Losing the arable land and violence in the Egyptian countryside
"Two case studies"

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Returning the arable land is the farmers' hope

"Aly Abu Ismaeel"
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INTRODUCTION

This report is issue no 26 of land and farmer series issued by Land Center for Human Rights. it aims to reveal the negative impacts of the implementation of the new agrarian policies "land reform" on the conditions of farmers' rights and the Egyptian agriculture. such policies lead to deterioration of social, economic and political conditions in addition to increasing the formal and social violence inside the rural community. the report comprises two case studies for Kouta Karon village, el Fayoum province and Izba el Bieda village, el Sharkeya province.

Through the first chapter, the report mentions that the agrarian sector contributes with 17% of the total national income that is the main source for food and cloth; moreover, it comprises more than 40% of the formal and informal labour force in Egypt. the indicators of development in the Egyptian countryside assert the continuous deterioration of the agricultural production in addition to increasing the food imports that emphasizes the failure of the agrarian policies that impose formal financial burdens for agriculture as rising the tax of the agrarian possession from 45 LE/feden in the last year to 60 LE/feden plus 10 LE as collection fees accompanied by the fines imposed for cultivating rice that reaches 1000 LE/feden.

The report assert that the governmental agrarian policies lead to deterioration of the agrarian resources, increasing the prices of cultivation staff as seeds, fertilizers, etc in addition to deterioration of living condition of tenants that become daily-wage labourers working in others' lands especially with absence of policies that guarantee their rights in credit and to establish cooperatives. this part highlights the new agrarian policies with its implementation, the tenants are evicted from their plots.

About the second chapter, it reviews the steps of the implementation of law 96/1992 beginning with the initiative procedures before its implementation to the phase after its implementation revealing the current situation of farmers. this part mentions to absence of farmers' participation in discussing the law and its impacts. the report asserts that 37.3% of farmers have no information about the law while the other percentage know few information. about the source of information, it was the T.V followed by the community then the radio set, on the other hand, the source of publication was source of information for very few percentage of farmers. the report asserts that about 93.5% of farmers weren't invited for public meetings for discussing the proposed law. on the contrary, the few percentage of the 2.7 farmers, they mentioned to their random gatherings with themselves. moreover, many officials in the villages and districts assert that they don't receive any instructions for holding any meetings. the report emphasizes on the absence of farmer associations and weakness of the agrarian. cooperatives. this part highlights that the government made use of different means beginning with torture to violating farmers rights in order to implement the law (evicting tenants from their lands to be delivered to the original landlords) that led to rising many protests in the whole countryside. such governmental attacks were resulted in many violations classified by years as follows:
Table (1) shows the total incidents of violence between farmers (1999-2003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disputes number</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injured</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrested</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the implementation of the mentioned law, both formal and social violence were increased represented in violating farmers' rights in safe land possession and housing, corruption of employees in the governmental institutions accompanied with farmers' disputes together around possession, borders, irrigating water, etc.

The third chapter is case studies for villages of Kouta Karoun, el Fayoum province and Izba el Bieda in el Sharkeya province. The report asserts that the farmers in the two villages become daily labourers in others' lands after their lost their plots, houses, cattle and their agricultural and animal wealth with the virtue of the implementation of the law. Those poor farmers used to save wheat, corn, onion, tomato and milk products in their houses for their kids' food in addition that their plots provided them with adequate work opportunities. Safety for farmers means possessing a piece of land and breeding some animals through which they could protect their families.

Currently after eviction of tenants from their lands and houses, the unemployed men immigrate to towns searching for any work opportunity while their women stayed at their houses waiting the absent with their kids that are deprived from safety and family care. On the other hand, the arable land become wasted because of non concern of the new tenants.

Losing the land led to more violence that becomes the main features of the daily life in the countryside. But, there is still a hope for tenants to return to the land once more that some farmers in one of the two villages said, "now, we have a sole hope represented in retuning to our green fields again to relive in our warm houses when we can feel with safety and have adequate and humane work opportunity".

The forth chapter reviews the impact of the law implementation mentioning that the application of the agricultural policies led to more impoverishment of tenants and small-scale landlords, deterioration of agriculture conditions, increasing formal and informal violence and violating farmers' rights in credit and non-registering tenancy contracts in the cooperatives. These impacts are:

- Appearance of violent disputes for dismissing tenants from the land, disputes for land possession (lands of religious endowment institution) and houses build on the arable land possessed by individuals or the state in addition to other disputes around irrigation and borders beside other aspects of violence as murdering and stealing cattle because of poverty.
- Rising the rental of the arable lands for 13 times comparing with the rental before the law implementation as follows; it was 7 times of the tax estimated with 150 LE/fedayen/year in 1992, 22 times of the tax during 1992-7 (600

- Violation of safe land possession; the tenants used to cultivate his plot with no fear to be dismissed by the landlord but now the landlords could evict them from the land even before harvesting the crop because the tenancy contracts aren't registered in the cooperatives that increases social violence in the countryside.

Finally, the fifth chapter presents the report's recommendation as:

- Issuing new agricultural legalization that regulates the lease relationship that guarantees tenants' rights in safe land possession that could be achieved through determining the duration of the tenancy contracts "not less than five years" in addition to determining the land rental "not more than 1200 LE/feden/year.
- Proposing timed "not less than ten year plans" developmental plans that enhance farmers' rights in health and educational care.
- Stopping the process of evicting tenants from the state's lands in addition to issuing decrees for its sale in addition to obliging the businessmen that buy the state's lands not to evict tenants to protect tenants' rights.
- Providing farmers with the agricultural staff and promoting the agricultural resources.
- Paying more concern with projects of irrigation and underground water in addition to re-using the sewerage water and widening canals to guarantee the just distribution of the irrigating water between farmers.
- Non-evicting of farmers from their houses and non-filing of minutes of seizure and farmers imprisonment.
- Deleting tenants' loans for the bank that are evicted from their plots in addition to youth that couldn't achieve success in their agricultural projects that could be achieved through issuing decrees regarding stopping the application of the sentences issued with the virtue of the decrees of the prosecutor general.

LCHR is pleased to receive your remarks and suggestions about the report in order to protect farmers' rights and improve agriculture conditions in Egypt.
METHODOLOGY

The implementation of new agricultural policies as law 96/1992 led to many changes regarding the relations of the agricultural production in Egypt and market of agriculture and land resulted in many serious transformations represented in deterioration of social, economic and political conditions of the poor farmers, violations of farmers' rights and making use of violence against them throughout the implementation of these policies.

The implementation of the mentioned law violated the conditions of right of food and safe land possession. therefore, we plan to apply such study in order to learn more about these policies and the impacts of its implementation revealing the violations against social, economic and political rights and the violent practices used for the implementation of the law for the sake of large-scale landlords resulted in spreading informal violence among farmers.

The study is divided into parts as follows:-

1. The implementation of structural adjustment policies in the agricultural field and farmers impoverishment:

   This part aims to learn more about the policies and procedures that the state achieves in order to occur such change in the market of agricultural and land in addition to reveal the impact of the implementation of these policies on the conditions and rights of farmers and the conditions of violence in the Egyptian countryside that leads to more impoverishment and violence. moreover, it clarifies how the policies of land reform impact negatively the conditions of the right to food and violate social, economic and political rights of farmers in Egypt. the most impressive of these policies was the implementation of law 96/1992.

2. Procedures of the implementation of law 96/1992 in the rural Egypt:

   This part comprises some sub-parts as follows:

   A. Initiative phase:
   it highlights the state's vision that violates farmers' rights represented in making use of violence by the state, large-scale landlords or between farmers themselves before Oct 1997.

   B. During the law implementation (1997-8):
   it mentions to the forms of violence done by the state or large-scale landlords to implement the law like unreasonable detention, crop destruction, torture, etc. this part will monitor the violent practices committed by the state against villages and how the farmer movement faces these violations. these force practices are as:
   - Unreasonable detention
   - Obliging some tenants to sign papers for delivering the land
   - Destroying crops
   - Threatening with detention
   - Transferring some farmer defenders before the state security
- Torturing farmers
- Terrifying tenants of houses attached with the arable lands

C. After law implementation (1999-2003):
This part monitors different forms of "formal or informal" violence resulted from the law implementation as disputes for land borders, irrigating water or the formal violence directed by some governmental institutions against farmers. this part discusses how the state maltreats farmers and violates their social, economic and civil rights while farmers are trying to improve their conditions. it mentions that the governmental policies lead to more violence.

3. Land, farmers and violence "case study":

A. The study objective:
Highlighting the impacts of the implementation of land lease law 96/1992 in two Egyptian villages through revealing the conditions through the different phases of the implementation in order to reviewing how such implementation leads to deterioration of socio-economic conditions in the Egyptian countryside in addition to learning more about the procedures of the state and large-scale landlords that violate farmers' rights and land safety.

