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The New program of Wasat party

‘In Arabic wasat has many meanings such as: center, middle, heart...’

(Under construction)

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In the name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

Introduction:

The founders of the new Wasat Party believe that free nations do not have the luxury of dispensing with the efforts of one of their members and they cannot neglect the opinion of a group of them. They believe that the nation will be stronger and greater when the efforts of its members unite and their diligences multiply despite their differences.

And dear Egypt is more valuable to its members than being lazy in contributing to help it to get over its current crisis and they are capable of that by thinking, opinion and political, social and economic actions.

Egypt has witnessed profound changes due to internal and external factors. The founders of the Party believe that it is their duty to contribute to guiding these transformations in the correct destination to serve all the members of the nation especially after the deterioration in terms of economic conditions for the people of middle and poor classes and the gap between rich and poor increased in a way that is alarming and the political life experienced on the other hand a clear calcification coincided with the unprecedented decline in international and regional status of Egypt.

Egypt is not living in vacuum as what is happening in the world of major changes would have a major impact on its present and future.

The current situation of the Arabs and Muslims in general reflects the real crisis that is reflected in the susceptibility to the direct and indirect colonization resulting from the political, economic, social and educational weakness which lures the greedy ones and pushes them to call each other as if they were invited for banquet.

Although there is a growing global trend towards domination, tyranny and intolerance but there are also various social movements and powers getting stronger around the world and defying tyranny in all its forms and triumphing the values of justice, freedom and emphasis on the human common sense.

We are with those forces that are struggling for justice, freedom and peace as we find that Egypt firstly needs self-construction to be able to contribute effectively in the global struggle for an international system that is more just and humane.

Hence we, the founders of Wasat, believe in the need to develop a clear national vision accommodates the variables of domestic and international realities and to be able to build the real Egyptian revival which is also the only key to restore Egypt's international standing status and to face the foreign domination.

The founders believe that the advancement of Egypt and getting it out of its stumble is a thing which cannot be done by a single trend but it is a work that needs the thought of everyone and their effort. Hence, they refuse the political action that is based on the acquisition or eradication. And they believe that they are not in conflict or collision with any of the national trends but they give 'the Wasat' as a diligent that poses a national civilizational vision which represents a needed contribution to the political life in Egypt and aims to build with others for the good of the homeland and its development.

The founders believe that Egypt has what it could present to the world. It has added from its spirit and character as wealthy compound with its multi-cultural elements a distinctive character on the Arab-Islamic civilization, which has made it have a rich culture contributed to the refinement of its members, Muslims and Copts, across different times. And that Arab-Islamic civilization with the distinguished Egyptian favor characterized by its modernity which is the essence of Egyptian contributing if we could clean it from its 'dust' and succeed in making Egypt get rid of weakness and decline suffered at the present time in order for the Egyptian experience to continue accumulation on the achievements of the national struggle for all Egyptians.

And moderation, from a national and civilizational perspective, means, the founders, that Egypt would not develop except with justice and freedom together and not with one of them without the other. And moderation also means that the way of self-construction is based on multiple-national and civilizational self-confidence and is stemmed from the values of the Arab-Islamic civilization with the Egyptian character that is characterized by its cultural feature derived from references accepted by the society and provided by the Egyptian Constitution.

And as for what we have mentioned earlier, the founders of the new Wasat Party coined the main parameters of their program. The program does not cover necessarily all the important issues, but mainly meant to explain the vision of the founders and clarify their approach, their priorities and their intellectual and political choices, coupled with the practical appropriate extent of issues.

First: The political axis

The founders believe that political reform is one of the important accesses to the renaissance that we seek and it is the necessary condition for achieving the public interest.

As the primary goal of any development process is humans so in such development cannot be achieved without saving the dignity of these people, their rights and freedoms. Hence, the founders believe that the public freedoms are a necessary condition to achieve the renaissance and it is an indispensable access to lunch the energies of creativity and creative thinking among the members of any society.

Although the goal of any political and constitutional reforms is the Egyptian citizens entrusted with boosting their homeland, but it has also proven with realistic evidence from the experiences of other countries that the lack of democracy leads to the loss of homelands or at least being in the clutches of foreign interference which takes from the absence of democracy a pretext to achieve its own objectives on the international and regional sides and that foreign interference does not take into account, in all cases, the characteristic of the Egyptian society and it does not consider its political history and national and democratic struggle.

Hence, the founders believe that the launch of public freedoms and the achievement of political and constitutional reforms would increase the power of the society in the face of external challenges which come in the forefront of foreign domination on the destiny of peoples and nations. Lunching the freedoms also leads to support stability and protects the society from exposure to shocks and disturbances as a result of the continuation of the current situations.

The founders confirm their commitment to the following principles and foundations that they believe that they are the way towards the desired renaissance:

- 1- People are the source of all authorities which must be separated and independent from each other in the context of the overall balance and this principle includes the right of the people to legislate for themselves and by themselves the laws that meet their interests.
- 2- Citizenship is the basis of the relation between members of the Egyptian people so there shall be no discrimination on grounds of religion, sex, color, race, position or wealth in all rights, obligations, taking positions and public powers including the presidency of the Republic.
- 3- Full equality between women and men in the political and legal capacity; as the sole criterion for occupying the position and public powers such as the judiciary and the head of state is the efficiency, competence and ability to hold the responsibilities of the job.
- 4- Confirming the freedom of religious belief and protecting the right to practice religion freely to all.

- 5- Respecting human dignity and all the human civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights stipulated by divine laws and international conventions.
- 6- Respecting the right of peaceful transfer of power through free and direct elections and the necessity of setting a maximum time limit to fill the key locations at the top of political power.
- 7- Emphasizing on the principle of the rule of law.
- 8- Adopting the intellectual and political pluralism and emphasizing on the respect of freedom of the press and media and abolishing the laws restricting them.
- 9- Confirming the freedom of opinion and expressing it and calling for it. The freedom of the flow of information, including the ones that come through the international network of information, and the establishment of the media and owning them are a necessity to achieve it.
- 10- The right to establish political parties, associations and all civil society organizations but with the condition that the administrative sides to help them in the performance of their tasks and no administrative authority has the right to intervene to deprive from this right or reduce it. The independent judiciary to be the reference to determine what is contrary to public order, basic components of society and the internal peace and security.
- 11- Activating the institutions of the nation meaning the trade unions, associations, clubs and others including what restores balance to the relation between the state and the civil society.
- 12- Adopting the right of peaceful demonstration and strike and public meetings and calling for them and participating in them.
- 13- Expanding the the elective positions, especially positions directly related to masses of citizens [village mayors, presidents of neighborhoods, governors, university presidents - deans...].

The preparation of conditions to achieve these general principles requires the acceleration in the application of a wide range of actions including:

- 1- Abolishing all special laws and special or private courts and lifting the state of emergency in the country and not returning to it except in cases of war or natural disasters as much as it is dictated by the necessity arising from any of them according to what the representatives of the people consider in the parliaments and amending the law including restricting the imposition of emergency, if imposed, in certain areas and specific limited actions.
- 2- Criminalizing the political arrests and banning the imprisonment of the owners of opinion and practices which violate human rights and punishing those found assaulting these freedoms.

- 3- Providing guarantees for the integrity of elections by setting up an independent body that specializes in overseeing all phases of the electoral process without any interference from any authority of the state authorities with texting on the criminalization of fraud in all its forms and considering it a harmful felony to the security of the country.
- 4- Launching the students' freedom work and university activity.
- 5- Enhancing the transparency and accountability mechanisms including preventing the emergence of corruption as well as its intensification.
- 6- Providing the necessary guarantees for the holding of free and fair elections for the trade and workers unions.
- 7- Achieving the full independence of the judiciary from the executive branch as confirmed by the conference of judges and their various data and ending the powers of the Ministry of Justice in judicial affairs and all the affairs of the judges; and so there is no power, except the Supreme Judicial Council, on any jurisdiction of the judicial work or the appointment of judges or their assignment and secondment or being assigned in supervisory positions or the distribution of work for them or choosing the heads of the first instance or special courts.
- 8- Achieving the financial independence of the judiciary by including its budget with incrementing by one outlined in the state budget.
- 9- Restoring the legal safeguards so that the state employees not to be treated except in accordance with the public legal rules and edited in regards to their length of service, promotions and giving them the advantages of jobs and assigning them with functional tasks.
- 10- Reducing the powers granted in the Constitution to the President and determining the maximum assuming of responsibility by two terms, each lasting four years.

