important sectors of infrastructure for the national economy of Egypt; therefore from our basic goals is to create infrastructure for transport and communications that achieves integration with the elements of transport and provides a rapid economic service in what provides high contribution in growth without negative impact on the safety of the environment.

In order to reach the contemporary standards in this sector, our Party aims to:

- Implement the plan of land, sea and air transports and the rail with the desired balance between the different transport systems.
- Develop the rail in cooperation with the private sector.
- Divide highways into multiple ways and there is a must to provide the necessary training and oversight to improve the road safety.
- Renew the fleet and transfer the ports to self-management system and privatize the port services.
- Increase the strength of competition with the commercial fleet.
- Support the shipbuilding sector to comply with the requirements of the domestic and foreign owners of the ships.
- Cooperate with specialized rooms and non-governmental organizations for the protection of the marine environment.
- Raise the standards and potentials of our airports and encourage the establishment of private airlines.
- Promote the creation and distribution of telecommunications, television and information networks and provide cheap services with high productivity, quality and confidence.

Tourism

Egypt has an enormous tourist power because of its long history, the depth and the accumulation of its rich culture across different civilizations, the diversity of its beaches and charming resorts and its friendly and hospitable people; therefore, our Party believes that there is a must to invest the power of Egypt in this area; as the increasing of Egypt's revenues from tourism depends on the economic, social and cultural developments and marketing and outstanding advertising for our touristic power.

In the context of this, the Party aims to include the following:

- Improving the infrastructure of the tourism sector with the improvement of laws and tourist institutions.
- Formulating policies that seek to create new forms of tourism, such as winter and river tourism, treatment tourism, Arabs' tourism, yacht tourism, conferences and exhibitions.
- Providing the necessary support to the companies of organizing exhibitions and tourism agencies to expand the range of exhibitions and conferences tourism.
- Developing the domestic and foreign tourism in line with the cultural and historical characteristics of each region.
- Paying attention to promote the Arab, Islamic and foreign tourism alike.

Consumer Protection

Our main aim is to find a balance between the consumers and the producers or suppliers and to prevent any form of harm to the consumers and in order to apply that, there is a need to:

- Re-draft the Consumer Protection Act according to the international standards.
- Facilitate the ways for consumers to obtain their right and there is a must to build special courts for consumer complaints.
- Develop legal regulations to solve the problems faced by consumers in contracts.
- Make the insurance of goods and services mandatory to maintain the rights of the consumers.
- Promote the work of non-governmental organizations in the field of the protection of consumers' rights.

Our concept of public administration

Public administration is the highest form of organization that is granted under the Constitution and legislation and it grants the right and power to the government to realize the benefits of the society and in the modern concept, the public administration considers the provision of services to the people and society as the first priority and the main purpose of which the government use for it the rights and powers.

The building of a democratic government that gives high-quality services, through the achievement of the society justice and development and the public administration that achieve that, is one of our main goals.

Our party believes that the contemporary government must possess the following characteristics:

- Maintaining the universal rights and freedoms of citizens and for the state to use the power and authority within the framework that is granted by the Constitution.
- Transferring much of the powers, duties and functions of the central government to the local governments.
- For the state to implement the programs aiming at achieving security, social solidarity and the provision of social services.
- Withdrawing of the state from most of the services and being confined only to the area of the external and internal security, justice, education, health and basic infrastructure services which represent the basic functions of the executive branch and continuing in its regulatory and supervisory functions.
- Full activation of the right of citizens to choose who represent and govern them which is the most basic principles of democracy.
- Adopting the transparency and accountability as a general policy at all stages and centers of government.

The central government

The basis of the public administration is to serve the citizens; therefore it is very important to restructure the central government in the form in which qualifies it to serve citizens in a better way and to increase the productivity and quality of services, and therefore our Party has developed the following policies for the implementation of the above:

- Restructuring the departments and institutions in a way that ensures a greater satisfaction or citizens, making these structures to be consistent with the international quality standards.
- Taking the necessary measures to make the central government based on the principles of productivity, openness and efficiency in transactions and acts.

- Converting a lot of services to the local departments and agencies or to the private sector if possible.
- Reducing the areas of specialization of Presidency of the Council of Ministers and reducing the number of ministers.
- The Speed restructuring of the central ministerial and rural bodies according to the standards of quality, productivity, providing services and maintaining the public funds.
- Reconsidering the form of central government control over the local governments in line with the policies of the local administrations.
- Reducing the bureaucratic formalities to reduce the pressure and fatigue from the state.
- The manifestations of the weakness of the central government must end, such as: favoritism and partiality.
- All the state agencies to benefit from the innovations in the field of information and communication technology and the reflection of that on the function of public administration.

Local Administration

The actual problem faced by local administrations is that we lack to deepen the concept of democracy which is a problem facing many sides of public life in Egypt, so what is required is to convey the principles and practices of pluralism to the local administration, compatible with contemporary concepts of the economy and public administration and therefore our Party aims to:

- Give the local governments the power to exercise the types of administration in accordance with local requirements.
- Emphasis on the local administration to own the financial power which enables it to provide the necessary costs to meet its obligations.
- Provide an opportunity for participation of non-governmental organizations in the decision-making processes in local administrations and in some of their activities.
- Adopt the principle of consultation with local authorities before passing the relevant regulations.
- Adopt the objectivity criteria for the creation of the greater provinces.

Managing the affairs of public sector employees

The delivery of public services in a way that satisfies the citizens is the primary function of public sector employees; so the arrogance of some of them with citizens is unacceptable, they have to treat the citizens as if they are customers whom should be served in all sincerity and dedication.

On the other hand, it is necessary for the state to pay for the employees their salaries and give them a social assistance in what is commensurate with the task performed and there is a must to reward the good employees financially and morally and the state must train its members and prepare them for new changes.

