

The Egyptian Association for Community Participation
Enhancement

Status of Democracy in Egypt
from 1-31 May

Towards Building New Democratic Spaces in Egypt
June 2009-07-09

Fourth report

- Title of the report: democracy status in Egypt report – fourth report (from 1-31 May 2009)
- Publisher: EACPE
- Address : 13 Faried st. Masr Elgeda – Cairo
- Fax: 24150546
- Tel.:22909903
- Mobile : 0121769732
- E-mail:cpe_eg@yahoo.com
- Web site: www.mosharka.org

- Manager of board: Dr. Magdy Abd Elhamied
- Manager of the association :Dr. Afaf Marey

- Prepared by:

Mohamed Adel

Yasmin Sherif

Mohamed Eisa

Waled Sayed

Omar Farahat

- Supervisor :
Mr. Ahmed Fawzy

- Cover designer: Mohamed Labieb

Contents

Subject	Page
Introduction	4
First: State Institutions:	5
1- Parliamentary practices and legislative work	5
a) Legislative and law progress	6
b) Parliamentary discussions	6
2- Executive authority and governmental performance	8
a) Security practices	9
b) Progress of administrative bodies performance	9
3- Egyptian judiciary and freedom of Speech and expression	9
Second: Civil Society in Egypt:	11
1- Progress of political parties performance	11
a) The Committee of Parties' Affairs: The decision maker in the affairs of parties in Egypt	1
b) General Budget, memory of defeat controls activities of parties and political movements	12
c) Youth Parties renew their activity	13

d) The Communist Coalition discusses the Future of the left wing in Egypt	14
2- Elections of the lawyers syndicate	15
3- Human rights organizations and committees	16
A) Administrative bodies obstructs the work of civil associations	16
B) The civil society enhances its activities targeting community categories	18
Thirdly : The Subject of the Issue: the problems of civil work in Egypt	20

Introduction

The Democracy Status Report in Egypt aims at monitoring and analyzing the political and social performance for a number of interactive and effective parties. Those parties shape the actual status of democratic mobility in the Egyptian society. Those parties include different state institutions, such as the executive, legislative institutions and the judicial authorities. Also there are security, religious, media institutions or other public institutions like the civil society organizations, parties, labor unions, social movements, educational institutions and other.

The Egyptian Association for Community Participation Enhancement aims to build a reliable database through this report in order to accurately monitor the democratic progress that is taking place in the Egyptian society. That will happen by following and analyzing the actions and the performance of all political and social parties in the Egyptian society and the state institutions with all its functions and roles, so that all of this will constitute a reliable source for researchers who are interested in the question of democratic progress in Egypt. Also it will constitute dynamic material that will help activists whether they are jurists, politicians or any others in supplying them with tools and useful important information that would aid them in their daily work.

First: state Institutions:

1-Parliamentary Practices and Legislative Work

A)Legislative Development

The month of May witnessed an unusual legislative activity inside both the People's Assembly and the Advisory Assembly. There were eleven or more projects of law under preparation for submission to the People's Assembly.

In addition, there are laws that have already been voted. These laws have agitated wide conflict between parliamentarians because they had to do directly with the vital interests and services received by the citizens. As an example:

- The Committee for Proposals and Complaints discussed on the 10th of May new amendments on the law that regulates university work. These amendments were presented by the independent delegate Dr. Gama Zahra concerning raising the salaries of faculty members in all Egyptian universities up to 14 Thousand Egyptian Pounds per month for professors with a 6% raise, 10 Thousand Egyptian Pounds per month for assistant professors with a 7% raise and 7 Thousand Egyptian Pounds for teachers with an annual raise of 8%.

- The ministry of housing has transmitted the project of the law regulating the drinking and sanitation water to the council of ministers where it was revised for its final submission to the Parliament. This law aims at revising all the past legislations concerning drinking and sanitation water and regulating the relation between the parties and bodies responsible for monitoring and supplying drinking and sanitation water services.

- A law project submitted by the delegate Mohamed About Elena in to People's Assembly was transmitted by Dr. Fatty Sour our, the president of the Assembly, to the Legislative Committee in order to be presented to the Assembly. This law is for the establishment of a body for food safety. This became an urgent matter because of what has been said recently about spoiled wheat, selling donkey meat and the fear of pig meat being leaked into the market.

- The People's Assembly has agreed on the 24th of May on the amendments of the law on the judicial fees which had incited a wide debate over the past few months. The Parliament has decided the reduction of fixed fees for lawsuits.

- The People's Assembly's Committee on Religion has approved a law project for the cadre of new preachers so as to only include the *imams* and preachers in the Ministry of Endowments and El-Azhar and exclude administrators and mosque workers out of the cadre "temporarily". This has been regarded by some as discrimination against workers of the same profession.

- The People's Assembly approved of the amendments the government has made on the Central Depository, Registry and Securities Law, whereby the shares of Misr for Clearing company are owned by the Egyptian stock exchanges and the members of central depository. Some of the delegates have doubted the validity of this law and the independent delegate Moustafa Bakry accused the government that it made these amendments to acquire the company and privatize it.

- The new family law project was transmitted to the attention of Mrs. Suzan Mubarak, the wife of the President of the Republic, to be reviewed before being passed to the Parliament. This act raised suspicions since the Legislative Committee is the only body responsible for discussing such matters and Mrs. Suzan Mubarak being the Head of the National Council for Motherhood and Childhood does not give her the right to change or control or be a member in the legislative process.

- On the other hand there has been continuous argument about the law on terrorism. The delegates have concerns that this law would only be a way to continue justifying the state of emergency in Egypt. This would be a pretext for more violations to human rights by giving the executive authority permanent powers similar to those given to it on an exceptional basis due to the state of emergency.

This big amount of law projects that have been discussed arouses several remarks:

Firstly these laws have been submitted in a tight timeframe, which raises the question of whether this would constitute enough time for discussing the projects and raising public opinion concerning them or would the voting be quick for the sake of serving a certain direction or group at the expense of another? The second comment concerns the effective role the social pressures played on the legislative agenda. The judicial fees were rearranged; new amendments were made to the law on university regulation and the family law, which were all issues important and vital to the public opinion in the last few months.

B)Parliamentary Discussions:

A lot of matters went through lengthy debates among the delegates inside both the People's and Advisory. Some matters were raised due to their effect on public opinion. Some of the most important issues include the project of general budget and some other issues concerning the citizens' health and rights including the precautionary procedures against the spread of the H1N1 virus and the question of spoiled wheat which has been imported from Russia and other important issues.