Second: Economic axis

The founders believe that Egypt is not a poor country as it is rich with its intellectual and civilizational heritage and rich in various resources. Perhaps the most important wealth of Egypt is its citizens. This human wealth, according to the perspective of the Party, is the mainstay of any real economic renaissance and it is its ultimate goal and the Egyptian experience is best witness to that as Egypt has been for many years, before its last stumble, the exporter of expertise and intellectual, professional and craft competencies for all its regional Arab and African surroundings.

The founders believe that the real economic progress will be achieved only by the minds of the people of Egypt and their work. Thus, this renaissance is conditioned with the hard investing in human beings through the two axes; the first is to ensure a

decent living for them and the second is the development of their talents and honing their skills and launching their talents to achieve the renaissance.

Therefore the founders present in the following a set of general principles and policies proposed to solve the economic crisis in Egypt. We do not construct our economic policy in a vacuum as it is, on one hand, closely linked to our reading of the nature of economic crises suffered by Egypt at the moment, while on the other hand it is based on economics and also on the benefiting from the different experiences around the world, including the Egyptian experience itself across different times.

In other words, we differentiate between the general principles of the Party and the policies that it adopts as the general principles represent our political vision for the management of economy and it is fixed in terms of expressing the Egyptian priorities from our point of view but the proposed policies are changeable according to the change of economic conditions.

General Principles

First: the main concern which occupies the founders is to look at ways of enhancing the members of the middle and poor classes because they bear the burden of the deterioration of the economic situation in Egypt and paying attention to those who represent the majority of the Egyptian people from the poor and fixed and medium income earners and that is not inconsistent with the freedom of the market or with the interests of national capitalism. The goal is to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor by raising the standard of living of the poor and the middle class and supporting the services provided to them and re-considering the middle class and restoring it to the center of the public sphere. The founders believe that the state is responsible for the protection of private wealth which was formed in a legal framework and we are required to provide the appropriate incentives to the owners of capital to invest their capitals in development projects. It is equally responsible for achieving social justice and protecting the most vulnerable groups in the society from poverty and destitution.

Second: the role of the state: the founders believe that economic freedom is one of the keys to building the desired economic renaissance but some people talk about the market economy as if they meant same thing in every country of the world regardless of the circumstances of each country and the level of its economic development. Egypt is on a par with countries such as the United States and others such as Congo, so for these three countries, despite the obvious differences among them, to follow the same policies and mechanisms and what is more risky than that is when others adopt the market economy in the sense of reducing the role of the state up to the limit of calling for the almost complete withdrawal of the state and abandoning most of its functions.

The founders reject both approaches in dealing with the free market because it does not only contradict with what the great economists agree on but it ignores also what has been proved through the economic experiments around us. Hence, the founders

believe that the state is mandated to carry out the tasks which the market cannot carry which are represented in four things:

1- Setting up the political vision that governs the operation of the market and it is a vision that determines the value framework and political priorities. As without that ruling vision, all goals become permissible regardless of their morality or damage to the public interest and all the goals become equal regardless of the negative impact of some of them on certain segments of society and also all means become legitimate as long as they achieve the goal regardless of their impact on the fabric of society and its values.

2- Achieving the social justice as the market cannot do this task and it is unable to bring about the social balance needed to keep the community in a good manner and for its members to have the hope for which keeps up the aspirations. Social justice is the main concern of the founders and it is, from the point of view of the founders, one of the most important components of the political economy of the state and not just a kind of "social care". Social justice, for the founders, is not a matter of distribution but a matter related to the reduction of the standard of living of large segments of the citizens of Egypt and then the remedy lies in the promotion of these categories.

3- Protecting the environment which is, for the founders, a goal not a means to achieve development. Human beings, according to the perspective of the Party, are in charge of the protection and preservation of the environment and the market cannot do that task. Unless there is a role for the state, the economic projects do not take into consideration when calculating the gain and loss the cost of destroying the environment which is, in fact, a high cost paid by society as a whole.

4- Establishing the infrastructure with ongoing maintenance. The infrastructure does not include only the conventional infrastructure such as public facilities but the intended meaning is the necessary infrastructure of any economic development generally which includes the educational and technological infrastructures as well as the scientific research.

In addition to the above; we should say that in the moments of major crisis, the state has an extraordinary role that ends after crisis finishes. It is what the US, for example, had done in the thirties with the crisis of the Great Depression, where the federal government had adopted a range of projects and programs aimed at the elimination of unemployment and helping those most affected by the crisis which is repeated in different ways to cope with the financial crisis that hit it recently.

Third: raising the growth rates must be accompanied by a significant rise in the standard of living. In a country like Egypt, we cannot rely solely on the growth rate as an evidence of economic improvement. Thus, the standard of development adopted by the founders includes, in addition to raising the growth rate, fulfilling the basic needs of the vast majority of citizens which are represented in food, clothing and housing as well as health and education. It is important for the action to raise the growth rate to

be accompanied by a similar quest to create job opportunities that achieve the minimum required limit for a decent life.

Fourth: the money market: the founders believe that it is necessary to rationalize the monetary policy by supporting the national currency and controlling the level of prices at appropriate prices by addressing the occasion of inflation. That is the responsibility of the central bank that can be performed through the proper use of the available financial instruments which it has such as the interest rate and the discount rate. Hence the founders believe that a sound and successful monetary policy can be achieved only if the central bank enjoys full and real independence that protects it from government interference and its influence on its decisions. The Central Bank with its independence can also contribute seriously in the development process by providing incentives for banks to follow policies that reduce from the consumer lending and expand in the productive lending.

The founders believe in the need for the state to retain the ownership of influential share in the banking sector which suits at every stage with the degree of economic growth, allowing for providing the necessary financing for the strategic industries and projects which the private and foreign banks abstain from engaging in them because they are not profitable or they are risky.

With regard to the stock exchange, the founders believe that it is important to provide the necessary legislative, regulatory and accounting frameworks to support this market. It is important that the transactions to be characterized by the highest degree of transparency so that all the management practices to be done in light of the adoption of the principle of governance.

Fifth: supporting and promoting the private investment: attracting the real investment in kind does not happen without the abolition of the state of emergency and creating stable and transparent foundational, judicial and legislative climate. The founders believe that promoting the investment must be done within the framework of priorities for investment map to be determined by the political vision in accordance with the nature of the stage. The founders also believe that it is the duty of the state to seek to implement those priorities through incentives, not through prohibition and prevention. So the state, for example, can provide incentives for productive investment projects and those established in the countryside and remote places while to be reduced in the case of consumer projects. And the state, for example, can provide greater incentives for projects with large labor as they contribute to solving the problem of unemployment while reducing them to the minimum or preventing them for projects which are based on foreign labor or which adopt advanced technological methods with little employment.

Sixth: sectorial balance: The founders believe that achieving the real economic growth which can make Egypt stand on solid ground is based on achieving a balance in growth between the different sectors of the national economy such as agriculture,

industry, construction and services because such a balance is what creates the strength of the national economy. And then the founders give a major priority to treat the current imbalance in which the industry and agriculture sectors are receded badly. The real estate and services sectors, despite their importance, cannot alone promote the Egyptian economy.