B. Questions of the case studies:
What is the correlation between the new governmental policies and violations of social, economic and cultural rights of farmers committed during the law implementation? what are the changes occurred throughout the different phases of the law implementation? what about farmers' experiences about the law implementation and the practices of the state and large-scale landlords? is there any relation between poverty, violence, absence of safe possession and farmers' problems with the governmental institutions "land possession - irrigation"?

The study samples:
We choose 10 cases "tenants, landlords and officials" per village for interviewing in order to discuss how the law was implemented by the state, the impact of the law implementation on different conditions and if it contributes to increasing violence inside the village. during the process of choosing the study, we were concerned to comprise different categories [socially - politically - gender]. We made use of a questionnaire prepared for this study. Moreover, we achieved collective meetings with some experts and sheiks in the villages in order to document this data and clarifying the different views of the impact of the law implementation on farmers' living conditions and violence inside the village.

4. Geographical field:
We achieved two case studies in two villages that are Kouta Karoun village, El Fayoum province and Izba el Bieda village in El Sharkeya province.

5. Time field:
The study was prepared in 9 months "from Sep 2003 to July 2004 that the process of
collection of the field data took 6 months while analyzing the results and issuing the initiative remarks on the first prova took 45 days and another month for completing the remarks and issuing the final report.

6. The study results:

It aims to reveal the correlation between the implementation of land reform policies in the countryside especially law 96/1992, violations of social, economical and political rights of farmers in Egypt and increasing their impoverishment. It reveals how the state made use of violence during the implementation and how the law implementation increased violence conditions in the countryside especially in the villages examined by the study.

7. The study recommendations:

This part comprises the demands of the farmer movement in Egypt that contribute to improving conditions of human rights of farmers in addition to the demands of farmers in the two villages.
FIRST CHAPTER

ARABLE LAND AND FARMERS

The Egyptian government implements the new agricultural policies along many years. The strange thing is that the implementation of what called free market policies in the agricultural sector in Egypt have been begun earlier comparing with other programs. It began in 1987 with some procedures as liberalization of crops prices and free marketing especially regarding some crops as wheat, corn and peanuts followed by other liberalized procedures during the first years of the nineties represented in deleting the support presented for the staff of the agricultural production especially fertilizers, pesticides and seeds. Throughout this phase, the private sector played an important role especially after deleting the support and liberalizing farmers from the agrarian round in 1994.

In 1992, the law called law 96/1992 was issued that aimed to liberalize the arable land. The state determined five years as a transitional period ending in 1997 in order to delivering the land by tenants for landlords after they used to cultivate the lands for more than forty years since issuance of law 157/1952. Those tenants used to pay the rental of their plots [7 times of the tax "about 100 LE/feden/year" but after the issuance of the new law, the rental increased to be 22 times of the tax "600 LE/feden/year". In 1997, the rental of the feden raised to 2000 LE/year.

After seven years for the implementation of the land law that aimed to liberalize the arable land as a part of the plan of the implementation of economic reform policies in Egypt, the deterioration of economic and political conditions was revealed in the countryside. While several countries in the world try to guarantee farmers' land possession, contribute to solving their problems in order to enhance the weak income of cultivation and protecting this vital profession that is so important for human life, the following governments in Egypt isn't concerned with this issues that they always implement policies resulted in dangerous circumstances that impact negatively farmers' rights and the future of the Egyptian agriculture.

Many people concerned with conditions of the agricultural economy in the world and many associations that fund programs of economic reforms emphasize on the fatal circumstances of the implementation of these policies if the people don't participate through these programs. About human rights perception, defending farmers' rights, providing safe land possession and presenting long-term loans with simple interests are the core of promoting human rights principles. One of the human rights associations concerned with the right to food asserts that implementing land reform policies has to be accompanied by providing the small-scale landlords and tenants especially in the developing country with all necessary guarantees to possess the land that can be achieved through establishing cooperatives and associations that contributes to presenting better services for the sake of the farmer that facilitates the healthy atmosphere for cultivation.

The governmental policies called land reform led to occurrence of following crises in

1 Farmers’ conditions in Egypt” the second part, LCHR
food, insufficiency of the agrarian resources, increasing prices of seeds and fertilizers, importing ruin agrarian staff and deterioration of living conditions of citizens. According to absence of clear policies for controlling these crises, the government made use of giving justifications for its failure as the high population, raising prices of infrastructure services as water and electricity.

The reports of the institution of general mobilization and statistics in 2001 revealed that the structure of distribution of the national income between citizens was done unfairly asserting the existence of the wide gap between the community categories in the different areas especially in the rural areas. It mentioned that 13.1 million popn (25% of the population) live under the poverty line; moreover, 3.8 million popn live in sharp poverty (30% of the poor). The reports revealed that the number of the poor in the rural sector in the Upper Egypt reached 32.5% while the percentage reached 25.1% in the Lower Egypt of the total percentage of the poor in Egypt. Such policies led to increasing the percentage of illiteracy that reached 34% [48.9% in the rural areas] that indicates the deteriorated educational conditions in the countryside. The percentage of illiteracy in the rural zones is higher among women in addition to the high percentage of the children released from education "3 million child" because of their poor living conditions. Consequently, the clear criterions of distributing resources of the health sector geographically are disappeared that the Egyptian village suffer from sharp insufficiency of health services presented in the public hospitals and free health services institutions. About services of drinking water and sewerage, only 82% of families in the countryside receive humane water while 12.7% of buildings in the Lower Egypt and 6.3% in the Upper Egypt enjoy with services of sewerage.

The Egyptian farmer is still suffering from the negative impact of the implementation of these policies that the statement issued by the World Bank lately asserts that poverty is resulted from insufficiency of opportunities of education, nutrition, health and training. The statement mentions that Egypt achieves remarkable progress regarding improving some of poverty dimensions not-correlated with income but these dimensions are changed from the disparity between rural and urban populations to decreasing the number of the poor in the urban areas and increasing their number sharply in the south Egypt. The statement mentions that the highly-correlated factor with poverty is education that more than 45% of the poor are illiterate. The statement refers to the slow economic growth since 2000 till now that increases the number of the poor; moreover, many poor people that get out of the poor umbrella return to poverty once more. The statement reveals that the number of the poor is decreased through the productive increase and wages rise in some sectors; moreover, it emphasizes on the increase of the categorical difference in Egypt as a whole that means that the growth in Egypt during all these years isn't for the sake of the poor. The statement asserts that the majority of the poor live in the countryside in the south Egypt [5.8 million poor popn of total 10.7 million popn - 1.4 million poor popn in the urban areas in the south Egypt]. On the other hand, the agricultural sector contributes to 17% of the total national production that is the main source of food, cloth and labour but the indications of development in the rural areas are retreated that deteriorate the agricultural production resulted in increasing the dependence on the imports of food that assert the failure of governmental policies. It is accompanied with the daily burdens that the farmer affords as rising the tax of land possession from 45 LE/feden in the last year to 60 LE plus 10 LE as collection fees in addition to fines imposed for rice cultivation that reaches 1000 LE/feden.
Before the implementation of land reform policies and issuance of law 96/1992, there was law 157/1962 issued throughout the Naserian era that regulated farmers' relation with land then it was law 96/1992 that deleted the most two important features of the previous law by not-determining the rental value of the land and facilitate to dismiss tenants from lands anytime. Consequently, new different non-cash forms of tenancy are appeared after the law implementation as third/half/forth crop tenancy that transform tenants to be as slaves working in others' lands because the land incomes become insufficient even for their daily wages.

This problem impacts great number of farmers that according to the data of agrarian calculations issued by the ministry of agriculture, the number of tenants impacted negatively with the virtue of law implementation reached 904,000 tenants "31% of farmers in Egypt". it means that the number of tenants' families impacted negatively by the implementation of the law reached 5.3. 2 Million family "30% of the total families that possess arable plots whose number reached 17.7 million family".

On the other hand, the law presented an illusion called: the possibility for tenants to possess arable lands in the desert that these plots require high financial sources couldn't be afforded by the poor tenants, in addition, the law doesn't mention to compensating tenants for their houses build on the land or for the fixed machines established by tenants during the tenancy period that contradicts with the previous agricultural laws as law 123/1974. Besides, this law violates the constitutional regulations that emphasize on the social safety and guarantee of tenants. if we give no attention for the all governmental violations committed against the poor tenants before and during the law implementation in addition to deteriorated developmental situation in the countryside represented in the insufficiency of infrastructure services to examine the conditions of the Egyptian farmer after the implementation, we will discover the ship fall down of the conditions of farmers accompanied with the unreasonable violence committed by the state institutions and landlords against him. those tenants used to enjoy for long period with guaranteed work opportunity through which they have food "crops that they cultivate and cattle that they breed" in addition to the income and housing. Suddenly, they lost the land without any compensation that pushed them to work as daily-wage labourers in sectors of agriculture or building. Such work are seasonable that don't guarantee adequate income especially after rise the number of labourers accompanied with shrinkage of labour market.