Through this framework and those principles, our Party will follow the policies outlined below:

- Preparing cadres in accordance with the service standards and its objectives.
- Committing to the standards of professionalism and merit for the selection and appointment of government officials.
- Developing the legal regulations that enable employees with the higher echelons of the implementation of the planning, decision-making, follow-up, control, audit and consultancy.
- Analyzing productivity in public agencies and institutions and eliminating the unnecessary units and agencies.
- Specifying the salaries of employees according to merit and the performed task and there is a must to pay the same salary for the same task or for similar tasks and discrimination should be abolished between similar agencies and there is a must to pay rewarding salaries for the workers in the public sector in what is commensurate with their productivity.
- Eliminating the obstacles with regard to trade unions and political rights and preventing unnecessary interference from politicians and government officials in their work.

Security

Security is one of the most important functions of the state and the geographical location of Egypt highlights this issue hugely so we have to reduce our dependence on the foreign countries in the armament; and therefore there is a need to put an importance for the defense industry in the long term.

In developed countries there is a must for the security requirements to be consistent with of the democratic system, so our Party will implement the security policies through two approaches:

- Making a dialogue and understanding between the security agencies and political decision-makers both in terms of the internal or external security.

- Restructuring the National Security Council which represents a council for the exchange of views between the armed forces and the political leadership with regard to security and defense in accordance with the international standards practiced in democratic countries.

Fighting against Corruption

The spread of financial and administrative corruptions in Egypt has exceeded all fields in the time of the former regime, which represents one of the biggest obstacles in the way of overall Egyptian revival as in the past years our country had entered in a vicious circle of corruption arising from the misuse of political power and intermarriage between the Authority and the capital.

The fight against corruption is a big priority task in our Party; particularly the corruption that stems from the misuse of public authorities and for this purpose, our Party follows the policies described below:

- Developing a comprehensive program to fight corruption and start implementing it and the adopting transparency and clarity in the implementation of this program.
- Establishing an office to coordinate between all the agencies and institutions in the field of prevention, investigation, and identifying and prosecuting corruption in the framework of the strategy of monitoring and fighting against corruption.
- Allowing the non-governmental organizations, interested in the fight against corruption, to participate in inspections for corruption and the state will use the studies which will be prepared by these organizations.
- Adopting special criteria for the appointment of employees in various departments with having them subjected to a special kind of scrutiny.
- Increasing the powers of offices concerned to fight corruption in public administration.
- Making agreements with independent foreign institutions to audit and when a cases of corruption is seen; it should be presented immediately to the Public Prosecution niche.
- Egypt's participation in international agreements on combating corruption and the necessity of activating such participation.

Our perception of social policy

- The main task of the government is to serve the public therefore our Party's goal of social policy is to achieve prosperity and happiness for all our citizens, not only one class.

- In this sense, there is a must to create special programs for the poor citizens who need care and for the elderly and needy children, and the unemployed ones also should not feel isolated and so there is no escape from the introduction of the concept of social state to our country in which the government is concerned about the poor, needy, sick and disabled people and it provides them with a decent living.
- Therefore, our Party will emphasize the need for the central government's cooperation with local authorities, non - governmental organizations and the private sector to ensure the increasing of social services provided by the state with the limit that is sufficient to these categories.
- Our Party believes that no one should discriminate against any person because of his physical or mental disabilities and we consider the need for cooperation between the non-governmental organizations with local governments to take the structural measures in all public places such as: urban areas, businesses and schools to facilitate the lives of the disabled with increasing the available appropriations for the special education and training capacities targeting the disabled and allowing tax exemptions for businesses that contribute to that.
- We will seek that the non-governmental organizations will create special committees on their own or in conjunction with the central administration to make the necessary arrangements to facilitate the manufacture and importing the necessary equipment for people with disabilities.
- The projects of rehabilitating the street children, beggars and homeless will be promoted in order to prevent their numbers from increasing.
- The agencies and public institutions to assume their responsibilities in order to preserve the natural and environmental resources in order for the future generations to benefit from them and to prevent monopoly and eliminate imbalances between regions and protect the poor and provide products and services that are not provided in the markets, all of that to be in accordance with fair standards applicable in the public domain
- In order to ensure the social security and the social assistance and services, there is a must to manage all of that through a single ministry and for this ministry to take the necessary measures to work according to methodological and specific standards and rules including what benefits in favor of the beneficiary groups and it also have to create accurate and baseline statistical data for those categories, so as these services reach all eligible applicants without marginalization of a class to the favor of another one.

Education and Scientific Research

The study of all the experiences of renaissance and development that took place in the world, leads to one conclusion, which is that paying attention to the educational process is the basis of any comprehensive renaissance and therefore the education has

occupied a great area of interest in the program of our Party as we believe that communities that do not invest in human capital in an effective manner, lose a lot of opportunities for competition , and therefore our Party believes that the first priority for the use of resources should be education as the accruing weakness in this area cannot be compensated by any force in another area, in addition to this, the access to the upper levels in the field of education achieves the overall quality in all fields.

And Egypt suffers now from a state of chaos in the field of education and the quality of education is at a lower level than required but it is even weakening day after day, where the curriculums are designed and taught in isolation from comprehensive renaissance planning, which links education with scientific research and the societal and economic needs of the country, as well as in the isolation from the labor market skills and the development of the talents of creativity in the young generations, in addition to the almost total absence of political and social roles of universities which are tasked to graduate young political and social competencies that ensure the flow of leading elites that are fit to lead the country at all levels.

