Exceptional Women







NEHAD ABOUL KOMSAN

CONSTITUIONALIST AND DIRECTOR OF THE EGYPTIAN CENTER FOR WOMEN RIGHTS

DINA RASHED FEPSIAN UCHICAGO ASSISTANT DEAN

AMAL K HAMADA FEPS WOMEN STUDIES UNIT NEW DIRECTOR

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Issued by the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University





At The Historic Al-Ahram

Special Visit

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WITH FEPS-UCHICAGO EXCHANGE ENGINEER An important interview with UChicago Assistant Dean Professor Dina Rashed

By: Silvana Sobhy

During the information session of University of Chicago Scholarship for the Academic Year 2020-2021 held at FEPS, we came to know Professor Dina Rashid, one of the outstanding FEPS graduates who is now the Assistant Dean of the College for International Partnership at the University of Chicago and who heads the UChicago Sawiris Program. She graduated from FEPS in 1989 and majored in Political Science. She had two master degrees, one from DePaul University specialized in international studies and the other is from University of Chicago. She has been awarded the best thesis award in the international studies field at DePaul University. She also received her PhD from the Department of Political Science, the University of Chicago. Joining FEPS was her dream and she got motivated to join FEPS especially after reading "Autumn of Fury" a political Book by Mohamed Hassanein Heikal. After reading "Autumn of Fury", she realized that studying political science is her passion and a dream to be fulfilled. She shared with us her sense of pride for being a graduate of FEPS emphasizing the fact that how being a student in FEPS in the 1980s meant interacting closely with knowledgeable professors who eye witnessed many crucial events in Egypt and even had influential roles in changing Egypt's course of political and economic events. It was an enriching experience as you get taught by professors like Boutros-Ghali who was the State minister of foreign affairs and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. FEPS was able to provide her with deep knowledge and solid background in the political science field especially when she started her master's degree in DePaul University where she found a compatible educational system with that offered in FEPS that facilitated her transition and studies in DePaul University. However, she found a difference between Political Science department at the University of Chicago and FEPS.

The studies in the former focus on the political theories that governs all the sub-disciplines in the political science field. While in FEPS, the political science studies focus on the empirical international events and this was greatly shown in the intellectual energy imported in the discussions between students and professors. As for the UChicago Sawiris Scholarship, she is very happy to lead the program, and head its Admission Committee. She provides great support and guidance to the scholars from FEPS at UChicago. She praised the overall performance of FEPS students during their participation in the scholarship, highlighting how some students' strong performance enabled them to transfer as full degree-seeking students at the University of Chicago. Their determination and academic performance convinced Mr. Nassef Sawiris to extend his generous financial support to cover their tuition and other expenses as they sought their bachelor degree at UChicago. The Scholarship Committee is keeping strong contact with FEPS Alumni through reunion/social gatherings every year. Accordingly, the UChicago-FEPS scholars are able to network, share their experiences and good memories even after their graduation. It was noticeable that many Chicago-FEPS scholars who graduated work in multinational associations and in the Human Development field. It seems as if they were greatly affected by good experiences in Chicago and wanted to disseminate this knowledge and experience into the Egyptian Society for a better future. Hence, she urges the students in FEPS to keep thinking of how to develop themselves academically and professionally. FEPS offers a lot of scholarships that greatly uplift the qualifications of the students, so they need to be well prepared as going through the application process itself is an experience that strengthens the student's capabilities regardless the end result.Lastly, she showed her happiness to be able to be connected and give back to FEPS through offering general guidance to FEPS students in Chicago and to contribute to such valuable exchange program with the University of Chicago.



A Special Interview with Women Activist And Head Of The Egyptian Center For Women Right

Mrs Nehad Aboul Komsan

THE INTERNET GAVE WINGS TO OUR GIRLS



Interviewed by: Youstina Ebeid, Habiba Atef and Moustafa Mohamed -- Written by: Sherry Asaad

ELITE's team was honoured to meet Mrs Nihad Aboul Komsan, Co-Founder and President of the National Center for Women. Mrs Nihad graduated from Faculty of Law in 1992, and was chosen to be a member of the commission for the Constitution in 2014 as a representative of motherhood and childhood affairs, due to her work in the field of Women representation. She hosted the T.V. show "Tales of Nihad," on Al-Kahera Wal Nas Station, and recently, she has launched a program of online training for starting up Non-governmental organizations.

- As a co-founder of the National Center for Women, what were the motives behind its establishment? And what were the main goals that you aimed to achieve back then? During my study of Law, the crux of my studies wasn't focused on specific cases as such, it was more focused on the theoretical aspect of law, so I imagined the existence of moral values that these theories called for, like Justice and Equality, but just as I graduated and entered the workforce, I found out how different the real world was from what I have studied. Where reality was full of discrimination against Women on the legal level, and this discrimination was clear in different aspects, for example, laws of personal affairs, women representation in the Parliament and decision-making units, job opportunities, and many other aspects.

I've been interested in Public Work ever since I was in high school, that's when I started volunteering in NGOs, meanwhile, I read all the notable feminist books at the time, and during my college studies, I didn't focus on Academics only, but I also broadened my knowledge by reading the reports issued by the United Nations that were available in the library of the UN's office in Garden City.

Upon graduation, and due to my interest in this field, I volunteered-besides my work in a Law Firm- in the Egyptian Organization of Human Rights, which is the 1st organization for Human Rights in the Arab region. I worked there for 2 years, and at that time, a Women's support Unit was established in the organization, and the work we did in this unit expanded so much that it was like a parallel organization within, from here, began the idea of forming the centre to work on Women issues from many aspects, The first aspect we worked on is providing legal aid for women who are incapable to file law suits, either because of their fear of being in more danger because of her legal action, or because she's unable to pay the fees, so we worked on spreading awareness on the necessity of filing law suits, and started filing law suits for women specially in cases of genital mutilation, and we worked for free for the incapable women,

Secondly, we worked on legislature amendments.

Later on, the Centre was established in 1997, we started advocating for the increase of women representation in Parliament to increase the efforts for legislature amendments that we pave the way for equality between the sexes, where during this time, there were only 4 women in parliament, and so, on establishing the Centre we worked on two aspects as well, the first was legal aid, and the second was political participation of women that wasn't an option back then, on these bases, we started doing field work to grasp the true needs and intentions of individuals and work as a channel between the people and decision makers, where we put aside our previous judgements about the masses, and didn't try to blame them for their ignorance or encourage them to move against the political system -like many do nowadays- which is not what advocacy is about from my point of view, on the contrary, I see advocacy as a way of creating discourse between the masses and decision makers, with creating friendly relations on both sides.



One of the most important cases that we adopted was Genital mutilation for girls and child marriages, and hadn't it been for our field work and meeting with key characters from within the communities that we worked with, this reminds me of "Mohamed," a very old guy I met once, when we launched our campaign to raise awareness about Child Marriages in one village, and he was one of the people responsible to get suitors to young girls, so on meeting him, I discovered that the real reason behind their eagerness to marry off the girls at a very young age was because they didn't receive any education, and led empty lives, so for him, marriage for the girl is a way to "preserve," her, and so, this talk to me, was the window to the perspective of these people to the issue, and I consider it to be of more importance than any information I got about the dimensions of this issue from other intellectuals, as because of his words, I reoriented the purpose of the campaign from focusing on child marriage to the focus on the importance of education for young girls,

ELITE

I want to add that our work in the center led to a change in the work of NGOs from just volunteer work to the move towards legal advocacy and raising awareness to cases that were never discussed before, like sexual harassment, were we launched a campaign against it, a first in Egypt and the Middle East which caught the attention of foreign media, and we kept track of the developments of fighting this crime, on the legal level, and debated with the Ministry of Justice about the necessity of classifying it as a crime and put a definite punishment on it, until the constitution of 2014 was articulated with the classification of Sexual Harassment as a crime, We also succeeded in amending more than 20 laws concerned with women rights, among which is the Citizenship law of 2004, that allows women to grant their citizenship to their children from foreign fathers, and the right to divorce law in 2000, and one of the most significant changes that we succeeded to achieve was the nullification of 292 Law in 1999 that gave the exemption from trial of the rapist on his marriage to his victim, along with equality in tax accounts between genders, and the call for applying Women Quotas in parliament,

To sum up, our work in the centre is based on three main pillars, creating strong relations with the society, research work, and creating strong relation with decision makers and try to understand the motives behind actions without prior judgement.

You have exerted a lot of efforts to support NGOs, where you have launched lately an online platform to train individuals how to start an NGO, can you explain to us your vision?

Since the establishment of the National Women Center and to this day, we've worked on adopting NGOs through its different phases since their establishment, and provided them with technical support and also provided them with human resource services, bearing in mind the surge of technological advances, we had to develop our reach for these organizations, so we shifted from old means of communication of using the telephone or arranging training sessions with these new organizations to more modern means of communications, that is the online platform that we launched, on adopting this method we succeeded in providing the same services to a wider range of recipients that is estimated to be thousands of interns with cheaper costs than before.

In addition to that, I see that our main aim as a developmental organization, is not profit or business centred, but it is knowledge dissemination, that is why we are always willing to provide our services to anyone in need without charge.

As a member of the 50-member Commission, can you tell us what were the points of conflict on the issues concerned with women, during the articulation of the current constitution in comparison with previous constitutions?

