



FREEDOM AND JUSTICE PARTY

Election Program |
The Freedom and Justice Party



FREEDOM AND JUSTICE PARTY

Election Program

The Freedom and Justice Party

1

Egypt

Parliamentary Elections 2011

(Freedom ... Justice ... Development ... Leadership)



(Freedom ... Justice ... Development ... Leadership)

In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

This program

Pursuant to the blessed revolution of the great Egyptian people, who were able with God's will and power to overturn the tyrannical corrupt former regime, and out of loyalty to the martyrs of the revolution, and in response to the thundering voice of our people and their just demands to complete the demolition of the repressive regime, to purge the country of corruption and to begin a new phase of building and development of Egypt, we proudly present this program as an integrated vision for the next phase with all its political, security, economic, social, cultural, scientific ... and other requirements. This will undoubtedly be an ultra-sensitive phase, for it will witness the foundation of what could be called "the second republic" which we – all Egyptians – aspire to and endeavour to achieve its goals of building a free, stable, strong, leading and advanced country. We stress that reforming what was corrupted by the tyrants of the past and rejuvenating the country is a huge task that no political party or national stakeholder can achieve on its own. Hence, we call for national cooperation, or at least fair competition to serve our people and our families, without excluding, removing or accusing each other, and without fear-mongering, treason or intellectual terrorism. That is: we should seek a balanced Parliament.

The Egyptian people, in its entirety, is now looking forward to real stability based on a security system that provides safety and security, and a political and constitutional system that re-builds the state administration, and an economic system that rescues the economy and rids the Egyptian citizen of the burdens of unemployment, poverty and high cost of living... in addition to a comprehensive system for integrated development and national security, foreign policy, culture and the media, as well as endowments and religious affairs.

Therefore, our program is based on the priorities of the people and reflects their aspirations for practical initiatives and programs that will achieve the freedom, Shura (consultation), dignity, security, safety, justice, stability, development, progress, advancement and leadership they deserve.

Thus, the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) presents a hand-picked selection of candidates with varied specialties and multiple abilities, representing all segments of the Egyptian people, including: university professors, professionals, workers, farmers and others. We also present a number of female candidates who represent Egyptian women in all segments and their respective communities. This is based on our belief that women are capable sisters of men, and are just as able to effectively participate in the service of their homeland and their religion "The believing men and believing women are allies of one another. They enjoy what is right and forbid what is wrong..." [Quranic Chapter 9 Repentance: 71]

We strive arduously to be an honest, faithful voice for our people, our Egypt, to carry their concerns, demands and aspirations, and work to mobilize and engage all the resources and creative energies of the honest, loyal and strong citizens of this nation to achieve the following:

- Building a strong democratic political system that safeguards the citizens' rights and freedoms, applies the principle of Shura (consultation), and builds an institutional state where the rule of the law is the title of civilized modern human life.
- Achieving social justice that will preserve the citizens' dignity, safeguard their rights and provide a decent life for all, irrespective of class, status or affiliation...



- Laying the foundation for real integrated development and progress of Egypt, our beloved homeland, with all its human and economic resources, its production and construction...

- Restoring the leadership which Egypt has long since lost under rule of the former regime on all Arab, African, Islamic, international, scientific, cultural, and media levels...

Hence this program is founded on four fundamental principles, which represent the great purposes of Sharia (Islamic law), namely: Freedom ... Justice ... Development ... Leadership

With freedom, justice is achieved; and with justice, real development takes place; and thus Egypt is launched forth into real progress and proper leadership as befits its noble people and great history.

We present this election program to our people, and we are confident that:

... Together, we can get our country to safety

... Together, we can rebuild free strong leading dear Egypt

... Together, we can protect Egypt's national unity and preserve its security and achieve stability

... Together, we can develop Egypt's resources and its economy and perfect its rejuvenation

... Together, we can raise Egypt's status, restore its vital role and take it to leadership position

... Because we believe that our free people who accomplished for Egypt – with God's Grace – the great goals of liberation and purging of corruption, are able - with God's help - to accomplish the tasks of leadership, construction and development...

A quick look at the situation inherited from the corrupt former regime, that grabbed Egypt for too long – which was the direct cause of the people's revolution on the twenty-fifth of January – as compared with the proper status that we seek for Egypt with our great people for the future through this program, will highlight the enormous efforts required for Egypt to return to its proper position and to achieve the hopes and dreams of the great Egyptian people.

Conditions left over by the Mubarak regime:

A - The state of deterioration and degradation Egypt sunk to in the era of Mubarak and his corrupt coterie is no secret. Corruption became the system, an integrated, comprehensive system that subverted political, economic, social, cultural and scientific and all other aspects of life in Egypt.

This is the bitter harvest of the successive governments of that regime, which brought Egypt to a state of collapse and failure that affected all areas and all levels: political, economic, social, cultural and scientific etc. Suffice it to say that about 2000 businessmen grabbed 24% of Egypt's national income – the equivalent of 200 billion Egyptian pounds – while more than 20% of the Egyptian people – according to the most optimistic statistics – lived under the poverty line. Meanwhile, the number of unemployed was more than 9 million mostly young people, when some senior 'employees' were paid more than two million pounds per month. Also, more than 8 million Egyptians are infected with Hepatitis "C", 10% of Egypt's population suffer from diabetes, and 29% of children in Egypt are anaemic. Further, patients with renal failure and cancer increase annually by 100 thousand cases. Furthermore, the estimated number of illiterate people exceeds 26% of Egyptians. Drug addicts, among young people, are about 16%. None of the Egyptian universities came anywhere amongst the top 500 universities in the world. Moreover, Egypt ranked number 129 out of 134 countries in the quality of pre-university education. Public debt topped one trillion pounds, payments on which



reached 63% of total public revenues of the state in the budget of 2010/2011. Also, the Egyptian regime's addiction to usurp power by forging the will of the people in all elections was notorious. The regime's human rights record was shameful, with daily violation of human rights as well as life and dignity of the Egyptians, by physical assault and verbal abuse, torture in police stations and the various headquarters of State Security, as well as detention, imprisonment and political arrests of tens of thousands of Egypt's patriotic youths - determined to serve their country - for decades without fair trials. "The number of detainees in President Mubarak's reign exceeded 100 thousand detainees; that ranged from 3 months to ten years imprisonment with an average of 50 thousand years of the lives of Egypt's youth behind bars." The humiliating decline in Egypt's status and its role regionally and internationally went so far that Egypt was supplying the Zionist occupiers of Palestine and Jerusalem with gas and oil, at the cheapest below-market prices, while Egyptians were in bad need of the same. We blockaded and antagonised freedom-fighters in Palestine. We failed in managing the Southern Sudan issue and the Convention on the Nile Basin. Our national security was in danger, even in the depths of Arab and African realms...

Our social security position was no better. Divorce rate exceeded 50% of marriages, because of poverty, unemployment and notoriously corrupt personal status laws that led to the distraction of young people away from marriage. This led to a high rate of bachelorhood and spinsterhood for more than 11 million young men and women, while rates of illicit relationships increased just like the high rates of the resulting illegitimate births.

What a deep dark abyss this corrupt system dragged us into?! What enormous efforts and huge endeavours we need to complete the process of liberation and cleansing of the system and to start construction and development?!

Nevertheless, all this does not lead us to despair or frustration. On the contrary, it is a motive, an incentive for us to be firm as real men in our resolve, and to launch forth together like fearless heroes. We are confident of the prodigious potential of our great people and its resolve and determination, forbearance and endurance, production and creativity, some which was in evidence in the January 25 revolution. We believe that in this nation's wealth of civilization remains much more of what will be a source of admiration, even inspiration for the whole world.

The role of MPs of the Muslim Brotherhood parliamentary bloc in 2005-2010 parliament

In 2005-2010 parliament, the Muslim Brotherhood's parliamentary bloc had quite an intense constitutional and legislative battle and made a huge effort documented in parliamentary records and statistical reports, witnessed by all, and built for them huge political and moral assets and a broad, extensive experience in the fields of legislative and supervisory approaches of state affairs management.

1. Their top priority was:

First: Safeguarding the freedom, security and dignity of the Egyptian citizen, and addressing the regime's practices in violation of the law and the Constitution and violation of human rights.

Second: Eradicating corruption and monopoly, and protection of Egyptian resources and funds being looted and stolen openly by those in power, the privileged and the influential, by putting the brakes on the privatisation train, and addressing the squandering and waste of state lands, which exceeded one trillion Egyptian pounds, and of Egypt's petroleum and gas sold at ridiculous below-market prices to the Zionist enemy and others.



Third: Activating our discussions of the budget and final accounts, which was professional, accurate and well thought out, and revealed squandering of hundreds of billions of Egyptian pounds in private funds, where we provided an integrated program to address the imbalance in the budget in order to achieve greater resources, fairer internal distribution and greater economic and social opportunities for Egypt.

Fourth: The MB's parliamentary bloc adopted the most important Sharia (Islamic law) values and principles in the legislative aspects, the most important of which were principles of social justice and freedom, care for the oppressed classes, the poor and the marginalised, prohibition of usury, the organisation of Zakat, and the practical integration of morals and ethics.

Fifth: Members of the Muslim Brotherhood's parliamentary bloc focussed all their attention to national security issues and vital issues of the nation, such as the cause of Palestine, the issue of South Sudan and Darfur, the headwaters of the Nile, and the problems of Iraq, Somalia and Afghanistan, believing that Egypt's national security will only be achieved by carrying out its role in the Arab and Islamic region, in response to the Zionist and American plots and plans.

The bloc's endeavours above had the greatest impact, exposing the shameful crimes of the regime and revealing its ugly secrets, thus playing a major role in breaking the barrier of fear and increasing public awareness, which were the most important reasons for the blessed revolution and its great success.



Part I: Urgent Issues

There are several urgent issues with special high-priority for Egyptian citizens. Hence, we are already responding to these issues and endeavouring to resolve them. The foremost among these issues are addressing and improving the security situation, dealing with economic problems, and eradicating corruption. In this 'Part I' we look at these issues and set out our vision for dealing with them...

First: a vision for reform of Egypt's security system

A sense of safety and security is a Godly gift and a great blessing. It also is one of the most important pillars of production and innovation, development and investment, at both the individual and the community levels. Hence, the lack of security – and the spread of violence and bullying – is one of the most serious challenges in the way of achieving the goals of the revolution, both on the axis of liberation and cleansing of corruption, and on the axis of construction and development. We, therefore, present our scientific vision for the development of a comprehensive security system, sophisticated in every aspect. Hence, we suggest:

First: Quick and decisive action:

- Sorting and classification of all current officers, of all ranks as follows:

- Exclusion of all those convicted of any charges of murder, torture, bribery, or refusing to return to do their national duty in filling the security vacuum in the country.
- Transferring those officers who committed less serious offences to locations outside their governorates, or to jobs or functions where they have no contact with the public, e.g. in prisons as well as antiquities and port protection.
- Promoting qualified officers, recalling those honorable officers who were excluded from service for unfair reasons, in order to fill the shortfall with experienced officers and personnel.

