Preliminary Remarks by Mr. Clément Nyaletsossi Voule

Special Rapporteur on the Rights to Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and of Association

Visit to Algeria, 16 – 26 September 2023

Algiers, 26 September 2023

1. Introduction

Today I conclude my official visit to Algeria in my capacity as United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights to Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and of Association.

As a Special Rapporteur, my views are independent. I am mandated by the United Nations Human Rights Council to make recommendations to ensure the promotion and protection of the human rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association. The purpose of my visit to Algeria is to assess the implementation of these rights, to identify challenges and promising practices, and to offer recommendations as to measures needed to comply with international human rights law and standards.

I wish to express my appreciation to the Government for agreeing to my visit. This is the first visit of a United Nations Special Rapporteur to Algeria since 2016, a positive indication of an increasing openness to dialogue and cooperation on human rights. Similarly, I note Algeria's recent election to the United Nations Human Rights Council, and strengthened protections enshrined in Algeria's 2020 Constitution on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association. These are positive developments to acknowledge.

During the last 10 days, I had the opportunity to visit the Wilayas of Algiers, Oran, and Béjaïa. I met with: the Minister of Interior, Local Assemblies and National Planning; the Minister of Work, Employment and Social Security; the Minister for Religious Affairs and Wakfs; the Minister of Justice and Keeper of the Seals; the Minister for National Solidarity, Family and Women's Affairs; and the Minister of Communication. I also met with senior officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and National Community Abroad, and the General Directorate for National Security, members of the Committee on Legal, Administrative Affairs and Liberties of the National People's Assembly, members of opposition political parties, the Counsellor to the President of the Republic, the Walis of Algiers, Oran, and Béjaïa, as well as with the National Council of Human Rights, the National Observatory of Civil Society, the High Authority for Transparency, Prevention and Fight against Corruption, the National Authority for the Independence of Elections, and the National Economic, Social and Environmental Council.

I would also like to thank the wide-range of civil society representatives, lawyers, unionists, journalists, and members of religious associations, and human rights defenders who met with me in Algiers, Oran, Béjaïa and online. I also wish to thank members of the United Nations Country Team in Algeria for the support provided to me.

My sincere appreciation to everyone who met with me to discuss the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association in Algeria. I hope that after my departure, we will continue working jointly towards a better enjoyment of these rights by all.

2. Context

My visit took place against the background of ongoing legislative reforms to align national legislation with the new Constitution of 2020. State authorities explained that Algeria was in a transition period with 44 draft laws being prepared to align laws with international standards. It was presented as an effort to strengthen democracy and meet the aspirations of the country-wide demonstrations, known as the Hirak ("movement" in Arabic), which brought hundreds of thousands of Algerians to the street every week for more than a year (2019-2020), in the largest national demonstrations since Algeria gained its independence in 1962. Demonstrators showed a remarkable civic spirit and set an example for the world on the conduct of peaceful protests, assisted by a mostly professional and measured response by the police.

In its preamble, the 2020 Constitution refers to the Hirak and its aspiration for a profound social transformation to build a new Algeria and places the Hirak in the context of the Algerian people's struggle for freedom, social justice and democracy, including its liberation from colonialism. Importantly, articles 52 and 53 of the new Constitution guarantee the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association, which are both to be exercised by simple declaration (rather than by prior authorization). The Hirak also called for improvements in social conditions, economic opportunity and I note that the Human Development Index in Algeria has increased since 2019, representing improvements in access to housing, education, and health care, which are also necessary for the enjoyment of economic, social, and cultural rights.

In parallel with the reform process and economic improvements, and in contradiction with the spirit of the new Constitution, other developments since 2020 indicate a shrinking of civic space. Individuals and associations have faced legal charges and restrictions under provisions of old laws on assemblies and associations, which are yet to be brought into line with the Constitution and international human rights law and standards. Judicial and administrative processes have resulted in prison sentences and the suspension or dissolution of political parties and associations, including prominent human rights advocacy organizations. Moreover, a number of media outlets have lost their license to operate, and several journalists have been subject to legal charges and prosecutions since 2020.