One of the most debated about articles, was the one related to the granting of Egyptian mothers their citizenships to their children, that I insisted on documenting in the constitution, but my wishes was opposed to by many, including feminist leaders as well, with the excuse that a law was already issued regarding the matter, but from my point of view, it was crucial to put it in the constitution to avoid the nullification of the law, where the trend after 2011, was the nullification of many laws that granted women their rights, but amending the constitution would be much more difficult so by including this law in the constitution would provide more protection for women in this regard,

Article 19, concerned with the age of obligatory education, was also much argued about, where the suggested amendment was extending the obligatory education level to reach High school, but this recommendation was faced by opposition from representatives of the Islamist strand in the committee,



the debates on this article lasted for almost two weeks, were the opposition of the amendment preferred article as written in the 1971 constitution: "Education is obligatory until the preparatory stage, and to exert efforts to make it obligatory till Secondary stage." but from our stance, this article wasn't efficient in its articulation, as it had lasted for decades with no efforts exerted to extend the stage of obligatory education, the debate on this article had hidden agendas, as it had effects on other aspects, like Child marriage, as extending obligatory education would be an impediment to child marriages, that is why both parties of the debate, our front and the Islamist front, saw the importance of this specific article, where during my debate in this article, I always remembered the talk I shared with "Mohamed," that I previously mentioned, that's why it was so important to me to adjust this article, as I knew the huge impact it had on the issue of child marriage.

Another debate that took place, which I think is a very good example of negotiations, is our debate on the article concerned with Women quota in Parliament and Local Councils, the increase in Women representation to reach 25% was opposed by all political forces, liberals, together with Islamists alike, and so we negotiated on two levels, first, we negotiated to increase women representation in Local Councils, where we, as advocates for women rights, allied with representatives of the youth, to amend Article 180, concerned with representation of women and youth in the local councils, so that each category would have 25% of seats in, reaching 50% of the seats to Youth and Women, in addition to that, in addition to that we amended the age eligibility to run for elections to these councils, to start from 21 years old, on the second level, we worked on women representation in Parliament, that was deemed more important than the local councils by all the other political forces, but we understood that the local councils are more important than Parliament were, getting 25% of seats in Parliament grants women 120 seats, on the other side, getting 25% of sear Local councils, grants women more than 155,000 seats to represent women all over the republic.

From your point of view, What are the drawbacks of the retard of elections in the Local Councils? And do you believe that the rise in Women representation in these councils to 25% is effective, or is it just mere numbers with no solid effect?

First of all, I see that Local Councils are of crucial importance, where they hand power of the ownership of the State to common people, and in regard of the retard in elections of local councils, many interpretations were made, some people say that elections were postponed for security reasons, others said that it was due to the lack of experience of the political parties, so I am not sure why the elections were postponed, but we still call for the fastening of these elections. As for my view regarding Women representation in Parliament I think that the current representation is extraordinary, as in comparison to the nineties, women only occupied 2% of Parliamentarian seats, and so even though these women in parliament were feminist pioneers, it was still incredibly hard on them to represent women, but today, even if not all the representatives of women are not powerful feminists, but there bulk in the votes and their support for the pioneers in Parliament, you cannot expect that once a woman enters parliament she will turn into a strong feminist power, but it at least guarantees that her voice will be heard in Parliament.

This reminds me of the fruitful initiative by Dr. Ali El-Deen Helal, the he began during his work as Minister of Youth in 2000, where he assigned a seat in the board of each Youth centre in Egypt, the result of this small act, was a change in the culture of people, and women started entering these Youth centres, which is a shift of perception in the community that previously despised girls for merely passing by Youth centres, that eventually lead to dedicating a specific day for women in the swimming pools of youth centres all over Egypt, even in Upper Egypt, which is a great source of amusement that wouldn't have been available for them if not for this initiative.

Are you satisfied with the discourse adopted by the current administration on Women Issues? And do you think that the "Year of the Egyptian Woman," has paid off?

I think that the discourse of the current administration is better than then precedent administrations, as it is a discourse that praises women, but also, even though new legislature were issued in support of women rights, a large gap still persists between these laws and the policies of their implementation, and as long as the question of: "Where should a Woman in need go to?" is still posed, and as long as there's no specific institution by states that would help these women, then the Political power won't have succeeded in achieving full women rights.

Ever since Egypt has adopted the Republican system, What is the role of the First Lady regarding emancipation of Women? And how effective is it?

There is no specific role for the First Lady, it is just used in mere Protocol, it Mrs. Gihan El-Sadat was the first to pursue roles of the First Lady, after the close relationships that was tied with the United States, and her desire to walk by the American example, she was succeeded by Mrs. Susan Mobarak, who played the same role as her predecessor, but in the meantime, Mrs. Entesar El-Sisi doesn't play the same role as they did, and only abides by her duties as the Protocol dictates, and if the position of First Lady, plays a role in advocating for women rights, then it is only bound to putting forward certain topics to discussion, this was clear in the era of President Mobarak and was only pursued by Mrs. Mobarak to achieve her own personal goals. Currently speaking, I think that the discourse adopted by President Sisi and his interest in women rights, is a great push for the call for women rights, substituting the role held by the First Lady in the previous eras, the greatest example for that is his dedication of a whole year for Women, that posed an obligation on all decision makers to bear in mind women rights.

Which aspect plays a bigger role in society's perception of women: Religion or Culture?

For me, I see our society as a pragmatic one, that would only abide by either religion or culture to pursue our own interests and benefits, this includes the society's perception for women, that is why I think that this perception can be easily changed specially with the spread of the internet, that played a huge role in the emancipation of women and calling out individuals who violate their rights, for example the backlash that Mohamed Salah faced after his support for Amr Warda, and also "Me Too," that pointed out the former President of the IMF for his accusation of sexual assault, leading to the end of his career.

Does the woman's living situation, especially her economic status, make a difference in her responsibility on tackling Family Planning?

The Economic status of women plays a role in how they tackle family planning, where working women are more likely take prefer family planning and have no more than two children, on the other side, non-working women would want to have more children, mainly out of boredom and their lack of sense of purpose in life, and so, if the government focused on the emancipation of women in the workforce, this will affect birth rates immensely as when women pursue their careers, they would find a sense of purpose other than that relating only to having children, and so birth control is not just related to the economic or social status only, but also to the amount of awareness women have of their worth.

Did the Arab Spring change the situation of Arab Women? After the Arab Spring, women became bolder and more aware of their rights, since they took part in demonstrations and organization of public patrols, and had witnessed their men in moments of weaknesses, that is contrasting to the view of the "Strong" man that is embedded in the culture, where man is viewed as the all powerful, sole caretaker, of the family that the woman should always depend on, but in the time of the revolution, and the uncertainties that faced men and women alike, and the fear that entered into men's faces, proved to women that they are both equal and broke the image that was embedded in their minds from society.



.Nehad Abol komsan's answers of the UPR side event interventions the answers addressed three main topics about Egyptian women: Importance of quota for women in Egypt, sexual harassment, and The Judicial Authority





"Woman Studies Unit seeks to offer knowledge and expertise for concerned academics"

Cairo: Carolin Sherief, Fareeda Khalifa, Rehab Khaled, Yassmine G. Hussein

The elite team went to the Women's Unit of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, which is one of the most important and effective units in our college; to meet with Dr. Amal Hamada, the director of the Center and one of the faculty professors in the Department of Political Science, to congratulate her first on this position. And to learn more about the activities of the unit

- Ms. Carolin: Dr. Amal, first, congratulations on taking office and hopefully it will be a fruitful period. We'd love to start with you. What is the Women's Unit and what are its activities in the faculty?
- Dr. Amal: The Women's Unit was originally a unit for women's economic studies affiliated with the center for economic and financial research and studies. It was established during the time of Dr. Jasmin Fouad's presidency of the center, then it transformed a main part, through which the professional master's program was created, and then it became an independent unit. Additionally, its name was changed from Women's Economic Studies Unit, to the Women's Studies Unit only. It is essentially a unit that is supposed to promote interest in women's issues in Egypt and the Arab world, it incorporates studies in this field as well as the being the hub for the professional master's. Through this, it coordinates with the Anti-Violence and Harassment Unit at Cairo University.
- Ms. Carolin: Does the Unit have other activities?
- Dr. Amal: The unit focused mainly on the master's program because it took nearly two years in the preparation stage, such as preparing the list and decisions and training teachers, in addition to the fact that the program has only been there for 3 years. The unit has focused on making this program efficient and effective, and this was its main focus. The unit does not have a lot of employees, the employees were directed towards a specific need, and we hope in the coming period that there will be space to carry out work for women in more concentration.
- Rehab: How can the Women's Unit help women in the faculty specifically?
- Dr. Amal: The women's unit is not primarily a service unit, nor is it a room to receive women's complaints. University units offer non-research activities to students in general. Based on its name, the Women's Studies Unit, it is supposed to support scientific research in the field of gender in all possible forms. It also provides expertise to students or teaching assistants interested in working on gender issues. It is offered at the faculty to include the gender component because the faculty has only one course related to this subject: women and politics. It is also possible for the unit to support professors to integrate gender in different courses and disciplines. It is also possible to organize a series of lectures or seminars on issues considered academic and practical for women and the academic community at large.