- Announcement, by police academies and institutes, of intensive training courses (complying with relevant standards) for university graduates - of law schools as well as physical education and social service faculties. Those should be placed into the less dangerous sectors of police service, such as tourism, ports and passport control to alleviate the burden on the rest of police sectors and contribute in solving the unemployment problem.

- Streamlining the work of security forces to avoid exhausting them in tasks beyond the call of their duty, like securing the routes of officials' motorcades and non-important football matches... etc.

- Improving detention cells at police stations, courts and prosecution buildings so they are fit for human use.



Second: Address cumulative actions:

We propose that a committee, from the Ministry of Justice, the Faculty of Law professors and legal specialists, should review Police colleges, academies and institutes curricula, so graduate officers would know how to deal with members of the community in accordance with the principles of law, the Constitution and human rights. Such a committee should also evaluate the structure of Egypt's police apparatus in general, and its internal rules and by-laws. Trained 'representatives' should gradually replace plain-clothes 'Mokhbrin' and recruits, after the expansion of their institutes and improving their standard of education. This should go as follows:

- Re-training and re-qualifying employees in the Police Force through extensive courses on how to best deal with the citizens, living the slogans "The police is in the service of the people" and "A person is innocent until proven guilty", to show their own I.D. cards to citizens and to read the rights of the accused to him or her, including right to a lawyer, immediately after arrest or even on suspicion of crime.
- Increasing the salaries of officers and soldiers in line with the requirements of a decent life, in order to eliminate corruption and bribery, and rewarding individuals according to the seriousness and importance of their roles to ensure fairness of reimbursement.
- Reviewing Police apparatus employees' work times and hours, and setting an 8-hour maximum limit for daily work, and ensuring all employees enjoy adequate holidays for healthy social and family lives.
- The appointment of a public relations officer in each department. Such an officer should not report to the department's head, but to the competent administration of the Directorate of Security. This officer's duty should be to guide and advise citizens and to ensure their needs are met promptly.

Third: Social and media interaction:

- The participation of citizens in the fight against crime and delinquency is complementary to police work, "In order for the citizen to earn the right state social security, he/she should honour the state's right onto him/her to contribute in providing such security, out of his/her conviction that crime plagues society as a whole, not just an individual."

Hence, we suggest the launch of advertising campaigns that should emphasise the following:

* The rights and duties of the citizen; Police pride and authority reflect the nation's pride and authority; How crime-deterrent laws work; Publishing periodic data on the development of security deployment; Announcing deterrent sentences for outlaws regularly, in order to effectively deter offenders, and to give citizens a sense of safety and security.

- National security apparatus:

This force's work should be limited to internal security, defending the nation against terrorism and espionage. It should be considered as a security information apparatus, supportive of the important decisions of the state. Its duty should be to feel the pulse of the street without having any authority to deal with citizens, except in cases of terrorism and espionage only.

- Central Security Forces:

The large numbers recruited for these forces should be reduced. On the one hand, this would save funds for the state. On the other hand, these could be replaced by much smaller



numbers of recruits with medium educational qualifications. These forces should be used to protect demonstrators. However, in the case of criminal activities and riots, confrontation using these forces should be well within the law.

- Mayors and Sheikhs (neighbourhood leaders):

Work should be undertaken to support and empower local mayors and neighbourhood leaders, and to quickly fill any vacancies amongst their ranks. The process of filling these jobs must be evaluated, and organised by election or appointment – taking into account that election is the better option.

Second: a vision for addressing the economic situation

Problems facing the Egyptian economy can be classified under two categories:

A. Internal problems.

B. External problems.

A. Internal problems are:

1. Chronic and continuous general budget deficit amounting to 10% of GNP.
2. Continuous increase in public debt amounting to 1.1 trillion Egyptian pounds.
3. High level of inflation, and failure of incomes to match rates of inflation.
4. High rates of unemployment rising to 10% of the labour force, that is: 2.5 million unemployed.
5. Weak flows of foreign direct investment and decline in tourism, with stable or increasing remittances from Egyptians abroad, by more than 50% after the revolution.
6. High rates of poverty, and inequitable distribution of wealth, with the proportion of the poor reaching 40% of the population.
7. Significant deficit in requirements of strategic goods, especially wheat and cotton.
8. Lower dollar reserves, reduced from US\$36 billion to \$28 billion after the revolution.

B. External problems are limited to:

- 1 - Persistent deficit in the trade balance.
- 2 - Increase in prices worldwide, especially in food commodities.

Proposed solutions:

- To restore confidence to the Egyptian economy:

- a) Achieving self-sufficiency in strategic commodities, particularly of wheat and cotton.



- b) Activating the role of small and micro enterprises in promotion of Egyptian industry.
- c) Activating charitable work, encouraging compliance with the obligation of Zakat and reforming national charitable trust system to provide permanent and continuous financing for the community.
- d) Reforming the system of special funds and making them subject to scrutiny from the Central Auditing Agency, and adding a proportion of its surpluses to the general budget.
- e) Reviewing program of export subsidies, which amount to 4 billion Egyptian pounds, in order to improve and increase its effectiveness.
- f) Amending oil export agreements, in order to get fair selling prices, for the benefit of Egypt
- g) Modifying and activating the law of protection of competition, preventing monopolistic practices by increasing penalties, while exempting the first amount from punishment, and activating the role of competition protection authorities.
- h) Reviewing the wages system and setting upper and lower limits, increasing wage constants and reducing variables.

Third: A vision for the fight against corruption

To address the problem of corruption in Egypt, we adopt a strategy to counter it; that depends on the following:

1. Establishing an independent, strong and fair judiciary, and rid it of all influences that could reduce its effectiveness, and ensuring commitment by the executive authority to respect its decisions and provisions.
2. Revitalising the Central Accounting Agency and transferring its subordination to the People's Assembly, including the appointment of its president.
3. Issuing a law of disclosure and dissemination of information, to include the publication of reports of Supreme Audit Institutions in the Official Gazette, and also to include the right of citizens, civil society organizations and the media to get the information they want through a simple straight-forward procedure and at an affordable cost.
4. Restoring the right of questioning and of forming inquiry committees to local councils, at least at the level of the governorate, the city and the town, in order to be better able to hold local authorities to account and to face and eradicate administrative corruption.
5. Focusing on the ethical perspective in the fight against corruption in the public, private and national sectors, and revitalising the role of state media and the Ministry of Awqaf (religious endowments) and education curricula, for this purpose.
6. Granting freedom to the press, and enabling them to investigate and uncover cases of corruption and their perpetrators.
7. Developing the role of the public in the fight against corruption through awareness programs highlighting this malaise.
8. Applying the law of political isolation for anyone who participated in or benefited from perversion of economic life, and for a definite period, ensuring that such application should be under judicial supervision.



Part II: Freedoms and Political Reform

Granting the people their deserved freedoms and establishing an enlightened viable political system set the rules and principles necessary to ensure a sound democratic political life where political parties and national stakeholders race in an honest, free and fair competition for the votes of the people, who are the source of authority. That is real pluralism which safeguards the people's freedom to hold executive powers to account, and leads to a truly peaceful transfer and circulation of power, and thus achieves overall stability and provides a healthy environment for integrated development and social justice and real leadership that would lead us to establishing the features of the desired civil Islamic State.

This requires a new constitution, with enlightened principles of Sharia (Islamic law) as its frame of reference and the source to its articles and the subsequent changes in the legal system. This would safeguard for Egyptian citizens all their social, economic, political and other rights, without prejudice. For granting citizens their freedoms and rights is the way to engage their energies and abilities in active, effective participation and interaction in the progress, development and defence of their country. The wise and wonderful words of Omar still ring true across time: "When did you enslave people who were born free?!"

Our political reform program is based on the following principles and concepts:

First: Characteristics of the State

Second: The nature of the political system

Third: The fundamental political principles espoused in the program:

1. The principles of liberty, equality and equal opportunities.
2. Independence of the judiciary.
3. Free and fair elections.
4. Accountability, responsibility and questioning authority.
5. Decentralised local government, and impartiality of the administration.
6. Safeguarding citizenship rights, and the maintenance of national unity.
7. Revitalising the role of individuals and civil society.

First: Characteristics of the state:

The State envisaged in our program is the national constitutional Islamic modern democracy, based on Sharia (Islamic law) as a frame of reference. By its nature, Sharia nurtures aspects of faith, worship and morality, and also regulates various aspects of life for Muslims and their non-Muslim partners in the homeland. However, in some (few) cases, Sharia regulates these aspects through



definitive texts with direct relevance and significance. It can also regulate through general rules and principles, leaving details for interpretation and legislation as suits different times and environments, in the service of justice, righteousness and the interests of the homeland and citizens. This is to be entrusted to legislative councils, while the Supreme Constitutional Court is charged with monitoring the constitutionality of resulting legislation. Meanwhile, non-Muslims have the right to refer to their own rules and laws in the fields of family and religious affairs. This State is responsible for the protection of freedom of belief and worship as well as places of worship for non-Muslims just as it protects Islam, Islamic affairs and mosques. Therefore, the most important characteristics of this State are:

- A. The State is based on the principle of citizenship, where all citizens enjoy equal rights and duties guaranteed by law in accordance with the principles of equality and equal opportunities without discrimination because of religion or race.
- B. The State is a constitutional one based on three pillars: the legislature, the judiciary and the executive authority. Each of these works in a differentiated, integrated and co-ordinated manner all at the same time, allowing distribution of responsibilities and authority, in order to prevent monopoly of those by any single entity. This constitutional State must preserve the rule of law by extending and strengthening the rule of the judiciary, safeguarding its independence and working to implement its decisions and provisions, in addition to ensuring that state authorities are subject to and regulated by the law. Any action by public authorities taken in violation of the Constitution and/or the law is considered void and requires accountability questioning.
- C. The State is Democratic, based on the Shura (consultation) principles, which the FJP believes are essential for the foundation of the state with all its institutions. Shura is not merely a political principle governing only the forms of political relations. Indeed, it is a pattern of behaviour and a general approach to managing the various aspects of life in the State, in addition to being a frame of work for faith and a moral guide for the behaviour of individuals and their social relations, instilled in the hearts and minds of individuals, families, societies and the rulers, in order for it to become part and parcel of the patriotic character and an important ingredient thereof, and to engage all citizens.
- D. The State is civil and civilian, for the Islamic State is civilian in nature. It is not a military state ruled by armed forces who get in power by military coups, and it is not ruled like a dictatorship, nor is it a police state controlled by the security forces, nor is it a theocracy - governed by the clergy or by Divine Right. There are no infallible people who can monopolise the interpretation of the Holy Koran and have exclusive right to legislation for the nation and are characterised by Holiness. In fact, the rulers in the Islamic state are citizens elected according to the will of the people; and the nation is the source of authority. The basis of appointment to all positions and functions in the State is competence, experience and the honesty. And just as it is the nation's right to choose its ruler, legislators and representatives, it also has the right to question them and hold them accountable, to dismiss and replace them.

