

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Ms. Mona Zulficar

(Nominated by the Government of Egypt)

EDUCATION

American College for Girls, Cairo
General Superior Level Secondary School
Certificate 1965.

Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt.
B.Sc., Economics and Political Science, 1969.

Mansoura University, Mansoura, Egypt.
LLB, 1980.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

1. ***Chair Executive Committee***
Zulficar & Partners Law Firm
June 1, 2009 to date
2. ***Chair Executive Committee***
Shalakany Law Office
January 1, 2006–May 31, 2009
3. ***Managing Partner***
Shalakany Law Office, Cairo
May 2004–January 2006
4. ***Senior Partner and Deputy Chair, Executive Committee.***
Shalakany Law Office, Cairo
1995–April 2004.
5. ***Senior Partner***
Shalakany Law Office – Cairo
1987–1995
6. ***Partner***
Shalakany Law Office – Cairo
1978–1986.

7. ***Economic Analyst and Office Manager***
Shalakany Law Office – Cairo
1976–1978
8. ***Administrative Assistant***
World Health Organization (WHO)
Regional Office at Alexandria
and United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
Educational Technology Project at Cairo
1970–1976
9. ***Research Specialist***
Peoples' Assembly of Egypt (The Egyptian Parliament)
1969–1970

Zulficar & Partners is an international corporate law practice in Egypt offering a comprehensive range of legal services to a diverse array of commercial, industrial, and financial clients around the country and beyond. The Firm has been established in June 2009. However, its members have a long and outstanding track record as former partners and associates of Shalakany Law Office. The Firm consists of 7 partners and employs over 15 attorneys and a support staff of nearly 15 people in the conduct of its operations. Existing on the principle of providing its customers with the personal attention of a specific partner serving as the designated client manager, the Firm offers services in a range of specialties that include banking and capital markets, project finance, M&A, privatization issues, tourism and services, manufacturing, industrial and intellectual property. Zulficar and Partners also deals with major litigation and arbitration concerns, corporate practices, taxation requirements, and labour and employment questions. The Firm serves domestic commercial customers throughout Egypt and also offers its expertise to a host of multinational firms doing or seeking to do business in the country. Organized into specialized client service groups, the Practice counts such major multinationals as Citibank, Credit Agricole, Société Generale, Merrill Lynch, and the Bank of New York Mellon among its customers in addition to General Motors Corporation, EMethanex, Tanjong and Guardian Industries. On the other hand, the Firm also represents major local and regional clients, such as EFG Hermes, Citadel Capital, OCI, CIB, NBE, and Banque Misr. This list of representative business assisted by Zulficar & Partners testifies to the diversity of the Firm's capabilities and attests to its deserving recognition among the elite legal practices throughout the Middle East region.

As Partner and Chair of its Executive Committee, Ms. Zulficar oversees the operations of its Banking and Capital Markets Group and directly supervises the efforts and activities of 5 partners and 10 associates who specialize in assisting clients with banking and capital markets transactions, project finance, mergers and acquisitions, securities, and corporate restructuring activities. A practicing attorney for more than 25 years, she is a specialist in major financial, industrial, and commercial transactions and has negotiated, drafted, and concluded all the major contracts required by some of the most important joint venture businesses in Egypt. Ms. Zulficar is continuously involved in major restructuring of companies, Mergers and Acquisitions transactions, and is particularly recognized for handling ground breaking or precedent transactions, such as the first Egyptian BOOT Power Plant in Sidi Krir for InterGen (the Bechtel/Shell subsidiary), the first GSM