A SPECIAL INTERVIEW WITH DR. AMAL K. HAMADA NEW DIRECTOR OF FEPS WOMEN STUDIES UNIT

- Rehab: Does the Unit provide support for anyone interested in gender studies, regardless of their gender? Support is not limited to women only?
- Dr. Amal: Of course, the recent trends do not support the idea that women's issues belong to them alone, and vice versa, some men are also interested in working on women's issues because they are both citizens and part of society, and they're supposed to be interested in common matters concerning different sectors of society.
- Rehab: What are the Unit's short- and long-term plans?
- Dr. Amal: We aspire to achieve the following during this year
- 1. Organizing a series of monthly seminars or seminars on academic issues concerned with women and gender studies. Participants in this series are interested students from different departments and not only political science department, in addition to graduates and master's students.
- 2. We try to establish scientific partnerships with regional and Arab universities with similar studies, in order to avoid the problem of different contexts that arise when dealing with international universities, sometimes, their research agenda and priorities are different from our priorities, the partnership with similar universities reduce the gap between these differences. For example, it is very useful to benefit from the Lebanese expertise and deepen our cooperation, and during the preparation of the master's program we met with them and benefited from their experience a lot. Our plan for this year begins by exploring the possibilities of partnership and the long-term implementation.
- Fareeda: Are there any other entities apart from universities that the Unit is interested in pursuing partnerships with?
- Dr. Amal: We already have a partnership with the United Nations Women's Empowerment Program, who are supporters of the unit and offer scholarships to master students. We also have an informal partnership by virtue of mutual interest with the National Council for Women. We are trying to look for ways to strengthen this partnership. We hope to establish partnerships with bodies interested in academic issues. We also have partnerships with service bodies to empower women, such as the National Council for Women, and generally, any partnerships of this kind will be useful for all of us.
- Fareeda: Are there any specific activities offered to FEPS students in
- Dr. Amal: I am seriously considering various things, we have a good library, and we can offer academic material that students can benefit from in their research or private readings. Also, we are seriously considering providing an internship opportunity in the unit for students of the second, third, and fourth years, which would provide mutual benefits for students and the unit, and it doesn't require a lot of resources.



- Yassmine: To what extent is the professional master's program successful?
- Dr. Amal: The program has been very successful so far, and this is reflected in the reactions of the students as well as their return after studying to repeat the experience. The program is in its fourth cycle, and up to this moment, the professors observe the quality standards and are very serious. In addition, we don't suffice with evaluating the students or program beneficiaries, we evaluate ourselves all the time. This is evident in the fact that Dr. Jasmin Fouad, the first program manager, held weekly self-evaluation meetings, which are still being implemented.

Our short-term goal is, first, to prepare a set of short training courses on gender issues, because we have discovered something about Egyptian society when it comes to gender issues, which is the need for academic and practical knowledge, but not all people have the ability to commit to a two-year degree program. We are currently preparing this set of courses that will be open to different classes, will not include a degree and will be short in duration.

In the long run, we have an ambition to have a professional doctorate like the professional master's, and the list allows it, but more complex planning is needed. Additionally, there is a demand from students who have obtained a professional masters to have a doctorate, but this plan is considered in the medium term due to the small number of these students.

- Yassmine: What resources will help the unit to perform its tasks?
- Dr. Amal: Communicating with institutions, individuals and organizations, in addition to resources, there is considerable support directed by the faculty. Also, the students of the faculty have an interest in this area, but it needs further development and awareness; interest in this area is part of a general change in the world, and we are part of the world, so it is very important to enhance our reach to students.
- Ms. Carolin: How can you enhance the reach to students or those interested to the Women's Unit when they aren't aware that it exists?
- Dr. Amal: The idea of seminars comes first, but if the seminars or panel discussions are regular or frequent, the staff will be more knowledgeable about the information and therefore can be communicated to students. The faculty agenda is sent to students periodically, and even to the students that women's unit is not to receive complaints. However, all students should know that the unit is open to all those interested in gender issues, such as those who want to do a graduation project, a master's degree, or anyone who needs consultation in this field, without an official academic link.



- Yassmine: From the point of view of Dr. Amal, what are the obstacles that could hinder the unit from doing its job, apart from lack of resources?
- Dr. Amal: Lack of interest, in the end you cannot impose the research agenda on anyone, and we assume that women's issues are an important issue at the research level, and not only political research. In addition to the existence of a culture of resistance to what is new, especially since the unit is new in the faculty, if the community rejects the idea, this will be a major obstacle. However, there is considerable support from professors interested in the field, and the unit uses their work as a foundation and adds to it.
- Ms. Carolin: How can other majors be attracted, professors and students, to the unit's activities?
- Dr. Amal: Communication is the most important thing. The unit can act as a liaison between those interested in gender issues, as well as the master's program, which is an interdisciplinary program that includes all departments whether statistics, economics or political science, the nature of the program helps in bridging the gap between different majors and linking their ideas. Also, there are professors who teach in the unit's program from the Faculty of Arts. There is awareness that other expertise even from outside the faculty can benefit the unit. But the problem is always that people don't know that there are subjects taught by professors from different disciplines.
- Ms. Carolin: Is it possible to expand the scope of the Women's Studies Unit more widely than the faculty?
- Dr. Amal: There is a strong interest in gender issues at Cairo University, especially the Faculty of Arts, English Department, but from a different policy perspective. There is a general tendency in the Faculty of Arts to include the feminist element in all scientific subjects, but with a different perspective from our faculty. At the university level, this will eventually happen.
- Yassmine: Is there a plan to include more gender-oriented courses for students?
- Dr. Amal: It is an issue we are trying to work on, but there is an obstacle, which is that the introduction of new materials requires changing the list, and this takes time. Additionally, a course on gender issues may be perceived as difficult or demanding by students. But of course, an elective course on gender issues is already an idea, and it will be available for all sections. But the easiest and quickest idea is to incorporate gender elements into existing curricula, as what Professor Ola Abouzeid has done in the political theory course, in which she teaches a portion about feminist theory. As part of a future project, it may be possible to provide the faculty with experts to inform them about gender mainstreaming within the curricula.
- Ms. Carolin: Thank you very much for your time, it was our pleasure meeting you, and we hope to get this chance once again.



Our editors from left: Fareeda Khalifa, Carolin Sherief , Rehab Khaled and Yassmine G. Hussein



At the historic AL-AHRAM News Paper



Editor-in-Chief of Al-Ahram Mr. Alaa Thabet (6th from right) gives the editor-in-chief of ELITE Ramy Magdy a Historic Souvenir of The First Issue of AlAhram 1876 at the presence of Mr. Mohsen Abdel Aziz supervisor of the Friday issue (far right) and a number of ELITE editors







Cairo: Mayar Tarek and Farah Ezzeldin

Passing through lots of challenges and achieving many goals for 144 years, Al-Ahram newspaper became one of the most important newspapers in the world as many people around the world are reading it, despite the diveritye in their language and culture.

In addition to its Arabic version, AlAhram issues an English version of "Al-Ahram Weekly" and the French version "Al-Ahram Hebdo" in many other prints that made Ahram on the throne of press in Egypt.

on the throne of press in Egypt.

The tour started from the Office of the Editor in Chief "Mr.Alaa Thabet", he got the position since 2011. Thabet stressed an important point that there is no newspaper that is absolutely independent, each news paper has a commitment to something and that the newspaper Al-Ahram follows the Egyptian state first and last.

Al-Ahram newspaper employs more than 1000 editors in different regions all over the world, covering the news first-hand so that the citizen feels like at the heart of the event and does not miss the smallest and finest details, but lives it moment by moment.

Thabet also gave ELITE TEAM during the visit the first edition published by Al-Ahram newspaper in 1876, to be a repertoire of pride in the magazine and begin in the footsteps of the great Alahram.

We finished our meeting with the chief editor to start our tour between the corridors of the newspaper, to start with the gallery, which includes different pictures of public figures and artists who had some experience with the newspaper and its editors, including Tewfik al-Hakim, Naguib Mahfouz, Umm Kulthum, Mohamed Abdel Wahab, Abdel Halim Hafez and many others.

One of the highlights was a photo taken by the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser and his deputy, Anwar Al-Sadat . Nasser who went to the office of the editor after finishing the tour and sat on the Chief Editor desk, and said that this was the place where he really wanted to work for.

We have also seen the Editors section where editors are working on various news and stories.

Of course, we did not miss the opportunity to see the largest printing machine in the Middle East, which not only prints Al-Ahram newspaper, but most of Egypt's newspapers, such as Al-Shorouk, Al-Masry Al-Youm and others.

This three-floors printing machine where the paper passes every step of its manufacturing process, from a set of white papers in large rollers, through the ink process and individual papers in a certain way to be printed on, to cut and bend, to come out in the form that we read and see each day.

In this regard, Thabit devoted exclusive news to ELITE; that steps are already being taken to make an agreement in the coming period between Cairo University and Al-Ahram newspaper to conduct journalistic training for students in various departments of economics, political science and masscommunication.

The visit of ELITE to Al-Ahram came at the right time to hone ELITE with new skills and support the unique character and distinctive luster of ELITE. Good luck ELITE in its new version.





Cairo: Ramy Magdy, Carolin Sherief, Farah Ezzeldin, Omar Alaa and Farah Elnehlawy

Symbol of leadership in Journalism, Al-Ahram newspaper has formed the consciousness of the Egyptian street for almost a century and a half, and owners of the greatest pens had once written in its pages like Naguib Mahfouz, Anis Mansour and Khalil Bishop.

In the interview, which lasted for an hour and a half and which Elite carried out with Al-Ahram Editor in Chief "Alaa Thabet" accompanied by the press writer Mohsen AbdelAziz, Supervisor of the Friday Supplement to Al-Ahram newspaper, we wanted to recall the memories of the past and explore the future of the fourth authority from an office where the Egyptian government was formed in a period of

Alaa Thabet Editor in Chief said that "Since its launch Al-Ahram newspaper had been the Egyptian state's newspaper and it is usually biased to the people". And he added in an interview carried out with him by Elite magazine in his office in Cairo "Journalism is a mirror that expresses the nature of the society. This encourages us to develop the newspaper and introduce a better service because journalism in the world had become based on services".