Second: The nature of the political system:

Our program deems the parliamentary system (in the long term) is the most appropriate to the circumstances of the country, as it is based on flexible separation between the authorities, with cooperation and balance between the executive and legislative branches. In this system, the President is the head of the State but does not rule, and the Prime Minister carries the responsibility of government, besides Parliament. The theoretical balance between the authorities is a result of the equality between the executive and legislative branches, the exchange of information, control, influence and cooperation.



However, the most appropriate system to Egypt in this transitional period is the **Parliamentary Presidential system**.

Third: The fundamental political principles espoused in the program:

1. The principles of liberty, equality and equal opportunities

Our elections program seeks to grant citizens the freedoms they deserve, to preserve the fundamental rights of every Egyptian, and change all practices or legislation that challenge or restrict these freedoms or violate these rights. Freedom is God's gift to all, regardless of colour, sex or belief, and it is a pre-condition of Taklif (accountability, obligation and responsibility according to capacity) and one of the greatest objectives of Sharia (Islamic law). For, indeed, Sharia grants humans all forms of freedom, especially freedom of belief, with which a human is to take responsibility for his choices. "There is no compulsion in religion" [Quranic Chapter 2 al-Baqarah: 25].

From this perspective, full freedom for the Egyptian people is a profound principle and a fundamental right. Hence, FJP representatives seek to:

1. Safeguard, for every Egyptian, fundamental rights and freedoms – indispensable in any advanced society and in the framework of genuine religious value system – as well as political and social freedoms – indispensable for the exercise of rights and improvement of communities.
The most important of these rights and freedoms are: freedom of opinion and expression, the formation of political parties and NGOs, meeting and demonstration, mobility and travel; freedom of trade union affiliation; and professional, labor, student and public activity as well as free transparent elections; and also freedom from all forms of oppression, tyranny and discrimination. We will work to enact legislation safeguarding freedom in all its forms, to include it in education curricula, and publicize it in all different media as well as in mosques and churches.
2. Guarantee non-discrimination among citizens in rights and duties on the basis of religion, sex or colour.
3. Ensure women's access to all their rights, consistent with the values of Islamic law, maintaining the balance between their duties and rights,
4. Enact legislation which criminalises nepotism and favouritism, and provide practical procedures that guarantee equal opportunities.
5. Support and promotion of political pluralism as one of the assets of the political process, and establish the rules of partnership between the state and civil society organizations to carry burdens of rejuvenation and development of the homeland.

2. Independence of the judiciary:

Independence of the judiciary is the safety valve of society and the way to achieve justice, safeguard rights, and attain security and stability. Hence, we seek in our program to achieve independence of the judiciary and safeguard it by:

- Eliminating all forms of 'exceptional' justice, and tasking civil jurisdiction to adjudicate in all cases of civilians.



- Tasking the Supreme Judicial Council with jurisdiction in all affairs of the judges, including appointment, promotion, transfer, assignment and discipline.
- Separating the judiciary budget from that of the Ministry of Justice, and tasking the Supreme Judicial Council with determining expenditure aspects away from the control of the executive branch.
- Abolishing the President's power as head of the Supreme Judicial Council.
- Appointing Chairman of the Supreme Constitutional Court from among its judges, based on absolute seniority, also Chairman of Court Commissioners.
- Making the Attorney General independent, and tasking the Supreme Judicial Council with selecting him/her; making prosecutors independent from the Attorney General in the judicial, not administrative work; separating the powers of investigation and prosecution; and restoring the investigating judge system.
- Appointing heads of the Court of Cassation and the Supreme Administrative Court from among their judges, with absolute seniority, and without interference from the executive branch.
- Transfer of judicial inspection responsibility to the Supreme Judicial Council.
- Prohibiting assignment or secondment of judges to positions in ministries and executive branch authorities during their work in the judiciary, taking charge of governance.
- Upholding the authority of the general assemblies of the various courts and selecting all heads of primary courts, as well as the heads of courts of appeal by the Supreme Judicial Council.
- Referring cases to judicial departments in chronological order, and prohibiting the referral of specific cases to particular departments.
- Increasing the number of judges to speed up work; and committing to respect decisions and provisions and to implement them rapidly.
- Upholding the right of every citizen to start a lawsuit without stipulating the two conditions of "Relationship and Interest".
- Considering that the Judges' Club is the official body representing them, and no-one has authority over it except its own general assembly. It must have a separate budget within the budget of the Supreme Judicial Council.

3. Free and fair elections:

This program seeks to complete the reform of the electoral process, to ensure that elections are truly free and fair, by enacting a 'political rights' law. This should include the following:

- The formation of an independent commission from purely judicial bodies, which should be non-dismissable, to oversee the complete management of elections and referenda as soon as the decision is made to invite the voters, should have control over all executive, local and security agencies related to the elections, and should cover all the stages of nomination, voting, counting and announcement of results.



- Arranging for Egyptian expatriates to cast their votes, ensuring the process' integrity and impartiality.
- The imposition of strict penalties for fraud, manipulation or interference in elections, making this a crime exempt from the statute of limitations, and repudiation of all decisions and results based on such a crime.
- Setting precise controls for financial spending in the elections.
- Keeping the hands of security authorities off the entire electoral process, limiting their role to maintaining security and preventing friction between supporters of candidates.
- Allowing independent observers, civil society organizations and the media to monitor and cover all stages of the elections.
- Subjecting local elections to the same procedures as parliamentary elections.

4. Accountability, responsibility and questioning authority:

1. By abolishing the subordination of regulatory institutions and bodies to the executive branch, placing them under the legislative authority (i.e. the People's Assembly), publishing their reports freely and with full transparency, and delegating to them authority to refer violations to the judiciary without requiring anyone's permission.
2. Confirmation of full independence and absolute immunity of the judiciary, without exclusion or containment so that it can perform its role in establishing the rule of law and respect for the judiciary's decisions and provisions.
3. Revitalising the role of public opinion in the process of monitoring the work of institutions by giving priority to freedom of the press and publication in the legislation, and upholding freedom of expression for individuals and groups.
4. Enacting a law for the trial procedures of Ministers in order to achieve justice and direct accountability, in confirmation of the principle of authority and responsibility, and in order to uphold the will of the people.
5. Considering the crime of failure to implement the decisions and provisions of the judiciary law, a felony punishable by imprisonment and dismissal.

5. Decentralised local government, and impartiality of the administration:

Our program aims to reform the system of local government so that:

1. Choosing a governor happens through free, direct elections, and providing elected members of the local People's Councils – to city levels – with all the means necessary of control, like questioning, requests for notification, interrogation, and requests for general debate and questioning, as well as the withdrawal of confidence, etc.
2. Elected local people's councils – to city levels – shall have the right to propose local fees and to control local budgets in the framework of the law and the State's general plan.
3. Administrative apparatus of the state shall be a neutral, efficient body, competent in the service of the citizens with effectiveness and justice, and shall not be affected by the process of devolution or circulation of power.



6. Safeguarding citizenship rights, and the maintenance of national unity

In this respect, we affirm the constants and principles that we nurture and call for their protection, namely:

- that the Egyptians, Muslims and Christians, are integral parts of the fabric of the one homeland, with equal rights and duties, and without distinction or discrimination, and all together they must remove the injustice inflicted upon them.
- that the basis of citizenship is full equality before the Constitution and the law and fully sharing all rights and duties, with the exemption of personal status matters where "each has his own rules."
- that the Egyptians, Muslims and Christians, are partners in this homeland and builders of its civilization, rejuvenation, development and defence against all internal and external threats.
- that citizenship is a human principle that should be applied in a healthy climate, the basic criteria of which is compatibility with the identity and culture of the Egyptian people to the exclusion of all other peoples and nations.
- that we reject "sectarian strife" and consider it a phenomenon alien to our strong integrated society, and emphasise the importance of addressing and uprooting its causes, we also reject calls for foreign interference, and denounce the regime's weak response to sectarianism, and call upon the government not to voluntarily give up its constitutional and legal powers in this respect, and we reject any internal or external pressure aimed at tearing the national fabric, in Islamic Sharia, the Almighty says: "Allah does not forbid you – about non-believers who do not fight you because of religion nor drive you out of your homes – from dealing kindly and justly with them. Indeed Allah loves those who act justly." [Quranic Chapter 60, Mumtahirah: verse 8]
- that freedom of belief and worship are rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the law, and by Sharia (Islam law) even before them, and our fellow Christians must not be deprived of the right to build churches; and that it is essential to find a quick and just solution to the problems of unauthorized and unlicensed churches.

7. Revitalising the role of individuals and civil society:

The basis for reform in Egypt - as we see it - is to restore the nation's true and vital role. There is no way for the advancement and revitalisation of Egypt except with serious and active participation of all individuals, civil institutions and stakeholders in carrying the burdens and serving the interests of the homeland.

We, therefore, seek to achieve the following:

1. Modifying the current associations law to allow the establishment of NGOs with straightforward notification.
2. Forming trade unions for all disadvantaged groups, like the Union of Imams and Preachers.
3. Abolishing the current trade unions law and enacting a new law to allow trade unions to manage their own affairs away from the ruling party or any political powers or stakeholders and to allow individuals to work without membership in these unions, and to achieve the balance between the freedoms of association and the risks of trade union fragmentation.



4. Setting effective controls for foreign or external funding to NGOs so it would not be used to interfere with or break the community. These controls should not stand in the way of serious work, they should help organize, supervise and safeguard Egypt's security.
5. Supporting the advisory role of trade unions with regard to the State and the creation of common frameworks for such cooperation.