- The People's Assembly has witnessed on 18 May extreme discussions on the report of the Planning and Budget Committee for the year 2009/2010 which the government has described as a "crisis budget" due to the global economic crisis. Also the ministries' budgets have been affected. The educational and health budgets have decreased in spite of the hard conditions faced due to the spread of the H1N1 virus and the avian flu.

The delegates have criticized the government's excessive spending and giving the ministers' advisors huge amounts of money as rewards up to 250,000 Egyptian Pounds per month. They have also criticized the fact that the budget does not contain funds for large-scale projects especially those related to the development of Sinai and the facing the unemployment crisis. Also the delegates have warned from the wide gap in salaries between state employees and from the excessive unwanted workforce in the administrative body of the state and the incapability of the private sector or social development fund to provide enough employment opportunities. In addition, it was decided that the social raise would be 5%, but then again it was raised to be 8% because some delegates of the ruling party threatened the government that they would not pass the general budget. This situation is a proof of the effect of the public opinion on the discussions inside the assembly. Therefore the discussion ended by adopting a 10% raise in order to placate the public opinion.

Issues of public health have been discussed in both the People's and Advisory Assemblies, but government's representatives have been absent from those discussions. In the session of 25th of May 2009 the assembly agreed upon a loan that Egypt would obtain from the Islamic Developmental Bank to fund the fight against avian flu. The loan of 10 Million Egyptian Pounds is to be repaid over 20 years. Dr. Zakarya Azmy, the representative of the ruling party, attacked the incapability of the government's plan to fight the epidemic, and requested that Dr. Hatem Elgabaly, the Health minister, attends the Assembly to explain the current situation. Also some delegates –

at the same session - declared that some of the frozen beef was made of pork. The independent delegate Moustafa Bakry announced that the government has distributed, as subsidised food supplies, bags of rice that are unsuitable for human consumption and filled with bugs and licorice. Also the same delegate has in a previous session on May 11th made a request of notification to both the Minister of Social Solidarity and the Minister of Health about a transaction of importing spoiled wheat from Russia of about 65,000 tons which, despite that it was denied entry to Egypt at the city of Safaga ,was smuggled into the country based on some orders “higher orders”. The Committee of Health fiercely criticized both Ministers of the environment and Local Development because they did not attend the meeting of the committee to discuss the problems of garbage and hospital remnants.

In addition there were other notifications and investigations where the government and its executive authorities have been accused of wasting public resources. For instance the delegate from El-Wafd party Tarek Sabak has accused both the Prime Minister and the Agriculture Minister of wasting the government's money on fake projects. Also he has exposed what has been transmitting the Salhya project's agricultural land to urban activities. Also the delegate Adel Elbaramawy, the delegate of Elgharbya County, accused the Ministry of Health of wasting public resources by building two complementary hospitals of 10 Million Egyptian Pounds in the Ragdya village and then closing them and not making use of any of them. Building those hospitals took one and a half years.

It is worth noting that some of the crises that directly concern the interest of the citizens have forced themselves on the legislative agenda, like the crisis of drinking water and sanitation and the crisis of spoiled food. But it remains unknown what will happen in these issues because of the phenomenon of the absence of the representatives of the executive authorities from attending those sessions, which constitutes a proof of the disrespect the executive authorities have towards the legislative authority in Egypt which in turn means that they disrespect the source of authority, which is the people.

2) The Executive Authority and the Governmental Performance

A) The Security Practices:

The month of May witnessed many security bodies' practices from abusive arrests, torture and other acts violating human rights and liberties, and this under the pretext of securing the national safety and fighting terrorism:

- the security bodies have increased their campaigns against the banned Islamic Brotherhood group. On Friday 15th of May, 20 of the Brotherhood's leaders were arrested in El-Sharkya County during their engagement in what they called "Angry Friday" to denounce the Israeli practices against the Palestinians in Gaza. In addition, the security forces arrested 26 members of the Brotherhood in both El-Behera and Kena governorates by the charge of joining a prohibited group founded against the law, and spreading the group's thoughts and planning for actions that would affect the public security and peace of the community, as was declared by security sources. Besides, the Public Prosecution continued its investigation in the case number 404-High State Security, in which 13 of the leaders of the Brotherhood were accused by the Prosecutor's office of doing and organizing actions inside the Counseling Office for helping the global organization of the Islamic brotherhood.
- Concerning the right for peaceful protesting, 10 central security cars have surrounded El-Nile Cotton Ginning Company at El-Menya Governorate to prevent the protestors from demonstrating on the Cairo-Aswan agricultural road for their right to obtain salaries for the month of April.
- Concerning torture cases and human rights violations, two members of the opposition groups 6th of April and Kefaya reported to the General Prosecutor on Wednesday 6th of May that the police beat up and harrassed a number of girls while they were organizing a protest on the stairs of the State Council's building. All of this was happening while the Supreme Administrative Court was considering the executive authority's appeal on the judgment prohibiting the gas exportation to Israel. The citizen Osama Osman reported to the General Prosecutor confirming that he was kidnapped and tortured in the Embaba police station by station officers and with the consent of the head of the station personally which led to the loss of his hearing.

B) The Development of the Performance of Administrative Bodies:

The month of May witnessed a new trend concerning the decision-making process. Mrs. Moushera Khatab, the Minister of State for Family and Population invited a large number of the civil society representatives and also representatives of the executive authority with its differing congregations and decision makers. She met them on the 10th of May in the Ministry's headquarters where they discussed the report that will be sent to the United Nations concerning Egypt's position from implementing the children's rights pact and cancelling all reservations on the optional protocol. The discussion was fruitful and the participation of all the actors in the decision-making was in the benefit of the Egyptian child. At the end of the meeting Mrs. Moushera Khatab asked the civil society organizations to prepare reports displaying their complete vision concerning the subject. This is a very positive attitude out of the followed context of the executive bodies of Egypt, because the main attitude is the centrality in the decision-making process and not sharing the process with the civil society except in the narrowest limitations.

3) The Egyptian Judiciary and the Freedom of Speech and Expression:

In the last month the Administrative Judiciary Court issued a judgment confiscating the "Ibdaa" magazine for publishing a poem "disgracing the Divine Self" judgment. This month, the judgment issued by the counselor Dr. Mohamed Aatya, the Vice-President of the Council of State in the session on tuesday May 12th, 2009 constitutes a proof of further threat to the freedom of speech and expression in Egypt. This judgment has prohibited all sexually explicit websites from the use by all the internet users in Egypt, and it bounded both the Minister of Communication and the head of the National Body for Organizing Communication to take the necessary procedures to implement the judgment. This judgment came as a result of the lawsuit presented by the lawyer Nzar Ghrab in which he requested that all sexually explicit sites would be prohibited from the internet due to its danger on the Egyptian society.