Telecom Concession to MobiNil (the France Telecom, Motorola Orascom subsidiary), the first leverage buyout of Helwan Cement Company on behalf of ASEC Cement, some of the major Orascom Telecom acquisitions and its US\$2 billion acquisition finance, the US\$300 million Heineken acquisition of Al Ahram Beverages, the Kraft acquisition of Family Foods, the acquisition of Egyptian Fertilizers Company, SAE by Citadel Capital for US\$740 million, its sale to Abraaj Capital for US\$1.4 billion, and then resale to OCI for US\$1.6 billion, the largest bond issue in excess of L.E. one billion by Egyptian Cement Company and many other major international project finance and investment banking transactions including privatizations, IPO's, bond issues and GDR/ADR issues for CIB, MIBank, Suez Cement, PACHIN, Al Ahram Beverages, EFG Hermes, Lecico and others. Most recently she has handled on behalf of Orascom Construction and Industries, SAE ("OCI") the largest transaction in the history of the Middle East relating to the sale of Orascom Building Materials Holding, SAE to Lafarge, for approximately US \$13 billion in addition to US \$2 billion of assumed debt.

Ms. Zulficar is playing a key role in drafting new legislation and developing existing economic legislation as adviser to the Minister of Finance, the Capital Market Authority, the Ministry of Housing and the Central Bank of Egypt and as member of the national drafting committees on many important laws, such as the new Telecom Law, the new Capital Market Regulations, the new Special Economic Zones Law and the new Banking Law regulations. She has also been appointed as a member of the Board of Directors of the Central Bank of Egypt and is directly involved in the ambitious Egyptian institutional and regulatory reform program of the banking and finance sector.

Complementing her professional activities with a commitment to community activism, she has been an active advocate for human rights and women's rights in Egypt and internationally. She has recently been elected member and Vice Chair of the UN Human Rights Council Advisory Committee and she is also a member of the National Council for Human Rights in Egypt. For more details of her human and women rights activities, please see supplement. Pursuing a goal to maintain Zulficar & Partners among the region's best while improving its stature around the globe, Ms. Zulficar looks to the future with a commitment to building a strong second generation of lawyers in the Firm who will be qualified to take it through the third millennium.

MEMBERSHIPS

Professional

1. Chairperson (non-executive) EFG Hermes Holding, SAE 2008 – to date.
2. Board Member, the Central Bank of Egypt, 2003 – to date.
3. Egyptian Bar Association, 1980 – to date.
4. International Bar Association, 1987 – to date.
5. Member US Egypt Business Council, 2002 – 2008.
6. Board Member, Egypt Kuwait Holding Co., SAE, 2003–2004
7. Board Member, Suez Cement Company, SAE, 2006–2007
8. Board Member, Banque du Caire, Cairo, Egypt, 2000–2003.

9. The Drafting Committee, Amendments to the NGO Law 84 for 2002.
10. The Drafting Committee of Law 1 for 2000 (Equal Right to Divorce Law) and its regulations, 1999–2000
11. The Drafting Committee of the New NGO Law, 1998–2001
12. The Drafting Committee of the new Banking Regulations, 2003, the CBE Fast Track Mediation and Arbitration regarding non performing loans and the Merger Regulations, 2005.
13. The Drafting Team of the new Capital Market Law and Regulations of Egypt, 2003 and the new takeover regulations, 2007.
14. The Drafting Committee of the new Telecom Law of Egypt, 2002–2003.
15. Head of the Drafting Team of the new Special Economic Zones Law of Egypt, 2002–2003.
16. Member of the National Committee on Social Legislation, Egypt, 1997–2000.
17. Member, Council of Advisers of the World Bank for Middle East & North Africa Region from 2000 to date.