About the governmental promises to give the dismissed tenants other lands for reclamation, the farmers that received these plots discovered that it was just a trick that the government couldn't compensate but 12664 farmers from 904,000 tenants alleging that those tenants either delayed or not presented their papers. the most impressive thing that the government misled farmers during the compensation process that big number of farmers knew nothing about the time and way of receive the alternative land? on the other hand, many farmers saw that working in others' lands might be better that receiving land in the desert especially that the government wouldn't provide them with infrastructure services for cultivating these plots. even farmers that received the alternative lands in el Hussaneya valley, they weren't.

\[Ray Bush, \textit{paper presented during} \textit{workshop held by Center of Research of Developing Countries - Cairo University}\]
protected by the government against the threats of the possession allegers.

The governmental practices against farmers especially after the implementation of his new agricultural policies not only deprive those farmers from their rights to life but it contributes to failing the allegations of reform policies that beside the deterioration of living conditions of farmers, retreat of development indications and the high percentage of unemployment, there is a serious problem represented in negligence of farmers' expertise that they gain throughout their long relationship with the land. it means that they are the most qualified people that could cultivate the land successfully that land is part of their life and their kids' future that reveals the governmental ignorance of its real resources that will lead for its failure through the agrarian reform and rural development.
SECOND CHAPTER
IMPLEMENTATION OF LAW 96/1992 IN THE EGYPTIAN COUNTRYSIDE

The government made use of all forced and illegal procedures for implementing the law and evicting tenants from the plots to be received by the landlords that fired protests in the whole countryside that pushed the government to detain huge number of farmers. through the fights between farmers and the security forces, more than 100 farmer died in addition to huge number of injured and arrested. the negative impacts of the law implementation have been began by its implementation.

The governmental institutions and associations dismissed farmers from the land and the attached houses. these institutions asked the poor farmers to pay the price of these possessions that raised the violence inside the Egyptian countryside. through the coming part, we will review the different steps of the implementation of law 96/1992 as follows:-

A. The initiative phase of the law issuance:

Before the issuance of law 96/1992, there was a great argument between the law supporters seeing the law as an important step towards ending the immortal lease relationship in addition to its fruits regarding the economic liberalization and the opposites considering the law as a dangerous retreat against the obligations and guarantees presented by the government for the sake of tenants and their families. this argument was reviewed through national and opposite newspapers in which many politicians, professors, journalists and law men participated. both teams of supporters and opposites reviewed their perceptions through numbers and data. this argument was continued till the issuance of law 96/1992 on 17/6/1992 to declare the beginning of the end of the historical phase that extended for more than forty years through which the tenant enjoyed with quite stability through land cultivation.

No real representatives of tenants participated in the process of law issuance that the study sample asserted that 37.3% of the sample hadn't been informed about the law while 62.7% knew few information with different degrees. they asserted that the TV was the main source of information, then the community and radio. about the publications, it was a weak source. the study emphasizes that the majority of farmers (landlords and lease holders) had no information about the law and its articles. 93.5% of farmers mentioned that there were no general meetings held in their villages to discuss the law. only few percentage "2.7%" mentioned to holding of some meetings held by the villages' inhabitants themselves. the study asserts that many officials in villages and districts highlighted their non receiving any instructions for holding these meetings. the study highlights the absence or even weakness of local associations "agrarian cooperatives, local councils, parties and other organizations".3

All these circumstances pushed farmers to think during the five year transitional period that the law wouldn't be implemented. Such misleading was continued for four years until the events of Beni Suief province were occurred in the end of Dec 1996 that was an experiment by which the government aimed to know the farmers' reaction

3 Dr. Mohamed Abdel Aal - land … farmers … and the law

By the beginning of 1997, the Egyptian farmers appeared on the map of the political events in Egypt. those farmers began to organize demonstrations in Beni Suief province especially after the Developing and Agricultural Credit Bank (DACB) refused giving them loans without the landlords' acceptance that their lease contracts would be ended in October. then more than three thousand farmers sat in strike that pushed the governor and the security manager promised farmer to solve the problem. By such event, the Egyptian political forces remembered that Oct 1997 will be the end of the transitional period. Therefore, farmers in many villages began to ask about their fate after the implementation of the law. this period witnessed formation of primitive forms of farmers bonds in many provinces in addition to organization of farmers' committees for law resistance accompanied with achieving real interaction between farmer movement and movement of opposite political forces. this period witnessed holding more than 200 farmers conferences.

Moreover, farmers sent thousands telegrams before the President and the minister of agriculture warning about the dangerous conditions. Those farmers didn't use to leave their plots to participate in a meeting or a symposium but after leaving the land, they have began participating in many meetings and symposiums especially with the increasing the violent accidents in the countryside. These conferences have been begum since the beginning of 1997 that were increased gradually through which most parties and political forces participated. June and July witnessed holding more than 160 conferences. 4

Then, the government was worry about holding such conference so it achieved number of procedures as arresting some farmers and representatives of the Egyptian political forces because of these assemblies. These primitive forms of assemblies might be developed if it was supported by the different political forces; appositively, it was decreased with the virtue of such events occurred in June and July in many villages and provinces through which farmers were accused with burning the agrarian cooperatives protesting against changing the cards with names of landlords instead f tenants. These events were the practical reaction of farmers for the procedures achieved by the agrarian cooperatives. These events were spread in all Egypt's provinces resulted in number of injured and dead 5. Therefore, the government realized that implementing law 96/1992 wouldn't be easy, therefore, it had to achieve promote procedures to avoid any violence. these procedures were presented in issuing two decrees that were:

First: deleting all conference held after these events and not allowing any political force to meet farmers without security supervision.

Second: the government formed committees for conditions adjustment in each province to control the farmers movement.

Through this conflict, the government made use of mass media, national newspaper, local councils, members of people's assembly, mayors and all its institutions for

4 See appendix no. 11
5 LCHR publications, book entitled "events occurred in Egypt's countryside
implementing the law under the logo "adjustment, eviction or re-renting". the government applied its campaign against farmers by random detention - especially with the beginning of June 1997 and till end of October - of many farmers in different areas in Egypt's countryside because of their different forms of peaceful protests as holding conferences, collecting signatures, hanging black flags on their houses' roofs and sticking signs on walls condemning the implementation of law 96/1992. for example, on 25/6/1997, in Safet el O'rafa village, Beni Suief province, number of farmers sat in strike in front of the agrarian cooperative protesting against the law implementation, therefore, the guards attacked farmers to release their strike that obliged farmers to burn the agrarian cooperative and the DACB that pushed the police to arrest more than 13 farmers that were transferred before the prosecution that ordered with continuing their detention for 15 days. Those farmers were accused with burning the cooperative and demonstration. in Monsha el Sadat village, farmers sat in strike in front of the agrarian cooperative in solidarity with farmers of Safat el O'rafa but the police prevented the strike and arrested six persons. in the same time, the police arrested many farmers in different villages in Egypt's provinces during their collection of signatures calling the officials for stopping the law implementation.

B. During the law implementation (1997-8):

The period from the mid of 1997 to the mid of 1998 witnessed the implementation of the law in the Egyptian countryside accompanied with occurrence different forms of violations represented in beating, insulting, unreasonable detention, torture, burning crops and dismissing from the houses attached with the arable lands. throughout the law implementation, the Egyptian countryside witnessed violent practices that weren't existed before. this violence was between the governmental institutions, tenants and farmers resulted in many dead, injuries and injured as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Injured</th>
<th>Arrested</th>
<th>Dead</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998/9</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LCHR documented strong evidences of violence practiced against farmers because of arbitrariness of some governmental institutions that made use of violence for guaranteeing the law implementation. on the other hand, farmers and some social forces were protesting during 1997-8 that was faced by random detention and torture of the security forces against the protesters. Moreover, the farmers organized some local protesting movements against some officials and local institutions in different provinces. the law implementation was characterized with committing continuous violations against human rights of farmers represented in torture, threatening with detention and collective terrifying. Moreover, the state' institutions encouraged the appearance of other forms of violence as some disputes between rich landlords against the poor farmers. in some areas, the landlords agreed with the police forces to violating farmers' rights to oblige them to leave their plots without any compensation. it led to absence of trust between the state' institutions and farmers that proved that the new agricultural policies was implemented for the sake of large-scale of landlords with no concern for the tenants' benefits in Egypt.
The reports monitoring law implementation assert that farmers faced physical attaches, terrifying in addition to violating their rights in safety, dignity and humane treatment accompanied with absence of free expression and association. the security forces imposed conditions adjustment by force against tenants that refused leaving the land. therefore, the officials obliged some tenants to undersign papers with delivering the land. the security forces organized collective campaigns against villages that refused delivering the land "collective detention and arresting women and old people to oblige their families to deliver the land". we assert that these campaigns were organized in many villages in the Egyptian countryside especially throughout the period after the law implementation that was considered as dangerous violation against human rights in freedom and personal safety.