The Administrative Judiciary Court assured in the reasoning of its judgment that: the Constitutional amendments – following the international human rights pacts – have assured the freedom of speech in its general form. However, what has been envisaged by guaranteeing the

freedom of speech is the contact between opinions and thoughts and how it is perceived by others and its transmission with no regional boundaries. Also the Constitution assured that the freedom of speech is not to be restricted in specific sources, but would have broad horizons and various resources. But the Court has declared that this freedom is not broad in what concerns the restrictions related to the societal values and axioms . All freedoms and general laws are not absolute but they are restricted by the conservation of the genuine nature of the family which is the foundation of the society and its base is religion, morals and genuine heritage of the people. The judgment raised broad debates regarding the extent to which this judgment has violated the freedom of speech and expression in Egypt, and the possibility of implementing such a decision practically.

Dr. Amr Badawy the executive head of the National Body for Communication Regulation commented on the judgment that the prohibition process is very hard and complicated and cannot be controlled; also it obtrudes the valid connection to other sites. There are ways other than the prohibition process through which these sites can be banned for example through “family internet” provided by some service providers to expurgate the content by giving the family the ability to control which sites their children can navigate. Engineer Kamel Tarek the Minister of Communication has declared the impossibility of the banning of pornographic sites from the internet, and said that the solution to avoid these sites is through the awareness of religious doctrine and the appropriate ways of protection.

Also the counselor Ashraf Elbarody the head of Alexandria appeal court declared that the judgment came as a response to the danger of the pornographic sites, however the reasoning of the judgment was full of jargon and lacking legal character. In addition, the counselor Ashraf Khafagy the vice president of the Egyptian Association for Internet Crimes, assured the impossibility of banning the pornographic sites, adding that it is a process that costs Billions of Pounds because these sites are not in. On the other hand the journalist and website specialist Adel El-Ansary said that banning the pornographic sites on the internet is a very hard thing from the technical standpoint because technology cannot be controlled assuring that the society’s raising on faith and morals is the answer for facing the moralistic disintegration on the internet and satellites.

All these opinions which came from technical specialists, jurists and

officials in the Ministry of Communication assures that the case does not represent a personal, not social opinion because we cannot consider that someone who logs on a pornographic site has done a crime, specially that the Egyptian legislation does not contain specific texts facing internet crimes. If these acts were considered as moral crimes they can not be provisioned by one person for a whole society. The judgment that came to ban the pornographic sites was general because the term “pornographic sites” was not specified in the reasoning of the judgment. Also the judgment did not specify the mechanisms that the executive authority could use in executing the judgment, putting in mind that these sites are not constant or few, because every day tens of sites are created and this could lead to the expansion of the policy of banning and provision because of the allegation that these sites are “pornographic or against general morals” which constitutes a threat to the freedom of internet use and the freedom of speech and expression in Egypt .

Secondly: the Civil society in Egypt:

1- **Progress of the Performance of Political Parties:**

A) The Committee on Parties’ Affairs: the Decision-Makers in Parties’ affairs in Egypt:

The role of the executive authority has been prominent this month in the political life in Egypt represented in the Committee of the Parties’ Affairs of the Advisory Assembly in Cairo lead by Mr. Safwat Elsherif the Secretary General of the ruling party. Political parties in Egypt have witnessed a great state of mobility since the Committee of Parties’ Affairs has issued its decision to clear the disagreements between a number of leaders of political parties after the number of disputes over the presidency has reached up to 11 parties. the Committee of Political Parties’ affairs in Egypt decided on May 17th the recognition of Mahmoud Abaza president of Elwafd party and excluding both Noaman Gomaa and Abd Elmohsen Hamouda from the dispute over the presidency by virtue of the judiciary judgments which decided the validity of the holding of the General Assembly which designated Abaza as president of the party and supported the exclusion of Gomaa and Hamouda from the party. The committee decided to maintain its prior decision to keep dealing with Mousa Moustafa Mousa as a president of Elghad party as applying the judgment that came in his favor from South

Cairo Court. As for the Social Justice party, the committee insisted on its decision to deal with Mohamed Abd Elaal as a president of the party. Also the same decision was made concerning Ahmed Gbely as a president of Elshaab Democratic party. As for the parties Elomma, Masr Alfatah, Alamal and Elkhdr Elmasry the committee has decided to keep the situation as it is until the Administrative Supreme Court would rule in the disputes about their presidency.

The engineer Abou Elela Mady, representative of the founders of Elwasat party filed on May 19th 2009 –and for the forth time – to the Parties’ Affairs Committee of the Advisory Assembly in Cairo, a request to found the party after it was denied for three times before. The new request contained signatures from about 1200 founder from 25 Governorates Also most of the signatures came from women. The signed request contained an agreement that Mr. Abou Elela Mady the representative of the founders would be a temporary president for a year in case the foundation of the party was agreed upon.

The most important matter that came in the party’s agenda of Elwasat party was the analysis of the current political situation in Egypt and the changes it goes through because of internal and external circumstances, and the work of the party in the contribution in directing those changes and diversions to the right direction that would serve all the members of the community after the collapse in the economic situation for both the middle and low classes and after the gap has widened between the rich and the poor. It was also stated that the moderation means – for its founders - that Egypt will not rise except with justice and freedom and not with one without the other.

Both incidents raised wide argument inside and outside the political parties about the role that the Parties’ Affairs Committee of the Advisory Assembly plays in the political life in Egypt. From his side Dr. Nabil Louka Babawy, the Advisory Assembly member, declared that the Parties’ Committee helped assure the legitimacy and stability of these parties, because the public opinion in Egypt believes that there are 24 parties most of which are inactive. So we do not need more fictional aside from the fact that it costs the state money. However, on the other hand, the political and human rights activists find that the role the Committee for Parties’ Affairs plays by controlling the political parties in

Egypt is a role that contradicts the simplest rules of democracy, freedom and party pluralism. The solution would be to let go of all the parties and what will remain in the political arena remains and what does not hold on vanishes, and that the founding of political parties would be only by notification and not with license.

B) The General Budget and the Memory of the Defeat Controls the Parties' Activities and Political Movements:

The most important activities of the political parties and political movements in Egypt this month have concentrated on two main issues: the General Budget's plan of the state for the year 2009/2010 and the 61st memorial of the Palestinian defeat. After the Minister of Finance presented the General Budget to the People's Assembly for its approval – the discussions around the budget lasted for almost all the month. Eltagamoa party was the first to announce its disapproval of the budget. Eltagamoa party accused Dr. Yousef Botros Ghaly the Minister of Finance that he caused the raising of the General Dept of Egypt because "he was the one and the main reason why Egypt entered the global stock exchange market and it is the market where its interests dropped hugely".