Voluntary Membership/Public Service

1. Elected member and Vice Chair, UN Human Rights Council's Advisory Committee 2008 – to date.
2. Chair, External Gender Consultative Group of the World Bank, Washington D.C., 1999–2006.
3. Chair, Women's Health Improvement Association, Cairo, June 2000 – to date.
4. Chair, EFG Hermes Foundation, Egypt, 2006 – to date.
5. Chair, El Tadamun Foundation for Micro Finance, 2009 –
6. Member, the National Council for Human Rights, 2004 – to date (appointed by El Shura Council), and Chair of the Political and Civil Rights Committee 2008 – to date.
7. Member of the Board of Trustees, Sawiris Foundation for Social Development, 2001 to date.
8. Member, Telecom Users Rights Board, National Telecom Regulatory Authority, Cairo, 2004 – to date.
9. Member of the Board of Trustees, Economic Research Forum, 2007 – to date.
10. Member, the National Council for Women, 2000–2006 (appointed by President Mubarak) and Chair of Legislative Sub-Committee on Family Law, 2006 – to date.
11. Member, International Human Rights Council (Carter Centre of Emory University) presided by President J. Carter, 1993–1997.
12. Vice Chair, National NGO Committee for Population and Development (1993–1996), and Member of International NGO Steering Committee for the UN International Conference

on Population and Development, 1994, and coordinator/Editor of Egyptian NGO Platform Document to the ICPD, Cairo.

13. Board Member, Population Communications International, New York, 1996–2002.
14. Gender Advisory Panel, WHO Special Research Project on Human Reproduction, WHO Geneva, 1996 to 1999.
15. Vice Chair, Egyptian Society for Population and Development, 1995–2000.
16. Board Member of the New Civic Forum, Friends of Children with Cancer and the Association for Consumers Protection (Egypt).
17. Member of the National Rural Women’s Commission, Egypt 1996 to 1999.
18. Member, Board of Trustees, the French University in Egypt, 2005–2005.
19. Member, Board of Trustees, EFTED (the Nile University in Egypt), 2004 – to date.

LANGUAGES

1. Arabic
2. English
3. French

PUBLICATIONS, CONFERENCES, SEMINARS, LECTURES

- As a student in 1965, was chosen by the Egyptian Government as the Egyptian delegate to the Herald Tribune World Youth Forum, New York, December 1964–April 1965.
- Lecturer at the American University in Cairo and the Banking Institute of the Central Bank of Egypt on Legal Aspects of Finance, Banking and Securities.
- Speaker and participant at Harvard Law School Seminar on Investment in Egypt, 1978.
- Author of numerous circulars, articles in legal and economic journals on Egyptian laws, particularly on investment, banking, company and import/export laws, including Banking and the Law, Euromoney 1993, Privatization Laws in Egypt, Cahiers sur l’Egypte, 1998.
- Co-author of “Legal Rights of the Egyptian Women - in Theory and Practice” 1988, and Editor of the 1992 revised edition.
- Speaker, National Center for Middle East Studies (1990) on Economic and Social Reform in Egypt.
- Lecturer and Instructor on Gender Equity, UNICEF Legal Literacy Program – 1993.
- Keynote speaker in the Regional Workshop on Women’s Health and CEDAW (June 1993) by the Alliance of Arab Women.