For the above, our Party will start a movement of fundamental reform in the field of education, based on the following:

- Spreading education in pre-school phase through cooperation between the public and private sectors.
- Reviewing the basic education curricula to comply with the requirements of the times and our needs, with the transfer of basic education services through experimental applications to the local administrations and regional branches of the central administration and the Ministry of Education must take the site of observer, organizer and the author of the standards, but in the poor areas, there is a must to support education there through special programs to be developed by the state.
- Allowing the choices and instructions during the years of compulsory education which lasts for nine years, through the development of elective subjects from the fifth grade of elementary school so the student is directed to the commercial or public schools according to his inclinations and capabilities as well as the economic needs of the country.
- Ensuring equal opportunities for all of the graduates of high school and the corresponding schools for admission to universities.
- Raising the quality of public education and developing its technological means and implementing educational policies aimed at developing the potentials of decision-making and analysis and promoting the freedom of thought and productivity and raising the awareness of the concept of citizenship with teaching the cutting-edge technology and there is a must to rearrange the colleges that graduate teachers in commensurate with the points mentioned earlier.

- In order to attract the private sector investments in education, it is necessary to provide governmental incentives thereby expanding the capacity of existing schools 100% of the current capacity and there is a must for the state to provide some services, such as: sending some children of poor families to private schools free of charge and there is a must for the private sector to put some of its resources to invest in education.
- Government's focus on specialized schools and restructuring them to teach specialist curriculum deeper than just giving certification, the Chamber of Industry and Commerce must specify, in collaboration with non-governmental organizations, the fields needed by the labor market and at the same time there is a need to provide training modern and sophisticated programs that comply with the requirements of the market, while those who cannot participate in school long-term programs, there must be educational institutions offering them short-term programs with lower costs.
- Applying the educational loans system for admission to universities, so that everyone can pay tuition and live in dignity and there is a must to develop principles and rules to help poor students.
- Coordination between the Ministry of Education and other ministries (Finance - Agriculture and Industry) to find out the requirements of the labor market and develop a national plan for the development of education that can achieve a significant impact on the near level.
- Restructuring the institutions of higher education so that they provide staff with a high degree of training and competence.
- Activating cooperation between universities and local administrations, chambers of commerce and business and taking the necessary measures to develop the relation between the private sector and the local government on one hand and between the universities on the other hand.
- The central government's support for the technological research and development programs in universities in the areas that the state needs which provides funding that the universities themselves benefit from it and therefore universities must be in contact and in the case of cooperation with the industry sector.
- Developing the educational buildings in terms of architectural style, equipment and the educational capacities so there is a must to make the educational buildings look like they were prepared for courses rather than classes and it is necessary to abandon the typical frequent shape of the educational buildings, so that to develop forms which are modern and trendy.
- Sending educational missions to the countries which have successful experiences in the educational process.

- Developing a package of laws that help to give some spaces to extend the private education and for the public education to benefit from it.
- Raising the educational efficiency of teachers during the period of university habilitation through the continuing education courses after that.
- Developing curriculum with not relying on the method of memorization as a standard for superior students, taking into account the appropriate curriculum and teaching methods for the group phase experienced by the students.
- Strengthening the system of social and psychological supervisors to be prepared by sociologists, psychologists and psychiatrists.
- Since the foreign languages have become very important for the dialogue between individuals and societies, we must care about teaching those languages and achieve in them the high quality using modern methods and equipment, while our party promotes the teaching of foreign languages, we also are keen to care about Arabic language and mastering it especially in primary and secondary educations, as it is an integral part of the Arab and Islamic civilizational identity of the Egyptian people.
- The modern technology enables individuals to receive education via the internet therefore there is a need to promote the use of this technology in university education and there is a must to take the measures to enable students to take full advantage of the educational materials found on the internet with the emphasis on the presence of providing a minimum level of interactive study between the student and the professor.
- There is a need to double the support for academic institutions while at the same time there is a must to focus on teaching students with special needs and support the institutions, bodies and social welfare agencies working for this purpose.
- Paying attention to establish scientific projects of different disciplines to take care of talented people from a young age, which then secretes scientists in various disciplines and fields.

Arts and Culture

Our Party believes that culture and the arts have a very important role in the formation of consciousness and conscience of the Egyptian people, as well as the true culture and meaningful art are the ones which express the cultural identity of the country and contribute to advance the progress towards the Egyptian development goals and at the same time they do not lose sight of the cultural positive interaction and selective openness about other cultures consistent with our values , traditions and our Arab and Islamic identity.

Therefore, the cultural activities carried out by our country should increase our respect in the international community as our country contains cultural textile and a

rich cultural accumulation over thousands of years, so our Party seeks to include the following:

- Make every effort to maintain the national values and developing them. We accept the interaction of civilizations as a factor that enriches the culture as there is no language, music or architecture completely pure or free from the influence of other cultures.
- Our party aims to raise the cultural interaction between the universal values and national culture, with respect for the civilizational identity of Egypt as this is the only way to build a contemporary and real cultural atmosphere.

Therefore, the principles of our Party and its cultural policy are based on the two sides away from conflicts and controversies in order to get the benefits of both elements.

- There is a need to focus on the development of fine arts and the Egyptian Islamic art and other different types of art and the local governments should play a significant role in the field of art.
- The cultural degradation and showing the violent media materials, as well as those which are not consistent with our values and traditions and which do not express our culture and with the absence of reading from our daily lives are ones of the most important issues that our Party makes controlling them as a top priority for it.
- There is a must to support all the projects aiming at encouraging development in the field of culture and arts and there is a need to expand palaces of culture and multi - purpose cultural centers.
- There is a must to establish the concept of the culture of renaissance and the media renaissance so that the culture and art materials of poetry, theater, cinema, drama and other to be supportive to the issue of Egyptian renaissance, so working on the formulation and building the humans of renaissance, in the system of faith and the system of values and ethics and the system of work, production and efficiency at the same time.

Public Health

The interest in the provision of public health services according to international standards is a critical element in the concept of social state and paying attention to the health side has a great impact on all aspects of economic, political and social developments and others... and to achieve the maximum possible amount of health care for citizens, the Party will do the following:

- We will work to cover all citizens with the umbrella of social security and to make the state have an obligation to provide such basic services for all and in the case of necessity it can cooperate with the private sector.