Part III: Social justice

The absence of social justice was one of the most important causes of the January 25 revolution and one of its most important goals. Thus our election program regards achieving social justice and ensuring that distribution of revenues from economic activity achieves justice, equality and equal opportunities, some of the most important obligations of the State. In recognition of this responsibility, the most important goals of our election program are addressing the issue of high prices, the elimination of poverty and unemployment, providing basic public services such as education, health care, transportation and other services and facilities, improving living conditions of workers and peasants, finding practical solutions to social problems like spinsterhood, street children and those with special needs, supporting adoptive families, and increasing the incomes of pensioners. In all the above, we will work to bring justice to all citizens, taking into account that the recovery of what has been looted from state funds, reforming the tax system, promoting the Zakat and Waqf (national endowment and charitable trust) systems and combating corruption and deliberate waste and squandering of sovereign resources will provide the resources necessary to achieve the desired social justice among all citizens... as follows:

First, addressing the high cost of living

- Activating the law of protection of competition, and preventing monopolistic practices so that no group of monopolists or firms in the market can control or impose exorbitant prices of goods and services.
- Ensuring the State's commitment to set pricing for goods and basic products when necessary and for specific periods of time, and strict monitoring of the markets to assess adherence to the agreed-upon prices.
- Stressing and calling for commitment to quality controls to safeguard the health and safety of citizens.
- Endeavouring to achieve self-sufficiency in basic commodities such as wheat, sugar, oil, meat and cotton.
- Encouraging and supporting consumer protection associations to inform consumers of their rights, notably product safety and compensation for damages.
- Activating and revitalising cooperatives and expand their activities on the national level, in the fields of cooperative housing, industry, agricultural and consumption.
- Streamlining and adjusting the privatisation policy according to a clear policy, especially for strategic industries.
- Promoting local production and streamlining import operations.

Second, fighting poverty:

Our program's main goal is to achieve social justice, eradicate poverty and provide essential health and nutrition, education, housing, transport and communications services in order to improve the quality of life of all citizens. The Zakat and Waqf system is one of the ways Islam uses to fight poverty, eliminate unemployment, achieve social and economic justice, strengthen social solidarity and cohesion and prevent accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few.



In order to face real poverty in Egypt we will:

1. Set up a real data base on poverty in Egypt, and consider the initiative made by the World Bank, identifying the poorest one-thousand villages in Egypt, a foundation from which to build a complete public database on poverty in Egypt.
2. Amend the tax law, with the adoption of progressive income tax and raising the limit on tax exemption on general income, in order to achieve tax justice, equity for fixed-income staff, especially government employees, who are about 5.6 million people.
3. Activate of the Zakat, Waqf and charity system in order to provide the poor with employment opportunities, financial support, training and craft tools, to help them get out of poverty and into the domains of work and production.
4. Work on income redistribution to achieve justice and to ensure everyone has enough income to cover the minimum requirements of life. In this regard, we will work to pass a law that sets minimum and maximum wage limits, and changes the current structure of remuneration, so basic wages are the essential part of salaries, and incentives, bonuses and rewards are linked to performance.
5. Amend the law on social insurance, to expand social security coverage to include all Egyptians, and especially beneficiaries of social security pensions.
6. Support small projects, and provide 'friendly' loans, and facilitate the procedures for obtaining them.
7. Activate and organise the social role of businessmen.

Third, addressing unemployment:

Despite the conflicting figures of unemployment in Egypt, where the numbers indicate that it ranges between 9% and 12%, it is recognised that unemployment affects almost every household in Egypt, in both rural and urban areas, male and female citizens. The dominant feature of this is that it is unemployment of the educated. The causes of this problem include several factors, with multiple social, economic and political effects. However, we detail below, as much as necessary, our vision for the policies we will adopt in order to resolve this problem.

In the short term, we will:

1. Create a national fund for unemployment benefits, for job-seekers; and facilitate the procedures for obtaining such benefits, by presenting a draft law to regulate this matter, taking into account the real need for a solid database on unemployment.
2. Revitalise idle capacities existing in various sectors of national economy.
3. Reconsider Egypt's privatisation policy and preserve successful public projects.
4. Work to improve investment climate and eliminate obstacles hindering the private sector.
5. Developing and promoting public health and education services programs and initiatives, which will accommodate large numbers of graduates.
6. Expanding vocational training programs for various professions.

In the long term, we will:



1. Work on the creation of productive employment, achieved through a strong impetus for investment and growth in various sectors of national economy by making the banking system invest unused savings which amount to half a trillion Egyptian pounds.
2. Increase the level of national investment by at least 30% of GDP in order to accommodate the numbers entering the labour market annually.
3. Make effective use of foreign direct investment in creating new projects, keeping as far as possible from transfer of ownership schemes, while avoiding concentration of foreign investment in the extractive industries.
4. Carefully select the type of technology appropriate for the development initiative in Egypt, especially in the early stages, where the focus should be on labour-intensive technologies and industries.
5. Restore the balance between education outputs and labour market requirements.

Fourth, improving the conditions of workers and farmers:

- Restructuring the wages system in Egypt to set the minimum requirement for a decent life for the Egyptian family, with an annual increase enough to counter inflation, and also to set the maximum wage.
- Amending some articles of the new insurance law to achieve transparency on insurance funds.
- Modifying some articles of the Insurance and Pensions Act No. 79 of 1975, so the insurance system should cover all Egyptians.
- Amending some articles of the Labour Law No. 12 of 2003, to achieve a fair balance between the interests of businesses and businessmen and between better salaries, services and working conditions for workers.
- Amending Act No. 35 of 76 on labour unions and Law No. 12 of 1995 so as to increase trade union freedoms and prevent the fragmentation of trade union organisation.
- Expanding development of vocational, industrial and technical schools to achieve excellent levels of education and professional rehabilitation covering all the requirements of the labour market.
- Improving vocational training, and developing of artisanal training centres spread across the Republic.
- Endeavouring to turn temporary to permanent employment or improve salaries, working conditions and contracts to grant temporary workers/employees financial stability and equality in a manner similar to permanent staff.
- Presenting a bill to prevent the privatisation of health insurance, to provide health care, with easy access for all without prejudice to the rights acquired in the current law.
- Increasing support for farmers, to make up for the continuing increase in the high cost of the agricultural process.
- Facilitating the payment of indebtedness of small farmers to the Development Bank, interest-free.



- Activating the development cycle of the Bank for Development and Agricultural Credit, and supporting small projects in agriculture, livestock and fisheries.
- Preparing a plan to develop the role of the Agricultural Cooperative Union, and expanding the base of participation in the areas of cooperative marketing of farm produce.
- Activating the Union of Workers in agriculture and irrigation so it should do its part in the care of workers and farmers' interests, and adopt their demands.

Fifth, addressing the phenomenon of street children:

After accurate assessment of this issue, our idea is focused on providing ways and means to deal with the phenomenon, away from the security solution which hurts rather than helps and causes more isolation, rejection and resentment toward the community. So we intend to do the following:

- Establish villages especially for these children, to rehabilitate them scientifically, educationally and morally, and encourage the charitable sector to contribute to the establishment and running of such villages.
- Improve youth reform centres, so they become educational and reform institutions rather than penal institutions.
- Address the phenomenon of divorce and family breakdown and disintegration, which is one of the main causes of the phenomenon.
- Provide job opportunities for those who have reached a certain age.

Sixth, improving the conditions of people with special needs:

To safeguard the right of people with special needs to a decent, dignified life and that they get suitable job opportunities and housing, as well as adequate health and social care and participation in sports activities, we will:

- Develop a unified comprehensive national plan, based on community rehabilitation in the field of disability, and coordinate efforts between the competent ministries, government and non-government bodies and civil society organisations and the media.
- Enact the laws relevant to care of people with special needs, such as the employment of disabled persons, and allocate 5% of the workforce for people with special needs; and monitor the implementation of such laws on the ground.
- Adopt a national plan to increase the number of factories which produce prosthetic devices, and offer these devices to the needy for free.
- Adopt an approach of educational integration: placing children with special needs in regular schools.
- Increase number of trade/craft schools for people with special needs in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Social Solidarity.
- Offering special subscriptions to enable the participation of people with special needs in sports clubs.
- Establish a union for people with special needs to nurture and defend their interests.



Seventh, improving the lives of pensioners:

- Raise the minimum pension, with the adoption of an annual increase to match rising prices, and lift maximum pension cap.
- Work to recover insurance funds from the National Investment Bank, and develop those independently of government loans, amounting to 430 billion Egyptian pounds, since they are private funds.
- Grant those with early retirement insurance their full rights immediately upon retirement, including variable-pay pension and accumulated vacation allowance.
- Ensure that the State bears the burden of health insurance fully.
- Spread the use of automation and direct payment of pensions and the delivery of pensions to the homes of those with mobility problems and hence unable to go out.
- Establish a union for pensioners in coordination with interested bodies, as well as encourage the availability of charities that look after their interests and adopt their demands.
- Prepare programs that promote religious and moral values, reinforcing care-for-your-parents values through mass media, information and education programs.



Part IV: Integrated Development

Foundations for development

This program aims to achieve integrated development with three main elements: human, urban, and productivity. It thus aims, indeed, to produce good citizens who are healthy and helpful, and to make available all vital necessities such as food, medicine and weapons, and to provide the basic needs of citizens, including food, clothing, housing and essential services such as health, education, transport and communications, through the formulation of a fair and balanced economic system, emphasising the role of the State in bearing vital responsibilities, maximising the benefit from the private sector, and fighting fraud, usury, exploitation and monopoly, supporting development projects, limiting parasitic activities, and eliminating poverty and unemployment, by facilitating the circulation of capital among all strata of society, based on the following:

- Developing a national plan for integrated human, urban and productivity development, and work on the preparation and implementation of policies necessary to implement this plan.
- Maximising the use of Egypt's geographical location, being the most advantageous in the world, both in terms of logistics and in the length of its coasts and beaches.
- Revitalising and developing the country's high institutions, such as the national councils specialised in the formulation and activation of the national plan for integrated development.
- Integrating planning and implementation of the development program by establishing a Higher Council for integrated planning and development followed by other higher councils of the various development packages (human, urban and productivity).
- Attracting all experienced, competent, professional Egyptians – at home and abroad – and creating the necessary climate to maximize their performance, especially in areas of economy, scientific research and technology transfer and development.
- Redistributing of population and development on most of the homeland's area, by establishing new regional growth areas that attracts populations, where development resources shall be available.
- Establishing national projects with geographical dimensions, giving priority to projects for the development of Sinai, the Suez Canal zone, the North Coast, the Qattara Depression, Upper Egypt and the south of Aswan (attached with this program is the Sinai Development Project supplement).
- Preparing specialised national programs, the most important of which is a program of self-sufficiency in wheat and other essential crops and a program for the advancement of local manufacturing and programs of advanced technology.
- Focussing attention on solar energy as an alternative at the level of scientific research and nationalisation of technology, industry, human resources, policies, legislation and budgets, as the Western Sahara has the highest rate of insolation in the world with enormous energy equivalent to four billion barrels of oil per day (attached with this program is the FJP's Solar Energy supplement).