The party also described the budget as distorted and disfigured and serves some of those who gain profit out of it. Also Dr. Refaat Elsaheed -the president of the party- has declared in a press conference that was held on 13/5/2009 in the presence of Dr. Gouda Abd Elkhalek the president of the economic committee and Dr. Ibrahim Elesawee, member of the political office, that the budget contains a lot of gaps and inapprehensible mistakes, and he questioned the item of secret expenditure in the budget. He also announced that the party is willing to organize a press campaign with the collaboration with other parties against the General Budget for this year. The campaign will target raising the social premium to at least 15%.

The president of Elwafd party, Mahmoud Abaza, along with members of executive offices, members of the parliamentary association and heads of activities in the party held a seminar around the project of the General Budget for the fiscal year 2009/2010 and the budget was criticized in the following points: the decrease of the governmental investments from 43.2 billion pounds to 33.4 billion, the tendency towards increasing the percentage of indirect taxes, the disorder in the salaries and wages with the

continuity of the lack of a minimum acceptable amount, also the weakness of the service sector in the budget for educational, health and scientific research. In the seminar the attendance highlighted the importance of opening a social dialogue about the budget to treat its imbalance.

Concerning the memoriam of the Palestinian defeat the different political and party forces organized demonstrations, protests and conferences denouncing the Israeli occupation and seeking ways to support the resistance in Gaza, where thousands of those who belong to the Islamic Brotherhood demonstrated in a number of counties on Friday 15th May 2009 considering this day as the "day of anger". Also at the same time the press syndicate witnessed a protest in front of the stairs in memoriam of the day of the defeat, where hundreds of representatives of political parties and activists of the 6th of April, Kefaya and Islamic Brotherhood participated in the protest. In addition the participators protested a week earlier regarding the visit of the Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu to Egypt and the memory of the Israeli occupation to Palestine by burning the Israeli flag. At the same time tens of political activists from the Coalition of Egyptians for change, the organization of the Revolutionary Left, the Democratic Front Party, El-Karama party, El-Aamal party, El-Ghad party, El-Wafd party, the 6th of April movement and the Committee on Occupation and Zionism organized a protest in front of El-Hakanya Court in Alexandria.

Subsequently to the protest the, Liberties Committee of the Press Syndicate organized a conference to support the Palestinian resistance. On the other hand Eltagamoa party organized a political conference in memoriam of Palestinian defeat with the title "No to Normalization" on Wednesday 27th May 2009 in the headquarters of the party, where 50 members and activists attended. People who spoke in that conference were: Ahmed Basha Eldin Shaaban the political activist and Wael Tawfek member of Cairo committee and Nabil Zakie member of the central committee in the party.

What is clear from what is mentioned above is the agreement of all the political movements and party forces in Egypt on the Palestinian case and the hostility against Israel, whereas these forces cannot unite themselves to defend internal causes. Among 24 parties in Egypt, only two of the opposition parties were interested in discussing the General Budget that was approved by the People's Assembly this month, These are Elwafd party and Eltagamoa party. Despite the importance of the subject and its vitality for the

economic and social future of Egypt for the next year still the rest of the parties did not pay much attention to the issue. This incident shows how incollaborative the Egyptian parties are when it comes to the internal issues of the country and also it highlights an imbalance in ordering the priorities of the country's issues according to its importance and its closeness to the burdens of all categories of the society.

C) The Youth of the Parties Renew their Activities:

May 2009 was unique in the state of activity between the youth of the parties, since it witnessed the announcement of "the coalition of youth of Egyptian parties "after a number of unfruitful trials since 2001. These include attempts by the students committee, the youth committee and the failure last year of the first conference of the coalition of the youth of parties minutes before its start at the press syndicate. This caused some rumors to circulate around the youth concerning the plan for the five parties that were supposed to form the coalition for the strangulation around the youth leaders. After that there were continuous attempts until the youth leaders in the political parties were able to hold their founding conference in the absence of El-Wafd party and the Islamic Brothers. Representatives of the youth of Eltagamoa, Elaraby Elnasry, Elgabha and Elghad (Nour) parties, united under the flag:"Together", announced their new coalition on Wednesday May 20th 2009 at the headquarters of El-Tagamoa party. That was done for the aim of finding solutions to the issues of the country, to effect change and ensure the concept of social justice. The youth announced in a press conference the formation of a legal committee consisting of a number of lawyers to start a campaign to amend students regulations, besides suggesting a number of legislative alternatives to a number of laws, and also working on cancelling some provisions that impede liberties, in addition the formulation of a legal network to defend the issues of the youth, were the main center for the coalition would be in Cairo. Participants stated that they did not invite the youth from the Islamic Brotherhood to participate in the coalition because it is confined to political parties that have real agendas.

The youth of the Democratic Front Party in collaboration with Elghad party and the youth of 6th of April organized a press conference led by the youth from the Democratic Front and Elghad, This took place on the 30th of May . What appeared at the website of the party is that the conference discussed the intention of the state to marginalize the active political force

youth in Egypt especially in important events, and that came in favor of the youth of the ruling National Democratic Party. That was evident in how they chose the youth that would participate to attend the visit of the American president to Egypt.

D) the Leftist Coalition Discusses "the Future of the Left Wing in Egypt"

At the 16th of May 2009 the leftist coalition held –with the attendance of the leaders of the left wing in Egypt- a discussion under the title of "the future of the left wing in Egypt" at the headquarters of Communist Prospects Center. This meeting came as one in a series in the frame of preparing for holding "the annual Egyptian left wing conference" which is supposed to be held in next October. The discussion addressed three main topics: the first addressed the concept of the left wing in the world today. As for the second topic, it addressed analyzing the subjective and objective circumstances which the Egyptian left wing goes through and its relation to the social protesting movements which exist and are growing. The opinions concerning the second topic were divided as Dr. Magdy Abd Elhamied – the chairman of the board of directors of the Egyptian Association for Community Participation Enhancement- pointed to two view points: the first views an objective circumstance surrounding the left wing at the current time in Egypt. The second viewpoint is that the objective situation of the left wing in Egypt needs analysis and thoroughness to understand whether it is in its favor or not and in favor of what and if it is in favor of communist or democratic left wing. Finally the third framework addressed the issue of the relation between the Egyptian left wing and the global changes. All opinions agreed that the assessment of the performance of the left wing in Egypt should not be done away from the global developments that took place in the last twenty years since the collapse of the Soviet Union and until now.