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- Speaker at Harvard Law School Islamic Studies Workshop in 1996 and International Conference on the Islamic Marriage Contract in January 1999 and author of chapter on “The New Islamic Marriage Contract”.
 - Author of “A Situation Analysis of the Egyptian Women under the International Convention for the Elimination of all Types of Discrimination against Women” UNICEF 1993. – “The Egyptian Woman in a Changing World”, The New Civic Forum 1994 and UNDP 2000.
 - Speaker and author of paper on “From Human Rights to Program Realty: Vienna, Cairo and Beijing in Perspective”, the International Conference on Reproductive Rights at the American University Washington D.C., November 1994.
 - Vice Chairperson and Program coordinator of the National NGO Steering Committee for the preparation for the International Conference on Population and Development, (ICPD) Cairo 1994, Member of International NGO Steering Committee for the ICPD, Cairo 1994, and Member of the Organizing Committee of the International Women’s Health Coalition’s Conference on Reproductive Health and Justice, Rio de Janeiro, January 1994.
 - Participant in the NGO Forum of the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, as Legal Advisor representing Africa to the International Tribunal on Violence against Women and Panelist in the Reproductive Rights and Health Workshop.
 - Author of “Women in Development - A Legal Study” UNICEF, January 1995.
 - Keynote Speaker at the Civicus Second World Assembly inaugural plenary session - Budapest 1997 on the “Citizens in their Multiple Roles: State, Market and Civil Society”.
 - Member of the Organizing Committee for the Second Regional Arab NGO Conference, Cairo, May 1997.
 - Author of “The Islamic Marriage Contract in Egypt” Harvard University, Islamic Studies Department – International Conference on the Islamic Marriage Contract, January 1999.
 - Panelist, World Bank Workshop on Dialogue across Cultures, Washington D.C., May 2002.
 - Speaker on Management of Credit Risks, Restructuring and Settlement of Disputes between Banks, Conference of the Cairo Regional Centre for International Commercial Arbitration, December 2003.
 - Co-author, Consultative Background Report for the Egypt Country Gender Assessment Report (Legal and Political Rights), World Bank, 2003.
 - Member of the Global Organizing Committee for Countdown 2015, ICPD at 10 and ensuing regional activities, and speaker at the inaugural session of the Global Roundtable, London Countdown 2015, convened by the International Planned Parenthood Federation (“IPPF”) in London, August 2004.
 - Egyptian delegate to the First African Union Conference for African Human Rights Institutes, Addis Ababa, October 2004.
 - Speaker on Egypt’s Role as Leader of the Arab World: How does it compare to the region and what are the risks, at Egypt Invest 2004, 24–25 November 2004.

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- Speaker, International Conference on Democracy and Human Rights in the Arab World, UNESCO, Cairo, December 2005, on “Political Parties and Women’s Participation; the case of Egypt”.
 - Speaker, International Conference, Towards Peace and Prosperity, Women: Engines of Change, Cairo, January 2006, and author of paper on “Peace as a Human Right”.
 - Speaker, Amnesty International Workshop on Diplomatic Assurances and the Challenge to Human Rights, Beirut, 18/19 January 2006.
 - Speaker, World Bank Global Workshop on Promoting the Gender Equality MDG, the Implementation Challenge, Washington D.C., February 2006.
 - Speaker, Workshop on Success of Women as Leaders of Change, convened by ABA in Bahrain, March 2006.
 - Central Bank of Egypt delegate to the “Secondary Mortgage Markets: Institutions and Instruments”, sponsored by JP Morgan, March 8-10, 2006.
 - Speaker, Conference on the Role of the Judiciary in Political Reform in Egypt and the Arab World, Cairo 1–3 April, 2006.
 - Speaker, World Economic Forum on the Middle East, Sharm El Sheikh, May 2006 on the Promise of a New Generation.
 - Speaker at the “Philanthropy for Development in Egypt” Conference, February 28, 2007 on the role of Foundations and the concept of Waqf under Egyptian Law.
 - Speaker at the Fourth Arab Reform Conference, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, March 1–3, 2007 on Human Rights, Women and Development.
 - Speaker at the Conference on the Model Principles for NGO Laws in the Arab World, convened by the Arab Network for Non Governmental Organizations, and author of paper on “Reforming the NGO Law 84 for 2002”, March 2007.
 - Speaker at Seminar on launch of Arabic version of report of UN Research Institute for Social Development, convened by MERIC, UNRISD and Arab Women Organization at the Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Science on March 28, 2007.
 - Speaker in the International Conference on Citizenship Rights held by the National Council for Human Rights, Cairo, December 2007 and author of concept paper “Towards a New Law on Equal Opportunity and Non Discrimination”.
 - Speaker, Second Ministerial Conference on Asia – Middle Eastern Delegation, 5–6 April 2008. Sharm El Sheikh on the role of civil society
 - Speaker, ICNL Workshop on model NGO laws, Cairo 24–25 May 2008.
 - Speaker and Chair of NHCR Conference session with the Egyptian bloggers regarding the “Use of Internet and Freedom of Expression”, Cairo 23 June 2008.