Urgent attention must be given to the current situation of legal restrictions and prosecutions of individuals and associations. According to estimates provided by lawyers and civil society organizations, more than 200 people currently serve prison sentences related to infractions under pre-2020 legislation, such as overly restrictive provisions making it a legal offense to participate in a meeting or public demonstration held without prior authorization. The Ministry of Justice suggested that the figure was less.

3. General observations

I was impressed by Algeria's rich tradition of community engagement at the local level. However, a common concern voiced by all civil society actors I met was the perception that the Government did not fully recognize them as valued partners in the development of a new Algeria, and that overly restrictive laws and regulations hindered their work.

"We would like you to convene the following message to our Government: We love our country, we want to be valued and trusted and we want the Government to see us as a partner not enemy"

Conversely, interlocutors from Government ministries and bodies expressed the view that civil society, if not adequately controlled, could pose a threat to national unity and peace. In conversations, reference was made to the black decade of violence in the 1990s and to the threat of terrorism and extremism. Such arguments were also used to justify the need for a tight control of religious associations.

Building trust is the main challenge that needs to be overcome to achieve genuine progress and consolidate a social contract grounded in human rights, where people participate in and contribute to the development of a new Algeria where all human rights can be fully realized.

4. Freedom of association

Over the past two decades, Algeria has witnessed a surge in the number of civil society organizations, which is welcomed. According to official statistics, Algeria now has 137,475 civil society associations. The vast majority of these (98.5%) are at the municipality or Wilaya (regional) levels. There are only 1,977 at the national level. Out of the 137,475 associations, 25 have a specific focus on human rights (11 at the local level and 14 at the national level), while the majority cover a wide range of thematic issues, which are also relevant to human rights, such as youth, culture, social action, environment, tourism, religion, health, syndicates, women, and children.

While civil society associations played a pivotal role during the Hirak, civil society representatives I met with told me consistently that they have been facing increasing restrictions. This was particularly experienced by associations engaged in advocacy work in areas that are deemed sensitive, such as human rights, corruption, and the situation of migrant workers.

For instance, I learned about several cases of people wishing to establish associations to work in the areas of human rights, corruption and migration who had had their requests to register as an association rejected, and of cases of existing associations that had been dissolved or otherwise prevented from carrying out their activities.

Law 12-06 of 2012 on associations, which remains in force, awaiting the adoption of the new law on associations contains overly restrictive and vaguely formulated provisions, leaving wide discretion to authorities to reject requests for the creation of an association. Notably, associations cannot be contrary to "national values" (article 50), and are prohibited from engaging in cooperating with associations abroad (article 23) or receiving funding from such associations (article 30) without prior authorization.

I would like to remind the Government that under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) ratified by Algeria, any restriction imposed to the enjoyment of the right to association must be precise, prescribed by law and be necessary in democratic society as explained by the Human Rights Committee through the General comment No. 37 (2020) on the right of peaceful assembly and the African commission Guidelines on Freedom of Association and Assembly.

Under article 7 of Law 12-06, the Constitution of an association is subject to a constitutive declaration and the issuance of a registration receipt, and under article 8, the constitutive declaration shall be followed by the issuance of a deposit receipt. A common concern raised with me by civil society actors was the lack of clarity of the law and that associations often did not receive a response to requests for authorization to collaborate and receive funding from partners abroad. I also saw examples of requests for the registration of associations being rejected without reasons for the rejection being provided, as well as cases of associations having been dissolved for minor infractions, such as meeting with partners from abroad without having received prior authorization.

I note with concern, cases of associations working on human rights and governance issues that have recently been dissolved, based on the overly restrictive Law 12-06. Prominent national associations, such as the *Rassemblement Action Jeunesse* (RAJ) and the *La Ligue Algérienne pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme* (LADDH) were dissolved respectively in 2021 and 2022. The UN Declaration on Human Rights Defenders reaffirms that human rights defenders must be protected against any arbitrary action as a consequence of the legitimate exercise of their work.

I observed that civil society associations operating at the local level are able to operate more freely, facing less restrictions, than associations at the national level. I also noted what appeared to be a growing recognition by local authorities of the import role placed by civil society associations, as reflected in initiatives, such as in the CAPDEL pilot project in cooperation with the European Union and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), to promote the involvement of citizens and civil society in municipal management and sustainable local development. Such initiatives at the local level are promising and should be generalized at the national level to ensure participatory democracy and inclusive democracy. Such practice should involve civil society in all its diversity.