Seventh: The centrality of agriculture sector: the founders attach particular importance to the agriculture sector, not only for its historical importance for Egypt but also because of the many problems that it has suffered in the recent period which requires a quick solution.

The founders' vision for the advancement of this sector is based on five major themes:

1- Advancement of farmers: the agriculture sector cannot be advanced without re-considering the Egyptian peasants and ensuring a decent life for them and their families. As the sufferance experienced by the farmers is the essence of the Egyptian agriculture crisis but it is even the responsible for the migration from the Egyptian rural to urban and creation a belt of slums around the major cities, especially Cairo.

Hence, it is imperative that the state presents the support for farmers and it is an issue that is not inconsistent with the market economy but it is fundamental to ensure the advancement of the agriculture sector. Therefore, it is important that The Bank for Development and Agricultural Credit to provide fertilizers at affordable prices and provide loans to farmers with benefits of up to the minimum limit rather than preoccupation with achieving profits in the bank's budget.

2- Making good use of water resources: The rational use of the Egyptian water resources is one the priorities of Party generally which reflects itself, in particular, in the party's vision in the field of agriculture. The founders believe that there is a need for a major popular campaign to educate citizens about the need to rationalize water consumption in general. In the area of agriculture, the founders believe that it is necessary to stop the Delta irrigation using the immersion method and resorting to other methods of irrigation such as spraying and drip as well as directing to take the maximum advantage of the groundwater in irrigation instead of the Nile River whenever possible.

3- Maintaining the agricultural area: the farmland in Egypt is exposed to corrosion due to poor urban planning and continuous infringements. Hence the founders believe in the need to activate the laws that criminalize constructing on agricultural land or abusing them under any name. It is necessary to add new areas of agricultural land especially the land of Sinai and the area around Lake Nasser.

4- Self-sufficiency in food: the founders believe that achieving self-sufficiency in the field of food is a direct issue of the Egyptian national security. Hence, the founders give a pivotal importance for achieving the Egyptian self-sufficiency in wheat especially that it is one of the crops that do not consume a lot of water. The Founders

also believe in the need for the development of fisheries and animal husbandry. For the fishery, it cannot be developed without activating the environmental laws strictly and providing the government support for workers in that area. The livestock could be developed by providing the necessary support as well as opening the way for new pastures especially in Al-Owainat and the area around Lake Nasser. The founders also consider the importance of achieving self-sufficiency in oils which Egypt imports the vast majority of them, through the olive cultivation in particular in the land of Sinai which is particularly qualified to plant it and then develop the industry of its oils.

5- Rehabilitating the cotton production: it is imperative that Egypt returns to its throne in the field of long-staple cotton production which Egypt has maintained in its production a comparative advantage and in fact the Egyptian cotton production should not collapse under any name. Hence the founders believe that it is inevitable to change the current policy which has made the Egyptian farmers away from the cultivation of cotton despite their long experience. It is important to promote farmers by raising the profitability of cotton cultivation and not the other way around and through providing fertilizers and chemicals which they need at affordable prices.

Eighth: the role of the society: the economic renaissance cannot be achieved without a dynamic community which supports it and contributes to complete it. The society, from the viewpoint of the founders, has are very important functions in supporting the national economy which can be summarized as follows:

1- The community is the main generator of ideas and then founders believe that the state with its various institutions should be opened up towards all the institutions of civil society, encourage them and deal seriously with the ideas and suggestions provided by the citizens on economic development. The founders believe that the community's ability to attract innovations and encourage the creative abilities of the members of the country will take place only in a favorable climate that allows those ideas to come out into force. Thus, the activation of the laws related to intellectual property rights contributes not only in the flow of positive ideas of value-added but also encourages attracting the investments and indigenizing them especially the advanced technology.

2- Freedom to create civil associations of various kinds that would lead to promote the energies of the community and its contribution in the establishment of projects that provide jobs and support public participation in the public sphere and contribute to the development of civic culture.

3- Civil institutions that collect Zakat funds should be promoted to be directed not only to charities but also to development projects.

Ninth: Egypt and the global economy: Egypt does not live in an international vacuum but it is affected by the global economy. The founders believe that following the previous principles improves the conditions of which Egypt interacts with the world economy. The founders belong to that trend which is becoming stronger around the

world which believes that the type of economic globalization is being made by the major powers is unfair globalization as they are biased in favor of mega projects and the elites at the expense of small producers and peoples in the North and the South not only in the south. It is a kind of globalization that increases the gap between the rich and the poor... while the founders are with economic globalization, in principle, but they are with the trend which works to impose restrictions concerning the guarantees of the rights of workers and small traders and producers as well as the environment protection.

Policies

1- The relation of education to the economy: What was mentioned in the vision of the Party and its general principles on the management of the economic process necessarily means that paying attention to the development of education located in the center of our economic vision as any political, cultural or economic renaissance cannot be achieved without serious attention to the development of education. The Founders refuse that the requirements of the market determine the process of developing the content of education as the demands of the market are changeable constantly and then the close link between the economic renaissance and education comes from the important role that education plays in planting certain values that make young people active in the development process and even able to compete regardless the market fluctuations.

The most important of those values is the independence of thought, the ability to critical thinking, teamwork, respect for the time and mastering the work. The development of education, which we will talk about it later in a separate part of the program, is not limited to pay attention to the introduction of modern technology and develop the buildings and equipment but it includes, which is the most important, creating a generation proud of its identity and aware of the capabilities of Egypt and its powers and it possesses the skills that qualify it to participate in the development process.

2- Fighting against corruption: the Party gives a top priority to the fight against corruption which has become structural through two means; the first is the strict activation to the principle of the rule of law and the second is to give each one who makes efforts what he deserves from rewards that preserve his dignity and dispense him from ignoring the violation of the law not to mention his participation in the violation in order to meet his basic needs.

3- Fighting against poverty: although the sources of Zakat and alms are evaluated and should be encouraged but the fight against poverty and helping the poor is one of the most important responsibilities of the state in all countries of the world including the mightiest capitalist countries. Poverty is not treated through redistribution or increasing the total average income of the state but through development programs

aimed at increasing the income of the poor themselves and supporting services provided to them.

The founders realize that we are facing a new kind of poverty in the world. It is poverty that cannot be understood only through understanding the nature of the globalization that is being made those days. For example, the concentration of food production in the hands of a limited number of giant companies which determine the production and control the selling and control the prices which makes the food production only depend on the logic of profit and loss which has led not only to the bankruptcy of millions of small farmers around the world but to create a food crisis in the whole world. The crisis has intensified recently after some countries had started to use the grains for the production of bio-fuels to face the energy crisis and that is a crime against humanity which should be addressed internationally.

In addition to what that leads to the extinction of million tons of grains in the fuel production process, it necessarily leads to increase the prices of other food commodities... in other words; we face poverty which has local and global reasons at the same time.

All this means that the state must use all its tools of tax and customs incentives and other financial and economic tools to confront these threats which threaten to worsen the food crisis which the bread in Egypt is just one aspect of its manifestations.

In addition to what above, the ongoing being-made globalization promotes the idea of economic reform oriented towards export according to comparative advantage which is a trend that if it is not adjusted, it would lead to further impoverishment. The founders, although they are with opening the doors for production and exportation, but they believe that the state should create, through incentives and exemptions, the accurate balance between managing the economic wheel aimed at exportation and fulfilling the basic needs of citizens especially what is related to food production.

4- The minimum of wages: issuing a law binding on both the public and private sectors with minimum wages and linking it to the rate of inflation and dealing with the huge gap between the highest and lowest wages in some institutions.

5- Supporting the health care: education and health are the mainstay of economic renaissance and then it is imperative to provide the necessary resources from the state budget to cover the expenses of the increasing budget of these two items. The program has singled out a special part of each of these subjects because of their importance

6- Insurances and Pensions: the Party believes in the need to separate the social care budget (revenue and expenditure) from the state budget; in order to preserve the rights of the poor and low-income people. The founders reject strongly the attempts to include the insurance and pensions funds to the state budget because using them to cover the deficit in public budgets or reduce the public debt would expose those funds

for the loss which exacerbates the social and economic problems and would not help in resolving them but burdens those debts on next consecutive generations with linking the annual pension increasing with the value of the annual inflation rate.