According to data gathered by LCHR concerning tenants' conditions that detained inside the police stations for delivering the lands, the detainees that obeyed the police orders were released while the group that refused leaving the land were kept in detention. the security forces applied its plan towards obliging tenants to leave the land gradually that they began with threat then detention and so on comprising practicing different forms of cruel and inhumane treatment.

According to data documented by LCHR, there were several violations committed by the security forces against the Egyptian villages represented in:

First; unreasonable detention
Second; obliging tenants to undersign papers of delivering the land
Third; destroying crops
Forth; depriving farmers from their natural right of suing
Fifth; threat with detention decisions
Sixth; transferring farmers before state security prosecutions not the specialized prosecutions
Seventh; torture
Eighth; collective punishment

First; unreasonable detention

Thousands farmers were detained since the beginning of the law implementation. the landlords asked the police for arresting the tenants in order to be obliged for undersigning the papers of delivering the land. If the tenants applied the orders of the police, they would released; but, if they refused, they would transferred before the prosecution that practiced more pressure. The strange issue was that when the prosecutions released tenants accused with not delivering the lands, the security forces re-detained them again. the security forces sometimes arrested tenants without written minutes in order to oblige them for delivering the land by force.

Name: Hassan Mohamed Aly
Age: 50 years old
Address: el Maadia village, el Behira province
He said, "on Sunday 5/10/1997, was called by the police of Dakrans district with the virtue of minute presented by the landlord. in the police station, I was threatened and
obliged to undersign the papers of delivering the land. when I refused, I was detained for three days when my family sent many telegrams for the prosecutor general, the minister of justice and the President. by using such mechanism, the security forces violated all laws through which it obliged farmers to leave the land or their freedoms and rights would be violated unreasonably.

**Second: obliging tenants to undersign papers of delivering the land**

The police made use of detaining the tenants and their relatives in police stations I order to oblige them to undersign papers of delivering the land. by such procedures, it violated the authority of the specialized court that issued sentences regarding such disputes after listening to the lawyers of the two sides. but the police ignored that those tenants had rights as compensating for buildings or any addition in the land that the tenant established as water pipe that was considered as a violation against the principle of law domination stipulated by the Egyptian constitution.

**Name: Aly Ismaeel**
**Age: 60 years old**
**Address: Ghayata el Sharkeya village, Beni Suief province**

On Tuesday 14/10/1997, I was arrested and presented before the police for investigating and obliging me for undersigning papers for delivering the land. when I refused, I was transferred for the prosecution where the officer asked me for my refusal to leave the land so I answered that there was a lawsuit under the court deliberation. Therefore, he ordered the guard to accompany me to the office of the head of the prosecution where I was received with insulting and beating till I fainted but they used to put the water on my head to wake up and re-beat again. then, I was detained with other ten persons in a small room that comprised no window. after long miserable story of insulting, beating and torturing, I had no choice but undersigning.

**Third: destroying crops**

Some tenants were obliged to harvest their crops before its growth in order to deliver the lands for the landlords. Other group left the crops for the landlords for few money. it is violation of law of agriculture that defines the agricultural year obviously the ends by harvesting in October. but the security forces paid no concern with the law items and pressed the tenants to leave the land with no interest with harvesting their crops.

**Name: Awad Abu Zied**
**Age: 45 years old**
**Address: Gizzaya village, Giza province**

On Monday 13/10/1997, I was arrested by the police that cached me in the land. in the police station, the officer insulted me sharply for not harvesting the land or leaving it for the landlord; therefore, I mentioned that I had to be compensated for the crop and the buildings before leaving the land. Then, he beat me by his stick and the guards began to beat me to bleeding. I was detained in a room with other twenty tenants. after a while, they called me to practice the same torture against me until I was obliged to undersign the papers of leaving the land so they released me without transferring before the prosecution.
**Forth: depriving farmers from their natural right of suing**

The tenants were deprived from their right of suing in order to ask for continuity of the lease relation or receiving adequate compensation for the buildings that the tenants established. Although the law stipulated not ending of the lease contract that means that the landlord alone couldn't delete the contract. Moreover, the law under which the contract was issued organizes the contract conditions. so the tenants rented their plots throughout the implementation of the previous law that didn't end the contract with the death of the leaseholder but the tenancy could be inherited to their family if one of them worked with cultivation. there are many tenants who are deprived from their right of suing and they are detained to be obliged for abandoning their lands.

**Fifth: threat with detention decisions**

The security forces threatened some tenants with detention applying to detention decrees issued by the ministry of interior that pushed Some of those tenants to deliver the lands under the way determined by the landlord that guaranteed absence of tenants' rights in the future.

**Name: Mansour Aly Ahmed**  
Age: 55 years old  
Address: Lasiefer village, el Gharbeya province  
I was called by the police officer of Olila village that ordered me to leave the land for the landlord. When I refused, he threatened me with blank detention decrees stamped by the ministry of interior against the naughty tenants. then he released the other tenants and me. but he used to call me every day to threaten me with detention especially that he failed to threaten me with torture because my relative is lawyer that would sue them. at the end, I had no choice but applying their orders fearing from detention especially that many farmers in the village and Miet Ghamer district were detained for leaving the land.

**Sixth: transferring farmers and their defendants before state security prosecutions not the specialized prosecutions**

The security forces terrifying the farmers' defendants abusing the emergency law that gives them the validity to restrict rights of personal safety, free-expression and assemblage. Moreover, the emergency law permits detaining people for eight days alleging the protection of the security and the system. therefore, the security forces arrested many farmers' defendants and transferred them before the sate security prosecutions established under the umbrella of the emergency law. such practices violate the principle of free expression stipulated by the Egyptian constitutions and international covenants of human rights. Farmers in Izba el Zieny are a sample of tenants that suffered from problems of eviction from lands and houses. these possessions were distributed between farmers by the institution of land reform that took the lands from the original landlords. Those poor tenants worked hard in these lands that weren't suitable for cultivation. When the institution delivered the land for the landlords again, the tenants continued paying the rentals or sharing crops with the landlords. during the law implementation, the landlords sold the land for new landlords that began to measure the land. Then the families felt with fear and
prevented them to complete the measuring process that pushed the landlords to file minutes against tenants. Consequently, 12 vans of soldiers attacked the village. those soldiers threw farmers' staff in canals and making use of tear-bombs. then, the police chased farmers in fields when they arrested 21 person to be transferred before the prosecution. the police didn't released them despite issuance of release decisions by the prosecution. the prosecution released seven detainees with paying one thousand pound but the farmers' disability to pay off this amounts led to their imprisonment for more days. on the other hand, the prosecution ordered with imprisonment of six persons for more 45 days. Those detainees faced many violations during their detention as beating and threat with rape.

Seventh: torture

The security forces exaggerated through its campaign against tenants that it terrified complete villages and tortured tenants in police stations. in some cases, the security forces arrested families of tenants to press them for leaving the land. LCHR asserts there are more violations committed against tenants in other areas that the center couldn't monitor or document that required more collective efforts.

Name: Merjim Abdel Kader Mahmoud Aly
Age: 33 years old
Address: Kouta Karoun
While I was riding my donkey to my husband that worked in the field, I found five soldiers and two guards. one of the guards pointed to me saying, "she is wife of Aly Khalil". so I wondered, "is it an accusation to be Aly's wife?! what did he do?". Suddenly, thy threw me on the ground and about beating me with their shoes. they insulted me and asked me about Aly so I answered that he was in the field. then they arrested twenty person and us to be detained in the police station for ten days with no food, water or even sleep. we were death as slaves in slavery era.

Eighth: collective punishment

The security forces weren't satisfied with evicting farmers and threatening them that they practiced forms of collective punishment against them in addition to beating and insulting them. the security forces obliged tenants to leave their plots without issuing judicial sentences with eviction. The tenants were dismissed from their houses although law 96/1992 conditions providing farmers with alternative houses before eviction from houses attached with the arable lands.