This election program aims to achieve several objectives that can be summarised as follows:

1. Provide employment opportunities for citizens, especially young people.
2. Improve the living conditions of the Egyptian citizen in general and low-income citizens in particular.
3. Provide an accessible education system, effective and appropriate for all strata of society.
4. Provide decent affordable health care for all citizens.
5. Provide adequate housing and health facilities to all citizens at affordable prices and with easy payment schemes, especially in regions that serve the goals of development.
6. Expand self-sufficiency in staple crops and livestock; and support agricultural projects with water and agricultural industries projects.
7. Promote and support the progress and advancement of industry, especially labour-intensive industries and industries that serve the development programs and those that are based on import substitution and increased exports; and support industrial projects with projects to generate energy as well as mining projects.
8. Re-formulate the tourism industry in order to support the Egyptian economy in line with our values and moral principles

Elements of integrated development:

First, Human Development

Second, Economic Development

Third, Urban Development

Fourth, Productivity Development

First, Human Development:

A nation's progress is measured by its achievements in the field of human development, in building human capacities. Our election program gives particular priority to this issue. We endeavour to safeguard every citizen's right to live in a suitable environment, the right to education, right to health care, in order to build a generation capable of achieving development for this community...

A. Making the Egyptian citizen

A human being is of great value in himself. Created and honoured by God "We have certainly honoured the children of Adam" (Quranic Chapter 17, Al-Isra; Verse: 70), he is the effective tool for all desired reform and change. His freedom, security and dignity are the ultimate goals of all reform.

It is, therefore, of paramount importance to make the Egyptian citizen, with a good rich personality "spiritually, intellectually, scientifically and physically", in order to create a morally committed and intellectually mature generation, with a true sense of belonging to the homeland, and a healthy appetite for knowledge, and who is healthy both mentally and physically, and is thus able to go



through life conscious and alert, and to achieve a leap in the development of the nation and the homeland.

Here is our vision for the role of women in Egypt, and their rights and duties, as well as our vision for the development of youth and children sectors.

1. Women:

The basic principle of Islamic law is equality between women and men in rights and duties. Therefore, we stress the importance of social support to women to help them perform their roles in society and to promote active participation in elections and membership of the elected legislative and local councils; we support women's informed involvement in the development process in all its aspects; we support their demands for fundamental free and dignified life fit for their human and social status; and also support women's illiteracy eradication initiatives and plans, and adoption of programs packages to help widows and divorced women, to safeguard their social rights, and we support women as heads of households.

The FJP has the greatest respect, appreciation and support for women's role as wives, mothers and makers of men; and aims to better prepare them for this role. The party aims for society to benefit from women's capabilities and resources, and realise that their giving is more, not less than men's giving – especially after their children grow beyond childhood and adolescence. Hence, the FJP holds that their power must be employed for the betterment of Egypt, our homeland.

2. The family as the child's first incubator:

The family is the oldest institution on earth. It's also the first incubator for breeding and upbringing of humans. To realise the importance of focusing on the construction of the family unit as a means for making and shaping the good Egyptian citizen, let's look at the outcome of the previous decades of exposure systematic corruption implemented by several parties, especially the National Council for women, the National Council for Motherhood and Childhood, and a whole list of civil society organisations that receive foreign funds from suspicious sources. Those were helped along down that slimy slope with a package of corrupt laws passed not due to public demand, but were the result of international dictates imposed on us by international conventions signed under the previous regime.

Thirty years ago, Egypt joined an international convention for women called the "Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)" although this Convention controls the most private of the marital relationship details.

Do any members of our great public know that Egypt is a party to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which allows a child to choose the family to live with? Do Egyptians realise that they are obliged to accept homosexuals and treat them in the best and kindest way possible, in compliance with those agreements?? Not to mention the legalisation of adoption in ways strictly forbidden in Islamic law?!

Was it not our right as citizens in this country to have referenda on such conventions and agreements that control the finest details of our lives and our family relationships? Since this was not done at the time these conventions were signed, **it is our right – as a people proud of their identity and religion – to insist on re-consideration of those agreements. Then they should be re-evaluated in terms of suitability to our culture, traditions and established values. We should have the first and last word on accession to those conventions.**

After this blessed historical revolution, we must endeavour to implement a number of preventive and therapeutic programs for:

The short term:



- Family guidance programs, to solve family problems that already exist, neglecting which would lead higher rates of divorce.
- Programs for the training, education and rehabilitation of young people approaching marriage, so each of the new spouses would be aware of his/her duties towards the other, and his/her role in the family.
- Enacting the laws and regulations that safeguard rights and protect society, such as: requiring the husband to support his family financially, requiring the father to support his children financially when he divorces their mother, simplifying divorce procedures in accordance with the provisions of Islamic law, if all attempts at reconciliation fail, and criminalising illicit relationships, and so on.
- **Abolition of the National Council for Women and the National Council for Childhood and Motherhood, which acted as the intelligence arm of the international players in Egypt, and replacing them with a national council for the family intent on providing a healthy climate for making good balanced families and takes into account family affairs and security.**

The medium term:

- Adoption of a package of initiatives and programs to help divorced women and widows, ensure they get all social security benefits they are entitled to, and support families without a breadwinner.
- Encouraging productive families and small (home-based) projects with 'friendly' loans to help solve the problems of poverty and unemployment.
- Integration of traditional family values in education curricula.
- Consolidate the values of chastity and modesty in the media, in education curricula, and in street advertisements.
- Reviewing labour laws, to allow mothers with new-born children to spend more time with their children, so as not to limit their role in raising and upbringing their young, as much as possible.
- Reviewing personal status laws, ridding them of materials destructive to the family, and endeavouring to make personal status laws comply with Islamic law, while reserving the right of Copts to their own personal status laws.

The long term:

- Developing a road map to achieve complete independence for the Egyptian state, in all matters pertaining to family, women and children, beginning with a review of the CEDAW and CRC international conventions, and ending with a popular decision on those, so that Egyptian policy, in this regard, stems from the inherent pure values of the Egyptian people, not from some international agenda.

2. Youths and Sports:

We will seek to develop all elements of youth and sports sector activity in Egypt, at both the institutional and technical/skill levels, and starting from the level of youth centres, sports clubs and school sports activity, working up to the level of supporting projects for shaping Olympic champions, and achieving greater administrative and financial reform in this important and vital sector, by utilising the latest methods of strategic planning; expanding the base of participation in sports activities; encouraging the private sector and the community to support human development in this area; and working to include most of the segments of society in appropriate sports activities.



3. Children:

The reality of childhood in Egypt requires a strategic vision for revitalisation and advancement, like improving children's psychological health, providing primary health care, helping the formulation of sound mentality, and preventing harmful effects. This can be achieved by educating young people – in theory and in practice – the principles of Islam and morality, as well as modern science, the love of homeland, which requires an educational environment with proper integration of the various institutions of education and upbringing: family, school, institute, university, mosque, church, media institutions, and civil society institutions.

The new Children's Act should be thoroughly reviewed, to abolish all items contained therein which collide with the moral value system of the Egyptian society.

B: Education and Scientific Research

1. Elementary and Secondary Education:

- Paying attention to the dimensions of the learner's personality in an integrated and balanced manner.
- Doubling education budget gradually, so as to match international rates.
- Increasing the percentage of kindergarten capacity to 50%.
- Increasing the number of classrooms, by building 40,000 new classrooms, as a first stage, within five years.
- Restoring trust in educational institutions, to reduce the magnitude of the private lessons problem.
- Solving the problem of illiteracy by providing human and material resources, and cooperating with colleges of education and civil society organizations who volunteer help and assistance in this regard.

2. University-Based Higher Education:

- Preparing legislation and mechanisms with clear implementation procedures for real and effective independence of Egyptian universities, where university leaders are selected by free, direct elections.
- Encouraging horizontal expansion in public universities and community colleges to achieve a percentage of one university per 2-3 million people, and linking the number of universities and students, their curricula to the needs of the labour market.
- Developing a new financial category for members of staff at universities fit for their social and scientific status.
- Support university infrastructure with scientific laboratories, libraries and student activities.

3. Scientific Research:

- Increasing GDP percentages allocated to scientific research gradually to reach 2.5%.



- Developing a national strategy that allows the transfer, nationalisation and development of technologies and supports innovation and invention in solving the problems and issues of the community.
- Developing of higher studies and research systems at universities, as well as research centres for professional training of outstanding researchers, scientifically and morally.
- Linking scientific research institutions with centres of production, services and facilities.

C. Health Care:

- Increasing financial allocation to health gradually, so it should in time reach international averages.
- Increasing the incomes of medical staff to ensure efficient medical presence around the clock and a decent life for medical workers, while adopting a full-time work approach for all medical staff...
 - Extending the umbrella of medical insurance to cover all classes of the Egyptian people, where individuals pay what they can and get what they need.
 - Increasing the number of specialised institutions for the treatment of diseases that cause most illness and mortality, especially liver disease, cancer, heart disease and schistosomiasis; and spreading those medical institutions geographically to areas outside the capital, to cover the Delta as well as the North and South of Upper Egypt.
 - Establishing a Supreme Drug Authority to oversee local production of all medical supplies and medicines for chronic diseases.
 - Developing a Food and Drug Safety Authority to tighten controls on the production, sale and use of medicines and foods.

Second, Economic Development:

Economic development depends on the following basis:

- Realisation of the Legal State (or Rule of Law'), creating a climate of legislative requirements of economic reform.
- Self-reliance and taking advantage of local resources "natural, financial and human" and the adoption of a production system based on a strategy to replace imports with local produce and products.
- Achieving partnership with the private sector and the Egyptian business sector only in the implementation of the state plan.
- Reconsidering the economic role of the state, giving a greater role for the private sector without eliminating the role of the state.
- Achieving transparency, creating an accurate database and an investment climate characterised by stability and clarity of the factors governing it.
- Recognising the sanctity of public money and respecting private property, unless inconsistent with the public interest.



- Gradual replacement of usurious institutions and transactions with Islamic ones.

A. The privatisation program:

Approach new forms of privatisation more effective and appropriate for the Egyptian economy, such as the privatisation of management, partnership and raising the efficiency of management...

- Refrain from privatisation of strategic industries such as medicine, food, energy etc.
- In the case of privatisation, it is essential that assets should be evaluated fairly and with total transparency.
- Priority should be given to national investors to buy these assets.
- Assets sold off should be replaced by new productive assets.

B. Competition, antitrust and consumer protection:

- Amend the law to protect competition and prevent monopolistic practices by abolishing the penalty on the first amount, to encourage informants on crimes of monopoly, while toughening sanctions on the perpetrators of these crimes.
- Rejuvenate the performance and the role of Competition Management and Antitrust Authority, away from the control of businesses and businessmen.
- Revitalise the important role of law and the Consumer Protection Agency.