- There is a must to promote the preventive health services and take special measures to protect the environment and the health of citizens and there is a must to do the outreach community of citizens in the area of health and making the necessary studies to prevent accidents caused by traffic accidents and incidents of negligence at work which may lead to physical disabilities for many citizens.
- Opening the health care services of the volunteer agencies and the private sector to provide and preventive and curative services.
- The health of women and children is very important in our country as there are high rates of death in these two sectors so there is a must to expand in creating the health care programs in both and raise the health awareness of women and children.
- The Ministry of Health must set medical standards for integrated health care and the evaluation and recruitment standards of doctors as well as the provision of medical services at the highest possible quality and there is a need to improve the way of introducing patients to hospitals and avoid the unnecessary queues in specialized hospitals.
- The Ministry of Health must plan and control the health care system and its tasks are specialized in organizing, cooperating, leading and overseeing and developing policies and there is a must to provide most of the medical services in one center with avoiding of having a lot of managers and centers without real reasons.
- There is a need to establish units for emergency services in all areas and there is must to eliminate, forever, the image of citizens denied entry to hospitals due to lack of emergency services units.
- There is a need to create specialized hospitals that work to provide more specialized services with less cost.
- As a result of the increasing of proportion of serious cases and incurable diseases such as cancer and cirrhosis and kidney failure and what they cause of damages that exceed in Egypt the global averages, so there is a must to take the necessary measures to face them in the health units and health training institutions .
- There is a must to take the necessary precautions in order to increase the quality of Health and Medical Education and there is a need to plan education according to international standards in this area, and there is a must to enable the various institutions and the private sector to open schools for the education of nurses, nursing colleges and health professionals' schools and there is a need to provide incentives and support the institutions that provide educational services in these aspects .
- There is a must to reconsider the rights of workers in the health field to comply with international standards and there is a must to review the policy of wages and salaries in this sector.

- It is necessary for the legal procedures to protect the rights of patients and there is a need to review the list of patients' rights to become compliant with international standards and people must be in charge of monitoring the health units.
- The rules of competition must define in this area with organizing the legal regulations of it and there is a must to promote the competition in the quality of health services and start to apply the ISO standards for quality in all aspects of the health sector in the country.
- There is a must to design a single central system for the control of the health system via computer to reduce costs and increase productivity and quality of the health sector and each citizen must have a file of health at the health center that the citizens are registered at and no matter where they will receive the treatment, all the information and health data for the citizens are collected in a single file.
- There is a need to provide hospitals equipped with the latest equipment and treating them as central medical units and within the objectives of our Party is to create a fleet of ambulances, including helicopters to transfer patients between the medical centers and the remote and far areas.
- There is a need to make a budget to support researching in the medical field and there is a must to follow the news of health care through the media and supporting that and there is must to take actions attracting the workers in this area outside of Egypt to serve their home countries and for the return of minds migrating to the country.
- There is a need to strengthen the Medical Association and Dental Association and support the creation of new non-governmental organizations to serve the health sector.
- There is a must to support the pharmaceutical and medical industries and provide incentives for investments in the health field and there is a must to take the necessary measures to make the forensic work independently and in accordance with international standards and there is must to bring all the technological innovations used in this field in the country.
- Hospitals must operate in our country with all their capacities and there is must to apply an effective and public health insurance system that covers all citizens.

Social Security

- There is a must to develop a social security policy consistent with the concept of the social state and there a need for the social security to cover all citizens, in a manner consistent with human dignity of Egyptians and through a system that guarantees the participation of beneficiaries of these services with their opinions and contributions to the control of those services.

- There is a must to take the necessary measures to improve the structure of the financial system related to the body of pensions and social security which is the primary funding element that serves a broad sector of citizens with the emphasis on the standardization of rules and necessary standards to ensure justice and equality among citizens.
- In order to support the financial structure of these institutions, there is a need to cover the largest possible number of workers that are not covered by this insurance as well as their wives and children to be insured.
- There is a must to expand the solidarity insurance companies and give them incentives and there is a must to increase the quality of social services programs for children, youth and the elderly.
- There is a must to expand the rehabilitation services for the disabled one and our approach will depend in this area on providing services and capabilities instead of insulation and protection for this category with developing clear priorities and options in order to provide treatment for people with disabilities who are in need of treatment and care throughout their lives.
- There is a need to review the social care provided for the elderly and people with special needs to comply with the modern standards and there is a must to take measures to ensure that the care goes to the ones who deserve it and there is a must to increase spending in this area.
- There is a must to follow the problems of our citizens abroad closely and there is a must to review the social security contracts of their own to improve their living and social conditions.

Employment

One of our most important goals is to solve all the problems of Egyptian employment at home and abroad through a social dialogue at the highest levels and holding common agreements between the three: worker, employee and the government in order to achieve the financial, moral and health security of employees and maintaining the various economic activities that depend on employment in a balanced manner, and in order to achieve this, we adopt the following:

- There is a need to make efforts to strengthen the compatibility between the government, workers and employees under the conventions and principles of the International Labor Organization (ILO).
- There is a must to complete the necessary measures to reduce the cost of labor and encourage employment as soon as possible and there is a must to review the minimum wage to go along with the standards of cost of living and provide the minimum reasonable of decent living with reducing taxes on the ones with low wages.

- There is a must to give a greater regulatory freedom and promote the labor unions and there is a must to do the necessary adjustments with regard to employment legislations in order to benefit from the rights of trade unions and labor unions and the freedom of demonstrations and sit-ins.
- There is a must to avoid discrimination in the workplace on the basis of gender and there is a must to spread the principle of selection on the basis of merit and equal wages with the equal work and efforts.
- There is a must to bridge the gap in the legislations relating to the exploitation of child labor and there is a must to implement the ILO standards on child labor and there is a need to forbid the child labor.
- Ensuring the safety and security of the staff and workers and providing unemployment benefits for non-working, with directing their energy to look for a job.