2- The Elections of the Bar Association:

After the judicial committee delayed the elections twice, the councilor Farok Soltan, the head of the Southern Court, announced that the elections of the Association will be held on 23/5/2009 and in case the quorum is not met the elections will be repeated on 30/5/2009. Since the quorum of the General Assembly was not met the first time, because the law no 100 for the year 1993 for trade unions requires the presence of 50%+1 of the members of the General Assembly, the elections were held

on May 30th after the president of the Southern Court announced the satisfaction of the quorum, which only required this time the presence of third of the members of the General Assembly which was approximately 208115 and 76166 were present. This means that the percentage of participating in the elections reached 36.5%.

The competition was limited to two main lists: the first list was named "the national list" which is supported by the executive authority and includes the prior president Sameh Aashour. Also there were a number of the members of the National Democratic party and some Nasserite candidates for the membership of the board of directors. As for the second list it was the list of the Islamic Brothers "the list of the Islamic law". This list was supporting Hamdy Khalefa the candidate for the president's position. It also included some of the members of the Islamic Brotherhood group and some of the different national forces. What is worth mentioning is that in the last three times the elections were open for nomination the same candidates were nominated. This makes certain the confinement of the competition between the stream supported by the executive authority of the state and the other one which belongs to the Islamic political stream. This reveals the crisis of the political and professional action in Egypt.

The campaigns witnessed improper practices, The candidates for the presidency such as Sameh Aashour, Ragaay Atya, Talat Elsadat and Hamdy Khalefa exchanged accusations which were improper. The media debate between Ragaee Atya and Sameh Aashour in one of the shows was a bad example for the disrespectability of the competitors for the rules of the democratic process. While the state's executive authority advocate for free and fair elections, all the visual and read media owned by the executive authority sided with specific candidates without any reasons. Also the candidates spent lots of money on the electoral campaign, and this was obvious in the campaigns of "the Islamic law committee" that was supporting the Islamic Brothers.

The chancellor Farouk Soltan announced the names of the winners of the membership of the new board of directors, and the winning of Hamdy Khalefa for the position of the president after he got 35842 votes, while Sameh Aashour got only 30240 votes. As for the association's board the results were announced as follows:

- the board is empty of women and copts

- 18 members of the Islamic brotherhood and their allies from the "Islamic law list" got the membership of the syndicate, 9 of them on the general level and 9 members on the level of the primary courts.
- The list of Sameh Aashour and his allies from the "national list" got 23 members in the board 6 of them on the general level and 17 on the level of the primary courts.
- 3 of leftists won the membership of the board on the level of the primary courts.
- Two independent members won in the main lists

In general the trade unions and especially the Bar Association suffer from legislative restrictions on the work of the unions and how elections are done in them. The elections in the Association is organized by the law no. 100 for the year 1993, and the worst parts of this law is how it is stringent in the quorum it imposes on the validity of holding the General Assemblies which has the right to elect the board of the Association. This is also imposed on other syndicates where it provides that 50% of the members of the General Assembly must be present, and in case the quorum was not complete the elections must be postponed for a week when it would be held with the presence of 30% of the members of the General Assembly. This percentage is excessive, and no other elections follow the same law in case, for example, of the elections of the presidency or the parliamentary elections. The law also has forced commandments on the unions; it assigned to the judiciary committee the task to call for holding and implementing the General Assemblies that control the elections. Therefore, these judiciary committees represent administrative bodies whose authorities override the authority of the General Assembly concerning the elections. Also these committees do not enjoy independence and the executive authority intervenes in their work, this caused delays in the Bar Association elections and other trade unions in more than one occasion.

3- Human Rights Organizations and Associations:

A) Administrative Bodies Obstruct the Work of the Civil Associations

One of the main features of the activities of the civil society this month is the objection to the decisions of the Ministry of Social Solidarity. After the decision of the Ministry to close the Egyptian organization for human rights was announced, many Egyptian, regional and global associations and institutions collaborated and stood by the organization (more details are available in the issue's special report below). Also a new collaborative campaign came under the auspices of the New Woman Foundation in the framework of its program "the right to organize". After some of the activists submitted to the administration of Elmatarya for Social Solidarity a request to found a civil association under the name of "the association of ancient Egyptians for human rights" at 30th November 2008, and after completing all the required paperwork, and the approval of the regional union of the field of work of the association, the founders were surprised by the response of the administration of Elmatarya for Social Solidarity declining to found the association according to the letter number 866 issued in 19 May 2009. The letter is based on security objection according to the provisions of the article 11 of the law no 84 for the year 2002 regulating the civil associations. The non-governmental organizations that took part in "the campaign for freedom of organization" found that the decision of rejection is an expansion of the policies restricting the right to organize.

Restrictions did not only come from administrative bodies in the Ministry of Solidarity, but also reached the administrative body responsible for student activity which are the deans of the faculties. The coalition for the freedom of speech, expression and organization issued a statement in which it made a warning from the tendency of the administrative body represented in some of the deans of the faculties of law, to disregard the judgments of the judiciary administration which they send to the students to cancel the disciplinary decisions issued by the disciplinary boards in their faculties. The organization requested from the deans of those faculties to stop these practices and this compromising situation immediately since it constitutes a flagrant violation to the rights of those students by violating the Egyptian and international law. Also the organization was concerned from some trials to manipulate this direction to incite on imposing more restrictions over the students' rights in the freedom of speech and expression and peaceful grouping, or even using it to clear scores with some active students to ideological affiliations.

What follows from the above the organization of "the freedom of speech and expression" filed a lawsuit (number 11974 for the year 63 judiciary) on behalf of the student Moustafa Mohamed Meligy , of the faculty of law at Ain Shams University. The organization filed this lawsuit because this student was forbidden from attending the first two subjects in the exams of the first semester because of a press interview. Although a judgment was issued to stop executing the decision, and the executive form of the judgment announced the student at 15th of April 2009 and to the dean of the faculty of law, however he refused to execute the judgment. Elmansoura university referred twelve students from the faculty of law to the disciplinary board and the dean, Dr. Elsayed Ahmed Abd Elkhalek, issued a decision on 16th April 2009 to suspend them from the faculty for a whole semester as an implementation of the primary decision of the disciplinary board, which also means that they will be forbidden from entering the exams. The students filed lawsuits number 10756, 10757, 10758, 10759 for the year 31 judiciary at the court of Judiciary Administration in El-Mansoura dating 18/5/2008. The Court judged to suspend the decisions mentioned above. On 30/5/2008 the students went to the exams of the second semester to find that they were forbidden from attending the exam following the instructions of the dean.