C. The State general budget:

Recommendations to increase the State's resources and finance of the budget

1. Collecting the real value of the land granted free to business leaders and investors, such as the lands of Madinaty and the Gulf of Suez, worth over US\$800 billion.
2. Including the proceeds of special funds to the State budget, and addressing the irregularities in their accounts.
3. Delivering natural gas to households, which would save more than 16 billion Egyptian pounds a year, which is now go to support imported gas.
4. Reviewing the contracts to export Egyptian natural gas, especially to the Zionist entity. This should provide additional revenue of up to US\$18 billion.
5. Reviewing export prices of raw materials and mineral resources, especially oil exported to Israel, which is exported at a fixed price of 6.8 dollars per barrel since the signing of the Camp David Accords.
6. Commissioning power stations that operate with diesel and natural gas, which would save about 2 billion pounds a year.
7. Reviewing the policies of support for the shift from subsidising certain items – which often do not reach deserving citizens – to direct support of citizens.



8. Cancelling subsidies for energy-intensive industries, and reviewing the current subsidy policy of petroleum products, which gives the rich 80% of subsidy funds.
9. Rationalising export subsidies received by a group of leading businessmen and investors, which amount to 2.5 billion Egyptian pounds in the current budget.
10. Reviewing prices of electricity for the upper segments consumption, which exceed 500 kilowatt hours per month.
11. Collecting taxes due for payment – amounted to 5 billion Egyptian pounds last year – of which 37 billion is owed to senior financiers directorate, including 6.2 billion pounds in taxes owed by news organizations.
12. Reviewing the Income Tax Act to revitalise its role in increasing the state's resources, in addition to its role in supporting economic policies by reducing the tax rate on labour-intensive sectors of industry such as ready-made garments and textile or environment-friendly industries, such as cleaning and recycling of garbage, with rising tax rate on the rentier or commercial projects and businesses, in a progressive manner with suitable preparation for investment. For example, increasing the tax on income for the communications sector by only 10%, will lead to well over one billion Egyptian pounds extra for the state treasury.
13. Imposing a tax on capital gains, for example: trading in the stock market. Tax on the profits of stock should be 3% on the funds that come out of the market during a period of less than 6 months, 2% on the funds that come out of the market after a period of six months but less than a year, and 1% on the funds that remain in the market a year or more. A tax should also be imposed on the sale of land after 'conversion' (transforming land from agriculture to other purposes).
14. Restructuring real estate tax policies to support the implementation of the strategy to get out of the Nile Delta valley to the new regional growth areas.
15. Fighting tax evasion, to raise tax revenue on commercial and industrial activities, which currently does not exceed 5.5 billion Egyptian pounds, while the value of taxes on employment income amounts to 13 billion pounds.
16. Modifying and enacting the competition protection and monopoly prevention (antitrust) law.
17. Addressing the delayed implementation of the stalled 5-year plan projects, which leads to additional financial burdens as a result of overrunning planned costs.
18. Disposing of government idle stockpiles and setting controls to rationalize operations, such as coding and centralized procurement.
19. Fighting corruption, and providing efficient management of economic organisations and public companies.
20. Making best use of foreign loans and grants, and not resorting to those except after the completion of feasibility studies and necessary preparations for implementation.
21. Using financing instruments to finance State budget, which will lead to investing a large portion of idle deposits in the banking system – estimated at 500 billion Egyptian pounds – and will ease the burden of public debt.



The following should be taken into account when preparing estimates of expenditure in the general budget:

1. Reforming wage structure so that a basic salary is at least 80% of salary total, and so the minimum wage is 1200 Egyptian pounds. This should happen gradually, over a period of five years.
2. Increasing pensions to ensure at least the minimum income for a decent life for pensioners, taking into account the increased needs of expenditure for them – on important items such as medical treatment etc.
3. Increasing the proportion spent on maintenance in Part II of the budget to the extent that ensures the maintenance of national wealth, and at the rates accepted globally, to stop the collapse of public projects.
4. Increasing support for social security pensions so the 'share' of each family member should be at least equivalent to one dollar per day.
5. Rationalising petroleum products subsidies, and eliminating subsidies for energy-intensive industries and some sectors such as tourism, which gets almost 10 billion pounds in subsidies.
6. Increasing subsidies for farmers to encourage the cultivation of strategic crops such as wheat, cotton, oil crops and sugar, in order to fill the gap in the production of these crops.
7. Increasing spending on scientific research, so it can do its part in the development process.
8. Increasing public investment in essential, vital sectors such as education, health, transport and housing, in line with internationally recognized rates as a proportion of GDP.
9. Increasing spending of Part V so the armed forces is able to clear the lands of the north coast and Alameen of mines left over from World War II, enabling the use of 3 million acres in agriculture, the exploitation of natural resources therein, and the resettlement of more than one million citizens.

Third, Urban Development:

Housing and Urban Development

- Redistributing of population and development on most of the homeland's area, depending on natural resources.
- Developing innovative models for the design and construction of low-cost, environment-friendly housing, facilities and utilities which rely on local building materials and new technologies.
- Reviewing the policies of support for the shift from subsidising certain items, including housing products – which often do not reach deserving citizens – to direct support of citizens to finance their homes.
- Restructuring real estate tax policies to support the implementation of the strategy to get out of the Nile Delta valley to the new regional growth areas.



- Re-planning of slums in cities to facilitate the improvement of the housing and service environments for residents of those areas.
- Reviewing Egypt's wealth of real estate, construction land and agricultural land to ensure using them according to the purpose for which they were allocated, and also re-considering the legitimacy, legality and the value of that allocation so as to benefit the state with fair prices, to maintain the continuity of work by serious investors, to preserve the rights of buyers and clients, and to raise to maximum band the tax rate on speculation transactions pertaining to land, with all its types.
- Establishing a State lands bank, exclusively competent for sale of state property.

Transport and Communications

This program aims to achieve integration between the four means of transport: road, river, sea and air, so as to raise the performance efficiency of this sector domestically and internationally, as follows:

- Establish a Ministry of Maritime and River Transport, along the lines of the Ministry of Civil Aviation, under which operate specialised bodies such as the Suez Canal Authority, the Ports Authority and the River Transportation etc.
- Revitalise the railways and river transport sectors for the transport of goods, in order to address the current distortion in the share of these methods of transport of total goods transported, on the national level, which does not exceed 5%.
- Establish a network of new roads to serve urban developments, alleviate congestion in large cities, encourage residents to move out of the narrow (Nile Delta) valley to invest development resources, create new job opportunities, and enhance national security.
- Construct a new railway line, east of the Nile, that passes through all the governorates of Upper Egypt, from Cairo, with transverse branch lines connecting it to the Red Sea. Also, construct a network of railway lines for the reclamation and reconstruction of the Sinai, so as to enhance national security, serve industrial areas and new mining areas there, serve ports of the Red Sea, and reduce the pressure on the current western line.

Communication and Information

1. Allow full freedom of competition among telecommunications companies in general, and mobile phone companies in particular, with no limit on the number of companies.
2. Develop an integrated national program for the nationalisation of communications industry and technologies, starting with components and ending all the way up to design, manufacture and launch of communications satellites.
3. Expand endeavours in the establishment and development of information infrastructure, especially in the international information network (the internet), and also create internal information network, at local and regional levels.
4. Support the software industry in Egypt, by all means – moral and physical.

Tourism and Civil Aviation

1. Protect tourist areas in Ancient Egyptian cities, and along the coasts of the Mediterranean and Red seas.



2. Encourage the private sector and attract foreign investment to effect more development in the tourism sector.
3. Market tourism products on Arab and international levels by working on the revitalisation of Egyptian Tourism in the main existing markets, and open new tourism markets.
4. Double hotel capacity through the development of existing tourist destinations and the targeting of new tourist destinations, with diversification of tourism services.
5. Provide quality service to tourists, from arrival/reception through to facilitation of customs procedures, transportation to suitable hotels, good hotel service, tourist attraction tours, and right up to the moment of departure from Egypt.
6. Promote scientific, conference, cultural and religious tourism.
7. Fast-track establishment of a land-bridge over the Gulf of Aqaba, linking Egypt and Saudi Arabia, to facilitate the movement of Arab tourism between the countries of the east and the west – of the Arab world – through Egypt. This should achieve an additional economic growth, in many areas.
8. Lift all visa, customs and excise barriers among Arab countries.

Fourth, Productivity Development:

This program's productive development strategy depends on the combined efforts of the state and the private sector in a balanced implementation of the projects: the highest priority and the slowest for initial returns productive projects, along with the least priority and the fastest returns ones, in order to maintain liquidity and avoid inflation, based on the following points:

1. Focussing on productive projects with relative economic advantage locally and globally.
2. Achieving a balance between the productive projects which aim to export and projects that aim to bridge the gaps in internal needs.
3. Supporting labour-intensive production techniques and projects which contribute to solving the problem of poverty and unemployment.
4. Expansion in the projects that enhance the added value of natural resources and national wealth rather than draining them.
5. Stimulating the private sector – at the local, Arab and international levels – to create the projects listed in the state plan for the development of productivity.
6. Focussing on industry and technology development as a powerful work-horse to pull the wheel of development, and support it with energy and mining projects.
7. Increasing use of alternative energy, especially renewable types, focussing on solar energy projects, and working on nationalising and developing technologies relevant to those projects.
8. Promote agriculture and livestock production to achieve sufficiency in vital staple crops, bridge the food gap, maximize economic value, and develop irrigation and water conservation projects.



Agriculture, Irrigation and Livestock

- The program accepts that the State shall establish the infrastructure necessary to plant a million acres, and provide about 500 thousand job opportunities.
- Modifying the crop structure while maintaining a balance between the production of grain and fodder crops, sugar and consumable crops, so as to save approximately 10-15% of irrigation water.
- Sinai reconstruction project, to plant 400 thousand acres of various crops.
- Re-examining the distribution of agricultural land to young graduates to confine such distribution to graduates of colleges of agriculture and veterinary medicine
- Encouraging foreign and Arab investment in large reclamation projects, with or side by side with Egyptian investors.

Protection of older lands from degradation and erosion:

1. Enacting laws that criminalise the use of agricultural land in construction as well as the military law that was abolished as an electoral bribe under previous governments.
2. Increasing construction and economical low-/medium-cost housing projects for young graduates in new areas, and increasing the contribution of civil society in the adoption of these projects.
3. The use of modern technologies in the re-purification of sewage and direct it to timber crops and forests.

Integration with Sudan:

1. Build bridges of cooperation with the Sudanese government.
2. Encourage Egyptian investors to agricultural investment in Sudan.

Irrigation and water management:

1. Developing surface irrigation systems and increasing the efficient use of irrigation water to save 20-25% of irrigation water currently used. Water saved in this way can be directed to the irrigation of new areas in reclamation zones.
2. Train 'Water Advisors' to accompany and assist agricultural advisors.
3. Making use of modern irrigation systems (sprinkler irrigation - drip irrigation) in most of the new reclamation areas, and banning use of surface irrigation systems, except for practical necessities in these areas. To achieve these objectives, the following procedural goals must be attained:
 - a. Educate farmers and small owners of the importance of preserving available water resources.
 - b. Create cooperatives that can contribute technical and material assistance to small holders so as to adopt the use of modern irrigation systems.