On the Technological obstacles threatening the printed press he commented saying "We have to benefit from technological obstacles rather than fear them, especially that now we can only reach the reader using the modern communication tools". He also said that Al-Ahram is aiming at developing its website in the upcoming period using artificial intelligence.

Al-Ahram's role in reviving the Egyptian heritage,"Thabet" revealed that Al-Ahram's association is launching a unit for rulers, which documents pictures belonging to the rulers' period. And which consists of about forty nine thousand pictures.



In the same context, said Mohsen Abdel Aziz, a writer and supervisor of the Friday supplement to Al-Ahram newspaper, "What has ensured Al-Ahram to continue for 144 years, is that Al-Ahram since its inception, was and still state newspaper, explaining that Al-Ahram is not the first newspaper in the history of the Egyptian press, but It was preceded by several successful newspapers, but its bias towards the Egyptian state, not to the regime or to a political current."The press is a bridge between the intellectual and academic side and the man of the street," Abdel Aziz said, advising the elite team to make sure that their writings tend to human subjects in a simplified manner. At the end of the dialogue, Thabet praised the professors and students of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, pointing out that it is the first college in public universities, in terms of the possibilities available, whether professors or students, pointing out that his study at the faculty qualified him to reach the presidency of the editor of Al-Ahram. And when talking about his career, he pointed out that his study at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science in Cairo University qualified him to reach editorial presidency at Al-Ahram he also added; that it is considered as the first faculty among local universities in regard to the available qualifications; either the doctors or students.

1- as we know you have a binding relationship with journalism since your childhood tell us more about how this relationship started?

Even though I practiced writing as a hobby when I was a child, it had been a fruitful period of time and I have learned so many lessons, as at that time the most important thing for the journalist was to explore himself. My relationship with Journalism started at a very young age, in Luxor, I used to visit Luxor Temples and the Historical sites there. When I felt upset I used to talk to the statues and from observing the inscriptions on the walls of the temples I realized that journalism had existed since the dawn of history. At that time I started searching in the Pharaonic history; their relationship to Journalism from the inscriptions on Luxor temples and Al Karnak temple in specific. Then, at school I established the first Wall newspaper at that time. It had been interested in the events that took place in the Egyptian society during the Pharaonic era, and this happened with the help of my friends who were specialists in the old Egyptian language to translate the texts. The magazine's basic goal was to connect the past with the present, but unfortunately sometimes misunderstandings happen. As in Secondary School, I wrote an article with the title "Young Pharaohs", which was mistakenly understood as if I was implicitly talking about the current political system and this caused merr $\bar{\mathrm{e}}$ a lot of trouble. Since then, I have learnt to carefully choose the topics so that they are homogenous with the political system and so to prevent any misunderstandings.



"Digitizing Journalism should be Seen as an Opportunity not as a Challenge"

Later on, I moved to Cairo to study in Al-Azhar university. I started writing short stories, the first one was titled "The last Goodbye" and it was inspired by my departure from Luxor where life was simple and quiet to noisy Cairo. Then, it was followed by a collection of stories which wasn't published at that time, due to my young age, and refusal of publishing houses to print stories written by a student.

2- You have a very successful career. Tell us more about your career development up until you have reached to the Editorial presidency of the biggest newspaper in Egypt? I believe that there are two important periods of time in my career which enabled me to reach the Editorial presidency of Al-Ahram. The first one was my study at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science in Cairo University in the beginning of the 90s where I have received an International Policy diploma. I always remember the lectures I have attended there which changed my perception of life. In my opinion, studying Political Science is considered as the compass which adjusts the human thought. It also qualified me for this position because usually the Editor in Chief has multiple scientific backgrounds. The second period of time was in 2006, I travelled to USA, to attend a training course in how to make a decision in USA's organizations whether in the White House or in Research Centers, or in Decision Making centers in USA. Yet, during this course I chose to study how the American citizen makes a decision? I travelled to Nebraska South of USA, which is an agricultural state, but it differs completely from the Egyptian agricultural societies. I watched how the American farmer manages thousands of acres, and how the wife and children help in managing the fields as well. These two periods of time have played an important role in richening my culture and changing my vision of life.

Career wise, I joined Al-Ahram association during the second Gulf war era, and the American Iraq invasion. This happened in conjunction with creating Al-Ahram Evening newspaper. I was from the first people to work in it, I elevated in positions up until I have become the Editor in Chief of Al-Ahram Evening newspaper after the 25th of January Revolution, which played a role in finding mobility in different associations. Yet, such a change is considered a challenge to many journalists since it involves transfer from the artistic sphere related to journalism to the administrative sphere and being responsible for managing a group of people, in contrast with the journalist who is free and is only responsible for himself. For me, this didn't shape a huge obstacle due to my background in union work, as in 2007 I have become a member in the Journalists Syndicate Council, and I have become the Chairman of the Disciplinary Committee. This Committee is responsible for applying the press code of ethics, and usually all the members refuse to join it because it results in their loss in the following elections. But I convinced my colleagues that we represent the voice of the citizen, we have to respect his privacy, and we have to be precise in the information we deliver to him. As a result, we created the commission responsible for the trial of journalists who break the code and which includes a member from the State Council. During my presidency, 140 cases involving journalism have been adjudicated, and during that time I have specialized in the administrative work which qualified me to work as Al-Ahram Editor in Chief.3- Al-Ahram is the oldest newspaper in Egypt and the Middle East, it goes back to more than 144 years ago. In your perception, what are the most significant trademarks in its history and how is it possible to benefit from Al-Ahram historical heritage?



role in many of the journalism arts which at that time, weren't well known. Like for example, the art of dialogue, and the art of the article. In the beginning, the newspaper was inspired by The New York Times newspaper which started in 1851 in creating its design. Moreover, we find Al-Ahram a leader in several issues, such as enabling women. As Mrs. Betsy Tekla earned the presidency of the foundation in 1901. She made the decision of transferring the newspaper's headquarters from Alexandria to Cairo. Al-Ahram entered a new stage and as a result Betsy Tekla is considered to be the most important character in Al-Ahram history. Furthermore, The reader of Al-Ahram's history will realize that the foundation is always eager to embrace journalists from Arab Countries, especially that the founders were Lebanese -Bashara and Selim Tekla-. Also, Dawood Barakat -who took over Al-Ahram's editorial presidency for the longest period of time- was Lebanese.In addition, seeing that Al-Ahram is 144 years old and it experienced many important political periods. It also carries many documents, and its journalistic material is considered as the basic material for the international research centers. The following December, Al-Ahram will launch a unit for rulers, with the help of other associations such as Alexandria Library. This unit will document the material that belongs to the rulers. Until now, we have documented 49,000 pictures related to the rulers stage, this material is very rare and its beginning goes back to 1876. Also, we are targeting the development of the foundation through the website. In a day, we get 550 thousand visits from all over the world and we aim at increasing this number to 1.5 million visitor to the website. Development in journalism isn't based on shape but on the content and it takes a long time which may last 20 years. 4- Alaa Thabet the Editor in Chief of the most important printed newspapers in Egypt (Al-Ahram) of course obsesses over the lack of distribution due to the degrading importance of printed journalism, and the spread of news online. How do you perceive this challenge and how did it affect Al-Ahram? I have a different opinion regarding this matter, we always look at challenges as if they're against us, yet we have to use these challenges to reach people. I believe we have to benefit from technological challenges instead of being afraid of it, and apply high professionalism to interact with the social media.



In the modern era, it's impossible to reach the reader in Canada or Europe except by using the modern communication tools. That is why we own a page on all social media platforms which reaches about 3.9 million people. Yet, this number isn't enough and we are eager to increase it.It is not only about the social media, we have to benefit from the modern technology and the artificial intelligence. We must develop the content and reach the reader in a more innovative and efficient way. During this November, we are going to make a trial using the artificial intelligence in order to find out what the readers are most interested in. Which may help us get closer to our readers, that is why the main page of the website may differ from one reader to another based on his/her interests. This way we form a base for our audience, after all we are offering a service based on the readers' demand.

Generally speaking, no method erases the effect of another just like the television didn't undermine the use of the radio. Similarly, the digital content won't destroy paper press. Paper press is witnessing deterioration due to several reasons, especially the marketing and economic sides. For example, with every sold copy from Al-Ahram newspaper, the foundation loses 25 EGP, but we are trying to make up for this using the advertising revenue which aids the foundation to spend on the professional level on its employees, as there are about 1750 journalist who works at Al-Ahram. Despite everything, Al-Ahram takes the lead in the field of paper press. It is important to mention that what is distributed on Friday is equal to all the printed content in the Middle East including the Israeli Journalism. But what is more important is the effectiveness not the distribution. As for example, Washington Post newspaper is considered the most effective in the world, yet according to the approximate information the Washington Post distributes about 100000 copy daily, which is quite a small number compared to us.

5- Of course Journalism suffers from the problem of professional literature and inability to control the printed content, due to the development in social media. How do you perceive this ethical challenge and how can it be faced? Controlling the digital content, and facing rumors is a very critical challenge for us not only in Egypt but in the whole world. Especially in light of the change in the system of work in the field of journalism, it is expected that no journalist will be contracted in the future, so we will have an enormous number of journalists but its dealt with by piece. In addition, the increasing role of the artificial intelligence in Journalism, by which we can analyze the economic or political reports electronically, and publish those reports separately. From here emerges the challenge of providing news differently, especially in facing rumors. So instead of directly replying to the rumor which adds to its popularity, I can cover the event live to answer to the rumor indirectly. It's a dangerous challenge which both Journalism and television face.