7- Antitrust: the founders believe that monopoly is a crime with adverse economic consequences that are fought by the political systems in various parts of the world. Perhaps antitrust is the most areas in which test the commitment to the principle of the rule of law as the monopolist is usually one of those with power and influence. Hence, the founders believe in the necessity of activating the monopoly law to ensure the support of the economic process. In order to detect the phenomena of destructive monopoly of the economy while the social balance should be the monopoly's control device, which should be strong and following to one of the independent organs of the state such as the Central Auditing Organization.

8- Taxes: the founders believe that the tax system is one of the most important elements of fiscal policy because it is the tool that achieves a balance between promoting the economic growth and achieving the social justice. Hence, the founders believe that tax policy should be based, above all, on creating a climate of trust with financiers' base by activating the principle of the rule of law on one hand and drawing a fair tax policy on the other. It is not permissible that the most vulnerable groups in society carry the same burden which is shouldered by affordable groups therefore the founders believe in rising somewhat the tax exemption to include the middle-income people with making the tax upward on the entry of individuals with keeping it equal to the private projects so that it aims to create trust between the government and financiers..

It is also important for the tax policy to distinguish between the production and consumption projects through various incentives and exemptions. The founders believe in the adjustment of the tax system in a way that seeks to address the severe imbalance in the concentration of population in Egypt. Then the Party adopts a project to create a tax system that varies according to the geographical region and its goal is to promote a balanced spread in all regions of the republic.

9- Consumer Protection: the founders believe that with the enactment of Law No. 67 of 2006 to protect the consumers and the establishment of a consumer protection device, it has become clear that the real lesson is the actual application of this law on the ground. Hence the founders underscore the importance of launching the forces of civil society and allowing them to operate within a framework of legitimacy. The society is the most important sergeant which is capable of Consumer Protection.

10- Facing unemployment: the unemployment crisis represents an economic and social problem at the same time. That problem needs to be faced in the short and long terms but in the short term; the state must support small and medium enterprises and contribute to micro-enterprises but in the medium and short terms, the state must expand the capacity of the national economy through the political, economic,

educational and legislative climate that encourages the growth of real in-kind local and foreign investments.

1- Education:

The founders believe that education is the backbone of the renaissance and the water of its life. They believe that the plight that Egypt witnesses is a result, in a large portion, of the collapse of its educational system and the consequent is the surprising decline in the level of knowledge and proficiency for the widest sectors of the community.

The educational process has transformed in our country to be a mechanism by which to deal with students as if they are trucks to be loaded throughout the year with information that should be discharged on the exam papers at the end claiming that it is the preparation of the market requirements which is a false claim and should not be an approach to the education process as the goals of the educational process must be linked to, in its essence, the national project and the requirements of the renaissance and its conditions which on their basis the requirements of the market will be determined as well as the requirements of the market are constantly changing in the time of globalization.

This transformation has led to the emptying of the educational process from any values content and deprived the youth to develop their skills and talents.

It is impossible to achieve the renaissance without getting the education out of its ordeal and then the education occupies, for the founders, a top priority and they believe in the need for a comprehensive review of its orientations and radical reform of all its components.

The Founders realize that this long-term process that will not occur between the overnight and it needs extensive studies that are inspired constantly by the new experiences of other countries and it benefits from much Egyptian expertise in this field.

The Party provides in the following the vision underpinning the review from the viewpoint of its founders beginning from that point that the founders lunch from their deep faith that education is a right of every citizen in Egypt and it is a goal in itself, not only just a means of employment or social advancement or meeting the needs of the market. If the Egyptian person is the goal of any renaissance, knowledge becomes the supreme value and education is one of the fundamental rights.

With this in mind and as the foundations of the educational system as a whole is in need of radical revision, the founders believe that it needs to mobilize the resources of the state in all its ministries and bodies and the energies of all segments of society and its components. In other words, the education crisis has reached an amount that cannot be repaired by the ministries of education alone without coordination and close

cooperation with all the other organs of the state or in the absence of broad support by the different sectors of society.

Therefore the overall process of reform cannot be carried out without reaching national consensus on its goals. So the founders believe that any proposed plan for the development of education, including those ones provided by the Party here, must be discussed by the society in a widespread manner in the framework of transparency and in which seeks to modify the plan based on different visions which are received from the society and at the same time preparing the community to receive the change and welcoming it and support its objectives.

2- The moral content

The founders believe in the importance of benefiting from the experiences of the countries that have achieved an educational renaissance, but the technical and methodological aspects that can be utilized from those experiences cannot develop by itself the education, as the attention of the values spread by the educational system is not less important than the technical and technological aspects in education reform. Although there are a range of human values which may be involved in the focus on the educational system in many countries but the reality of each country and the nature of its problems may necessitate a particular emphasis on some values at some stage then every nation has its own culture and history which can contribute to the construction of its renaissance.

Based on the current problems of Egypt in the field of education, the founders believe that there is a set of values which it is imperative that education certainly focuses to confirm them which are the values of affiliation, beauty, work, science, public interest and citizenship.

The value of affiliation occupies the paramount importance in the desired educational process. There is no value for the education where the young do not realize who we are and what our goals are. Belonging to Egypt is a the only thing that instills in young people the confidence in the cultural identity and allows the sound interaction with the world without being crushed in front of the most powerful nor the sensitivity to benefit from the experience of others . Hence, the founders give an importance to the study of Egyptian history in all its stages in serious and critical studies aiming to support the Egyptian National personality which is compounded with various elements and the civilizational continuity that has linked between the historical successive stages in the history of Egypt as well as rehabilitating the Arabic language.

Young people cannot benefit seriously of various knowledge without developing the value of beauty in its broad sense which requires paying attention to the arts of all kinds such as theater, poetry and then speech and calligraphy etc...

Due to corruption and nepotism, the values of knowledge and hard work have collapsed so the scientific certificate has become, not the science itself, the target

while the hard work, excellence and mastering are no longer a means of promotion in the collective mind of Egyptians.

In addition to all that, the value of public interest has retreated and competition, not the teamwork, has become the standard of success which has led to the deterioration in performance and even the collapse the ethics and values of competition.

It is extremely important that the educational system instills the values of citizenship among young people in what it means of equality and equal opportunities for all the citizens as well as their legitimate right to participate effectively in the management of its affairs and the reintegration of citizens in the public sphere (political) as it is the natural place to meet the different ones and not retreating (insulation) or reversion to the initial circles of belonging.

The founders believe that those values need to be rehabilitated through the educational process in all stages which cannot happen only through the curriculum but through the rehabilitation of the school activity of all kinds in the framework of an integrated policy for Civic Education.

And the educational system should emphasize on the values that characterized the Arab-Islamic civilization and the Egyptian personality has given it a distinctive character. Perhaps the most important of these values is those relating to social interdependence, strong family relationships and welcoming the diversity and all of these values were exposed to the collapse for many reasons and we should make enough effort to rebuild and strengthen them.

There is a range of negative values which leaked to the collective mind of the Egyptians in recent decades and deeply affected the educational process as a whole. We cannot reduce the impact of underestimating the values of science and work and discredit the teaching profession and looking down at the Technical Education as well as the transformation of education into a commodity generating a profit. The development of education needs to address these negative values which would not happen except through a comprehensive awareness plan which the state bodies and institutions operate in it in intentional coordination in order to complement each other instead of harming each other including what the other seeks to achieve. It is not okay, for example, that the educational system is designed to emphasize the value of science and hard work while the media is promoting the values of rapid gain and consumption and spreading the culture which says 'luck is the basis of wealth'.