B) the Civil Society Reinforces its Activities towards the Different Categories of the Community:

This month witnessed a remarkable increase in the activities of the civil society targeting different and various categories of the Egyptian community. For example:

- Hesham Moubarak Law Center engaged with workers through holding two training sessions for Egyptian workers dealing with how to use modern and independent media tools, and electronic documentation on websites that publish videos and photos. The first training was held at Hesham Moubarak Law Center Saturday 2nd May and the second was held on Saturday 9th of May 2009.
- The Egyptian Association for Community Participation Enhancement held, in the framework of its program for supporting and developing democracy, a training workshop under the title "building capabilities and negotiation skills". 27 teachers and administrators from different Governorates including Alexandria, Cairo, Ismailiya, Suez, Elsharkya,

Elkharbya, Eldakhlya, and North Sinai were present. The trainer was Mr. Mahmoud Mortada the training and technical support expert. The training lasted for three days starting from 21 until 23 May 2009: the first two days included training on "the skills of organizing campaigns for advocacy and defense" whereas the third day included training on "the skills and rules of negotiation". The main target of the training was to raise the ability of the teachers and administrators to organize themselves in the advocacy of their cause. The meeting which the participants held on the sidelines of the sessions of the training was one of the most important clues of success of the training. The trainers were able to develop an executive working plan to develop their advocacy campaign in the coming period. The main points that came in the plan were: raising the rate of the protests in the upcoming period among teachers and administrators, designing a website for the campaign, conducting a series of questionnaires for the young teachers to detect their needs and priorities, and finally holding continuous discussions to unite the movement of the administrators and the teachers through periodical meetings.

- The Cairo Center for Human Rights Studies held a conference entitled "Enhancing Networking among Judges" on 3rd of May in collaboration with the Euro-Mediterranean network. Most of the attendance was from judges and their demands were the international and judicial monitoring of the elections, founding a union for the Arab judges and the cooperation to strengthen the communication among judges of Egypt and the world.

- Concerning women's rights, the network of associations concerned with activating women's rights with the support of the "GTZ" held a workshop aiming at agreeing on the executive plan for the activities that fight female genital mutilation from 4 to 6 May 2009, and that was in the framework of "a project towards a just family law ". Representatives of the members of the network attended the workshop among them the Egyptian Association for Community Participation Enhancement, Women's Issues Center, Care International Institution and the Anglican Institution. Through the workshop, the targeted categories and the working mechanisms were specified. The first activity of the project was a discussion board held at Marriott El-Zamalek hotel on 15th of April 2009 to discuss the idea of female

genital mutilation, why it has not been treated before and the possible strategies to treat it.

- The SEDAWE coalition held a meeting on the 13th of May 2009 at the Upper Egypt Association, which was attended by 25 civil associations. During the meeting the steering committee for the coalition was elected from among its members and the coordination work was transmitted to the elected member which was the Egyptian Association for Community Participation Enhancement. This was done within the framework of the project of "enabling and building capacities of the coalition's associations to dismiss the reservations and accepting the optional protocol". The coalition held a press conference to launch the project's campaign for dismissing the reservations and accepting the optional protocol under the slogan: "women's rights without reservations". The conference was held on 25th of May 2009 at the journalists syndicate, and the chancellor/ Fouad Abd Almenem Ryad the judge at the international criminal court gave a speech for the coalition to start a campaign to collect signatures over the founding statement of the campaign.

We can conclude that, , contrary to political parties, the human rights organizations were able to be more expressive of the interests of the different categories of the Egyptian community, as they address issues that constitute the greatest concerns of those categories, which makes these organizations the most capable of expressing the interests of the citizens. Those organizations are able to upgrade the personality of the individual through spreading knowledge, awareness and raising the citizens on the culture of democracy, in addition to mobilizing the individual and group efforts for more social and economic development and to influence the public policies and reinforcing the concept of social solidarity. This conclusion was the reason behind choosing the special report of this month to be: "problems of civil work in Egypt".

Thirdly: the Special Report

The problems of Civil Action in Egypt

The Egyptian organization for human rights received on 27th April 2009 a written notice from the administration of Social Solidarity at Masr Elkdem, stating that the organization has violated the law of civil associations 84 for the year 2002 because the organization received funds from "freedom of media in the middle east and north Africa center". These funds were received to participate in the organization of a regional conference in Cairo under the title "information is the right of all people" as a support for the freedom of speech and expression. The Egyptian Organization made a response declaring that it made all the required procedures of the associations' law since it notified the Ministry in June 2008 of the conference and that it requested a certification to accept the foreign fund, but the organization did not receive any response. The Organization also notified the Ministry that the decision came by the time the annual report of the organization about the status of human rights Egypt for the year 2008 was issued which means that this step was a direct reaction to the report. In addition, the organization declared its deep concern toward the decision of the administration which strikes the right for freedom of organizing in its core, which is the right that the organization and all civil society organizations have always claimed for. The organization demanded that the administration must revise its prior decision and also modify the law of civil associations number 84 for the year 2002 to be consistent with the international conventions.

A number of human rights national, regional and international organizations declared their objection to the conduct of the Ministry of Social Solidarity with the Egyptian Organization, and they announced their identification with the organization in some statements they have issued. One of the most important statements issued was: the statement of the Amnesty International organization dating 14th of April, and another statement issued by 41 Egyptian and Arab organization condemning the notification; these statements

agreed that what the Egyptian organization for human rights was subjected to is due to problems in the legislation organizing the civil work in Egypt and on top of those legislations is the law number 84 for the year 2002. This law opens the door to a whole set of security and administrative intrusions in the civil associations. Those organizations demanded that this law be changed so that it would be consistent with international covenants and conventions concerned with and ensuring the freedom of creating associations and providing the appropriate climate for the nature of their work.