Women

Our Party believes that women have a pivotal role in the renaissance of our country, not less than the role of men or could be even more... not because of the fact that women only represent half of society, but because of their significant impact in bringing good and productive generations; and so our Party must care about the various problems of women which have been neglected for years and for that we need the following:

- Taking the necessary measures to encourage women to participate in public life.
- Promoting women to engage in party work and play an active role in politics.
- Respecting the privacy of women which is imposed on us by our culture and our civilizational Arab and Islamic identity.
- Taking deterrent actions and laws to prevent violence and sexual and economic exploitation against women.
- Making the role of social awareness of the Egyptian citizens on women's rights and their important role in society.
- Encouraging the local administrations to solve the problems of women.
- Developing educational programs for girls in rural areas commensurate with the state of the atmosphere in which they live.
- Implementing policies leading to increase the rate of women's education and removing the obstacles impeding that and making projects aimed at raising the awareness of families for the importance it especially in rural areas.
- Working to cover housewives with social security.

- Establishing programs to protect women who do not have the financial support or who are subjected to violence.
- Improving the social security and working conditions with regard to the work environment and responsibilities of the family and the children entrusted to the women.

Family and Social Services

The family represents the foundation stone in the society and plays the role of the most important institution that maintains the cohesion of the structure of Egyptian society as the way of community's happiness and social cohesion passes through the family and obviously we owe largely to the role of the family in maintaining our cohesion in spite of the economic problems that we have suffered for decades; Therefore, our Party will do the following:

- Taking actions in support of the family cohesion in order to maintain social peace and children's mental health from having disorders due to the pressure caused by the work environment.
- Launching projects such as: foster families and returning to the family in order to provide a sense of the warmth of the family for children who miss the care of family.
- Increasing care of street children, educating them, rehabilitating them and treating them in order to return them to engage in family and community, through cooperation with voluntary organizations and local administrations to develop policies to prevent children from staying in the streets.
- Preventing the criminal exploitation of children by family or society.
- Effective control over the obligations on local and public administrations towards the disabled ones and taking the necessary measures for the integration of the disabled with the community and accessing to the labor force and there is a must to promote the accommodating the disabled people and improve the procedures for their current care.
- Starting to fight against drugs in various stages of schools and there is a must to prevent addiction among young people in collaboration with non-governmental organizations and there is a need to develop social programs to raise awareness of the risk of addiction on the country and citizens.
- Helping the middle-class families to have their own homes through long-term housing loans and there is must for the local administrations to cooperate to grant loans of marriage for young people.
- Restructuring the public institutions that provide services in the field of women and family.

Youth and Sports

Young people are the source of dynamism and the force of change in Egypt and they are the real wealth of our country and as Egypt has a young society it is a great opportunity for development, but the young people in our community did not receive the decent education that they deserve and have not had the sufficient job opportunities which has produced a tremendous amount of youth energies pent in Egypt and so far there is no real role to refine these great qualities that have seemed clearly with the Egyptian youth during January 25th Revolution and after.

For this reason, our Party yearns to make the society trust the youth in a practical way, not for flattery or earning friendliness, and this is one of our most import goals.

Our Party seeks to nurture young elements with skill and armed with the knowledge and ability to think independently and make decisions on their own we mean young people who are aware of the nature of their society and the world around them at the same time and who are able to cope with life's difficulties.

Therefore, our Party's policies in this area will be as follows:

- The need for the participation of young people in the political process at all levels and supporting the political practice in schools and youth centers.
- Widening the scope of youth centers to give the young people a greater opportunity to participate in social activities with the cooperation of non-governmental organizations, the private sector and the local administration in this area.
- Putting the problems of young people in rural areas and suburbs on the top of our priorities.
- Taking the necessary measures to prevent the show of advertising or information materials related to drugs, alcohol, violence and prostitution which are things which have a negative impact on the organic, spiritual and mental constructions of our young people.
- Opening libraries in the suburbs and neighborhoods, working on re-caring about reading among young people and using the multimedia and the internet for the scientific, technical and cultural awareness.
- Encouraging the youth participation in international competitions and activities all over the world and giving the outstanding ones special training and job opportunities.
- Identifying the young people with high potentials by the competent bodies and giving them special training according to their interests and skills.
- Establishing centers for young people abroad with high efficiencies to maintain the civilizational, Arab and Islamic identity of Egyptians.

- Developing new sports policy to go along with the occurring change in Egypt and the world and leaving the management of sports services for local administrations.
- Giving the local administration the authority to customize the sources of the sports clubs.
- Enabling athletes and sports clubs to achieve international success and providing them with social services.
- Empowering young people with special needs to participate in sports and community activities.
- Granting incentives to sports and educational institutions interested in training athletes.
- Making campaigns to encourage citizens to exercise sports continuously and the young people will be the primary target group and there is a must to support young athletes seeking to be athlete champions financially and socially.
- Ending the focus on a range of sports activities because of the media focus on them by increasing the interaction between individuals and other sports and encouraging them to exercise those sports.
- Making the new cities as places fit for living through long-term projects based on taking the concept of ‘Green City’.
- Taking the necessary measures to prevent the construction of which damages the natural environment and historic buildings and re-checking the related policies.
- Cooperating with non-governmental organizations to address these problems and promoting the establishment of new neighborhoods and suburbs on valid grounds.
- Preserving the rights of the inhabitants of the cities and preventing all forms of crime and raising the social awareness of the importance of the preservation of the historical heritage, the cultural values and living in a healthy and balanced environment and enabling the public to participate in decisions related to the cities.
- Constructing the public buildings, hospitals, universities and schools according to international standards.
- Focusing on the establishment of fields in the cities in a way that guarantees to individuals the comfort, hiking and demonstrating and expressing opinions and supporting fairs and festivals.
- Supporting the projects of subway to solve the problem of transportation in major cities and expanding the system of water transportation and rail and setting standards that raise the quality of living in cities starting from the priority areas.