3- The role of the state:

The state has a primary responsibility in the field of education that the state is not permitted to give it up. The founders believe that the Egyptian people have acquired the right of public education. The People's rights cannot be retracted nor can they be manipulated. It is true that free education has started to face major problems but the

solution is in addressing these problems not in canceling the free education which is the only hope for millions of Egyptian families for their children's education.

Despite all of what is said in dispraising the free education, the official data confirms that the Egyptian spending on public education remains extremely limited compared to developed countries and even comparing to many developing countries. At the time that Egypt spends about 129 \$ on the education of each individual (according to the statistics of 2002) the United States spends \$4763.4, Saudi Arabia spends 1337.6 \$ and Tunisia spends 289.5 dollars and spending on education is not among the items that the principle of privatization can apply as the state spending on education exists even in the most powerful capitalist countries and even in the U.S. , ‘the castle of capitalism’, the spending on public education remains the highest among all major industrialized countries.

The founders believe in the need to increase the allocated percentage to education in the general budget of the state in a significant increase to cover all the items needed by the development of education. Those items are distributed between the establishment of new schools, the maintenance of old schools and renovation of their old factories, workshops and libraries as well as increasing the funds allocated for the salaries of teachers and administrators working in the field of education.

The founders believe that the problem of education in Egypt is not related to the existence of various and parallel forms of education, such as public, private, foreign and Azhari education but the problem is the withdrawal of the state and its ignoring to the development of general standards that control the educational process whoever is the type of the provider for this educational service. The state is responsible completely for the discipline of the educational process and for imposing strict standards on performance and quality and developing effective mechanisms for control. It is inconceivable, for example, that there are in Egypt schools of which their Egyptian students do not study Arabic language and it is not permissible that the curriculum of some of them is not subjected to any control.

It is also unacceptable that education turns into a commodity-for-profit at the expense of the future of Egypt. Hence the founders find that the reform of the educational process begins with state’s development of value and technical standards that everyone abides by them and everyone who does not apply them to be punished. Only then we can open the door to all the above-mentioned types of education as long as it commits to those standards.

4- Pre-university education:

Curriculum

In the information time, it is no longer possible for the educational process to be based on dictating the information and for standard of success of students to be their ability to list them. Therefore, the Egyptian education curriculum need a comprehensive re-

consideration aimed at not dictating the information but teaching the young people how to determine what they need from information and then how to get them and train them to test the credibility of the sources and then how to sort the information and classify them critically and creatively with comparative methodology that allows benefiting from them and ensures the transformation of education to continuous process of life that does not end at finishing the studies at schools and universities. It is not enough to train students to search for the answer to the questions that are posed but it is also imperative to train them to ask the right questions and develop their abilities to distinguish between the most important and the important and the marginal in what they are exposed from data and subjects.

Private tutoring is a lesion that has multiple causes including surely the miserable conditions for the teachers and overcrowding the classrooms but it is resulted also by intellectual approach that considers that the curriculum provides the students with the "absolute truth" which means necessarily that there is a "typical one answer". In other words, if the standard of success has become the ability to reasoning and critical thinking the purpose of the private lessons originally negates because it undermines the currency which is traded in that business.

Based on the above-mentioned objectives, we can specify a system of values and skills required to be developed in each stage of education as well as a range of topics to be posed and discussed by the students and then the door should be opened to civil society organizations to compete for the provision of various projects of the curriculum which are to be evaluated and then to approve on the acceptable ones from them by the concerned authorities. In other words, the Party believes in the need to open the door to the multiplicity of approaches and their diversity as long as they have the above-mentioned conditions which encourages innovation and helps to eliminate the system of the 'the typical one answer'.

The curriculum includes not only the textbook but the book remains one of the elements of the curriculum as well as the school activity which has shrunk dramatically which will be mentioned later.

That vision of the curriculum requires necessarily a change in the evaluation system based primarily on the written exam which is the only criterion especially in getting certificates comparing to the 'transferring' years. The founders believe in the need to combine between the written exam system and other systems such as skills tests as well as the evaluation of students' performance in various aspects of school activities and social service.

Perhaps the students' activity is one of the main keys to reach the desired educational renaissance. Hence, the founders give an importance of dealing seriously with the students' activities as they are those that through which the students acquire the life skills and learn honestly about the issues of their community and interacting with them. They are also the key in which we can discover talents and abilities.

Among the most important activities that we should pay attention to is those that train students to express their opinion clearly and courageously and those which train them to political participation and teamwork. What not less important than the mentioned is the activities aimed at introducing students to the environment around the schools (or universities) and serving it and discussing its issues and problems.

All of that will not happen except with adopting the project of full school day which closely links to work on increasing the number of schools and reducing the number of students in the classrooms and getting rid gradually of the system of periods which limits the hours of the presence of students in schools.

Teachers

The founders believe that one of the most pressing issues is the issue of rehabilitating the teaching profession. In all countries which have adopted successful educational reform, they cared intensively about teachers. Hence, the founders believe that there is an absolute necessity to reshape the Egyptian culture in relation to the teaching profession.

It is a task in which the state has a role through the use of its various tools. As the Egyptian awareness has been formed in precedent historical stage in a way that engineers and doctors occupy the top of the professional pyramid in the collective mind, it is time to re-form the awareness positively towards teachers. The state can, for example, turn the faculties of education into colleges of the top in coordination of universities as well as rising the wages of teachers in a way that makes the profession itself rewarding and stimulating for the new generations on the desire to exercise it. In other words, under the current plight of education is not enough, in fact, the private staff as it is a must to allocate a budget that allows a comprehensive re-view of the teaching profession in terms of wages and training. Education is suffering a crisis affecting the Egyptian national security itself and nothing less than extraordinary budget allocation to save it for the development of Egypt.

Schools

It is impossible in light of the large numbers of pupils in the classrooms to expect to achieve any educational achievement as the teacher is not able to give the right attention to sixty students in thirty minutes and the student is not able to absorb in middle of that noise. The number in itself leads to the tendency to dictating not developing the talents and mental abilities because it is impossible for the teachers to discuss with the students, not to mention knowing their talents, under the very busy 'climate'.

Hence, there is a must to develop a plan for expanding, in the medium term, the number of classrooms.

Technical Education

Technical education crisis is reflected in the contradiction which is reflected in the reality that Egypt is witnessing. While official statistics indicate that the secondary technical education attracts, in the average, two-thirds of students while only one-third enrolls in the scientific secondary education so Egypt suffers from the lack of technical skills and the collapse of the level of performance of the technicians generally. The problem of technical education has multiple dimensions as enrolling in it does not express necessarily the students' preference rather than being a result of their inability to join the scientific secondary schools. On the other hand, technical schools suffer from a lack of resources and poverty in laboratories and workshops attached to them and the non-renewal of them as well as the neglect of attention to the teachers.

The founders of the party believe in the need to take care of the technical education where all of its branches suffer the low level of performance and the deterioration of the skill training for students. Moreover, it is important to seek to bring some balance in the enrollment of its different types, commercial, industrial and agricultural, as the Agricultural Education is suffering from a clear decline in the number of enrollers in favor of the Commercial and Industrial Education.

5- University Education:

The development of university education begins with to the rehabilitation of the concept of the university originally and resurrecting it. The university in all societies is not only an educational institution but is also a bastion of thought and free opinion and an incubator of scientific research that contributes to the renaissance of the community.

The main role of the university is to open the horizons for the future of the young generations through receiving different knowledge based on scientific grounds and sound methodology and training them to free thinking and participating in solving the issues of their country.

Hence, the first key to the reform of university education is to liberate universities from all restrictions imposed on freedom of thought. It is imperative to encourage students to think freely and to exercise freedom of expression not only in the classrooms but in all various university activities.