6- Al-Ahram is known to be one of the national institutions and a representative of the official press. How much autonomy does Al-Ahram enjoy in order to exercise its role as a fourth authorpity? Actually, there is no press in the world which is completely autonomous. All newspapers have a specific agenda which it is biased to. We are usually biased to secure the Egyptian state, and by viewing Al-Ahram's history we have consistency in dealing with different situations. Al-Ahram foundation is always autonomous and its Editing board enjoys a huge deal of independency. This isn't new to Al-Ahram, since its establishment it had been the Egyptian state newspaper, regardless of the government in power. This is one of the reasons why it persisted, Al-Ahram wasn't the first in the Egyptian press. Yet there were other successful newspapers like Al-Mokattam magazine and the Egyptian newspaper, but the were biased to the occupation or to a certain political stream. In contrast, Al-Ahram started out as a foundation and as a state's newspaper not a government's newspaper. This reflects on the brilliance of choosing its name "Al-Ahram" to symbolize the national identity.

Thabet to ELITE "Political Science is the guiding branch for other social sciences"

Al-Ahram sought to internationalize the Egyptian case during the occupation, which led to its shutdown twice, and the imprisonment of its founders Bashara and Selim Tekla. These were the only instants were Al-Ahram was shutdown, yet it wasn't a long time before the newspaper was relaunched and its founders were set free. In the present, the most important writes in the Middle East are writing in Al-Ahram. Even the majority of press cadres for private and party newspapers are from Al-Ahram. Also, Al-Ahram foundation still controls 85% of the industry, to maintain that Al-Ahram provides its service with credibility, as credibility is the most important. The truth determines human being's freedom. We find the result of this in how Al-Ahram is still maintaining generations of readers, it's important to point out that Al-Ahram is aiming at establishing an association to the oldest members of Al-Ahram. As there are families who are subscribed for over 80 or 90 years, and this encourages us to develop the newspaper and provide better service because press is now based on providing services.

7- The major changes, that Egypt has passed through since 2011, have witnessed fluctuations in the relationship between the journalism and the political system until recently when the votes have been raised for the freedom of expressing opinions. How do you see the relationship between journalism and politics in Egypt? The fluctuations that happened between journalism and the political system are flexible ones. The journalism is just like a woman that represents the nature of society. And, in my own opinion, after the 2011 revolution the country has witnessed a phase lacking censorship in many fields like journalism and media. So, during that time, we wanted freedom, but we don't know what freedom is. Consequently, the journalism and media have been unprofessional. And so, my first decision when I became the editor in chief was not to publish any accusations against the general attorney, so that this wouldn't lead to the distortion of some symbols. And this decision was professional not political because many of these accusations target the distortion of public figures. And as a part of the chaos, some people who aren't professional jumped into the field. They proposed illogical solutions to many important cases like the water problem and reviving the economy and more. However, those opinions had a negative impact on the society making them lose trust in the existing institutions. So I was told to make a list of the experienced professionals in each sector, in order to use their help in our work.

8- What advice would you give to our students in the faculty of Economics and Political Science and what's your evaluation for the graduates? In my opinion, the Economics and political science faculty is still the top of all the governmental faculties, in terms of facilities, professors and students. And this is reflected in the unemployment percentage of its graduates compared to the percentage of Mass Communications faculty's graduates. And this is because of the students' ability to cope with the needs of the labor market. And from my own experience of dealing with the officials and ambassadors, I can tell the difference between the people with economics & political science background studies and others. Accordingly, we will make a deal with Cairo university to train students from the faculty Economics and Political science & the faculty Communication, especially that we have Al-Ahram center for strategic and political studies which is considered one of the best research centers. It has many researches from your faculty and who have proved to be efficient. That is why I am very happy with the team working, because they have very unique capabilities, and I am so proud of all the faculty's graduates seeing their exceptional qualifications.



ELITE EDITORS SECURE THREE SEATS IN STUDENTS' UNION







Sexual Harassment: Discussion with University Cairo : Carloin Sherief, Mariam Hefny, Habiba Diaa, Farah Haitham and Moustafa Saved

Despite the fact that harassers see sexual harassment as a way for throwing burdens from above their shoulders, or as a way of enjoying feasts and different events, they are not aware of the negative impacts which they leave on the victim whether those impacts are physical or psychological. Moreover, there are teenagers and children who view sexual Harassment as a way of expressing their "masculinity."

And due to the fact that this phenomenon became a part of our daily life, we have conducted a survey about "Sexual Harassment" in different faculties at Cairo Universities and the questions were as follows:

- 1- From your point of view, what is Sexual Harassment?
- 2- What are the main reasons and especially the reasons behind its

spread in Egypt?

- 3- Have you ever witnessed a sexual harassment incident? What was people's reaction?
- 4- Why do women act negatively when it comes to sexual harassment?
- 5- How can we stop such a phenomenon?

From the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, students saw that harassment is any kind of bothering, whether it was verbal or physical in order to fill a lust. It is believed that it causes harm for the victim as well as a sense of insecurity, and the reason behind this is the harasser's feeling of underestimation to himself, lack of human rights, his believe that women are "objects" and not human beings, or because that he was faced by a similar situation before so, he is trying to regain his right. It was also believed that there is no relation between upbringing and the social status with harassment as we have witnessed many times incidents in which the harasser was from a very high social and economic class. They added that during incidents, people gather in case the victim raised her voice, or silence in case of the victim's silence. The main reason behind women's negativity is their fear from their parents or from scandal, despite the fact that the scandal is for the harasser, or from bad reputation and trying to throw the guilt on the victim herself. As a consequence, they started to carry self-defense tools with them.

And from the Faculty of Mass Communication, student saw that sexual harassment can even be through social media platforms. And concerning its reasons, it is because of the society's culture which views women as men's property and his right to comment on her clothes or any of her attitudes. But if the situation was reversed, women will also be found guilty. They added that the incident which they witnessed were mainly in METRO "the subway" or even inside the university campus. They also find the main reason behind negativity is the lack of laws. So, rights can be lost easily. They added that Egypt will not be able to beat such a phenomenon unless there are good laws and female police officers to encourage women.

From the Faculty of Commerce, and Georgia, they find Sexual harassment as equal to rape. They find its reasons as lack of religiosity as well as sexual repression. And they gave example by an incident in which a man harassed a little girl in front of them. They also added that campaigns usually turn to "trends" and a source for sarcasm. So, they found the solution in awareness campaigns to both the victim and the harasser himself and they advised to stand for their rights.

And from the Faculty of Literature, harassment is seen as any form of violence. And from its reasons are lack of awareness, low rates of marriage, and scenes which appear in movies which leads to the belief that it is something normal. Also, lack of role models and punishments. She added that she once witnessed an incident but without any reaction neither from the victim nor from the surrounding people.

She also added that this is because of the lack of firm laws so, the solution lies in imposing firm laws and to raise awareness among people because without awareness percentages will keep growing in addition to increasing censorship on movies, songs and all media platforms..

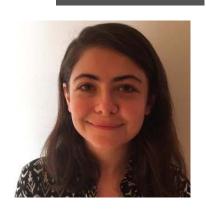






Operation Kayla Mueller : Decyphring Baghdadi's Death

Prepared by



Farah Elnehlawy



Nermine Tawfik



Salma Bayoumi



Farah Elnehlawy :The Operation "Kayla Mueller"

Ibrhim Awad Ibrahim Ali ElBadry ElSamraey, known as Abu Bakr Elbughdady. He was originally the leader of Al-Qaeda organization in Iraq and he held the title of "The Prince of the Islamic state in Iraq". In 2014 the Islamic state organization in Iraq & Syria announced the establishment of "The Islamic state" known as Isis and Abu Bakr was nominated as its Caliph. Abu Bakr carried out several terroristic operations, which recognized him as an international terrorist and made him wanted by the American foreign ministry. On the 26th of October 2019, there was an announcement of the assassination of Abu Bakr in operation named "Kayla Mueller" which is the name of an american activist and victim of ISIS. The American military forces carries out an operation in the north west of Syria, where Abu Bakr was hiding with his family (His two wives and children). The American president Donald Trump made an announcement on the morning of Sunday 27th of October 2019 and which he celebrated the successful mission carried out by the American forces. During which they assassinated the terrorist Abu Bakr Elbughdady, who blew up his explosive jacket after being trapped by the American forces in a tunnel.

Samples from the corpse have been tested (DNA), which proved that the corpse belongs to the Abu Bakr Elbughdady. Furtherly, Donald Trump added that Bughdady's two wives were also wearing explosive jackets and they too blew themselves up. Additionally a number of Bughdady's partners were also murdered in the mission.

Nermine Tawfik: US election and the operation

Will Al-Baghdadi's head be offered as a sacrifice by Trump to win American votes? An expert in extremist movements The US president came out, in a press conference on October 27 2019, to confirm to the whole world the killing of the leader of ISIS, Abu-Bakr Al-Baghdadi, who is seen as the worst terrorist in the world. Hours before Trump's press conference, international news outlets reported that Al-Baghdadi was killed in a military operation conducted by American forces at his whereabouts in Syria's Idlib province. The world waited anxiously for Trump's speech, because over the years, there have been many rumors about Al-Baghdadi's killing, so there were suspicions over the credibility of these news. That was until the news were confirmed by Trump in his press conference, saying that Abu-Bakr Al-Baghdadi died liked a "coward", and he was frightened and crying. Trump said that US received immediate and positive identification on the body after an on-site DNA test, adding that a large number of ISIS fighters were killed with him, and the operation was successful as no American soldier was killed, stressing that the killing of Al-Baghdadi was his administration's top priority. Trump also indicated that American forces killed Osama Bin Laden's son, Hamza.