AWARDS AND RECOGNITIONS

- Selected in December 1994 by Time Magazine as one of the Global 100 young leaders of the 21st Century.
- UNDP Award 1995 in the occasion of celebrating the Women Global Day in Cairo.
- Cairo Governor Award 2000 for defending women's rights, in addition to the Awards of Assiut Governor and the President of Assiut University, 1999 & 2000 for her key role in establishing the Cancer Hospital in Assiut University.
- Awards of Guiza Governor, the Red Crescent Association and the Business Men Association in Guiza for her role in establishing the Children's Hospital in Guiza.
- The CEWLA Award 2003 for her unique role in the issue of equal right to divorce law (*Khul*) by Law No. 1/2000.
- The General Organization for Culture Award 2004 for her social work in defending women's rights and human rights.
- NGO Network Award 2004 for her role in issuing the new Nationality Law giving equal rights to women in giving nationality to their children and defending the women's rights in general.
- The Annual CEOSS Award for Social Leadership, 2005.
- Recognized by almost all international legal directories as the leading lawyer in Egypt, particularly in the areas of banking, securities, project finance and M&A.
- In 2009, *La legion d'honneur* by the President of France Nicola Sarkozy for her significant role, as a professional lawyer, in reinforcing economic and cultural relations between Egypt and France and for her achievements in the field of human rights.
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Supplement to Mona Zulficar's CV

Ms Zulficar has been a human rights and women's rights activist since the early 1980's. The following is a summary of some of her successful and ongoing campaigns:

1. The New Marriage Contract and Equal Rights to Divorce

Her first campaign was for a new form of Marriage Contract, that would allow women the option to retain their right to unilateral termination of the Marriage Contract, by divorce or repudiation (*khul*) and to restrict the right of a husband to take a second wife. She argued that although such rights are consistent with Sharia, they are not permitted by Family Law. She published her first draft of the New Marriage Contract in 1985 in conjunction with a campaign to raise women's consciousness of their legal rights.

She also played a leading role in negotiating the re-issuance of the progressive amendment to the Family Law passed in June 1985, to replace that which was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Constitutional Court in May 1985.

Her campaign for a new Marriage Contract was subject to fierce debates in the press, on radio and TV, including the highest religious establishment such as Al Azhar, and she bravely

responded in writing and on TV to various accusations of being pro-West or pro-East or by intending to breach religions and social tradition.

She led the new Marriage Contract campaign with civil society organizations in Egypt and spoke in conferences and seminars in Egypt and internationally, including the International Conference on Population and Development NGO Forum in Cairo, 1994 and Beijing Fourth Women's Conference in 1995. Harvard Law School - Islamic Studies Department got interested in her project and organized an International Conference on the Islamic Marriage Contract in January 1999 and are publishing a book on the matter in which she wrote a chapter. She also helped establish the Youth Association for Population and Development in 1995 and assisted its young members to launch a similar campaign in ten Egyptian universities, raising awareness of women's legal rights and advocating the new Marriage Contract.

Through her exceptional bridge building skills, this campaign merged in 1992 with a project of the Ministry of Justice to introduce formal modifications to the then existing Marriage Contract Certificate, which is issued by a Ministerial decree, intended to include photographs of the wife and husband and other information. This joint project developed into a campaign to issue a new law on procedures in family law disputes which was issued after a long struggle as Law No. 1 for 2000. This law represented a revolutionary step in modernizing procedures in the family law disputes. It also provided for women's right to unilaterally terminate the marriage contract by repudiation (khul), providing for equality between men and women in this respect. This equality could only be achieved through using an indigenous language of human rights to advocate and in fact achieve this change which was intensively resisted by the prevailing patriarchal culture. In this case, she advocated the Islamic concept of "khul", as basis for such equality.

In addition, this law provided for a new family insurance scheme, facilitated execution of alimony and financial maintenance judgments, and secularized the procedural family law completely, by making the ultimate reference, in case the law is silent, to the Code of Procedures, and not to any Sharia sect, as was the case under the old law.