5. Political parties

During my visit, I learned that a new law on political parties is underway as part of reforms to bring national legislation in line with the Constitution and international standards. Under article 16 of Law 12-04 of 2012 on political parties, the establishment of a political party is subject to prior authorization, and the creation of a political party may be rejected on the basis of vague criteria of being objectives contrary to the national unity, sovereignty, security and integrity of the national territory. Also, political parties are banned from having relations with trade unions and civil society associations, to fund or to be funded by them.

I note with concern that several political parties have not been approved based on restrictive requirements set out in Law 12-04, and that others have been subject to judicial prosecutions, suspension decisions and to the sealing of their premises for undefined periods of time.

I note that Law 21-01, which is the organic law governing the electoral regime adopted in March 2021, requires 50% women on the electoral lists for parliamentary elections. However, as demonstrated by the latest parliamentary elections, resulting in only 34 women elected (approximately eight percent of the total 407 seats), much more needs to be done to promote women's involvement in public life.

6. Trade unions

I learned about steps taken to bring national legislation on trade unions in line with international human rights treaties to which Algeria is a party: ICESCR article 8, ICCPR article 23, and ILO Convention 87 (Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize). Law 23-02 of 25 April 2023, allows migrant workers to join trade unions, including in a trade union's governing body (for migrants who have had regular residence in the country for at least three years). I was also pleased to hear from the Ministry of Work that Law 23-02 covers workers in the informal sector, despite its apparent restriction to "salaried workers".

At same time, I learned about challenges faced by trade unions in ensuring their registration, as also reflected in a number of complaints submitted to the ILO. As in Law 12-06 on associations, Law 23-02 on Trade Unions includes vaguely formulated provisions, prohibiting trade unions based on considerations that undermine national unity and national values and constants ("portent atteinte à l'unité nationale, aux valeurs, aux constantes nationales"). Moreover, the general prohibition on trade unions from engaging in political activities (Law 23-02, article 14), which can result in the trade union's dissolution, is contrary to the freedom of association. As the ILO Committee of experts have underlined, such general prohibition is not only incompatible with the principles of the freedom of association, but also unrealistic in practice, as trade unions should be able to express their opinion on Government policies. From my meetings and review of complaints submitted to the ILO Committee of Experts, concerns relating to obstacles preventing registration of trade unions and judicial harassment of trade unionists persist.

7. Religious associations

Algeria has a large number of religious associations, predominantly of Sunni Muslim denomination. I was informed that the registration of such associations at the local level is delegated to the Mayor at the municipal level. While such registrations normally do not raise problems, I learned about particular challenges faced by some religious associations in securing registration and ability to operate and practice their faith. Registrations are currently governed by Law 12-06 and Presidential Order 06-03 of 2006 concerning the conditions and rules of the exercise of faiths other than Islam. In particular, I learned about the obstacles faced by members of the Islamic religious association Ahmadiyya Jamaat, whose requests for registration had been refused by the Minister of Interior without the reasons being specified, and whose members have been criminally prosecuted and imprisoned on charges such as convening an unauthorized meeting, performing religious rituals in a public place without a license, and harming the safety and unity of the country. Government officials told me that the Ahmadiyya, as Muslims, can attend regular mosques where preaching of moderation and patriotism was assured, and that allowing for separate places of worship could cause chaos and a risk to safety.

I also learned about similar obstacles faced by associations affiliated with the Protestant Church of Algeria (EPA), which since 2018 had had 43 of its 47 churches closed. These restrictions have, in turn, resulted in criminal charges against members of these associations on the grounds of having convened and practiced religious rituals in non-authorized places of worship. Government officials told me that these closures were in most cases due to non-compliance with housing and safety regulations, while association members told me that they rectified any building safety issues identified, and that their requests for registrations were not being responded to. I note information provided by the Ministry of Interior that they are in dialogue with EPA to find solutions.