We must pause and think about the timing of Al-Baghdadi's killing, as the operation takes place at the end of October 2019, and as we enter 2020, the year in which American presidential elections will be held. This will help Trump in his election campaign and against his rivals, which supports the possibility that the timing was particularly chosen to convince American voters to vote for him, especially given that American people have become so scared of terrorist attacks since the events of September 11, 2001. This also reminds us of the killing of Osama Bin Laden, which had a major role in helping Barack Obama win a second term in office, as the announcement of Osama's killing was in mid-2011 when Obama's first term was coming to a close. It seems as if Trump tried to tell Democrats: Just as your administration managed to kill Osama Bin Ladin, my administration too managed to kill Al-Baghdadi.

If we follow what Trump's said during his speech, we will find that Trump directly addressed the American public more than once, speaking about pulling out American soldiers from conflict zones in Syria and Iraq, indicating that he would not leave his soldiers in these dangerous areas, and adding that American tax payers should not bear the cost of conflicts in other countries. I conclude my article with this question: do Americans keep heads of terrorism to offer them as a sacrifice in the right time?

Salma Bayoumi : The Syrian Oil Affair

Is the United States in a real war on terror or it's only using this war as a reason for interference in the affairs of other countries in order to take control over oil? This is a thorny topic and demands thinking as the U.S.A sent a group of pentagon -the U.S military forces- on Sunday, 24 of October in order to secure oil wells, however it's ready to send more forces if the situation requires. Also an official in the ministry of defense in U.S.A said that they are discussing some choices to make their forces stay in northeast Syria specially the oil wells' area. After only two days they declared that Al-Baghdadi was dead during a secret operation by a team of the Special Forces between Saturday and Sunday.

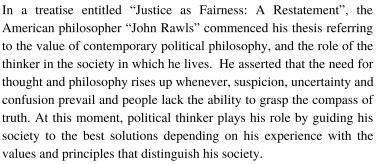
So can we ask if killing Al-Baghdadi was one of those choices? As the minster of oil in Syria Ali Ghanim mentioned; the oil sector witnessed incredible loss after the Syrian civil war, as he said there were many planned operations which took place in order to destroy the oil sector even the terrorists were responsible for them or the international coalition forces under the leadership of the united states. He proved through numbers and statistics the massive decline in the productivity of this sector. He said that the total losses reached more than 74 billion dollar. What draws our attention is the crisis that occurs in Syria and the intervention from different countries in its affairs by using different ways including military intervention started after discovering new oil wells in Syria what made people use the term " Syria is floating over an oil sea " in order to describe the huge amounts of oil under the ground in Syria.

All of those I mentioned can make us confused and make us remember what happened in Iraq. This may make us worried about Syria and its future. This can make us think carefully about the real intentions of countries which claim that they are fighting terrorism under the leadership of the United States. There is no doubt that the whole world became happy after hearing about the death of the snakehead who was responsible for killing millions of innocence during the last years and making others escape and go to near countries which made them suffering. The whole world hopes that our beloved neighbors go back to their land and live in peace as soon as possible.

A Critique of the Role of Political Intellectual in Major Transformations

Ebrahim Eid- Political Science Assistant Lecturer

Translated by Fareeda Khalifa



Rawls identified four main tasks for political philosophy in our contemporary life. First, the intellectual should address the most critical and urgent issues in his society. Unlike the cosmopolitan tendency in "A theory of justice" advanced by Rawls in 1971, he became eager to confirm that political philosophy is bounded by social and cultural context that it originates in. Second, the intellectual should look at how people think of themselves, their institutions, and their collective purposes. Then, he reformulates these perceptions and goals in a "rational" and "reasonable" manner. As such, reason here is an instructive elitist one -exactly as Immanuel Kant's orientation. Which means that intellectual acts not only as a data collector, but herather reassess the values and aspirations of people in order to lead the whole society to the best way through the process of rational contemplation.

Third, political philosopher plays a key role in stabilizing the established systems and institutions by persuading individuals of the goodness of those institutions and the endurable potentiality to reform them, as well as by promoting a sense of fait accomplisatisfaction, and not only being objectified. It is true that Rwals was talking about a democratic context at the end; however, this does not deny political philosophy's justificatory abilities to calm individuals' outrage and indignation. Fourth, contemporary philosopher orientation should be a "realistic utopian". As in order to change reality, he has to produce a vision that transcends the reality. However, it should not be too transcendental. Neither as classical political philosophy characterized by Plato and Aristotle, nor as apriori assumptions advanced by Kant. Instead, it should be a sort of "realistic utopianism" which overrides the reality while being empirically applicable at the same time, and without even using violence as a means to be materialized.

Rawls was not one of the crisis intellectual generation -I refer to the crisis of European reason at the beginning of last century- such as Hannah Arendt, Eric voegelin, Leo Strauss, and Herbert Marcuse. He was not even European but American. Nonetheless, one cannot deny the impact the World War II and Holocaust experiences lefton his theoretical, analytical and religious orientations.

Nevertheless, I am not concerned, in this space, with this impact's manifestations and motives nor am I concerned with the theoretical dilemmas embedded in his understanding of political philosophy nor with my personal reservations on his worldview underlying this understanding. Rather, I aim to criticize the demonstrations of his "elitist" perception in our Arabic reality by revealing the intellectual and socio-economic context of Western and Arab societies. Though his experience, as a soldier, of atrocities committed in the World War II, Rawls did not accept the deconstructive and nihilistic perspectives advanced by post-modernists nor the critical tendency of the modern industrial world advocated by Frankfurt theorists. Instead, he always had a sense of optimism that his society has the potential for reform, and a sense that he has a role in the process by drawing a sketch for how reform can take place.

Regardless of how successful he was in his theoretical attempts, Rawls' thesis, as stated by Michael Sandel, one of Rawls harshest critics, was effectively able to reformulate the orientations of the American, and even European politics for decades. He did so concerning the critical issues facing these societies by tackling themes as: distributive justice claims, the relationship between the political and religious spheres, and the limits of the "moral" role of the state in the public sphere. Not only that, but actually he proposed answers that emanate deeply from the Anglo-Saxon traditions, depending on an outstanding ability to elaborate and adapt them to suit the new problems.

On the contrary, Arab intellectual, who claims playing the role of political philosopher in Rawls's words, lacks the aforementioned characteristic that distinguishes the western thought. In major change stages, we often find out that there is hardly any relationship between the Arab intellectual and his society nor other intellectuals and elites. We can observe a lot of reasons lying behind this case. As Post 2011 period has revealed many inadequacies of our intellectuals such as: weak scientific and intellectual foundation, superiority of conservative values and the fear of the consequences of change, and the structural contradiction of the elitist perception and how "elites" conceive their role. In this space, I tackle the last point.

In my point of view, the dilemma of the Arab intellectual does not come from importing western frameworks inconsistent with Arab societies. Any thinker, as a thinker, should know the products of other cultures and reconcile "the imported"-as long as needed - with his reality; and the intellectual who does not have these qualities, does not deserve the title itself. The real problem lies in the same elitist perception that automatically divides any social structure into "ordinary" people and distinctive elites. Rather than communicating directly with society, the "elitist self" is magnified, proud of its distinction, and separated gradually from the social structure as a whole.

As such, it cannot express the needs or pains of the society. However, "elites", ironically, think they are the leaders of the society; holdingdebates, conducting dialogues, and proposing initiatives to the decision maker in order to materialize the belief in their social and cultural value. A claim that hides a desire to establish social and political influence, be closer to authority, and earn a living. It is important to notice that the logic of "intellectuals leading the society" which marked the European enlightenment and theorized by social theorists, as San Simon and Emile Durkheim, was a response to a society possessed the socio-economic conditions for modernization, besides social forces that widely pushed for radical change. It is thus these conditions and forces driven the intellectual to the leadership position to represent and express their demands and aspirations. On the other hand, none of these conditions existed in our societies at the same degree or quality. So how logically can Arab intellectual claim to be the leader of the society! Not only that, but also whenever forces of social change begin to have power, they are ignored or devalued. Because of the intellectual's awareness that these forces will undermine his sources of influence and prestige, or because the fear of following the masses /"mob". This reveals that rupture between "elites" and the "masses", and that renewed failure to understand or predict its "street politics". To sum up, as long as the intellectual separates himself from the pulse of the mass movement and does not care about people's pains and ideas, Masses will naturally drop him out of their calculations and mock his ignorance. That is why whenever he thinks of himself as excellence and superiority due to his cultural status, Masses always put him at the margins of major transformation stages. The first step of reform process is that everyone get rid of the "apostolic" perspective of change. As everyone should question the value of what is said and written in light of

FEPS Incubator, IBDL and AUF held a round table about "Vocational Training for students in Companies"