Industry, Energy and Mining:

Our elections program supports – over the next five years – in the fields of industry, energy and mining, the following main points:



1. The establishment of a Higher Council for Industry and Energy and Mining that works for the integration of efforts in these three sectors.
2. The construction of three thousand industrial units, that should provide about 200 thousand job opportunities to serve the following industrial areas:
 - Labour-intensive industries
 - The building materials industry
 - Agro-industries
 - Import-substitution industries
 - Industries that cater for export markets.
3. Increasing energy projects to reach the maximum capacity of 30-35GW in proportion to economic growth rates as follows:
 - Substitution of diesel with natural gas in electric stations.
 - Increasing the pace of building power plants based on renewable water, wind and solar energies.
 - Developing electrical energy joint-projects with the Nile Basin countries.
4. Maximising the use of mining projects as follows:
 - Re-drafting legislation and enacting laws regulating the exploitation of mineral energy to serve development goals.
 - Using modern technologies in the fields of mining to take advantage of precious mineral raw materials.
 - Increase the value added in national mineral wealth by encouraging the mining industries.



Part V: Regional Leadership

The past years witnessed a significant decline of the role of Egypt - under the former regime - at the regional and Arab levels. Egypt lost leadership of regional (Arab and African) as well as Islamic domains, including cultural, media, political, and religious leadership. Egypt's role was limited to playing marginal, complementary parts like the mediator or the follower of this or that country and its policies. Indeed, Egypt turned against its own history and powerful potential. It started supporting occupiers and colonisers, through its presence in so-called axis of moderation, which is sponsored by the United States. Egypt laid siege to resistance, freedom-fighters and revolutionaries. Hence, our program seeks to restore glory and leadership and status to Egypt, under the banner "Indeed, this nation of yours is but one nation" [Quranic Chapter 21, Prophets - Verse 92].

First, Political Leadership:

Egypt has traditionally played a central, strategic role and a significant cultural and historical weight, regionally and internationally. Furthermore, Egypt has a great national responsibility towards its sister Arab and Islamic countries, and towards Islam and Islamic issues. In order to maintain our national security we emphasise the need to restore the historic leading role of Egypt in the Arab and Islamic regions and the whole world. Hence, we stress the following:

1. Foundations and principles on national security and foreign policy

1. Maintaining peaceful relations with all countries, nations and institutions of international regulation, promoting mutual respect and equal relations, and supporting international peace, justice and security.
2. Respecting the principles and regulations established by the international community to resolve and settle conflicts between nations, especially with regard to non-aggression pacts, annulment of the gains of illegal wars, and the Geneva Convention to protect civilians and prisoners during wars, as well as other agreements and safeguards that criminalise aggression and its results which comply with the principles of Islamic law.
3. Respecting international law covenants and conventions on human rights, and reforming the United Nations.
4. Agreements and treaties between countries must be popularly accepted. This is not achieved unless these conventions and treaties are based on justice and serve the interests of the parties concerned. Those parties are then obliged to commit to texts of such conventions honestly and accurately. International law permits the parties involved in agreements and treaties to review the details of any such agreements and treaties held between them, in light of the above conditions.
5. We will endeavour to achieve Arab and Islamic unity as an important goal, gradually, in a carefully studied approach, compatible with the popular will, while safeguarding national security.



2. Axis of national security protection

1. Protecting the Egyptian regime, institutions, people and cultural values, strengthening our national unity, developing the overall strength of the state, and supporting its effectiveness at the regional and international levels.
2. Re-planning urban and population layout of the state in general, and in Sinai in particular, and using Egyptian lands, wealth and resources in a scientific and practical approach, to serve national security strategies.
3. Contributing to shaping the international cultural framework with our cultural and civilizational heritage and resources, strengthening relations with emerging non-colonial powers, and establishing balanced, mutual relations with traditional and major powers...
 - a. Supporting the armed forces with manpower and weapons to protect the homeland and deter enemies.
 - b. Supporting and revitalising the Arab League, the Organization of Islamic Conference and the African Union, to achieve their objectives, endeavouring to solve the Palestinian in a manner consistent with the Arab-Islamic perspective, and supporting the people in their struggle for freedom.

Therefore, we seek to play an active and influential part on several levels:

1. At the level of Arab states:

- Supporting Egypt to play its real role in revitalising the Arab League, by reconsidering its charter, and supporting its plans and mechanisms for integration and joint Arab action in all areas, not only the security area.
- Playing an active role in supporting the Arab revolutions, leaning towards the right of all peoples in their legitimate demands for freedom, justice, development, security, dignity, Shura (democratic/Islamic consultation) and their national independence from any foreign interference, and maintaining the integrity of Arab nations' territories.
- Affirming the right of the Palestinian people to liberate their land, and highlighting the duty of governments and peoples of Arab and Muslim countries, especially Egypt, to aid and support the Palestinian people and the Palestinian resistance against the Zionist usurpers of their homeland.
- Providing all means of support for the Iraqi people until the last soldier of the U.S. occupation departs, until Iraq's national decisions are free from foreign interference, until Iraqi safety and territorial integrity are secured, and until Iraq is rid of violence and sectarian strife.
- Endeavouring to achieve full integration and cooperation in all fields with Sudan in order to ensure its safety and territorial integrity and achieve security, stability and development, including the activation of the Four Freedoms Agreement, so that we can attain true unity as a nucleus for achieving historically desired Arab unity.

2. At the level of African countries:

- Revitalising the Egyptian role in Africa, while giving priority to relations and cooperation with Nile Basin countries, particularly Ethiopia and southern Sudan to a level fit for Egypt's status and for fully serving its interests and national security.
- Boosting volume of trade exchange with African countries.



- Establishing joint investment projects.
- Playing an active role in solving conflicts between these countries, or amongst tribes and ethnicities within a single country.
- Forging closer political cultural and educational links and relations with these countries.
- Securing Egypt's quota of Nile water and defeat Zionist plots in this regard.

3. At the level of Islamic countries:

We appreciate the importance of restoring the role of Egypt in the Islamic domain and the need to strengthen relations with Islamic countries, especially Turkey, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan, Indonesia, Nigeria, etc. Here, we seek to activate and investment in the Group of Eight Developing Islamic Countries (D-8) – formed during the government of Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan in 1997 – and to support and revitalise the role of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference.

4. At the level of international relations:

In addition to the need for taking a leading position on the regional front, we emphasise the importance and necessity of continuing effective work in international relations in terms of our commitment to achieve and strengthen friendly relations with all countries of the world as well as with international organisations, provided these relations are based upon equality, mutual respect and common interests. We also support any initiative to empower and revitalise those organisations to uphold justice and maintain international peace and security, away from foreign hegemony and interference in the internal affairs of any state. We categorically reject occupation by forces of any state or group of states of the territory of another state, or theft of another state's wealth, or threatening another state's security and national peace. In this context, we must endeavour for Egypt's independent and leading role in building excellent relations with various countries, blocs and organisations, such as: The United Nations, the Security Council, countries of the African Union, the United States and Europe, countries of South and East Asia, Russia and the republics of Central Asia, and Latin America.

Second, Cultural and Media Leadership:

1. Cultural leadership

Culture of a society is based on its moral identity, to which the people belong. Islamic culture is the main factor in shaping the human mind and conscience in Egypt, which enables intelligent interaction with the various other cultures, without exclusion or contempt, and without melting into those other cultures.

Cultural development areas include the following:

1. Translation and publication:

- Our program adopts a national project for translation, with the following priorities:
 - Adopting a large-scale translation movement, with varied fields, expanded geographical scope, and varied frameworks of knowledge (books - cultural encyclopaedias - Theses - periodicals, particularly in the fields of scientific, technical and human sciences).
 - Creating a database of translated books and professional translators in Egypt, to secure a detailed movement plan in the future.



- Boosting cooperation with academies and official and civil bodies abroad in this area, through the relevant ministries and cultural attachés in the Egyptian embassies abroad, as well as establishing and streamlining cooperation with various scientific bodies around the world.

2. Books:

- It is essential to develop and support books as one of the more important and common tools of knowledge, in spite of the communications revolution in the information age. In this context, there is a number of ways to improve the printing, publishing and distribution of books, as follows:
 1. Institutional support for book publication and distribution, and especially scientific books, including support of the Book Publishers Association, establishing its branches in various regions, and expanding its circle of membership.
 2. Focussing attention on information technology and asserting its role in promoting the book industry.
 3. Activating the role of the Egyptian Publishers Association and the Union of Arab Publishers, so as to support the Arab and Egyptian book industry.
 4. Advancement and monitoring of the Arab book industry, and reliance on electronic book publishing and marketing.
 5. Make room for participation in organisation of exhibitions for the Egyptian Publishers Association, the Writers Union, relevant NGOs, and civil society organisations – with official state institutions – to promote freedom of publication.
 6. Abolition of customs duties and taxes on book industry requirements, and support of the manufacture of book industry requirements locally.
 7. Increasing the number of public libraries in all governorates, and ensuring they offer all types of objective knowledge, cultural and artistic activities, paying special attention to new cities and villages in this regard.

3. Film and drama production:

1. Encourage the film industry, both financially and morally.
2. Expand the scope of co-production in the field of television drama and film, especially with Arab and Islamic countries.
3. Support the national, religious, historical and documentary film industry which addresses the history, issues and concerns of Egypt.
4. Encourage youth initiatives in film production, and adopt new young talent, allowing them the opportunity to shine.
5. Support and promote film direction to produce clean cinema that focus on art standards not excitement.

4. Theatre and folk art:

- Implementation of an integrated plan for the development of theatrical activity in the country with a number of actions, as follows:
 1. Improving the general quality of play texts.



2. Searching for new talent in various areas of theatrical art.
3. Boosting construction of sufficiently-equipped theatre houses within a more comprehensive plan to develop the infrastructure of Dramatic Art in Egypt, including a range of measures such as reviewing closed theatre houses in Egypt, and studying the reasons for closure, then restoring and re-opening those.
4. Promoting all types of theatrical activity at cultural palaces in all regions, in terms of teams, facilities or drama texts.
5. Increasing attention and focus on school and university theatre activities, and coordinating with the Ministries of Education and Higher Education to discover new talent in the various relevant aspects: writing, acting and directing, etc.

2. Media Leadership:

Media, in all its shapes, means and forms – press, radio, television and the internet – play a crucial role in promoting the values of society, in the consolidation of its identity, in the dissemination of science and culture, and in support for reform within the community – such as the idea of democratic participation and human rights – in support for the concepts and feelings of belonging, the revival of national spirit, creating tolerance, rejecting intolerance and backwardness, and in support for women's rights and the principle of citizenship in dealing with community issues.