8. Other associations

Algeria has a rich cultural heritage and diversity. This diversity is a celebrated part of the national identity, as also reflected in the 2020 Constitution's recognition of Tamazight as an official national language. However, assertions of regional identities are also presented as a threat to national unity and security, in particular in the Kabylie region where there have been calls for greater autonomy. In 2021, the Movement for the Autonomy of Kabylie (MAK) was classified as a terrorist organization for having called for the independence of the Kabylie region, and several persons and associations have faced charges related to their alleged association with MAK or other activities seen to undermine national unity under article 87 bis of the Penal Code. I note the case of the co-president of the association *Congrès Mondial Amazigh*, whose imprisonment, since August 2022, the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention recently determined to be arbitrary, calling for her immediate release. In my meetings, I also learned that charges of undermining national unity had also been brought against several persons who had waived the flag of the Amazigh community during Hirak protests.

I also note that the Rachad movement, an Islamic political movement, was declared a terrorist entity in 2021 under article 87 bis of the Penal Code, and that several people have faced criminal charges because of their alleged affiliation with the Rachad movement (see the recent communication I sent with other mandate holders DZA 03/2023 and Algeria's reply).

9. Freedom of peaceful assembly

In 1989, Algeria ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), committing to respect the right to peaceful assembly, as protected by article 21. The right to peaceful assembly is also enshrined constitutionally in Algeria, both in the 2008 Constitution (article 48) and the 2020 Constitution (article 52). Article 52 of the Constitution states that: "freedom of peaceful assembly and demonstration is guaranteed and may be exercised by simple declaration".

The 1991 Law on Gatherings and Public Events (Law 91-91) contains restrictive provisions, which are currently being used, despite the law's non-compliance with the 2020 Constitution and the ICCPR. For example, Law 91-91 requires organizers to seek authorization from the authorities to hold public demonstrations (8 days before) and public gatherings (5 days before). On 9 May 2021, the Ministry of Interior issued a statement that demonstrations will be banned unless they have been given prior authorization, which will only be issued if organizers communicate their identity, the start and end times of the rally, and the slogans that will be displayed at the event. I also heard about restrictions and confusion about the ability of associations to convene internal meetings, with a lack of clarity on what constitutes a public gathering and how to apply for authorization of meetings.

These practices are inconsistent with General Comment no. 37 (2020) on the right of peaceful assembly, in which the Human Rights Committee stated that any notification regime should not apply to gatherings with minimal impact on others and should not apply to spontaneous assemblies for which there is not enough time to provide notice.

The Human Rights Committee also stated that if authorization regimes persist in domestic law, they must in practice function as a system of notification, with authorization being granted as a matter of course, in the absence of compelling reasons to do otherwise: "Notification regimes, for their part, must not in practice function as authorization systems".

I also note that Law 91-19 prohibits any gathering or demonstration which involves any "attack on national constants or symbols of the November 1st Revolution, public order or morality". The Law does not define these vague terms. Law 91-19 provides for imprisonment ranging from three months to one year and fines for participation in an assembly that has not been approved. Articles 97 and 100 of the Penal Code have also been regularly used by the authorities against peaceful protesters. Since 2019, authorities have repeatedly used the accusation of "participation in an [unauthorized] unarmed gathering" to arrest demonstrators and supporters of the Hirak.

The right to hold protest is a form of the exercise of the right to peaceful assembly. In any democratic society, protest is a tool at the disposal of people to express their grievances, to ask for political and social changes, and to foster their participation within public spheres. Protests offer authorities an opportunity to foster dialogue with communities and to acknowledge and address the challenges they face. Therefore, protests represent an essential component of any democratic society.

I have previously raised my concerns with Algerian authorities regarding people arrested and prosecuted in the context of the Hirak. For example, communications: DZA 03/2021, DZA 04/2021, DZA 05/2021, DZA 06/2021, DZA 13/2021, DZA 02/2022, DZA 03/2022; DZA 02/2023, DZA 03/2023). In the spirit of building a new Algeria, I urge the Government to abandon charges and pardon those people convicted for their involvement in the Hirak. This will also reflect recognition of Hirak as a turning point in Algeria's commitment to move forward.