BY: OMAR ALAA

In the effort of Faculty of Economics and Political Science (FEPS) to improve its students qualifications, FEPS Business Incubator (BI) held a round table on Thursday October 31, 2019, in cooperation with the University Agency of Francophone - "Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie" (AUF) and the International Business Leadership License Foundation (IBDL), entitled "Vocational Training for students in Companies". The round table was attended by Dr. Mahmoud El-said, FEPS Dean, Khaled Khalaf, IBDL Executive Director, Noha Sultan, AUF Director, and Dr. Reem Hafez, AUF Coordinator of the Vocational Training Program for Business Leadership, and Heba Zaki FEPS BI Founder and Executive Director, and students and educators from several universities. The discussion was opened by the Dean's speech in which he thanked the attendees and praised the incubator's efforts, then pointed out that vocational training contributes into making students more qualified for labor market, as some reports indicate that 50% of jobs will disappear in 2030. He added that "Vocational training will help the graduates to overcome the challenges of the labor market, especially with technological development", mentioning that vocational training is not necessarily a craft, as it is commonly known, but skills that the student may acquire to give him an advantage in the labor market. The round table comes within the project of the Center for Career Integration, Innovation and entrepreneurship which affiliated to Careers and Professional Integration, Innovation and Entrepreneurship in Egypt -"Carrières et Insertion Professionnelle Innovation et Entrepreneuriat en Egypte" (CIIPEE). Dr. Reem Hafez, AUF Coordinator of the Vocational Training Program for entrepreneurship, represented the project's objective which is linking learning outcomes with labor market requirements. She noted that the project adopts two approaches, the first is professional which helps students to integrate into the labor market, the other approach is entrepreneurial to raise awareness about the importance of entrepreneurship. Hafez pointed out that the project comes with many partners such as Alexandria University, the French University in Egypt, companies such as IBDL, and the French Chamber of Commerce and Industry. At his representation, Dr. Khaled Khalaf, IBDL Executive Director, presented a working paper on future jobs in Egypt in which he pointed out that concentration in future jobs has started in all international institutions since 2010. Khalaf said that the world will witness a change in the economic and financial powers and a widening gap between the developing and the developed countries, which will have a social effect on the disappearance of the middle class. He added that technological progress will replace the human component in many jobs, and that several years ago, the textile industry was a labor-intensive industry, but now it is

Khalaf added that trade will change in its traditional form, and the world moves to virtual platforms and E-commerce will flourish in the future. He also pointed out that citizens' view of vocational education must be changed, explaining that learning a craft may guarantee a better future and a better income for youth, than the office jobs, adding that secondary schools and universities should provide career consulting to students, to guide them in the labor market. He mentioned that many industries is going to witness a big boom in salaries, Such as data analysis, agricultural engineering, any job in climate fields, and programming fields, he recommended students to learn programming language as they learn a foreign language, and in theoretical sciences, psychology would witness a boom in jobs because modern societies witness a big change that will result in many psychological problems that need two psychological therapists.The recommendations of that paper came through a survey conducted by a thousand employers, and ten thousands of students and faculties, and five hundred professors. The results indicated that students see that their education has deprived them from achieving their job goals, in the other hand employers believe that the new graduates are non-committed, and do not have a discipline, and preferring government jobs than the private sector. Finally, professors saw that the success of the labor market would result in the degree of flexibility, adaptation, and diligence. The workshop was concluded with a speech by Dr. Heba Zaki- the FEPS BI Founder and Executive Director- in which she mentioned the main three activities of the incubator: awareness sessions and workshops, the Business leadership Consulting Service, and the incubation program. She said that the establishment of the incubator came as a result of recommendations in her Ph.D. thesis for transforming to knowledge economies in Egypt, and pointed out that the incubator adopted sustainable innovation that sought to achieve the goals of sustainable development, She added that the incubator seeks to be a pioneer in the Middle East in the field of entrepreneurship. She added that the incubator adopts innovative projects and incubator concentrates not only a certain field of projects but also a variety between education, health, recycling and gender equality projects. Zaki pointed out that the round table comes accompanied with series of conferences and meetings that aim for spreading the culture of Functional integration, innovation and entrepreneurship among university students.





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NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI, GIOVANNI SARTORI, AND THE ITALIAN TRADITION IN POLITICAL SCIENCE.

Every great nation has a distinguished tradition in Political Science. A catholic European Peninsula whom greatness dates back to pre-historic era, Italy was able to develop a distinguished school in Political Science. Thanks to the efforts of Leonardo da Vinci and Cristopher Columbus, among others, the Italian model became a source of attraction and inspiration to many countries in the North and the South alike.

Italy was the epicenter of the Renaissance, a period characterized by the emancipation of the mind from the shackles of obsolete traditions and norms. If it weren't for Galileo's courage and his defiance of the Papacy, it will not be possible to early discover that the earth is round and revolves around itself.

The Italian spirit is clearly manifest in Machiavelli's writings. One can easily discern the beautiful artistic writing style of this great thinker once we flip the pages of some of his great works. Also evident is the magnificent mental edifice he builds throughout his works.

Machiavelli's main concern was how to provide useful advice to the prince in order to obtain, maintain and augment military power. The prince must learn the art of war. Unsurprisingly, Machiavelli amply talked about rightful propaganda and stressed that the greatest castle a Prince can ever build is the one built in the hearts of his people.

In his endeavor to draw the contours of modern Political Science, he talked about the merits of modern taxation and warned the prince against violating people's assets or women. In the meantime, Machiavelli believed in the constructive and creative role of religion. Having witnessed Italian cities invaded by France, his stance towards the Papacy was characterized by severe hostility. The Pope was too weak to unite Italy and too strong to prevent its unification.

Not only was Machiavelli able to set out pragmatism as the main route to overcome the ills that bedevil the Italian society but also he was innovative in his quest for scientific political knowledge. Machiavelli resorted to the history of the "deeds of Great men" in order to show Lorenzo the Magnificent the path of greatness. Machiavelli literary skills is manifest in the fact that his play, Mandragola, is considered, with ample justice, the greatest play ever written in Italian theater and is still performed today with great success.

Machiavelli's life was replete with failures. He was imprisoned for a while during Medici rule. Although he haven't witnessed his ideas translated into action at the hand of Garibaldi in the 1860s, the imprint of this great man is still strong and alive till now. His thoughts about power still reverberates and the methodological innovations he introduced into Political Science are widely celebrated by great Italian scientific centers, such as University of Milano.

If Machiavelli is the godfather of political and diplomatic history, Giovanni Sartori, the Italian Political scientist born 397 years after the death of Machiavelli, is the godfather of the positivist comparative method. And while Machiavelli saw power as the effective panacea for Italy's chronic political instability, Sartori, the son of the epicenter of Italy's Renaissance, saw common consensus as the main route to overcome that inherent defect of the Italian Political system.

Giovanni Satori believed that modern political science shall take into consideration cultural relativism when designing concepts. In order to make concepts travel into space and time, scholars shall be sensitive to the set of social, economic and political factors that constitute the background for the political game. According to satori, Political Science shall cease to consider liberal democracy the only route to development, widely conceptualized. Every nation is free to choose the system that fits into his historical legacy and current challenges. That mental tolerance is characteristic of Sartori' writings till his death in

Having survived the horrors of fascism, Giovanni Sartori called for methodological pluralism and cultural tolerance. That dark page in Italian history was quickly overcome thanks to several factors, prominent among them are Italians' yearning for freedom and the high level of social capital, a fact beautifully portrayed in the great classic movie the Secret of Santa Vittoria (1969); and academically explained by Robert Putnam, the author of Bowling Alone(1995,2000) and Making democracy work: Civic traditions in Modern Italy(1993).

Taha Hussein, an Egyptian talented and influential literate, argued for activating communication channels with the west. Hussein believed that Egypt identity is rich and diverse; and that one of its main sources is Mediterranean. I can smell the freshness of his ideas now when the new security climate in the Mediterranean calls for greater cooperation between Italy and its neighbors in issues related to the threat of asymmetrical warfare.

The Economy of Betting in Football

Betting and match-fixing is one of the scourges of football, and is based on criminal organizations and gangs specialized in this field, and aims to achieve high financial profits, or to

conduct money laundering operations in large amounts, where match-fixers seek to ensure the results of matches Specific, and sometimes the importance of the game is not the most important element; dealing with marginal or medium-sized games, the most important issue is to ensure that the outcome of the match corresponds to the result on which the bet.

Betting is done through the fact that betting companies offer several options for the betting on any game, and each option

has a percentage, and multiplied this percentage in the amount of the bet, so that the outside is the value of the amount that the bettor will receive, if the right result is expected to meet the bet. For example, the percentage of Real Madrid's victory over Barcelona is 2.25%, and the amount of the bet is 1000 euros, to get the amount that the bookmaker will get if Real Madrid wins, we multiply the

amount of the bet in the percentage given by the company to the possibility of Real Madrid's victory over Barcelona, and if the Royal Club draw or defeat it will win the bet amount. There are several options other than predicting the winner and the loser; such as expecting a draw, predicting the correct result of the game, the winning team in the first half, the winning team in the second half, and many options, according to the profitability system in place, and always matches are well thought out to determine the proportions.

To ensure the greatest possible profit and avoid losses, betting companies look at the percentage of bets on a meeting, and the amount of profit they will reap in all possible cases, choosing the appropriate option and apply it, by offering huge bribes to one of the parties that can make this process successful; As the referee of the game, the team

coach, the president of the club or an influential player, but often the team leader or goalkeeper.

Perhaps Italy is the most famous in the world of bookmakers, and the beginning of the Italian striker in the 1980s, "Paolo Rossi" scorer of the World Cup in 1982, in 1980 "Rossi" was involved in a betting scandal and match-fixing after which he was suspended from playing for four years and sentenced Before the World Cup, Azzurri coach Enzo Birzut went to the Italian president and asked him to pardon Rossi and release him for the World Cup because he did not have good attackers. Rossi was released from prison for the national mission and led Italy to score. The third World Cup in its history and won the title of top scorer of the tournament football, to save the player's life and get him out of prison.





Omar Khaled Fourth Year Economics

Juventus, AC Milan, Fiorentina, Lazio and Reggina have been involved in the most famous scandal in the history of betting and manipulation of results, known as "Calciopoli", with recordings of phone calls showing their relationship with Italian football referees. That season, the team was accused of match-fixing and the selection of referees inclined to his advantage. Juventus were penalized for relegation to Serie B, with 30 points deducted, but then the number of points deducted was reduced to 17 points, then reduced to 9 points, and they were withdrawn from the Serie A title in 2005 and 2006, and were banned from playing in the league. Champions, playing three games without an audience.