In 2000, the new Marriage Contract form was reissued, in implementation of Law 1 of 2000, allowing women to include conditions in their marriage contracts restricting the husband's right to take a second wife and permitting women to terminate marriage unilaterally by divorce. The condition re termination by repudiation (khul) was no longer required in the new Marriage Contract, as she had succeeded to provide for this right in Law 1 of 2000.

2. Equal Rights under the Nationality Law

She joined this campaign in the early 1980's and advocated the change of the Nationality Law issued in the 1970's to provide for the equal rights of women married to foreigners to give Egyptian nationality to their children.

While men gave Egyptian nationality to their children automatically and unconditionally, women married to foreigners did not have this right.

A campaign was started in the 1980's and she led and backed specific activities intended to mobilize public opinion and put pressure for change. This included seminars, conferences, TV programs, producing films and video tapes of real life cases of Egyptian mothers and children suffering due to deprivation from Egyptian nationality. She also started and supported pro bono cases before the courts, aiming at reaching the Supreme Constitutional

Court to rule that the relevant Nationality Law provisions were unconstitutional and in breach of Article 40 of the Constitution on equality before the law, without discrimination based on race, colour, sex, religion or creed.

She participated intensively in all the Women's national conferences in the 1990's and campaigned for women's rights to equality under the Nationality Law and Family Law.

In 2000, she was appointed as member of the National Council for Women (NCW). As such, her campaign developed and she wrote memoranda supporting this case within this instrumental institution to help rally political support for it.

The NCW support in addition to the NGO activities were successful in obtaining political support. As a member of the drafting committee, she helped achieve a successful end to this 19 years struggle and a new law was issued in June 2004 giving equal rights to women in giving nationality to their children automatically and unconditionally.

3. The Family Courts Campaign

In addition to Law 1 of 2000, she joined a campaign in the late 1990's for establishing specialized new family courts that would provide a family friendly environment and alternative dispute resolution mechanisms in family law disputes. The Ministry of Justice announced a draft law that did not achieve the social objectives intended by the campaign. She drafted memoranda and spoke in conferences and meetings criticizing this draft law aggressively and providing alternatives and arguments. As a result, many changes were introduced to the draft law and she was appointed as a member of the drafting committee in early 2004. The new law was successfully passed in June 2004. At the same time, one of her old struggles was also successfully resolved through establishment of a fund by law, to provide resources to Nasser Social Bank to enforce and pay alimony and financial maintenance judgments to women and children out of this fund, and then take recovery action against defaulting husbands.

She is now coordinating, as a member of NCW Family Courts Committee, efforts to monitor implementation of this law and train all human resources working in Family Courts. She has also co-drafted an amendment to the Family Courts Law, as a member of NCW Legislative Committee, to remedy certain deficiencies recognized through implementation of the Law.

4. A New Family Law

Although much progress has been achieved (Law 1 of 2000 and the Family Courts Law 10 of 2004 and Family Insurance Law 11 of 2004), the substantive rules of Family Law passed in the 1920's and substantively amended only once in 1985, require, in her opinion, another revolution. Mona Zulficar has been working and writing during the last few years on a campaign for a new Family Law that would modernize the legal environment, take stock of the social changes in women's status during the last century and provide for a more open and liberal vision for the future.

She has advocated, in this campaign, raising the age of maternal custody of children to 15 years equally for both boys and girls, to be extended by the court in the best interest of the children, which was in fact passed as amendment to the Law in 2006, and also advocated making polygamy subject to a prior court permission, as a further step in the right direction, following the right already gained to put a restrictive condition in the Marriage Contract.

She is also advocating making this law a unified law for all Egyptians, Moslems and Copts, while providing for two exceptional provisions for Copts in relation to divorce and polygamy.

Her plans include launching this campaign vigorously through the NGO Community in 2008 and beyond.

5. Human Rights

5.1 Probono Cases

Mona Zulficar has volunteered to initiate court action and defend human rights cases on a probono basis during the last 20 years.