The case of the Egyptian organization is considered an extension to a number of security and administrative harassments to the non-governmental organizations since the issuance of the law 84. The most prominent of those cases are:

- 1- The objection of the security bodies to the foundation of Elmaraa Elgdeda foundation, as in: dating 8/6/2003 a letter was sent to the representative of the foundation including the decision of the objection of the security bodies on the registration of the mentioned foundation. This decision was appealed and a court judgment announced the publication in the lawsuit number 33480 for the year 75 judicial in the session 26/10/2003. As the judgment came with the invalidity of the administrative objection built on the disagreement of the security bodies. The judgment was based on that “in every administrative decision built on this security justification is required to be based on facts mentioned by the administration in the papers presented so that the judgment has a support to the righteousness of the reason of the issued judgment”

:The Egyptian association for resisting torture 2-

The administrative body refused the formation of the association since it objects to the aim of the association, which is the amendment of the Egyptian law to be consistent with the conventions of human rights, especially the convention for the resistance o, also the precise aim of the association to work on Egypt's joining the international covenants for human rights. In addition to all this, the aim of the association to exert pressure on the decision makers in order to start campaigns against the crime of torture and the participation in activities of local, Arab and international networks which are concerned with issues concerning

torture...etc. a court judgment was issued by the Administrative Judicial Court in a lawsuit made by the association number 19585 for the judiciary year 58 announcing the denial of the lawsuit and that because the targets of the association are those which are only confined to political parties. This is considered as one side of the relation of the executive authority with civil associations and how these authorities use the legislative obstacles that were decreed by the law 84 pertaining to the breaking down or the permitting of .founding civil associations

3- The house of unions' and labor services:

The house was subjected to a violent strike from the Minister of Labor Forces and the general president of the union of the labors' syndicate in Egypt, as it was accused of agitating a lot of strikes in many sites on the background of the strike of Ghazl Elmahala in 2008, and other accusations of agency and distrust. Quickly these accusations were turned to decisions lacking legitimacy. An example of those decisions was the decision made by the president of the city council of Nagaa Hammady number 44 for the year 2007, consisting of the closing of the house on the grounds that it does not follow any of the ministry of solidarity or the ministry of labor forces. Also there was the decision of the manager of the office of social solidarity at Elamahala of the closing of the branch of the house in April 2007, and this decision was enforced by a number of security forces who closed the branch permanently. Through the process of foundation, the house was subjected to a lot of administrative and security objections which delayed the process for years. This makes it clear that the administrative and security restrictions impose themselves on the civil associations and the civil .society in Egypt

4- The human rights association for legal aid:

Since the association works in giving legal and judicial aid to the victims who were subjected to human rights violations, the association defended one of the families of a victim who was murdered by one of the security officers through excessive torture. During this case, the association was subjected to a campaign starting from hiding evidence against that officer and ending with the disappearance of the family of the victim. Afterwards there was

news that the association has closed out due to financial difficulties. The founders and the members of the association found that this new was aimed to discredit the reputation of the association. Afterwards the association was disqualified on the grounds that it received money from a foreign body without the consent of the ministry of Social Solidarity, and that this is a violation to the article 18 of the associations' law 84 for the year 2002. After that the judgment was appealed twice and in the two times the appeal was delayed from September 2007 until 2008. Therefore the judgment was implemented, the association was closed out very quickly and all its money was transferred to governmental organizations, namely the Egyptian Association for Social Defense in Cairo and the Young Girls association in Alexandria. These violations highlight another side of the abuse in using the authority of the administrative and security bodies, and also that the motive behind these decisions was with the intention of breaking out and closing and not to correct or monitor the work of the association

- 5- Besides all what there have been many lawsuits and interferences such as the security exclusion of the member of the board of directors of the community development association at Ehorya village, which came due to security measures. These security measures are not mentioned in most cases because usually they are defined by security bodies. Also there was the assault on the doctors of Elnadeem Center at Kafr Eldawar on behalf of police men from Kafr Eldawar police station, where Dr. Magda Adly was assaulted and the car of Dr. Mona Hamed was wrecked on 30th of April 2008, this resulted in a doubled breakdown in the shoulder of Dr. Magda. It was discovered that civil recruit of the central security has done these actions. On the other hand, the executive authority has excluded "the Egyptian initiative for personal rights" from the participation in the meeting of the general association of the United Nations concerning fighting the AIDS, which was held in New York on the 10th and 11th of June 2006. There are many other violations that the administrative, security and executive authority bodies have done starting from the fabrication of lawsuits, obstruction of activities, the closing down and the threat of the closing down of associations finishing with the objection on some funding resources and donations.

By reviewing the problems which the civil associations have been subjected to, we find that the main reason goes back to the nature of the associations' law 84 for the year 2002. This law permits the administrative and security bodies to interfere in the work of the organizations and civil associations, starting from permitting or refusing to found and form the associations, or the administrative and security interference in the work of those associations after agreeing on their proclamation, or even the surpassing of the administrative body to the law itself by harassing some organizations that practice activities which they find inappropriate to their agenda. **Therefore we will be discussing this :subject with more detail through the following points**

First: the freedom of forming associations according to international .covenants

Second: the freedom of forming associations according to the .Egyptian legislation

Third: the problems of the law of associations number 84 for the .year 2002

First: the Freedom of Forming Associations According to :International Covenants

The international covenants and conventions have insured the freedom of forming civil associations considering it as one of the most important ingredients of public freedom. They also find that they must not be restricted unless with what concerns protecting national security or the public system or the rights of others and their reputation. Therefore the international covenant for civil and political rights in its article (21) has provided for the right for peaceful gathering, where it stated that “the right for peaceful gathering is recognized, and no restrictions should be made on practicing this right unless those made by the law and necessary arrangements should be taken, in a democratic community to sustain national security or public safety or public system or protecting ”public health, morals or the rights and freedom of others

The right for peaceful gathering refers to “the right of the citizen to hold meetings to express opinions and organizing marches and peaceful demonstrations in public places on condition that this right is not restricted to political parties but includes all professional gatherings and other civil society organizations”. This right is tightly connected to the freedom of forming associations which the international covenant for civil and political rights has stated in its article number (22) providing that: “ 1) for every citizen the right to form associations with others, including the right to found unions and joining them to protect his/her interests. 2) There must not be restrictions on the practice of this right other than what the law states and necessary arrangements must be formed in a democratic society for maintaining the national security or the public safety or public order or protecting public health and morals or protecting the rights and freedom of others. This article does not deny that members of armed forces and policemen would not be subject to law restrictions on the practice of this right.3- it is not stated in this article any judgment that permits member nations in the international work organization convention held the year 1948 concerning the unions’ freedom and the protection of the right of union organization to take any legislative measures or applying any law that would jeopardize the safeguards stated in the convention

Secondly: the Freedom to found Associations According to the Egyptian Law

As the international covenants have assured the right to form associations also the current Egyptian legislation for the year 1971 provided a number of articles that assure and organize the freedom to form civil associations, and it had also provided for the necessity of respecting this freedom as a part of the individual and public freedoms which the legislation protects. In the third section, entitled “freedoms and public rights and duties” we find a number of articles that mention the freedom of organizing and forming civil associations, the most important of which is