C. After law implementation (1998-2003):

The implementation of law 96/1992 impacted negatively the conditions of agriculture and farmers' rights in the countryside. These deteriorated conditions were increased year after year especially during the period "1998-2003" when the formal and social violence were increased. After the law implementation, farmers' rights in safety was violated accompanied with the government 's withdrawal from its natural role of supporting farmers and guaranteeing their rights that increased violence inside the countryside "formal violence; committed by some governmental institutions against farmers after law implementation from 1998-2003 or social violence".
First: formal violence

According to the diversity of the governmental institutions that deal with farmers, the disputes with farmers were various. These institutions as ministry of agriculture, institution of land reform, state possessions institution, irrigation department, public companies, governorates and local departments violated farmer's rights in humane life forcibly that they dismissed those farmers from their lands and houses in order to be sold for possession allegers. This part reviews violence committed by the government against farmers after the law implementation "1999-2003" as follows:

1. Violations regarding farmers' rights in safe land possession:

Through this period, the governmental institutions made use of forced practices against farmers in order to evict them from the land. These institutions didn't evict those farmers directly but it made use of indirect ways as estimating high rentals calculated along many years and asking farmers eighth to pay off these amounts or leaving the land. Moreover, they offered the farmers' lands to be sold in the monetary auction with preventing farmers to buy these lands. These institutions weren't concerned with the natural conditions as weather, flooding, etc while its estimation of the land rental. Farmers faced and they are still facing violations against their rights in safe and stable land possession committed by the governmental institutions. For example, farmers' rights in safe land possession in Kom el Farag village, el Behira province were isolated because of practices of the public institution of land reform. Those farmers used to cultivate 202 feden of the wasteland in the village along forty years. According to their hard work, they transformed the wasteland to be fertile. Then, they were surprised with the institution that offered the land for sale (15000 LE/feden) although the price of the feden in the surrounding area wasn't exceed than 450 LE. According to the financial disability of farmers to pay off these high amounts, the institution imposed 10% fines for delaying. Accordingly, farmers faced many violations represented in eviction or imprisonment.

2. Violations regarding corruption of the governmental employees:

The policies of DACB violated farmers’ rights through which in addition to the corruption of its employees, farmers were imprisoned. The bank calculated exaggerated interests; moreover, the employees obliged farmers to undersign blank checks when they asked for agrarian loans. Then, those farmers couldn't pay off these loans especially after they lost their source of income so they faced imprisonment and seizure over their staff. The bank used to ask farmers for repeating tabulation of debts that eased operations of forgery and fraud committed by the bank employees in many provinces. These violations were implemented in different forms as taking loans with farmers' names, taking loans with names of dead farmers or giving loans for friends and relatives while depriving farmers from receiving such loans to establish small projects for surviving. In spite of issuing the sentence of the Supreme Constitutional Court with the unconstitutionality of seizure of farmers' staff; the employees are still apply these operations to receive the bank money. These seizures led to imprisoning farmers. The bank used to loan farmers with interests reach 19% while the Egyptian law determines the interests as; civil interest; 4% and the commercial interests; 7% that is considered as discrimination against the poor farmers and rich businessmen.
loaned from the bank. farmers in Der Moaas village are sample for farmers whose rights are violated severely. The cashier of the bank(amounts of money with farmers' names using the agrarian cards kept by the bank. therefore, the bank filed lawsuits against farmers because of their non-payment of their debts. those farmers were surprised with loans that they didn't take and they had no choice but paying or being imprisoned. Then, they presented 75 complaints before the prosecutor general and filed 32 lawsuits against the banker who was imprisoned for 16 years. but the problem hasn't been solved yet that farmers are still facing arresting and imprisoning because of sanctions of not paying loans that they have never taken.

3. Violations regarding farmers' rights in safe housing:

The violations committed against tenants' rights of safe and adequate housing "existence of infrastructure services as drinking water, sewerage, etc" have been violated since the implementation of law 96/1992 al till now. the majority of the governmental institution especially religious endowment institution and institution of land reform are used to violating the rights of those poor by evicting them from their houses without presenting any alternatives or compensations in spite of their payment of the rental of these houses. These practices were committed against complete villages. for example, the employees of the state institution dealt forcibly against farmers in Izba Rashowan, Beba district, Beni Suief province during the implementation of the law. the problem of this village was represented in allegation of a person called Rashwan that possessed of the land of the Izba for more than one hundred year. Rashwan allowed farmers to build their houses on the land for cultivating his land. those farmers have lived in the village since 1895. in 1997, they were surprised that the endowment institution applied the administrative seizure against them that these land possessed by the institution that pushed families to file lawsuit to prove their possession of these houses. moreover, the police forces organized regular campaigns against those dwellers to terrify them to oblige them to buy their houses from the institution. Although the families files many lawsuits to prove their possession of houses, the institution's employees implement regularly the seizure in addition to issuance of judicial sentence of imprisonment of those farmers. Therefore, the police forces arrested, insulted and tortured wives and kids of those farmers to oblige them to buy the houses. Therefore, the whole dwellers of this Izba are threatened with imprisonment because they couldn't afford the huge amounts estimated by the institution for buying the houses. those dwellers are treated in inhumane way by the police forces by arresting women and kids after the men are obliged to immigrate their houses to avoid detention. this dispute between the dwellers and the institution is still continued.

4. Neglecting farmers:

The implementation of the new agricultural policies deteriorated the educational and health conditions; moreover, the government withdrew from its role towards providing the main services that people in many areas are living deprived from infrastructure services as sewerage, clean drinking water, health units, etc. such conditions transforms many villages in Egypt's provinces to be center of different diseases. the negligence of the health institutions as presenting ruin serum leads to spreading of the diseases. it is accompanied with the environmental pollution resulted from some industries or using some pesticides that impact negatively farmers' health
in the countryside. Throughout the last years, the Egyptian countryside witnessed occurrence of many health catastrophes in complete provinces as el Gharbeya, el Dakahleya and Kafer el Shiekh represented in spreading of many fatal diseases. the international reports mention that there are 22 million Egyptian citizen drink polluted water that hasn't be used by man or animal. the problem of polluted drinking water in the countryside lead to spreading of many fatal diseases because farmers depend on various resources for drinking as the underground water in spite of the high percentage of salts in such water. the report of the People's Assembly asserts that the levels of pollution of drinking water in some Egypt's provinces reach dangerous levels that the water is inadequate for man use because of existence of high percentage of heavy and dangerous elements that have dangerous impacts on health. the report highlights the projects of sewerage and nets of water that the government has begun to implement for fifteen years and these projects haven't been finished yet. the reports of the different provinces mention that most of nets of drinking water are inadequate that it comprises worms, insects and toxic elements that obliged people to make use of underground water that comprises high percentage of iron and salts.

5. Violating farmers' rights in cultivation:

The crops of farmers are destroyed because of using ruin imported seeds, fertilizers and pesticides that lead to dangerous health diseases in addition to reduction of the feden production. Moreover, according to the negligence of the ministry of irrigation to supply the necessary water for the arable lands, many lands become wasted especially in provinces of el Monofeya, el Dakahleya, Kafer el Shiekh, el Sharkeya and el Gharbeya. on the other hand, some ministries pay no concern towards some problems regarding investigating the officials for using ruin seeds, pesticides and fertilizers. it is accompanied with absence of the expected role of these institutions concerning the developmental projects, encouraging citizens for participation in development process and supporting their rights. the problem of insufficiency of the irrigating water is one of the serious problems that farmers face that leads for many losses. Negligence and absence of planning appear clearly in distribution of water shares in different districts and villages that is occurred randomly, on the other hand, the executive institutions in different provinces aren't concerned with maintaining and cleaning canals in addition to unjust distribution of water between farmers resulted in increasing violence in the Egyptian countryside. consequently, the insufficiency of the irrigating water destroy vast areas of the arable land in addition destruction of many important crops as rice, cotton and vegetables. in Kafer el Terra' el Kadema village, farmers suffered from negligence of officials for promoting farmers' right to irrigate their plots resulted in wasting of more than 106 feden "losses estimated with 250.000 LE" and the state authorities didn't compensate farmers for these losses.

6. Maltreating and torturing farmers:

Several farmers in the countryside face maltreatment and their rights are violated by the employees in the different governmental institutions. Those farmers are detained and tortured inside police stations. In October 2002, farmers in el Bieda village were surprised with the central security forces attacking their village with five tractors in order to destroy their crops in farmers' lands estimated with 157 fedens. in spite of the judicial disputes because of these area that are still under the court deliberation, the security forces violated the law and evicted farmers from their plots violating farmers'
rights that were in differed forms as breaking houses' doors and insulting and beating women and children in addition to detaining farmers, their kids and wives. the tractors of the landlord destroyed crops "rice and cotton" while farmers were imprisoned in the prosecution for fifteen days because of their resistance against policemen during achieving their duties that pushed families to present many complaints.

Second: social violence in the countryside

The implementation of the law deteriorated living conditions in the countryside represented in poverty and absence of humane work opportunities. through this part, we will review the violent incidents occurred between farmers for possession of the arable land in addition to violence committed because of irrigating water. the disputes between farmers around land possession is an ancient phenomenon that the history of the Egyptian countryside asserted the occurrence of bloody disputes resulted in tens injured and dead in addition to the family fanaticism called revenge that is one of the impressive features of the Upper and Lower Egypt that transformed the simple disagreements into bloody conflicts between families.

the main reason of disputes between farmers were land possession, borders, heritage and irrigating water. we will review briefly these disputes as follows:

A. Disputes around land possession, heritage and borders:

These disputes because of land possession occurred during the last half of 1999 because of possession crumbling and non-registration of many lands in addition to allegation of some large-scale landlords of their land possession and other reasons regarding poverty and ignorance.