Football in Italy is mostly under the influence of the Mafia and bookmakers. There is no doubt that the size of the bookmakers is large, according to a study prepared by the International Center for Sports Security, it revealed that the size of betting and manipulation of the results in football amounted to 500 billion euros annually, and the value of money laundering also In this area 140 billion euros.

The stakes were not limited to Italy or even European stadiums. Even the Asian stadiums were not spared the betting, as the Mafia played a role in the loss of Al Hilal to the Champions League. The

legitimate Singapore Singaporean "Raison Raj Perumal" from inside his prison, strong surprises, revealing many of the operations carried out by him.

The answer to this phenomenon began when Michel Platini (UEFA president) called for the creation of a European sports police force to deal with match-fixing, riots and banned drugs. This was first proposed in 2007. The French legend also sought that if the continent-wide police force could not be formed, countries could introduce individual legislation to punish the perpetrators of corruption. At the same time, in 2011, Interpol and FIFA announced a 10-year joint initiative aimed at educating people about the risks with workshops, conferences and online educational programs.

Last year, FIFA's Professional Players Association launched the No-Manipulation campaign, a prevention and education program aimed at raising awareness of the dangers of match-fixing and reducing the conditions that lead to it, said Dr Andy Harvey of the University of London. In many cases, players are victims of match-fixing rather than perpetrators. These steps may have limited the risk and influence of bookmakers at the moment, but from time to time we hear about penalties for players or clubs for violating betting laws.

• LAYLA GALAL, Political Communication officer in "Support Egypt" Caolition

Justice, the simplest principle to understand yet the hardest to define, as we all know what the word means but no one can set a definite conception for it, whereas it commonly agreed that the fundamental contrast in defining justice differs with the pursed ideology, For example, each Liberalism and Socialism had adopted a distinctive view on Justice that matches its own narrative, for instance Justice liberally speaking is what results from the equality of the right to pursue opportunities; all is equal in the pursuit of their own goals, while the state protects and respects such right for all individuals evenly, but what then follows is definitely exclusive from the definition of justice; in other words, the rich is rich because they deserve and the poor is poor because they deserve, consequently liberalism perceives justice as a procedural process and not as an outcome or end; it does not even get bothered by the results or seeks to adjust them however how wide the gap between the rich and the poor is,

Moreover, it is a sound interpretation from liberalism which cherishes individualism, creativity and believes in individual inequalities and differences. Whereas, socialism identifies justice as equality of the distribution of final resources or the sum of what produced by the community, accordingly all get resources equally, therefore it is concerned with justice as an outcome and not as a procedural process; it does not care who works more than the other or who does not work at all, while this view evolved from socialism's belief that the individual is an integral part of the community and recognized only in the community, as well as its stress on cherishing work and sacrificing for its sake, as what matters in the end is what the community produces, so there is no rich and poor because all are equal. Owing to the fact that any ideology develops itself to adapt to the reality it belongs to over time, the concepts and its meanings change when their significance or relevance fade, in that sense, liberalism developed its conception of justice, due to the wide gap between the rich and poor which dictated the search for a cure to heal poverty resulted from the inequality of individuals rationally, mentally and physically, for example Imagine a disabled man who is unable to work for some forced involuntary reasons, who would back him up financially?

The liberal answer is: No one, That's why liberalism resorted to a redistribution policy through imposing taxes on the rich in order to ensure the minimum level of living standards for the poor and disabled, Again it only offers the minimum level as it prioritizes above all the individual differences, thus the concept of justice developed to be the equality of the right to pursue opportunities but with offering the minimal level of living standards for the poor and underprivileged, similarly ,socialism found its definition tilts towards merit in providing privileges to the hard workers and top achievers,

as it is both unfair and impractical to equalize all, in addition to the desire to create a motive that gives individuals a reason for enduring hard work requirements imposed by socialism, as well to rise a sense of competition among individuals, thus a rewards system was established, extra income, upgrades and promotions were given to hard workers. In this way, Justice nurtured to be the equality of the distribution of final resources while giving special privileges for the top achievers. In the same way, the concept of justice changes and develops overtime, by the accumulation of real experiences and experiments, but it is almost impossible to imagine a one agreed upon meaning for justice.

Talking abstractly and generally, I admit the existence of a solid bond between power and justice, whoever owns power monopolizes the right to define justice, that's why the definition varies in any society in respect to the dominant segment that holds power and control over resources, subsequently, the definition in a socialist society led by a proletariat is not the same as in a capitalist society led by the bourgeoisie, the same between a secular and theocratic societies, whereas, it not inevitably impractical definition simply because it is imposed by the dominant sector in the society; It probably could be the most relevant for the nature and unique conditions of the society considering that the powerful segment is who sets the definition for itself according to what it perceives to be just or unjust, consequently, the definition could be satisfying for them but seems to be discriminative for the minority, and this will take us to another debate over the extent within which the minority has a word in the face of power, and the extent within which the powerful sector should respect the minority while defining concepts.

Furthermore, talks about justice and its conflicting meanings will never end, particularly since that tackling justice pulls us towards other concepts that are still debatable too, as argued by the German philosopher, Fredric Hegel, that the world is in a unremitting conflict between idea, as a thesis is once found then develop itself and mature to its maximum level, then an anti-thesis evolves and takes place, while after a long conflict between the thesis and its anti-version, a third thesis erupts, in result of the conciliation and combination of the two theses, so on and so forth. This theory is the closest and most relevant to me in conceptualizing words and its meanings due to the continuous evolution that both reality and power considerations witness, as who used to hold power in past is no longer holding it today, while who wields it today can never guarantee having his grip on it in future, and in the same way, it is impossible to imagine any absolute definition for any concept in a world full of clash of ideas and alteration of power between different hands. To finish, in order avoiding indulging into an infinite loop of interrelated derivations of definitions for justice, it is enough to present the concept and leave a room for each society to place "for a while of time" its own definition.



JUSTICE AND THE STRUCTURE

Sondos Mahfouz

Researcher at the National center for Middle East studies

Justice has always been considered by thinkers, philosophers and even the commons as one of the higher values, and despite the existence of numerous works tackling this value, it has always been crystallizing on an abstract horizon, but if one wants to find its reflection in reality, one will find himself falling into the gap that separates justice as an abstract higher value and justice from the power approach; the approach that redefines concepts and enforces them in line with the principles of the materialistic world. And if the substance is an essential criterion in formulating, measuring and even eliminating concepts, one has to understand properly the components that formulate the very nature of the contemporary materialistic world. Generally, there are three components that formulate the nature of our world; these are: Human nature, thought, and the essence of the balance of power (nationally/globally), and in other words, each of these components has a core that governs the formulation of concepts and values in societies or even communities, and when the three cores combine, concepts and values emerge and become relatively stable in a certain way. Of course, tackling all the concepts that were formulated this way is impossible, that's why I have preferred to apply on one of the concepts that gained the attention of thinkers and even politicians; that is the concept of Justice. And because theory is usually antecedent to the case study, I will illustrate at first what I mean with the components of the materialistic world.

(1) The first component: The human nature This should be the most important component if one assumes that man is the center of the materialistic world, and here on has to illustrate this nature before explaining its relevance to the concept under study. Individuals are divided into (humans of the first category) and (humans of the second category) according to the way how they think. Humans of the first category move when they think between two points (A) and (B), and both these points are purely rational; that's not to say that there is no interference of the spirit, of course there is a spiritual interference between these two points, an according to the reason why the spirit interferes, humans of the first category can be classified into two other categories:-Category A: These are humans that their spirit interferes to shorten the distance between the ideas that were produced by the two rational points and their religious beliefs

.-Category B: These are humans that their spirit interferes to shorten the distance between the ideas that were produced by the two rational points and their general ethical principles. And regarding the humans of the second category, they are humans who move when they think between two spiritual points with a rational coat of the spiritually made ideas, and they are classified into the following categories: - Humans of reason: A big number of humans belong to this category. They have a big degree of intelligence, and they always reach high academic, professional and social positions. These are smarter than the humans of substance and the humans of the status-quo.- Humans of substance: these are humans that the body instincts constitute the major part of their time (money, sex...etc)- Humans of statusquo: These are humans who have become satisfied with their status-quo, with no intention to change or improve this status. And based on this classification, one will find that the base that concepts and values should be built on is rational, so justice should be applied according to the rational core of human nature.

- (2) The second component: Thought: The ideas that were introduced about justice by thinkers or philosophers are based even nominally- on an ethical base. One will find Plato drawing his idealistic republic, Hegel showing his fear for the state, Rawls alleging the idealism of the theory of justice that he formulated...Etc. So the core of justice according to the second component is mainly ethical. And if the core of the first component is rational, and the core of the second component is ethical, so what can be the core of the third component?
- (3) The third component: the essence of the balance of power Since we are writing this article in the twenty first century, we won't find a competitor for capital as a determinant of the essence of the balance of power especially nationally, and though things are more complicated internationally because of the weight of the soft power, capital is still a winning card when facing individuals or states, which makes the core of the third component materialistic, and then Justice according to this component will be defined by those who have more capital!To sum up, the core of the concept of Justice according to the first component is rational, according to the second component is ethical, and according to the third component is materialistic, and since concepts are formulated by the combination of the cores of the three components, Justice as a concept has become empty of any meaning and then of any essential application because of the lack of any kind of harmony between the three cores, which drives me to answer an important question: How to rescue justice from this lack of harmony? The question that I'll answer in the following article.