Environment

Our Party looks at the environmental issues through two points, namely: making a healthy environment and reducing the national cost and in order to create the healthy environment with reducing the economic cost of it there is a must to follow the following policies:

- Egypt cannot be considered after today a place of harmful waste, whether because of its production or with other countries burying the waste in it, and it is not allowed for any development or production activity to pollute the environment.
- Reducing the rate of pollution by controlling the industrial waste which has a negative and lasting impact on the ecosystem and emphasizing on purifying it.
- Implementing the environmental plans by the local administrations instead of relying on the central authority and activating the participation of citizens in their implementation and in order to achieve this, there is a must to develop the existing local administration.
- Examining all complaints from citizens and the ones related to the environment very carefully with cooperation with non-governmental organizations active in the environmental field and the citizens should take the initiative to solve environmental problems.
- Adopting studies conducted by international organizations related to the environment and using them.
- Developing the educational program to include educating citizens environmentally since a young age.
- Developing criteria for the use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and hormones in the field of agriculture and formulating a mechanism to control all of that according to those standards and there is a must to prevent the use of hormones in livestock, cows and sheep.

Scientific Research and Technology

Our Party believes that scientific research and technology have a strategic importance in economic development and community well-being and our Party believes that the strength of scientific research and technology in our country will increase through the implementation of selected policies on the two sides, and the main policies that must be followed are as follows:

- Supporting the research and development activities and supporting the research institutions especially in the private sector and universities.
- Increasing spending on scientific research which helps to open various centers at the level of the Republic.

- Allocating the appropriate budgets for full-time scientists and researchers to reduce the scientific genius brain drain abroad.
- Paying attention to the departments of scientific development and research in institutions and companies and supporting them which encourage institutions to have a continuous improvement in their performance.
- Raising the allocations of research and development in the general budget.
- Providing the necessary support to Egyptian scientists to participate in joint international research projects.
- Preparing the infrastructure for the national information network to conform to the international system in order to accelerate and facilitate the access of all citizens to the information especially the industrial companies.
- Achieving cooperation between universities and industrial enterprises.
- Increasing the number and effectiveness of the institutions responsible for technological development, research agencies and business leaders from the private sector.
- Promoting partnerships and capital investments to transform the technological inventions into products.
- Focusing on data processing and bio and genetic engineering, cutting-edge technology, energy and nutrition technology, flexible production systems and the health technology.
- Taking the necessary measures for the return of migratory minds and promoting the scientists inside and outside Egypt to return home permanently or periodically.

Readable and visual media

One of the most important pillars of democracy is to have readable, free and independent, visual and multi-views media and one of the basics and pillars of freedom is to have the correct news and information available so there is a must to take all measures to ensure this.

- There is a must to forbid the trade and political relations from influencing on the media or restricting its freedom to receive correct information and news and there is a must to forbid the exploitation of media to citizens and there is a need to review the legal rules in order to forbid the monopoly of media institutions and ensuring confidence in them.
- Media should be promoted to publish the issues that concern the needs of the community and there is a must to protect the cultural values, families, children and

young people from the alien, deviant and weird values to our society which are not consistent with our ancient Egyptian identity, culture and traditions.

- There is a must to establish cooperation with specialized institutions and non-governmental organizations in order to develop new standards for the media based on its community responsibility and there is a need to take legal and technical measures to ensure for media the right of privacy.
- There is a must to support the censorship on the abusive publications through the community opposition and monitoring from the professional associations and voluntary organizations.
- There is a must to specify clearly the concepts of censorship objective basis and without confusion or ambiguity and decisions taken in this regard must be unbiased based on political opinions and ideas.
- There is a must to support the local media.
- Agencies that monitor the media must work according to objective criteria and there is a must to prevent those agencies from being an instrument of political pressure on the media.

Traffic

Every year thousands of citizens die or suffer disabilities as a result of road accidents, as well as large economic losses because of these accidents and therefore our Party in this aspect aims to the following:

- Creating an infrastructure for transportation that balances in the long run between the different modes of transport and reduces road accidents.
- Starting in awareness and training programs to reduce road accidents.
- Transferring the responsibility for the provision of traffic services to the local departments but the responsibility for determining the principles of traffic will remain in the hands of the central administration.
- Highways must become commensurate with the rapid growth in the number of vehicles and there is a must to create additional ways rapidly in areas of high traffic density.
- Inspecting and making sure of the safety standards related to roads before implementing the highway projects.
- Taking the necessary legal measures to increase safety on the roads.
- Expanding the railway system in the major cities and achieving the integration with the highway system to reach the highest levels of safety.

- Analyzing the reasons for road accidents and identifying those causes and taking the necessary actions to address them urgently.
- Establishing a sufficient number of first aid stations on the highways and for them to be equipped with all the necessary medical tools and there is a need to take the technical and legal measures required to fill the shortfall in university hospitals and other health care organizations both public and private in order to provide treatment for emergencies caused by road accidents.

Religious side

Religion is one of the main components of the Egyptian society. It has been the guaranteeing element of stability and solidity of the social fabric in Egypt and then addressing this aspect was one of the priorities of Al-Islah wa al-nahda Party.

And religious reform which we target is making the general proper conceptualization and frameworks for religion to interact with the community represented in the religious discourse issued by the individuals and official religious institutions in Egypt and how religion can play its role in making the renaissance model of the Egyptian citizens.

This is the part of individuals but as for religious official institutions and we mean in here Al-Azhar particularly... there is no doubt that the call for reform and change in it, has become a duty under stunting role that was played by Al-Azhar in the past as an ancient institution that contributes to the formulation of the conscience of the Egyptians and non-Egyptians throughout the Islamic world.