Table no. 2 shows the distribution of disputes according to its reasons during the years from 1998 to 2003. according to the table, the highest ratio of these disputes was because of land possession that reached 1289 disputes while the number of injured, dead and arrested because of borders reached 746 farmer. on the other hand, the total number of injured, dead and arrested reached 697 farmer (because of irrigation) and 58 farmer (because of heritage). the number of disputes because of possession, borders and heritage was doubled in 2001 comparing with the year 2000 that was a natural result for poverty and the disability to satisfy the main needs for living.

The strange thing was that these disputes weren't fired between strangers only; on the contrary, it was occurred in the families that the countryside witnessed farmers that killed or beat by their relatives because of land possession. the crimes committed because of borders were increased after the implementation of law 96/1992 as a result for processes of measurement of lands to be delivered to landlords or increasing the rental of the land. the number of this disputes was 10 disputes in 2000, 20 disputes in 2001, 16 disputes in 2002 and 11 disputes in 2003. in el Badrasheen village, a bloody conflict between two families was fired because of land borders resulted in one dead, 11 injured and 12 arrested.

6 LCHR; farmer' conditions in Egypt, land and farmer series, 1 st issue, 2001, page: 172
B. Disputes around irrigating water:
The crisis of insufficiency of irrigating water doesn't impact the relation between farmers and the specialized governmental institutions that are the main reason for this problem but it reflects on the relation between farmers themselves that according to rareness of irrigating water, the farmer tries to take the greatest quantity of the available water with no concern with others. such conditions fired quarreled between farmers that may be developed to be bloody conflicts resulted in death and injuries. Table no. 2 shows the number of injured; dead and arrested during 1999 to 2003 resulted from disputes around irrigating water. According to the table, the number of these disputes was increased annually that after the law implementation, the large-scale landlords could solve their problems of irrigating water through their relations with the authorities while the small-scale landlords and tenants were still facing the same problem that increased the farmers' conflicts. In a village in Kafer el Shiek province⁷, a farmer was killed while other six were injured during the quarrel fired between their families because of the irrigating water.

⁷el Wafed 18/5/2003
THIRD CHAPTER
LAND, FARMERS AND VIOLENCE

First: Kouta Karoun village:

A. The village profile:

This village wasn't inhabited from long period in spite of its important location as historical area but its nature that combines between agriculture and desert obstacles attracting inhabitants to live in the village. buy supplying water in the sixties through Karoun lake, many farmers especially from the surrounding provinces as Beni Suief moved towards the village and began to reclaim the wasteland. the village lies in the west of el Fayoum province. the arable land in the village is about 1000 fedens possessed by limited number of owners. this land was owned by institution of land reform that distributed the land between number of farmers for receiving annual fees paid by farmers regularly. in the seventies, number of invest men began to reclaim vast areas of lands "100-200 fedens", those invest men cultivated the land with orange, mango and olive till the implementation of law 96/1992 that gave those new landlords and the ministry of agriculture the opportunity to steal the land and cultivate the land with corn, wheat, opinion and peanuts.

The village was provided with electricity since 1985. before this year, the houses of the poor were lighted by gas lams while the rich made use of electricity generators. Lately, the monthly bills of electricity increased (15-50 LE). the clean water was supplied to the village in 1995 that 20% of the families enjoy with this service while the other inhabitants depend on the underground water that impacts negatively their health conditions. about the water fees are varied between 8-14 LE/month.

In 2001, a central was established in the village. only 10% of the families enjoy with this service. other two private centrals were established in the mid of 2003. the bills of the consumption of telephone is varied between 60 to 100 LE along three months.

There are two primary schools [Kouta Karoun school "650 students - 25 teachers" and Kouta el Balad "475 students - 15 teachers]. the capacity of classes of these schools are varied between 55-60 students. there is one prep school in Abaza village "2 km far from the village" that costs 0.5 LE a day for coming and going to the village that obliged the poor families to release their kids from education. this school comprises 1000 students from villages of Abaza and Kouta Karoun and 22 teachers. about different secondary schools, most of them are in Abshoy village "37 km far from the village" that costs 20 LE a day for coming and going. moreover, the village comprises three one-class schools established from 1996 to 2002. the village has no sewerage net although the project of this service was being begun since two years but it hasn't been finished yet. the families in the village complained from the holes widespread in the village that disabled walking. the families dig tanks outside the houses used as toilets.

There is no health unit or private clinic in the village. the only health unit is 4 km far in which a doctor work for 15 years. this doctor deals with the clinic as a governmental institution from 8 am to 2 pm in which farmers receives the service for 1.05 LE, then the unit is transformed into private clinic in which the farmers pay 5 LE
for examination. about medicines in the health unit, it is very few that isn't adequate for any operations. there is only one pharmacy in the village that is open from 10 am to 10 pm.

The village is connected with two villages that are Abshoy and Abaza that lie on one line. there was a bus that connected between the village and Abshoy village but it was stopped. although the means of transportation are available along 24 hours but the fees is so high that farmers couldn't afford. the roads aren't adequate despite pavement of some of them but they are full of holes. there is a small branch of DACB in Abaza village established since more than twenty years but through the last ten years, a huge building was established. the credit processes are organized through the agrarian cooperatives that limited the credit value with not more than 75 LE per feden. about the conditions of receiving the loan, it is represented in presenting photocopy of the ID card of the farmer that possessed a piece of land. according to the authority of the previous minister of agriculture and his family that maltreated the families violating the families' rights that reached to detaining some farmers inside persons.

The percentage of the educated person is estimated with 30%. before the law implementation, the families used to depend on cultivation for living but by the implementation of the mentioned law, huge number of families were obliged to immigrate the village searching for any source of income in Cairo or new cities. those migrants worked in different profession for 15 LE a day. about the farmers that are still living in the village, they have no choice but working in others lands for 10 LE a day.

B. Conflicting for land possession before law implementation:

During 1966, the institution of land reform put its hand over 75 fedens and 6 kirats in Abshoy village from the inheritors of Mohamed Amin Wally. this plot was distributed between farmers "one feden and nineteen kirates a farmer". from this year, the 52 farmers in the village cultivated the plots dealing with the specialized institutions as agrarian cooperatives as the landlords. some of those farmers presented their demands before the institution to buy these plots. according to the first article of law 3/1986, the possession of this land of the institution is considered as final possession because it was done for more than fifteen years. therefore, the farmers began to work for owning the land but the institution paid no concern with no legal reason or reasonable justification.

By 1997, the farmers were surprised with alleger, Mahmoud Amin Walley "the inheritor of Mohamed Amin" that achieved the necessary procedures for evicting farmers that the inheritor presented an explanation before the institution that released the land for the sake of the inheritors of Mohamed Amin that made use of their relationships with the police officers to oblige farmers to leave the land using the all available forms of violence against farmers without any final judicial sentences of the lawsuits presented by farmers especially that these lawsuits were still under the court deliberation. since the beginning of the year 1997, the security forces violated rights of personal safety and life of more than fifty farmers that the policemen of Abshoy police station accompanied eighteen soldiers and ten guards attacking farmers' houses. the police forces arrested twenty eight farmers to press them for leaving the land. the security forces organized campaigns of collective detention against tenants, wives and kids. on 6/11/1997, the police forces hanged and beat farmers. those farmers faced
various means of torture. About the farmers' wives, they suffered from sexual harassment. The reports of LCHR monitored the violations and violence committed against tenants. At the end, the tenants had no choice but to surrender.

Law 96/1992 is considered as the worst example of the policies called economic reform adopted by the Egyptian government since the beginning of nineties. These policies impact negatively the social, economic and psychological conditions of the poor in Egypt. The government makes use of many violent procedures against the poor to implement these policies. The farmers receive their share of these violations represented in implementation of law 96/1992. These policies violate rights of labourers in their factories, employees in their workplaces and also farmers in their lands that suffer from violence committed against them. These policies impact negatively the living conditions of the rural inhabitants and the rural relationships between them represented in increasing the disputes between farmers especially that the law implementation leads to richness of some groups that own vast areas accompanied with impoverishment of the other groups that are evicted from their lands. Law implementation leads to increasing of the phenomenon of unemployment in addition to absence of the participation of farmers in the public political life.

Kouta Karoun village is an example that reveals the violations committed during the law implementation that impact 3.5 million Egyptians "the farmer labour". According to the declared statistics, about 470,000 families are impacted severely with the virtue of law implementation that they lose their source of income. The village is the center where the family of the current minister "Dr. Joseph Wally, the minister of agriculture" that play an essential role to evict farmers from the land forcibly violating their rights in addition to using all forms of violence "torture, imprisonment and arresting women" against those poor people. Such violence led to death of a farmer called Ismaeel Aly Khalil as a result of torture inside police station.