10. Civil society participation and shrinking civic space

The Constitution established the National Observatory for Civil Society as well as the Higher Council for Youth as consultative bodies under the President of the Republic. The National Observatory for Civil Society first convened at the end of 2022, and from its President and members I learned about efforts initiated to facilitate consultations, including on the draft law on associations. During my visit, several interlocutors expressed concern that there had been limited consultations with civil society actors in legislative processes, including on the law on associations. Consultations were perceived by some to be skewed, involving only those associations that were considered supportive of the Government. I hope the Observatory will be able to build trust and work in a transparent and inclusive manner to demonstrate that its mission is not to control but to facilitate consultation, and meaningful civil society engagement.

A high level of mistrust was evident in my meetings both with civil society and Government officials, with reference made to two separate categories of civil society: those that were seen to be constructive/co-opted by the Government versus those considered troublemakers/critical voices. To overcome the trust gap, it is essential for Government authorities to loosen up current tight restrictions on associations, bringing laws into conformity with the Constitution and international human rights standards. Restrictions of the human rights to freedom of association and assembly need to be necessary and proportionate, and must not put in jeopardy the rights themselves.

In my meetings, public authorities referred to the threat of violent extremism and terrorism as justifications for controlling civic space. While concern about public security and stability is understandable in light of Algeria's recent history, I saw no evidence for the fear that opening up civic space could lead to chaos. Rather, the peaceful and civic spirit of Hirak protests was evidence to the contrary. Likewise, the common message from all civil society actors I met was that all they

called for was to be recognized as partners to be able to work in partnership with public authorities for the advancement of the country.

Opening up civil space also means allowing for diverse voices to make themselves heard. It should be recognized that the protection of civic space by upholding the human rights to freedom of association, assembly and expression strengthens rather than weakens the State, including by allowing for a stronger engagement of civil society in all its diversity and ensuring better informed policy making.

The large number of civil society actors facing terrorism-related charges under article 87 bis of the Penal Code is evidence of the current climate of suspicion towards civil society actors, as are the criminal charges brought against individuals, associations, trade unions and political parties for having held meeting with partners from other countries or receiving funding from foreign sources, prohibited under the highly restrictive law 12-06 and other legislation.

The criminal sanctions and convictions are under outdated laws that are in line with neither the Constitution nor Algeria's international human rights obligations. Such criminalization of civil society work negates fundamental human rights and cannot be justified as necessary and proportionate means to fight money laundering and violent extremism. It has had a chilling effect and created a climate of fear, resulting in a further closing civic space. The closing down of independent media outlets and criminal charges brought against journalists over the past years has also contributed to this. Several civil society representatives and activists told me they were not willing to meet me in person as they feared they could be subject to reprisals by authorities for undermining national security.

To fulfil the promise of the Constitution and the obligations Algeria has assumed under international human rights treaties, people should be able to assemble and associate freely to exchange views and ideas and defend specific interests, including in collaborations with partners within and outside the country.

11. Role of National Council of Human Rights

The National Council of Human Rights was established in 2017 and is mandated by article 211 of the Constitution to be a consultative organ for the President of the Republic. As stated in the Marrakech Declaration on expanding civil space, national human rights institutions such as the National Council of Human Rights should: 'Interact with human rights defenders and civil society in a regular manner and include them in the planning and implementation of, as well as follow-up on, the NHRI's activities, in a gender and disability-sensitive manner'. At this critical moment for the Country, I encourage the National Council of Human Rights to work towards building a comprehensive civic space, where all civil society, in their diversity, contribute to progress on civil, political, social and economic rights for all.

12. Laws and legal reform

During my visit, I heard about positive efforts to align national legislation with the new Constitution of 2020. I encourage the Government to prioritize this process, to implement the will of the Algerian people expressed through the Hirak and the new Constitution. Article 225 of the Constitution states that laws must be amended to comply with the Constitution in "a reasonable time" and article 154 provides that international human rights treaties ratified by Algeria are

superior to national law. Several Government officials confirmed that the Constitution requires the judiciary to make decisions in line with the ratified treaties.

This supremacy of the treaties over the law was reiterated in a recent decision by the constitutional court on 6 August 2023 regarding the control of organic law on information.

I note the following four laws, which are currently being developed: the law on associations, the law on municipalities, law on peaceful assemblies, and law on political parties. I have requested copies of these draft laws and I offer my technical assistance to the Government to ensure these laws are fully compliant with international human rights law. In my meeting with the Parliamentary Committee on Legal, Administrative Affairs and Liberties, the Committee explained to me their role in assessing the compliance of proposed laws with international human rights standards.