The second key to the development of higher education is in the rehabilitation of the faculty members in a way that enables them to teach. It is necessary to have the budget which allows the faculty members to receive a salary that guarantees them a decent life and enables them to have full-time for their role at the university as well as the need to provide the financial, technical and administrative resources which enable them to divide their time among their students and scientific research. The disruption of the university professors for scientific research limits their academic progress in what necessarily affects negatively the students.

The Party does not mind establishing the private universities that are committed to the standards set by the state which the founders believe that they need to include the following:

- The completion of the basic elements of the educational process in terms of facilities, buildings, academic programs and academic services such as factories and libraries as well as having faculty specialist staff with full-time.
- Full compliance with the accepted academic standards, both in the course of the educational process itself or in the conditions of acceptance and the level and quality of the curriculum and the criteria for granting the scientific certificates.
- Distinction in terms of the disciplines that the private universities provide, in the sense that each private university provides within its formalities a project that includes its provision of scientific specialties which are not provided by public universities or other private universities which ensures that the private universities won't be the back door to get a university degree for those who were not accepted in public universities because of their low level of education.

6- Combating illiteracy

Despite the efforts which have been made since the fifties of the last century, Egypt did not succeed in eradicating illiteracy, which makes this issue a top priority for the promotion of education. In this context, we can adopt a national campaign that takes a period between five and ten years where we can use the graduates of universities and high institutes who are looking for work for one or two years to participate in eradicating literacy in return for a reasonable wage which increases according to preparation of the graduates to move to remote areas and the most needy.

The national campaign includes a program to combat the infiltration from education through spreading the meals and applying the system of 'full day' to find the time for training in crafts as well as the classes of the elementary education, which reduces the desire of parents in withdrawing their children from education due to economic pressures. It is extremely important for the national campaign to include a program dedicated to encounter the infiltration of the girls by giving the awareness of the importance of their education and develop a system of incentives especially in rural and poor areas for the girls' education such as getting in-kind food or benefits for families. The founders believe that there should be a time frame to declare Egypt free of illiteracy in accordance with accurate criteria and indicators set by specialized experts in this field.

6 - Health Care

When addressing any problem, the precise diagnosis would be the most important keys to reach a solution to it as the misdiagnosis leads necessarily to the complexity of the problem. The same is true on the directions of the government regarding to the development of the system of health insurance. The vision offered by the government

and the ruling curriculum of it treat a problem that is not already existent in Egypt while most of the real problems remain with solution which complicates these problems and leads to aggravate them. The wrong treatment does not only lead only to harm the health of "patients" but also leads to create side effects which we do not need.

The presented vision is essentially based on the method of separation between the financier and the service provider as "The Commission of the Health Insurance" is the "financier" which collects contributions and other sources of health insurance financing and its main mission is to contract with the service providers who are paid by the Commission in return for the service they provide to the citizens.

The methodology of the separation between the financier and the service provider is practiced in a number of Western countries which suffer a great rise in the cost of treatment that exceeds what the budget for health insurance can meet. However, this is not the problem that the health care in Egypt suffers! It is true that the problems of health care in Egypt are many and complex but not one of them, in fact, is the rising costs in a way that makes the health insurance fund subjected to bankruptcy!

About what the health care in Egypt suffers, it is represented in the collapse of the health services provided through the health insurance especially for the poor and the absence of the minimum of health care in public hospitals. The crisis of health care is represented also in amazingly increasing prices of medicines in way that the middle and lower classes suffer. In addition to all that, there is a clear shortage in the proportion of nurses to the total of population and to the total of doctors as well as the collapse in the level of efficiency of all parties in the medical team (doctors- nurses – technicians of the users of medical devices- hospitals)

In other words, the governmental method addresses the problem of health care that Egypt does not suffer but it does not address the existing problems so it is an approach that supposes that reducing the costs will be achieved because the financier puts the 'ceiling of expenditure' that he imposes on the service provider and as the service provider competes with others on contracting with the Commission so that competition will lead in its turn to raise the quality so that two goals would be achieved which are: reducing the cost and raising the quality.

But one of the well-known defects of this approach is that in its quest to reduce the costs, it leads to the collapse of the health service and not vice versa. As this system is managed in accordance with the mentality of the market, when the financier puts a 'ceiling' on what the service provider can spend for the treatment of the beneficiary and he imposes it on him so he also stimulates him to seek, in order to achieve a part of profit, to reduce the services that he provides to the subscriber to the minimum. The treatment may be, for example, in medicines or surgery that consumes the entire amount allocated to treat that patient or a little bit more so the service provider decides with the logic of the market a remedy that is less expensive to achieve even

half of the therapeutic result in order to raise the profit so the medical decision turns into an economic decision and the treatment turns into a commodity.

In other words, the adoption of this approach leads to lower the health insurance costs which have not been originally the problem and then it aggravates the crisis of quality, which is one of the problems, by adding the considerations of the profit.

Based on the foregoing, the founders reject the vision of government and adopt a different view that we summarize as follows:

The human beings are the first wealth owned by Egypt. However, it is not permitted to expect from the Egyptians to contribute effectively in achieving the development or to perform their duties without getting the basic rights that guarantees them a decent life on one hand and enables them to give on the other hand. The right in education and health care, as noted above, is in the center of those fundamental rights which are non-negotiable.

Hence, it is imperative that the health insurance extends to include every Egyptian citizen which means necessarily that the health insurance to be compulsory in the sense that all citizens participate; the healthy and the sick ones alike.

This goal can be achieved only through the role of the state. The market's mechanisms would be unable to do this job as the market's considerations would deprive the ones with chronic diseases, who do not have the health insurance, to obtain such insurance. The market's mechanisms cannot also force the healthy people to participate in health insurance. The participation of healthy people is a necessary condition for solidarity which is the essence of any process of social insurance. Thus, the compulsory insurance as well as it represents an investment in human beings, it has a positive impact on the entire development process as it is also the most important ways to reduce spending on health care in general.

Hence the founders believe in the need to extend the insurance coverage to include every citizen in Egypt through requiring the employers to provide health insurance to their employees through the known system which is based on the share paid by the employee and a share paid by the employer and supporting the government health program and extending its umbrella to include the workers with daily wage and unemployed who pay token subscriptions when they request the service.

In a country where more than a third of its population below the poverty line, we do not need to dream of a real developmental renaissance without healthy human beings who are able to give which means that it is imperative to raise the percentage allocated for health care in the state budget not reducing it steadily as is the case at the moment. The public spending should be directed to following sides that take into account the justice of distribution in different geographical regions.

1- Supporting the basic primary and preventive health care especially in the slums and poor as well as the countryside.

2- Rehabilitating the profession of the general practitioner, so it is possible to invest in the groups of young doctors who suffer unemployment by raising the wages reasonably and encouraging them to practice the profession of the public practitioner in the health units and clinics in all parts of the Republic.

3- Developing the public hospitals and the health insurance hospitals and funding them.

4- Increasing the number of nursing schools and working on the rehabilitation of that profession in the public culture as well as raising the wages of the belonging to this profession in a way that guarantees them a decent life.

5- Paying attention to raise the efficiency of technicians and the technicians of medical devices and directing a part of the budget for that purpose.

6- Supporting the Egyptian pharmaceutical companies and promoting the scientific research in the field of medicines in Egypt. It is not okay, with the increasing rate of poverty among citizens, to privatize a vital sector such as the medicine sector and opening the door to the giant foreign pharmaceutical companies without having at least an Egyptian product that is affordable of which the ones with limited income could use which would not happen without the provision of governmental financial support for the pharmaceutical Egyptian companies so that they can survive in market.

7- Caring about developing the sector of ambulance's performance in all of its members and the emergency departments in public hospitals as well as the enactment of legislation that puts in front of the private hospitals 2 alternatives which are to choose between either emergency treatment that they receive regardless of the patient's ability to pay the cost or the payment of tax that the law defines its proportion for all the cases of which the hospitals refuse to receive.