C. Detaining and terrifying farmers during the law implementation:

By the end of the transitional period in Oct 1997, the families in Abshoy village, el Fayoum province, were chocked with the attack of the security forces that supported family of Joseph Wally to put their hand on the land rented and possessed by those farmers. When the families wondered about such attack, they faced insulting and beating in addition to demolition of their houses and destruction of their crops. When some farmer "47 farmer" objected the unjustified attack, they were detained and tortured to confess that their plots were rented from Mahmoud Wally "the minister's uncle. After fifteen days of detention and torture, the farmers were informed tat they would meet the possession alleg "Mahmoud Wally" in his villa. When farmers went to his villa, they met Mr. Mahmoud and his nephew, who told his uncle that he had to get rid of those farmers and re-receive their possessions that annoyed farmers and pushed them to refuse leaving the land that led to continuing the torture process. Then, the officer released them asking them to meet Mr. Mahmoud but the farmers didn't go for this meeting that pushed the police force to arrest more 17 women of farmers' family in addition to the tractors that destroyed crops in farmers' lands. According to this detention, one of the farmers called Ismaeel Aly Khalil died when he arrived at his home because of the severe torture that he faced that pushed families to present many complaints.
According to the report of LCHR issued in August 1998, the security forces, on 25/10/1997, arrested 19 farmers to oblige them to leave the land responding for the complaint presented by the inheritors of Mohamed Amin against tenants. The center issued a press release monitoring the violent incidents fired between tenants and the possession allegers when farmers went to their plots for harvesting and they were arrested by the security forces on 17/4/1998. The security forces organized the campaign of detention against farmers violating laws and international covenants. The police of Abshoy obliged farmers to leave the land. Some of the detained farmers were:
- Aly Zidan - 7 years old
- Ismaeel Aly Khalil - 62 years old
- Aly Farag Allah - 41 years old
- Khalil Aly Khalil - 67 years old
- Saed Ruby Abdel Salam - 48 years old
- Ahmed Ruby Abdel Salam - 67 years old

D. What is after that?

Now, after the tenants lost their lands, they became agrarian labourers with no lands, houses or cattle that means that they lost their agrarian and animal wealth that were sufficient for living in adequate conditions. Now the unemployed tenants immigrate the village for searching for any work opportunity in the cities while the wives are sitting in the houses waiting for the return of their husbands. About kids, they are wondering in the village streets searching for the features of the humane life. About the land, it is threatened with wasting after it used to be cultivated with different crops. Losing the land leads for more violence and violations committed by the state institutions against farmers and their families. On the other hand, the tenants have a hope to re-receive the land once more especially after the retirement of the minister. Some of the farmers said that they have a new dream to re-cultivate the green land again to live again in adequate living conditions enjoying with safety and suitable work opportunities.

Case study of Kouta Karoun:

Name: Aly Zidan Aly
Age: 57 years old
Profession: farmer - agrarian labourer
Daily wage: 8-10 LE a day but it is not permanent work that the labourer finds no work but 18 days a month except in period of harvesting estimated with 60 days a year "see table no. 1"
Land possession: he was owner for two fedens
Number of family member: nine
- Wife: 50 years old - illiterate - not working
- Zidan: 23 years old - agricultural vocational certificate - Labourer
- Ibrahim: 22 years old - illiterate - labourer
- Shahat: 20 years old - industrial vocational certificate – Labourer
- Farag: 19 years old - illiterate - applied for military Service
- Sayeda: 17 years old - illiterate - not working
- Abdel Moula: 14 years old - prep school
- Aisha: 10 years old - primary school

About the kids that are still educating, the expenses for their education are as follows:

**Educational expenses:**

**Abdel Moula:** he is in Abaza prep school, 2 km far from the village. the tuition is 33.5 LE. the father pays 5 LE for notebooks, 5 LE for pens, 90 LE of the uniform in addition to 0.50 LE daily for the transportation.

Aisha: she is in Kouta primary school, 150 m far from the home. the father affords 24.5 LE for tuition, 5 LE for notebooks, 3 LE for pens and 70 LE for the uniform bought by her brothers working in Cairo as daily labourers.

**Description of their house:** the house is consists of four rooms "survey per room is 2.5m*2 m" and a hall "its survey is 2m*4m in addition to a bathroom built outside the house. the house is built with clay while the roof is made of reeds. about eclectic machines, they own a small black and white TV, clothes washer and a small radio set.

**In case of sickness:** according to the deteriorated conditions of uncle Aly, his family and him are treated by the popular prescriptions. if these traditional ways fail, he goes to the health unit or the public Abshoy hospital that is 57 km far through which he pays 1 LE for transportation. about the health unit, it is 3 km far that works from 8 am to 2 pm for 1.05 LE as fee. after 2 pm, the physician receives the sick people for 5 LE as fee for the private examination. this physician is working in the unit for 15 years because of his relation with Wally's family. when uncle Aly was sick, he went to the unit paying the 1.05 pounds when the physician gave him some aspirins and advised him to buy some expensive medicine but uncle Aly couldn't buy it.

When we asked him about youth center, he answered that there is no youth center or club in the village.

Regarding our question about parties, he answered that there are no parties. about the Islamic group, they were existent until they were arrested in the mid of seventies. he mentions that the landlords make use of their relationships with the family of the minister of agriculture, Dr. Joseph Wally, to abuse them. he highlights that they practice no political activity because they are weak. about his point of view about parties, he says that the rich and officials give the opposite no opportunity to work. he asserts that he didn't vote through the last elections of the people assembly because when he went to vote, the supporters of Wally ordered him to leave while they offered to give another farmer ten pounds for voting for Wally. uncle Aly says that the member of the assembly of the village is Ismaeel Sherief Joseph Wally, who doesn't visit the village but during the elections days. he adds that he doesn't hear about elections of local councils and he doesn't know if there are members of the councils in the village or not.

**Impacts of law implementation,** uncle Aly is supposed to have no relation with the law. he delivered his plot throughout the Nasrian era that was semi reclaimed. he
spent his life cultivating his lover "land" that provided him with luxury and good. one day, he heard screaming outside the house when he choked with his son that entered the house telling them that the police will take the land. then, he shouted, "there is law protecting our right, sit down my son to have your lunch". after that they heard crying and shouting that pushed them to get out the house when one of his neighbors told him that Wally' sons accompanied policemen to evict all farmers from the land. So he walked towards his land when he met a policeman that arrested him to be imprisoned in Abshoy police station where the officer told uncle Aly and other farmers that they were detained to deliver their land to be delivered to their original owners. therefore, they told the officer that they are the landlords that pushed the officer to insult and order the soldiers to beat and torture them along the 15 days. after that they were released to meet Mr. Mahmoud Wally, the minister's uncle, to undersign the documents for leaving their lands but they refused resulted in their detention once more. Uncle Aly doesn't know what he has to do but presenting complaints and filing lawsuit. but this nightmare isn't solved until now.

The current source of income of uncle Aly: after these terrible incidents, he is fighting for finding permanent work opportunity for his sons and him. but he usually fail to work in other' lands because it is owned by his enemies that refuse to hire him that oblige them to immigrate the village searching for any work opportunities. uncle Aly survives through the incomes of his three sons that work out the village [both Zidan and Ibrahem work for 8-15 pounds a day for 20-22 days a month & the third son traveled to Libya for six months without sending any amount]. the annual income of the family is shown through the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Son</th>
<th>Average of wage</th>
<th>Average of days a month</th>
<th>Wage * days</th>
<th>Total monthly income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahem</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12*16</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zidan</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12*16</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2 * 192</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4608</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table shows the educational expenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Tuition</th>
<th>notebooks &amp; pens</th>
<th>Uniform</th>
<th>transportation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abdel Moula Aisha</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>50*200</td>
<td>243.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aisha</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>114.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relation between uncle Aly and the agrarian cooperative: it was very good that he used to take seeds, pesticides and fertilizers in addition to receiving some loans "not more than 75 pounds". but this relation is stopped that the cooperative refused to deal with uncle Aly. when he knew that he has shares in the cooperative, group of farmers and him went to the agricultural administration that promised them to solve their problem and asserted their rights in these shares, they received letters
fro the ministry informing them that they had no right in these shares that pushed farmers to file lawsuit.

When we asked uncle Aly about the DACB, he mentioned that he has no relation with the bank at all.