Some of her successful cases include:

a) Defense of the Ministry of Health decree of 1996 banning female genital cutting:

This was a challenge before the Administrative Courts brought by a group of fundamental doctors against the decree by the Ministry of Health banning female genital cutting, on grounds that such decree was a violation of Sharia Law. She joined the defense of this decree on behalf of three NGOs, including Women's Health Improvement Association which she currently chairs, and succeeded to help obtain a final court judgment upholding the decree in 1998. As such, female genital cutting is now banned by law and the relevant decree became immune to any challenges. In 2007, in response to the death of a girl child while undergoing circumcision, the Minister of Health issued a further decree prohibiting this practice in absolute terms and the Government started a media campaign to raise awareness, Mona Zulficar volunteered to represent the family of the deceased girl child before the courts.

b) Defense of Professor Nasr Abu Zeid:

This was the case filed by a fundamentalist group against Prof. Abu Zeid requesting the Court to divorce him from his wife on grounds of apostasy, as allegedly demonstrated by his research and books, including his books on "The Understanding of the Text" and "A Critique of the Religious Discourse".

Upon issue of a disastrous final judgment divorcing Prof. Abu Zeid from his wife, Professor Ibtihal Younes, against their will, Mona decided to interfere in this case and founded a coalition of prominent lawyers and professors of law to take the case to the Supreme Court. She coordinated the coalition and the defense. However, she also advocated a change in procedural law to close a loophole allowing for such cases to be admitted. This amendment was in fact introduced to the Procedural Law in May 1995. However, unfortunately, the Supreme Court did not recognize it and upheld the divorce judgment in August 1995.

Mona Zulficar continued the struggle and succeeded with her coalition to suspend the divorce judgment permanently. She has since then been fighting in the courts to obtain substantive judgments condemning or effectively canceling the divorce

judgment, not only to defend the stability of the Abu Zeid's marriage, but also to establish human rights principles of freedom to marry and form a family, freedom of opinion, of expression and research.

5.2 Campaign for the New NGO Law:

In addition, Mona Zulficar has played an instrumental role in advocating the issue of a new liberal NGO law since the early 1990's and spearheaded the NGO campaign and initiated negotiations with the Government, which physically started in her office in 1998 and which culminated in the issue of the new NGO Law passed in 1999. This law was reissued in 2002 with a few set backs, after it was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Constitutional Court because it ignored the jurisdiction of the Administrative Courts. Mona Zulficar has since 2002 been campaigning and has written extensively advocating further legal reform to eliminate certain restrictive provisions and empower the NGO community.

5.3 Campaign for the Establishment of the National Council for Human Rights:

Since the late 1990's, Mona Zulficar started advocating the establishment of a national council for human rights based on the Paris Principles. In 2002, she convened meetings with a large group of human rights NGOs and built consensus over demands by the NGO community to establish the council. She was delegated by the group to write to President Mubarak and present their case. She wrote to the President and negotiated with the Government. As a result, a law establishing the National Council for Human Rights was passed in 2003, consistent with the Paris Principles. Further, she has advocated and succeeded in helping establish an Ombudswoman's office at NCW since 2001 where she chaired the steering committee during the initial stages, and an Ombudsman's office at the National Council for Human Rights in 2005, where she also led the efforts for establishment and funding.

5.4 Equal Opportunity and Non Discrimination Law:

Mona Zulficar has advocated the inclusion of the principle of citizenship as the core basis of the relationship between Egyptian citizens and the State. This was included in Article (1) of the Constitution pursuant to the 2007 amendments.

She also spearheaded the activities of the National Council for Human Rights to eliminate the data on "religion" of citizens from identification documents and actively participated in drafting the proposed unified law on building and repair of buildings allocated for prayers, such as churches and mosques or otherwise.

Recently in the context of NCHR's international conference on the Rights of Citizenship in December 2007, she has drafted and presented a concept paper on the need for a new law on "Equal Opportunity and Non Discrimination". She plans to campaign vigorously for the issue of this Law in 2008 and beyond.