That is why our vision in the religious reform can be approached from three aspects:

The first aspect: correcting the erroneous religious perceptions of the individuals.

The second aspect: the reform of religious discourse.

The third aspect: the revival of the role of Al-Azhar.

Below are the details of these aspects:

The first aspect: correcting some erroneous religious perceptions of the individual Muslim.

1 - The perception of the self:

The human self is honored by the Almighty Creator and no human is permissible to humiliate himself or others but he has to realize that he has tremendous potentials it which should be used in the reconstruction of the universe.

2 - The correct view of the desired community:

Some people imagine that the desired Muslim society is a society without sin where lying, cheating, deception and other depravities disappear and this perception is based on utopian dreams that never were realized in any stage of Islamic history therefore our vision for the desired society is to be a realistic society where goodness wins against the evil and it bears the differences in attitudes and opinions.

3 - Clarifying the comprehensive concept of worship:

The comprehensive complete worship is not limited to certain devotional rituals that meet some spiritual human needs but the construction of the world, making lives, possessing the elements of the renaissance and the civilizational progress and working on the country's progress and prosperity in various fields are one of the most important worships that approach humans to their Lord.

The second aspect: the reform of religious discourse:

Religious discourse in general, whether issued by Al-Azhar or from other volunteering preachers needs to be reformed in a way that gives it an effective influence in the hearts of listeners and perhaps the factors helping in that are:

- 1 – Purifying the speeches and lessons of the weak and false Hadith.
- 2 - The balance in the speeches between ‘the carrot and the stick’.
- 3 - Focusing on the consolidation of the positives in the society with not forgetting to treat the negatives.
- 5 - Focusing on the practical discourse: as the successful religious discourse is not limited to stimulate audiences to go the good but provides them with practical programs to ensure them to apply what they have heard in the reality of their lives.
- 4 - Compatibility with the renaissance line which the community runs in it: as the function of religious discourse is not just preaching and reminding of the Hereafter, but must address the chronic problems of society such as: spinsterhood, unemployment and the difficulty of raising children and other problems and societal needs as well as talking about the positive characteristics such as: effectiveness, productivity and other characteristics that help in constructing the desired renaissance.

The third aspect: the revival of the role of Al-Azhar:

Al-Azhar has been throughout history the safety valve for the stability of society as a whole and the protection of it from the ideas of extremism and fanaticism, whether from some extremists who have fallen into the abyss of Takfiri or violence as well as the other extremist part who wanted to flay Egypt from its Arabic and Islamic identity.

The role of this great monument has declined under the authoritarian regime which has perched over the Egyptians since the revolution of 1952 and until Mubarak's rule

until Al-Azhar lost much of its credibility among the masses of Egyptians as it was the always expresser for the viewpoints of regimes and the supporter of them in different issues.

After the blessed revolution of January 25th, it is time to reform and change this great edifice to restore its credibility again so that it can play its vital role of spreading Islam with its tolerance, justice and moderation and interacting with the issues of the nation and preserving its civilizational Islamic identity.

Here we explain some of the key pillars on which the reform process of Al-Azhar is based on, in order to regain its role inside Egypt and outside in the Arab and Muslim world:

- Reforming the administrative system of Al-Azhar, so that the appointment of Sheikh of Al-Azhar, the Mufti of the Republic and other important leading positions in Al-Azhar institution is to be through free elections, not appointed by the President of the Republic.
- Achieving the full financial independence of Al-Azhar so to have its own endowments that fund its various activities in a way that ensures non-subordination to the regime.
- Reforming the financial affairs for the Azhari teachers and other cadres working in Al-Azhar institution so as to achieve for them a decent living and devoting themselves to their venerable mission in spreading the Islamic call and addressing the nation's issues by the moderation of Islam and its tolerance.
- Reforming the Azhari Education in all its stages so to focus on the strong scientific attainment for all Sharia sciences through the wide Islamic schools of thoughts and paying attention to the jurisprudence of the purposes of the Sharia and developing the jurisprudence talents which makes the student as a nucleus for the real world and not only a memorizer for some branches so that the Al-Azhar to be able to graduate skilled scholars who are able to meet the needs of the society.

We should also pay attention to the huge acquaintance to the assets of the humanities and comprehensive culture so that the Azhari staff can have the ability to address all the masses of different cultures and scientific levels.

And we also should pay attention to the educational aspect of Al-Azhar's students so that the student brings up on the ethics of Islam and presents the religion for the people through his behavior and ethics so that his words would not contradict his morals and actions.

- Reviving Al-Azhar's role in carrying out the fatwas especially in times of calamities and major issues faced by the state and no problem to ask for the help of the knowledgeable trusted people from outside the Al-Azhar if their suitability proved for this important task.

- Great interest on the part of Al-Azhar institution to preserve the respectable image of in the media: as many of these media means used to make a miserable image of the Azhari scholar or Sheikh so there is a must to re-respect the men of Al-Azhar in all media.

Foreign Policy

The geopolitical location of Egypt gives it the power to create a magnet for many of the regional and international cooperative projects and our ability depends on the transfer of that power to the regional and international effectiveness over our investment to this location in international politics and security and economic relations.

On the other hand, the dynamic events that followed the Cold War has ensured us a suitable environment for the development of foreign policy with multiple options and the military alliances and blocs will not be the element controlling foreign relations as they were before but projects of joint cooperation between states is what defines it.

In that new environment, Egypt will re-arrange and re-establish its relations with the centers of power through the multiple alternatives and different axes and our Party must follow a logical foreign policy and free from prejudices and obsessions that copes with the history and geography of Egypt on the basis of mutual interests.

Egypt, which respects the unity of territories and the sovereignty of other countries, believes that it is the duty of other countries and the international community to respect the safety of its territories and its sovereignty.

Our Party believes that Egypt has to redefine its foreign policy priorities and create a balance between its national interests and regional and international realities.