Fourth: In culture and arts:

Culture and Identity

The founders believe that the absence of "the concept of the Egyptian cultural identity" for most of the projects of reform and development has been a key factor in the failure of these projects. If some people assume that the identity is like one closed circle, the founders believe that this trend is a limited and imperfect understanding; That is why the founders believe that belonging to the civilized Arab & Islamic circle does not mean the exclusion of the Coptic component from the Egyptian culture and they emphasize that the Egyptian cultural vessel has succeeded in mixing the multi-cultural components and has made them like a strong blend which has given the Egyptian culture its particularity and uniqueness among the cultures of the world. Founders lunch from this concept of an opened compound identity which focuses on that developing the Egyptian identity does not happen except with developing all of

its dimensions, aspects and components (Pharaonic, Coptic, Nubian, Bedouin, urban and all of which are within the Arab-Islamic component).

The issue of identity is linked to two key elements:

1- Arabic language: the founders express their concern about the decline of Arabic language which is the vessel into which the components of Egyptian identity which is like an unravel series which forms a risk represented in that the neglect of the Arabic language or marginalizing it means marginalizing the written heritage and then the losing the historical memory and turning Egyptians into economic, physical and consuming unit.

The lack of interest in the language was reflected in teaching methods, textbooks, government publications and the media; the thing which makes the founders take upon themselves the responsibility to re-gain the respect for the Arabic language and activating it as a tool for communication between all citizens as well as communicating with our heritage and historical identity.

2- The historical particularity and the humanitarian common: the founders realize that the issue of importing the Western knowledge civilization systems and disseminating them to the world under the guise of globalization and being open to others has become of great interest in recent times and due to the political failures and successive civilizational declines, the Arab culture has become questionable whether it can serve as a pillar of the renaissance or not? It has also been questioned about its validity and ability to meet the terms of the renaissance and it has been called as 'traditional' and 'recessed' and as one of the 'genes' from the eras of decadence and backwardness. Hence the call to marginalize it and convert it into a heritage or just folklore took place. They are all calls and ideas which are not consistent with the vision of the founders and they try to translate it on the ground through an integrated system of policies and cultural projects.

As we support the openness to other cultures, that means not to confine our concern on Western culture alone alleging that it is the only global culture but we have to go towards the Oriental and neighboring African civilizations and give more attention especially that they are ancient and rich cultures and contain visions of nature and humans that are consistent with many of the elements of our Arab-Islamic vision.

Art and Value

The founders confirm that the issues of art are not isolated from other issues of culture; as art is the language of the soul and a call to transcendence in human beings and deepening their understanding of themselves and the universe as a whole. They 'founders' call for the need for art to be liberal and open but it does not mean that art is detached from the value under the slogan "Art for Art" and it does not mean that artistic creativity is an absolute thing that has nothing to do with the society or human or moral values but there must be a balance between encouraging literatures, arts and

creativity on one hand and the commitment to the values of society and its constants on the other hand.

The founders believe in the need to promote the literary and cultural associations which serve as a nursery that breeds groups of young researchers and innovators and allow them to be in contact with the generations of pioneers. They also believe that the cultural centralism which has established all the cultural institutions in Cairo is one of the basic defects which caused the decline of culture that reflects the identity of the Egyptians and there is a must to activate the cultural and art centers in the provincial towns, their centers and their villages and promoting authors and local artists to be creative and utilize their creativities in serving the overall development efforts for different areas of life in society.

Fifth: Integrating ethics in the reform policies:

First: the founders believe that it is not possible to separate the moral and value sides from the development process as the collapse of the moral system in a society leads to a breach of the values of justice and equality and consequently it leads to the discouragement and the rule of general feeling of despair.

If the values break down, the social decomposition occurs and then the actions, behaviors and even aspirations of large groups of individuals, groups and professional formations become governed by systems of values and negative standards, declared and undeclared, such as:

- Perjury of covenants and contracts and false testimony.
- Bribery, nepotism, embezzlement and fraud.
- Idleness, neglect and indifference.
- Weak tendencies towards participation, initiative and paying attention to the public affairs.
- Predominance of materialism and luxurious consumption.
- Increasing the rates of crime and violence.
- Atrophying the meaning of the public interest at large segments of the citizens.
- Reducing the capacity of citizens and sometimes their desires to work usefully and productively.
- Imbalance of justice (in the distribution of income, the application of the law, provision of employment opportunities and the ability to access them).
- As the arts and literatures often reflect the defects of society, the collapse of values drives them away from their noble purposes and makes them move toward focusing on fictitious thinking and using the instincts.

These social ills and others lead, not only to the imbalance of justice, but also to social chaos where citizens tend to despair or seek to get their rights by force or other illegal ways. Therefore, if we assume supposedly that we have succeeded in achieving the political, economic and legislative reforms in a way that the national and Islamic forces and currents, demanding the reform in our beloved Egypt, hope for but with having the same situations as they are in the prevailing ethical aspects so the possibility of activating the reform programs in those aspects and making success with them ,in fact, will be little and their chance to achieve their purposes will be very limited.

The integration of moral reform in the various reforming entrances meaning the political, economic, legislative, cultural and social is an essential and necessary matter because it is the main guarantee that will protect the cohesion of society and form the suitable climate for the progress of the society.

Whatever the difficulty of the process of integrating ethics into the entrances of the various reforms in general, it is a process that worth the efforts and time that we will make to it as from the viewpoint of the founders it is a necessary and important condition for the success of the reform and achieving its purposes.

Mechanisms of moral reform

It should be noted that the study of "morality" is in place of unanimity or great intellectual consensus among the various ideological orientations which is the demand of everyone, or it should be this way, whether they are from authority or from the opposition and the responsibility to do that is for everyone from the individuals, NGOs and the civil and governmental organizations including various levels of the top of the society and the highest summit of the pyramid of authority and the responsibility to the broad base of public citizens.

Some of the proposed approaches to activate the moral reform and link it, at the same time, with the entrances of other reforms as following:

1- The tutorial and educational approach: this approach is based on the significant role played by the educational institutions in building mentalities and guiding the individual and collective behavior and through these institutions the founders call for planting the system of values, principles and standards that achieves the desired moral reform in the minds of emerging and new generations.

If most of the educational, cultural and other programs from the socializing programs, in their current state, lack the requisite moral content; so it is necessary to develop the curriculum and the educational and recreational activities in this direction. The responsibilities to accomplish this developmental task in the education curricula should be carried by the bodies and the educational and informational centers whether they are governmental or non-governmental organizations and they should be carried

by the thinkers, advocates of reform, opinion-makers and the leaders of civil society and its organizations and bodies.

2- The cultural media approach: due to the weakness of the cultural discourse which is broadcasted by the Egyptian media in general and foreign one in particular with regards to the ethical reform implications in the sense that was previously explained; so what is required according to the founders' vision is to formulate and publish cultural media speech that focuses on those absent meanings and aims to build a mental, correct and realistic image of values and ethical standards that should be respected and adhered. It is not intended here to produce tactical programs with the speeches' nature nor an artistic material that is given to people as lectures of morals and values but the intended thing is to have an integrated media vision that puts the value dimension at the top of its priority and then broadcasts through its cultural and artistic programs the values that we need to support and dedicate.

3- The approach of the renewal of religious discourse: the founders believe that the prevailing religious discourse in Egypt has been needing more than ever to mend its ways, renew its contents and sequester the negative concepts and the apologetic language and isolating meanings which it contains; in order to accommodate the variables of the present time and activate the role of religious discourse in facing the problems suffered by the society especially the youth and this renewal must be reflected positively on the status of religious institution (Al-Azhar - The Church) and its role in the development efforts and the public social reform.

This adoption by the founders is neither new nor associated with modern calls coming from abroad but it is an old and deep-rooted call adopted by the reformers and thinkers in the past and in the present times; because it is a religious and national duty to recognize the reality and interact with it and develop it in what serves the interests of the nation and not collide, without a justification, with the world.