Article (54) which states that: “the citizens have the right in-private meetings quietly upholding weapons and they do not need to give prior notice, and security men are not allowed to attend their

private meetings. Public meetings, parleys and gatherings are
".allowed as long as they abide to the law

Article (55): "citizens have the right to form associations as-
explained by the law, and it is forbidden to found associations the
activities of which oppose the community's system or have a secret
".or military nature

Article (56): "forming unions and syndicates on a democratic basis-
is a right guaranteed by the law, and these organizations will enjoy a
".legal persona

Article (57): "every violation to personal freedom...and public-
freedoms assured by the legislation and the law is a crime not
subject to limitations arising from the case, and the state guarantees
".a fair compensation to who was subjected to those violations

Despite what the international and national law articles have
provided for the protection of right to form civil associations and
taking over their roles, the reflection of these articles on the law
of civil associations number 84 for the year 2002 was not clear,
since some problems can be found in the text of said law. We
".will present some of these problems in the following paragraphs

Thirdly: Problems of the Civil Associations' law 84 for the :Year 2002

The law 84 for the year 2002 was voted after the judgment in the
year 2000 regarding the unconstitutionality of the law 135 for the
year 1999. The Egyptian state was keen to avoid the mistakes
that lead to the unconstitutionality of the law 135. The state did
that by displaying the law 84 at the advisory council. However
this law did not avoid the primary defects which were in the law
135. This made the law 84 a legislative continuity to the prior
law which was filled with many legislative obstacles for the
work of civil associations, the most important of which will be
:mentioned in what follows

The almost absolute authority to the administrative bodies 1-

over the civil associations since their foundation until their :closure is represented in

A) The necessity of the consent of the administrative body to the foundation of the association under a specific name and a publication number. Also there should be agreement consent of the administrative body to what fields the association will
.(work in (article 11

B) The law gives the administrative bodies the right for arbitrary closing: the Egyptian law gives the Ministry of Solidarity the right close down associations after counseling the union and listening to the association. However the decision to close remains in the hands of the administration. Also the Ministry can give the right of closing to the executive bodies in municipal authorities. (As mentioned in
.(the articles 6, 8,42and 48

C) The intrusion of the administrative bodies in cases of the foreign funding of the associations, the law 84 for the year 2002 has a condition requiring consent of the administrative body ton any foreign fund. This condition turned to be a tool used by the executive authority to pressure the organizations to obstruct their activity or even to close the organization without resorting to solutions if this organization depends on
(foreign funding (article 17,42

D) The administrative intrusion in the activities of the association and its partners: (article 76 third b) require the consent of administrative bodies to the associations' joining networks or international alliances. Also the law gives the right to the administrative bodies to monitor, at any time, the activities of civil associations through security approval
.which the organizations must obtain

2-The excess of sanctions over the activities of civil

:associations, particularly through article 76, these include

A) The principle of collective penalties over individual mistakes: the administrative bodies can close the association which is considered as a collective punishment because of irregularities made by people who can be determined precisely. B) Imposing criminal penalties against members who belong to organizations: these penalties in the Egyptian law can reach one year of imprisonment, and a fine reaching 10000 Egyptian pounds for anyone who founds an organization that threatens the national union, or “public order”. Also there is a penalty of six months imprisonment and 2000 Egyptian Pounds for conducting activities without abiding to the rules of the law which the law 84 .has stated

3-The inability of civil association to consider some specific :subjects

The law categorizes some activities and programs of civil associations as political actions. The law uses this means many times as a weapon to refuse some projects and programs of civil associations, and also as a way to strangulate over them from .behalf of the administrative and security bodies

The legislative obstacles faced by the activities of civil associations was not confined in what was mentioned in the law 84 for the year 2002, but the one who speculates will find that the larger credit goes back to the emergency law, which had the larger share in imposing more of these strangulations, were through it the executive authority took a double strategy in dealing with civil associations. This strategy was present in bilateral repression one time and confinement the other. We can find that what the executive authority does from founding some civil associations and providing them with the sufficient support is just a way of expressing its desire that these associations be just tools for the authority and the government. At the same time the executive authority stands in the face of the associations which, from its own point of view, follow policies that contradict those of the government. This bias creates at the end an undemocratic atmosphere, based on closing and erasing civil

associations and imposing restrictions and strict procedures as an attempt to transfer civil associations to just followers to the executive authority, and the exception is letting them perform their activities

:Fourthly: the conclusion and recommendations

The legislative environment organizing the civil work in Egypt shows obvious deficiencies. This affected directly the freedom of civil associations' practice of their right to organize and conduct their activities. This deficiency derived its legitimacy from the articles of the law 84 for the year 2002. This law put the civil associations under continuous administrative and security supervision, in an atmosphere that regards closing the associations and refusing their foundation as a rule, and granting them their freedom in organizing and practicing their activities is the exception. Therefore the importance of amending the law 84 has become obvious, so that its articles would guarantee a free democratic atmosphere that would allow the associations to carry out their activities. This depends upon what the Egyptian Constitution and international conventions guarantee from the right to form and organize civil associations. The most important suggested amendments are

The replacement of the necessity of the approval of executive bodies with the principle of notification, so that the notification is not confining to the foundation of the civil associations, but also it extends to receiving funds and changing regulations and activities. This would lead to the chance to be the freedom of founding associations is the basic and their closing is the exception and not vice versa

The relation between the executive authority with its bodies and the civil associations an indirect relation (especially concerning administrative and security procedures) were the judiciary system plays the role of the mediator between the two parties, in order to

forbid the direct contact between them, since this has caused a lot of confrontations and violations which the civil associations have been subjected to

Putting into account that the penalties decreed in that law would be sizeable with the mistake the association has done. In addition to be free from collective penalty or the stiffening of penalties, since this work is a nonprofit work in the first place

The law should include clear identification to the expressions and legal definitions in it, avoiding any confusion or any abuse in using authority, or mistakes in explaining these definitions and expressions

Minimizing the monitoring over the work of the civil society and especially civil associations, whether this supervision was security or administrative, and that the supervision be just financial aiming mainly guaranteeing the legal expenditure of the resources of these associations

Putting into account the creation of the necessary atmosphere for obtaining information and exchanging them in order to guarantee the accomplishment by these associations of the aims of their activities and projects

At the end it is worth mentioning that it is important that the associations depend in their efforts for amending the law 84 on the cooperation between each other and forming strong partnerships that would enable them to open discussion with the state and built understanding and cooperation between the two parties, aiming to reach mechanisms to solve the problems which face civil associations. Also admitting the importance of the role done by these associations for building a free democratic atmosphere in the whole society and improving current conditions.