In this regard, our Party aims to:

- Making the Egyptian foreign policy in the long term consistent with the regional and global environment.
- Increasing the strength and effectiveness of Egypt by ensuring the participation of Parliament and various segments of society in the decision-making process.
- The need for cooperation of research centers working in the field of foreign policy within public bodies, institutes of foreign policy and international relations, universities and administrations.

Through these notes, the party must follow the policies described below:

- Egypt must return and assume its role in resolving the crises suffered by its neighboring region and contribute to the effective participation in solving these problems.

- Increasing Egypt's attempts to maintain good relations with its neighbors on the basis of dialogue and therefore there is a must to make a greater contribution to the development of regional cooperation.
- Intensifying Egypt's relations with its neighbors of the Arab, Muslim and European countries in the fields of economy, science, technology, investment and trade.
- Mutual cooperation between Egypt and the United States should be expanded to include the economic, investment, scientific and technological aspects.
- Strengthening the social construction of the Egyptian nation:

As the outside Egyptian role is a reflection of the strength and cohesion of the Egyptian society as a crumbled or not unified society cannot preserve its national interests despite playing an important role in its surroundings.

- The power of economic development:

The economic power is the basis of formation of the regional and international influence and the criteria for power has changed after the end of the Cold War dramatically where the relative importance of military force had declined for the benefit of the economic power which has become the factor of decisiveness in many regional and international conflicts, as it is also tool of modern international relations through commercial exchange and strategic partnerships.

- Pivotal regional role:

Egyptian regional role must be based on strong relations with neighboring countries, and the African regional dimension, the regional Arab dimension and the Islamic regional dimension in the Middle East such as Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Iran.

- Balanced relations with major countries:

It is not sufficient to have strong relations with only one big state but there is a must for the Egyptian state to have the same 'distance' with all major countries and seek to establish strong economic, cultural and political relations with these countries and these balanced relations are the one that allows Egypt to maintain its national interests and protect its national security.

- Following the rational force model in international relations:

Such as the model of France and Germany as each of these two countries proceeds from the point of building an inner strength at the economic, military and political sides but they realize at the same time that the balance of the world powers tend overwhelmingly to the United States and then there is a must to respect this power but not at the expense of their strategic interests and then they build their relations with the United States on the basis of relative parity and mutual interests while preserving the national constants.

- Establishing the international relations on the basis of the knowledge, economic and cultural exchanges as well as the political interests:

International relations which depend on political interests are subject to trembling and change as the knowledge, technical, economic and cultural exchange represents a powerful tool to resolve conflicts and reach understandings on common issues and at the same time it is a tool of pressure to achieve the interests of the Egyptian state.

- Consolidating the Arab and Islamic depth by activating forces of the Arab League Foundation and the Foundation of the Islamic Conference
- Establishing a strong regional alliance between the pivotal countries in the Middle East such as Turkey and Saudi Arabia.
- Reviewing the external relations with the Iranian state according to the latest facts.
- Building the African depth for Egypt especially with the African Nile Basin countries through strategic economic partnerships and Egyptian efforts to create development in these countries at various levels, enabling Egypt to protect its water security.
- Seeking to end the Arab-Israeli conflict in a way that preserves the historical rights but does not overlook the real developments and the Egyptian foreign policy should do its best to end the Palestinian division.
- The bloodshed in the Middle East raises the concerns and interests of the Egyptian public opinion as well as the international public opinion and therefore our Party believes that the only way to stop the flow of blood and tears is to achieve a lasting peace by supporting the Palestinian people's right in retaking their occupied territories.
- There is a must to make a strong relation with China and on several axes and Egypt must make efforts to develop the bonds of relations with China and South East Asia countries.
- Efforts must be made to protect the rights of Egyptian citizens, in a better way who live outside of Egypt in the countries in which they live and there is a must to eliminate the problems faced by the Egyptians in those countries through the development of new and effective mechanisms to resolve these problems.

Conclusion:

Al-islam wa al-nahda Party aims to construct the modern Egyptian state which is based on a true democracy based on the rule of law, human rights and freedoms.

Based on the philosophy "Let the people live so that the state can survive" our Party has places citizens in the center of its all policies where our Party believes that all citizens of the Arab Republic of Egypt are citizens of the first class, regardless of

differences in religion or gender and they are all equal in rights and duties according to the base of citizenship in the shadow of Egypt's Islamic identity established by Article II of the Egyptian Constitution.

The purpose of our existence as a party is to serve our people and policy, as we see it, is to achieve the agenda and aspirations of the people in freedom and decent living that the great Egyptian humans deserve.

And one of the most important aspects of our program is that it is not just slogans which cannot be converted into reality; as reality and the possibility of the application are the salient feature of the policies of our Party, Al-Islah wa al-Nahda Party is moving through the party cadres that derive their strength from the people.

The biggest problem facing Egypt is the lack of trust between the people and the governors and when the confidence in the state is restored to the people and the confidence of the people towards the state and when the people's demands coincide with the policy agenda, Egypt will return to the top of the international scene again.

Al-Islah wa al-Nahda Party does not force any one to adopt any specific ideology as our Party is for every Egyptians that considers himself a servant of the people and all those who believe in democracy, respect human rights and freedoms, support the values of pluralism, possess the moral and human feelings and respect as well the Islamic civilizational identity of Egypt have a place under the umbrella of this Party.

The summary of the program of our Party can be expressed in two words: "Democracy and institutionalism". This program which was prepared by the honest people who have principles and also respect for the Egyptian values and who are aware of the dynamic world around them and they absorb the geography and the times in which they live in order for our country to acquire the position in the International Community that it deserves and rises above the level of contemporary challenges and it is up to us to make all effort in order to establish the rules of politics based on principles and the real appreciation for us is definitely what we will get from our great people.

For you, we are working and for your welfare we strive and on you after God we rely.

God is the most prosperous and the most helper.

Founding members of the Council