In this context, the development of Al-Azhar becomes a very important issue. The founders call for the independence of Al-Azhar Institution financially and administratively from the state bureaucracy with the relentless pursuit to mend it and strengthen its role in the provision of moderate thinking in what ensures for it to do the tasks which are entrusted to it in the call, guiding and education locally, regionally and globally and then supporting Egypt's position regionally and globally.

4- The role model and transparency: the founders believe that principles, values and ethical standards whatever their nobility and highness are but they remain with low-impact in the reality unless they are embodied in role models whom the masses of citizens emulate on every level but for this direction to be supported with range of transparency measures (such as declaring the financial disclosure and the sources of income before occupying the public jobs or parliamentary terms and after) and other actions that demonstrate the credibility of such good role models and the following of who follow them in various positions of responsibility.

Sixth: Foreign Policy:

The vision

The vision of the founders of the Party in the area of foreign policy and international relations stems from moral origin on one hand and from conscious realization of the fact of the international realities on the other hand. The founders believe that international relations are, like all human relationships, based on general principles regardless of our moral judgment on those followed principles. Hence, the Party's principles which govern its vision of the international relations are as follows.

1- Justice

It is an Islamic and high humanitarian value and we mean by it, in the field of international relations, for the covenants, conventions and international agreements to be based on the basis of ensuring justice for the different parties and the lack of injustice to any party. There is a close relation between the adoption of justice and the presence of peace as the absence of justice creates a conflict and peace can last unless it is fair.

2 - Freedom

The principle of freedom in the fields of international relations means the following:

A- Openness to the world in the east, west, north and south and interacting with it and benefiting from the expertise of its people. It is an interaction based on the confidence of the cultural self and the belief that we have what we can contribute in today's world.

B- Invalidity of situations that arise as a result of coercion and duress; even if they were intensified through agreements, treaties or through de facto rule so these are all inconsistent with the value of freedom. Our foreign policy must work to correct the situations in accordance with this supreme human value.

3- Respecting the covenants and conventions

The Founders confirm clearly and strongly the respect for covenants and conventions "it is a fundamental and decisive factor in the process of regular interaction" in international relations and it is not just about formal or legal aspects but it also extends to become a tool of consolidating the principles of cooperation and coexistence and a key factor for the consolidation of the culture of peace as the breach of the covenants and breaking up the conventions are one of the reasons that lead to renew conflicts and break out wars.

4- Welcoming pluralism and respecting the cultural specificity

The founders believe in civilizational, cultural, political and religious "pluralism"; because the diversity is a way of social life and thus it is not permitted to seek to efface the differences and make them in one template as it is contrary to the nature of

humans on one hand and because it only comes through force and coercion. Hence, the Party also calls for the protection of the civilizational specificity and respecting it.

5- Cooperation and interdependence

The founders of the Party think that the "cooperation", which is based on exchanging benefits and caring for the common interests in the context of persistent quest to achieve the public humanitarian good, is the desired basis for international relations.

The founders realize that international relations in reality stray too far from those principles and values that ensure cooperation, peace and freedom for all nations and peoples. Hence, the real challenge is the successful interaction in the international arena realistically and in terms of values at the same time. Hence, the founders differentiate between reality and defeat as reality necessitates struggle to protect the supreme interests of the nation in light of the current international circumstances, whatever their nature are and regardless of our position for them but that reality does not necessarily mean to surrender to the international reality with all of its lesions. As reality which seeks to maximize the national benefit also means possessing the spirit of initiative and thinking of the ways in which we can work with other countries and peoples in order to change the unfair international reality that harms them as much as it harms us. It is not permitted to confiscate the right of peoples to dream about a better reality.

Egyptian national security

Through that vision and general principles, the founders believe that the entire world holds for Egypt, like for other states, a complex system of opportunities and challenges.

Egypt cannot seize the opportunities that serve its interests or control the challenges that it faces except with a clear vision derived from the main question related to our identity and our national project. As the party's program stems from the Islamic civilizational project which the founders believe that is capable of Egypt's renaissance, we are observing the changing international reality around us and we find that the world has become about the return of colonialism in various forms. Besides the colonial settlement on the eastern borders of Egypt, the traditional direct occupation returned to control more than Arab and Muslims countries but besides these explicit forms, there are other forms including the dominance of foreign powers on the political decision-making and including the economic dominance in its various forms as well as the cultural colonialism.

Hence the founders adopt a definition of the Egyptian national security that includes working to protect Egypt from whatever threatens its independence politically, economically or militarily.

It is important to distinguish between what is a threat to the national security and what constitutes a challenge that we should be ready to face as well as realizing that the

ways to counter the threats are not all the same. While some threats of the national security require a comprehensive mobilization of the society, in other cases there is a must to take multiple steps in the framework of long-term plan but the challenges might be as an obstacle in the face of the Egyptian interest that we should remove or they may represent opportunities that we should make unremitting efforts to seize them.

And the issues of the relation with Sudan, the Nile Basin countries and the Palestinian issue come at the top of the priorities of the Egyptian national security at all.

Besides the deep brotherly relations that link the two peoples 'Egyptians and Sudanese' with close bond, the Sudan represents the strategic depth to Egypt. The founders believe that the Egyptian policy towards Sudan is in the need to a comprehensive reconsideration that achieves the accurate balance between protecting the Egyptian national security from one side and respect for the supreme interests of the people of Sudan from the other side. Despite the fact that Sudan is the first issue of the national security of Egypt from our point of view, but that does not mean that Egypt has the right to define the supreme interests of the Sudan on behalf of its people.

The Egyptian national security can only be achieved through the trust from the people of Sudan in Egypt's respect for their independent will. Based on mutual respect and trust, Egypt can, through balanced Egyptian relations with all Sudanese parties, play an influential role that protects its interests from one side and contributes at the same time in supporting the supreme interests of the people of Sudan. In this context, we should emphasize that the Egyptian national security requirements impose dealing with any regime in Sudan of whatever its nature or the method of taking the power is, but this dealing does not include necessarily the acknowledgement of its interior excesses against Sudanese forces and parties or helping it to such practices. Egypt does not have the 'luxury of aligning' to one of the parties of the internal conflict in Sudan, just as it does not have to stand on neutrality towards what is been prepared for Sudan from international powers and parties.

About the relation with the Nile Basin countries, it is imperative that occupies the highest priority to the Egyptian decision-makers as it is related to the main lifeblood of Egypt meaning the Nile River as well as the cultural, trade and religious relations between Egypt and these countries and it is a relation that should not be limited only to reach a fair agreement on water and sanitation but also should also include discussing the joint projects that benefit all countries of the Nile Valley such as the agricultural and electrical projects as well as the animal husbandry and fishery development projects.

Equally important is the Palestinian issue which is a central issue in our vision of the Egyptian national security as depriving the Palestinian people from their legitimate rights means the continued violation of international and humanitarian law on Egypt's

eastern border, which represents a clear threat to Egyptian national security. The founders confirm their full support of the right of Palestinian people in self-determination and establishing their independent state with Jerusalem as its capital and the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes. The founders also affirm the right of the Palestinian people to resist the occupation by all legitimate means, including armed force which the party considers as a legitimate resistance stipulated in international conventions, decisions and norms such as a steady right of any people in confronting the occupation.

But above all this and perhaps even before, the current situation of the Sinai represents a real threat to the Egyptian national security. It has been more than a quarter of a century on the liberation of that precious land for every Egyptian but without significant progress in its development and reconstruction despite the fact that the best way to protect our eastern territory from being reoccupied or violated is in reconstructing it as leaving it with no humans and no development is a call for every greedy for it which is a situation that makes it an easy prey for those who plan to grab it and loot it.

It is no secret that Israel has renewed ambitions in the land of Sinai which makes it imperative to give the highest priority to reconstruct and develop it so let that be the national project of Egypt in the next decade.