Therefore, our elections program aims to restore real leadership in the following areas:

1. Radio and television:

- A. Establish a new system of Egyptian media that should include television, a national media council and the Office of External Media, and abolish the Information Ministry.
- B. Establish an effective Board of Trustees, independent of the government, for television. This should draw television channels policies, monitor their implementation, and outline expansion or contraction plans in the light of the needs on the ground. Members of this Board of Trustees should be selected for a specific term by the People's Assembly.
- C. Rationalise expenditure through various managerial and financial monitoring and administrative controls, making sure work is managed with sufficient efficiency.
- D. Update broadcast program plans and schedules of existing (terrestrial and satellite) channels to take into account the different needs, values and codes of behaviour of the Egyptian citizen.
- E. Boost the 'specialty' nature of local channels, and develop those so they can convey their message beyond their local geographical areas.
- F. Emphasise respect for religions and moral values, and rationalise the monitoring process, with regard to information and drama productions, especially financial monitoring, focusing on a culture of dialogue in these matters.

2. The press:

In this context, our program supports the following principles of journalism in Egypt:

1. Emphasis on the freedom of the press and freedom of publication of newspapers, magazines, and various other paper and electronic publications without any legal or administrative obstacles, as long as the publication abides by the Constitution and the law and takes account of public morality.



2. Elimination of government controlled press institutions by sale or transfer of ownership to public bodies or own workers.
3. Amending the press law and the abolition of the Supreme Press Council and transferring its powers to the Press Syndicate.
4. Improving the level of physical and professional working conditions for journalists, and developing an integrated system of social security to help them do their jobs.
5. Updating the Charter of the Press to ensure real commitment by Egyptian newspapers to ethical controls and the rejection of foreign funding of Egyptian newspapers.

3. International information network (the internet):

In this area, our program seeks to:

1. Boost data transfer networks in terms of techniques, speed and other technical aspects, in all parts of the country, within an advanced integrated system of network communications and telecommunications, to keep abreast with scientific progress.
2. Provide all faculties, colleges, institutes and educational establishments, of all stages of education, as well as public libraries, with high quality and high speed internet services.
3. Develop the internal information network in government departments (intranet) to facilitate the performance of public services and to better serve the interests of the public, and as an essential part of a policy to eliminate bureaucracy and administrative complexity, and by way of development of the "e-government" project, which incidentally contributes the fight against corruption.
4. Develop educational institutions in the intermediate, university and postgraduate/higher studies stages, in the field of Computer Science and Information Technology, in order to move the country from the stage of learning information and technology to the stage of creating information and technology.
5. Apply a "code of honour" for the use of the internet that depends on a culture of self-immunisation rather than external censorship; to assist the protection of public morality and values in Egyptian society, with emphasis on the prevention of pornography downloads or uploads, and use of all technical and legal ways to achieve this.
6. Create an integrated network of sites that support constructive culture, community and religious Egyptian, Arab and Islamic values, as part of a comprehensive policy that integrates with similar networks in the Arab and Muslim worlds, to face the waves of cultural invasion and chaos and intellectual liquidity that prevail in the world at the moment.
7. Establish a Higher Council for electronic media, partly independent of the government, to be composed of NGOs and the private sector.
8. Develop free internet services, with increasing speeds and lower costs. Such free internet services, through the national communications and telecommunications network should not be a monopoly for certain companies; but should be available directly from home-phones.
9. Adopt a legislative and administrative system to address the crimes of electronic publishing related to violations of intellectual property rights, to protection of public morals or investigating piracy, hacking and attacks on internet sites.
10. Establish a national project to support the activity of young people on the Web/the internet, both in terms of blogging or literary, artistic and journalistic creativity. The objectives of this



project should include the creation of a national, world-class search engine in Arabic, and increasing Arabic materials on the internet.

3. Religious Leadership:

Religion has the greatest impact in the lives of nations and peoples of the world. The Egyptian people are amongst the oldest and most devoted to their religion. They also have the most respect for the religious morals and values. They consider the religion of Islam the supreme authority and fundamental framework for them in all fields. Therefore, our program relies on religious institutions and expects them to play a prominent role in promoting the various cultural, political, social and other aspects of Egyptian life. Indeed, these institutions played an essential role in establishing Egypt's leading position in education as well as religious and spiritual guidance. In this context, reform and development of the religious affairs sector, as well as the advancement of Al-Azhar are necessary for the revitalisation and rejuvenation of Egyptian society, to restore to it the status it deserves with its glorious history and its prominent place in religious heritage. Thus it is of paramount importance to restore to Egypt its religious leadership position in Arab, Islamic and global domains.

The venerable Al-Azhar university and mosque

Al-Azhar has always been a venerable mosque and university for Muslims, and – until now – teaches science and religion, extensive knowledge and good ethics, as it has done throughout its long history. In support of this great institution, and to help it carry out its local, regional and global functions, we must do the following:

- Restructure the Islamic Research Academy as a leading scientists and scholars authority, and select its members by election.
- Choose the Grand Imam, Sheikh of Al-Azhar mosque also by election, from among members of the Islamic Research Academy.
- Merge the Dawah (Islamic reach-out) and Endowments section to Al-Azhar's Dawah and Preaching Department.
- Develop and promote Al-Azhar's Dawa, preaching and guidance departments, both at graduate and staff levels.
- Provide continuing education and training for Imams and preachers; and link promotions and bonuses to training courses and tests.
- Promote Islamic Mission Department, revitalise Al-Azhar's role in Dawah outreach abroad, clarify the image of Islam as the religion of mercy, peace, cooperation and human dignity abroad, and activate its role in the spread of moderation and renunciation of violence and sectarianism.
- Achieve for Al-Azhar mosque and university financial and administrative independence; and restore all endowments of Al-Azhar to it.
- Develop Al-Azhar education curricula, for all stages and levels, to keep pace with developments in modern education systems, and promote those in charge of its educational process in all stages and levels, financially and professionally.
- Revive the female Dawah preachers staff project, applied for previously.
- Revive the imams and preachers syndicate project, just like doctors, engineers and other trade unions and professional associations.



Endowments

Given the importance of the social solidarity and cohesion role played by the Waqf (Endowments) Foundation, the party believes there is a pressing need to work on reforming and developing the Waqf establishment in Egypt as follows:

- Reform the legislative and administrative structure which governs the Waqf (Endowment) sector in Egypt; eliminate corruption in the Egyptian Waqf Authority; and urgently separate the endowment sector from the executive authority.
- Improve the economic investment of the endowments of Egypt, so it should perform its duty in support of Islamic Dawah (reach-out) and achieve optimal social solidarity and cohesion, while encouraging citizens and organisations to vow their money (as Waqf/endowments) to Islamic Dawah department and magnanimity and social service department; and set special tax exemptions for Waqf projects or joint-ventures with the private sector.
- Encourage Waqf (endowment) for vital areas, including education, fighting poverty, unemployment and illiteracy, helping youths get married, training of rural women, supporting adoptive families and orphans, rehabilitation of street children and displaced/homeless persons, etc.

Egyptian Church

The Egyptian Coptic Church has had important and effective roles throughout the history of this homeland. Islam has supported and enhanced these roles, which vary between social and educational and cultural. Hence, we believe there is a need for us to further support the role of the Egyptian Church in order to maintain society's values, morals and ethics, and also to confront the growing waves of corrupting intellectual and moral invasion, aimed at Egyptian, Arab and Muslim societies. We should also support the values of family cohesion, social solidarity and national unity, in all the aspects of social life. This should be done through cooperation with all state institutions and civil society in Egypt and the development of constructive, effective dialogue between the Church on the one hand and between the Al-Azhar, Religious Endowments Authority and other civil Islamic institutions on the other hand, in order to maintain the cohesion of the Egyptian national fabric and the advancement of the community, because these are the responsibility of all Egyptians. We also believe that there is a need to support the church's leadership role for the Christians of the East.

To the great Egyptian people...

To the free masses of our nation,

As we present to you this election program, we are aware of the magnitude of responsibility and the critical moment in our beloved Egypt's history that we are going through. Your great revolution is unique in its white, civilized nature. It has become an inspiring example for many peoples and nations throughout the world who look forward for you today to complete the journey and fulfil its singular model with its great capacity for building and development, as was its model in liberation and cleansing of corruption...

To the great Egyptian people...

Repairing what the tyrants destroyed, and achieving advancement for the homeland is a daunting task that no single party, group or faction can undertake alone. We, therefore, urge all patriotic and national stakeholders for constructive cooperation or at least fair competition, without excluding,



removing or accusing each other, and without intellectual terrorism. We affirm that we are committed to all principles and moral values in all areas in which we operate, and are certain that we – with God's Grace, with you and with your help – have what it takes to attain full advancement and rejuvenation for Egypt, the Arab and Muslim worlds, and indeed what will benefit the whole world.

To the great Egyptian people...

As we present to you this election program, we reiterate – yet again – and with complete confidence that we:

- . . Together, we can get our country to safety
- . . Together we can rebuild Egypt, free, proud, strong, pioneering
- . . Together we can protect its unity and security, and achieve stability
- .. Together we can develop its resources and its economy, and revitalise it
- . . Together we can promote its position and restore its leadership role and pioneering spirit
- . . All because we believe that our free people who were able to accomplish for Egypt – with God's blessings and guidance – the goals of liberation and cleansing of corruption, are able – with God's help – to accomplish the goals of construction and development...

**CONTENTS**

Title	Page Number
This program	2
Conditions left over by the Mubarak regime	3
Part I: Urgent Issues	6
First: A vision for reform of Egypt's security system	6
Second: A vision for addressing the economic situation	8
Third: A vision for the fight against corruption	9
Part II: Freedoms and Political Reform	10
First: Characteristics of the State	10
Second: The nature of the political system	11
Third: The fundamental political principles espoused in the program	12
1. The principles of liberty, equality and equal opportunities	12
2. Independence of the judiciary	12
3. Free and fair elections	13
4. Accountability, responsibility and questioning authority	14
5. Decentralised local government, and impartiality of the administration	14
6. Safeguarding citizenship rights, and the maintenance of national unity	15
7. Revitalising the role of individuals and civil society	15
Part III: Social Justice	17
First, addressing the high cost of living	17
Second, fighting poverty	17
Third, addressing unemployment	18
Fourth, improving the conditions of workers and farmers	19
Fifth, addressing the phenomenon of street children	20
Sixth, improving the conditions of people with special needs	20
Seventh, improving the lives of pensioners	21
Part IV: Integrated Development	22
Foundations for development	22
First, Human Development	23
Second, Economic Development	27



FREEDOM AND JUSTICE PARTY

Election Program | The Freedom and Justice Party

Third, Urban Development	30
Fourth, Productivity Development	32
Part V: Regional Leadership	35
First, Political Leadership	35
Second, Cultural and Media Leadership	37
Third, Religious Leadership	39
To the great Egyptian people	42