I also stress that in the development of any new laws, stakeholders and beneficiaries of the law must be consulted. Meaningful consultation aids in the ownership, awareness, understanding and compliance of the law. I heard from civil society who have not been consulted on the new draft law on associations and labor unions who were not consulted on the recently enacted labor unions law.

I also recommend a review of existing laws compliance with the 2020 Constitution and international human rights law. Authorities must pay particular attention to ensure that new laws do not contain restrictions that detract from the rights provided for in the Constitution. Any restrictions must be proportionate and necessary in a democratic society, aiming to facilitate the enjoyment of the rights, rather than the suppression of rights.

I repeatedly heard concerns about the content and use of article 87 bis of the Criminal Code. Article 87 bis defines an act of terrorism to include any act "aimed at state security, national unity and the stability and normal functioning of institutions" including through any action aimed at "gaining power or changing the system of governance by unconstitutional means or undermining the integrity of the national territory or to encourage people to do so, by any means whatsoever".

Moreover, article 87 bis 13 and 14, establishes a national list of persons and entities classified as terrorist, resulting in a ban on the person's or entity's activities and a confiscation or freeze of their funds, as well as a travel ban. Contrary to obligation to respect the presumption of innocence (ICCPR article 14), persons or entities can be placed on the list by a non-judicial commission (composed of Government representatives) simply on the basis of being subject to a preliminary investigation. Updates to the list are published in the Official Gazette, without persons and entities concerned being informed.

In 2018, the Human Rights Committee expressed concern about article 87 bis and the "overly broad and vague terms that would allow for the prosecution of actions that might constitute exercise of the freedom of expression or peaceful assembly". The Human Rights Committee also expressed concern about "claims of inappropriate use of counter-terrorism measures against human rights defenders and journalists". In July 2023, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights observed, at the conclusion of the Universal Periodic Review of Algeria, that the Algerian Government should not use article 87 bis "to justify the arrest and persecution of journalists, human rights defenders, and religious minorities".

I also note the "principle of legal certainty" under international law, which requires that criminal laws are sufficiently precise so it is clear what types of behavior and conduct constitute a criminal offense and what would be the consequence of committing such an offense. This principle recognises that ill-defined and/or overly broad laws are open to arbitrary application and abuse. Moreover, laws must be formulated with sufficient precision so that individuals can regulate their conduct accordingly.

I acknowledge the desire of the Algerian Government to implement effective counter-terrorism measures, especially given the historical context. However, any restrictions on the fundamental rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association must be necessary and proportionate to the risk envisioned, as opposed to being merely reasonable or expedient.

During my visit, I also repeatedly learned of examples of differences between the protections provided by the law, and the implementation and procedures applied by authorities. It was clear that there was a lack of clarity on procedures for associations to apply for registration, authorizations (for example to hold a general meeting, or to enter a partnership with a foreign organization) and their appeal options. I encourage the Algerian Government to provide written and online guidance on procedures for associations and assemblies, so that rights newly provided for in the 2020 Constitution and subsequent legislation, are able to be enjoyed fully.

13. Conclusion and recommendations

Allowing civil space that also includes critical voices is essential to improved governance and policy making, and to democracy. The right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association must be protected as a cornerstone of democracy. These rights must not only be guaranteed for those who public authorities agree with, but with all people in Algeria, regardless of their political views.

To meet the promise of the Constitution and the Hirak, authorities must open civic space to build trust, and engage with civil society in all its diversity as partners in building the new Algeria. I call on all stakeholders to help foster this crucial dialogue between civil society and government for the benefit of all Algerians.

Authorities must also prioritize adopting new laws that strengthen the enjoyment of the public's freedoms in compliance with international human rights law and the aspirations of the 2020 Constitution. After almost three years, the Algerian population is still subject to laws that are in contradiction with the new Constitution. This cannot be considered 'a reasonable time' in line with article 225 of the Constitution.

I also call on the international community to support the Country in aligning all national laws with the new Constitution and its international obligations. This will ensure the realization of the aspirations called for during the Hirak and expressed in the Constitution.