Second: el Bieda village:

A. The village profile:

el Bieda village lies in Monshaa Nasr, el Hussania district, el Sharkeya province. it is small Izba "smaller than village" whose inhabitants aren't more than five thousands popn. the houses in the small village used to be full of happiness and pleasure stolen by the implementation of land law. the village is characterized with clean streets surround by vast green areas in addition to insufficiency of services of health care, education, transportation, telephone that there is no school, clinic or pharmacy in the village. in spite of the deterioration of these services, the village used to live in safe conditions regarding possession of land and houses, work opportunities and humane living conditions.

by the law implementation and threatening farmers to lose their land, the happiness in which the village used to live in were changed especially after the tractors of the government and the possession allegers attacked the village to evict farmers from about 57 fedens applying for judicial sentences; moreover, the vulgar persons hired by the landlords, with the assistance of some policemen, attacked farmers' houses and destroyed their staff. the farmers of el Bieda village received 157 fedens in 1969 to be reclaimed. from that date, cultivating the land became the sole source of income for those farmers that they issued cards of arable of agrarian possession from the agrarian cooperative. after that, farmers were surprised with decree of releasing the land through the public institution of land reform for the sake of the public Egyptian association for reclamation and agricultural development in 1976. in 1978, the land delivered for the public institution for projects of construction and agricultural development. then, it was the presidential decree no. 141 of 1981 deleted the ward imposed against the possession allegers of this land. according to the collusion of some employees, the land was delivered on papers for the sake of landlords.

the strange issue was that the cooperatives issued possession cards for the landlords although these cards couldn't be issued for anyone but the land user that were the farmers. those landlords made use of these cards and forgery for receiving loans from the Bank in el Zakazik district that obliged farmers to pay off these loans with its interests although they didn't receive these amounts in order to avoid imprisonment or seizure of their crops and cattle. the exciting issue is that the committee of field following up of the agricultural department of el Sharkeya province prepared the data related to possession in order to sell the lands to farmers although the beneficiaries of the land paid already some installments for the institution to own the land applying for article no. 7, law 69 of 1974. accordingly, the land was received by the ministry of agriculture to the small-scale farmers that fired disputes between farmers and landlords around land possession especially that there were some farmers that paid the full piece of the land for the ministry.
B. law and violence inside the village:

after the inheritors of the possession allegers gained a judicial sentences with evicting farmers from an area estimated with 57 fedens, they implemented these sentences using the worst forms of violence and insulting through the police forces that delivered the land to those landlords. some farmers against whom no judicial sentences were issued but they delivered the lands under the guardian of the police, the group of farmers that refused delivering the land, the police forces arrested, insulted and beat them and raped their women in order to leave the land. some landlords stole the crops cultivated in the delivered land that they prevented farmers to harvest their crops or even giving farmers any compensation. other groups of landlords left farmers to collect their crops while the other group destroyed the crops through either burning or using tractors.

after the landlords delivered the 57 feden forcibly, they filed minutes against farmers and their kids accusing them with stealing the crops and machines in order to terrify the other farmers to leave the plots before issuance of the judicial sentences. the whole accused farmers proved their innocence in these charges using the assistance of LCHR's lawyers. the strange issue is that there are lawsuits between farmers and possession and allegers between some institutions and possession allegers that are under the court deliberation. but those allegers made use of their relations with some policemen to receive the land before issuance of the judicial sentences; on the other hand, the farmers in el Bieda village were surprised from time to time with no accusations filed against them. for example, on 31/10/2003, about one hundred Bulgarians with the assistance of policemen attacked the village threatening inhabitants with weapons if they resisted or even got out their houses that led to injury of three persons that were:
- Attia Ibrahim Sharaf "34 years old"
- Mohamed Abdallah Mosharaf "30 years old"
- Ahmed Ibrahim Aly

before the law implementation, the tenants in el Bieda village faced the same means of oppression that the police arrested and detained them to leave the land. moreover, the police forces arrested the women and threatened them with rape, insulting, beating and detaining in addition to attacking the farmers' houses but those farmers faced the threats and torture strong refusing delivering the land for the inheritors of the landlord. according to reports of LCHR, in Oct 2002, the central security forces attacked the village destroying crops in 157 fedens about which farmers and inheritors of Mohamed el Saady el Tahaweey had judicial disputes for more than twenty years. but the security forces violated the law and evicted the farmers from the rented land using various means of violence committed against those poor farmers represented in insulting, beating and detention of more than one hundred farmers. the tractors of the landlord destroyed the crops "rice and cotton" cultivated in the rented land that caused farmers' losses. the strange thing is that the village is still siege by Bulgarians that terrify families. although the prosecution of el Hussania district imprisoned some farmers for fifteen days for completing the investigation about their attacking against policemen using achieving their duties and released the women and children, the police station didn't implement the release decision but it torture and beat them. the families mentioned that the policemen assisted the landlord because of his relative that worked as a head of security department in one of the provinces in the Upper
Egypt. after the fifteen days, the prosecution released the detained but five of them that were Abdel Rahman Abdel Haq Aly Daroish "25 years old", Ibrahem Mohamed Awad "38 years old", Adel Ibrahem Abdel Rahman "35 years old", Mohamed el Saed Attia "40 years old" and Mohamed Saleh el Saed "35 years old". this scene of attacking organized by the police forces was repeated on the 1st of October resulted in destroying the crops, wasting the land, killing cattle and destroying houses in addition to detention of more than 100 farmer with no concern with the law or farmers' humanity.

**C. el Bieda village today:**

after farmers were evicted from the land by force, they told us that their professions became farmers without lands that is considered as a real catastrophe for them that the land is the source of agriculture and safety. it means that without land they had no home especially that most of those farmers are old that couldn't work with other professions. therefore, their kids work as daily labourers to afford living expenses of their families. the family that comprises one son "daily labourer" obtain 1000 LE a year that make them living in poverty that pushed families to release their kids from education because they couldn't afford the school tuitions. about the sons that were close for marriage, they are obliged to postpone their marriage. about girls, they become heavy burden that families want to get rid of through the first proposal of marriage that means spreading the phenomenon of early marriage and releasing girls from education. the living conditions in el Bieda village become deteriorated because of deceasing expenditures for food, cloth, education and health that impacts negatively the social relationships inside the village accompanied by increasing cases of quarreling between neighbors and robbery. moreover, violence committed against women is increased represented in beating wives in addition to spreading the phenomenon of insulting husbands by wives because of deficiency of financial resources.

**Case sample "uncle Wahdan"**

**Before law implementation:**

Uncle Wahdan is 68 years old. he has a 1- member family that consists of his wife, six kids and their wives and his grandsons. the family lives in one house inherited from the family ancestors for which they pay no rental. before the law, the family owned two rented fedens and 14 kirats. they used to cultivate what they need for food "in winter; 1/4 of the area: barsem for feeding their animals - 2 fedens: wheat & in summer; the whole area: corn". about animal possession, uncle Wahdan loaned four cows and two buffalos from the DACB in addition to their female donkey that they have bred for fifteen years. about the family income before the law implementation, it was about 19280 LE/year earned through selling vegetables, cows, buffalos and goats in addition to the products that they save for eating as wheat, corn, cheese, fats, etc.

The family of Uncle Wahdan have heard about the land law since 1992 through their following up for the discussions of the people assembly in the TV but they paid no attention. in 1995, the inhabitants in the village began to talk about the law revealing their unbelieving of its implementation. in Oct 1997, uncle Wahdan was surprised with the landlords evicting tenants from the land or raising the rental. the landlords
tortured the tenants till they were evicted forcibly. the landlord wasn't patient enough to leave uncle Wahdan harvesting his crops. when uncle Wahdan insisted on harvesting the crops, the police detained him for five days threatening him with imprisonment. moreover, one of uncle Wahdan's sons was arrested also that obliged uncle Wahdan to leave the land. he presented many complaints before the officials but no thing was changed.

After eviction, the living conditions of the family become completely different that the sons are searching for work opportunities in others lands, the opportunity of loaning animals from the bank was lost, the family is obliged to sell their cattle instead of one cow and a donkey to pay of their debt for the bank. the price of the cultivation staff is increased crazily that uncle Wahdan satisfies his needs from the black market. the percentage of cultivating vegetables and beans specialized for sale increases in addition to cultivating wheat for family food. the family depends mainly on the pension of the father estimated with 79 LE/month in addition to 2400 LE/year of the wage of his son working in quarries in Helwan.

The family suffers from economic problems represented in insufficiency of income for satisfying their basic needs; moreover, uncle Wahdan has three daughters in the marriage age for their marriage he has no money. the youth in the village immigrate to Cairo searching for any work opportunity resulted in delaying of marriage. in addition, the wife of uncle Wahdan is so sick whose treatments needs more money especially that the village lacks for existence of hospitals or clinics.

Uncle Wahdan as farmers in the village have sole hope represented in finding work opportunities for their sons or receiving the alternative land applying for the government's promises.

**Case sample: uncle Ayob**

Uncle Ayob has a family that consists of six persons "the wife and five kids". they live in el Bieda village in one-floor house that consists of six rooms satisfied for his sons and their wives and kids. their house is the only one built with concrete and red bricks but the infrastructure supplied to the house is very poor represented in one pipe that supplies them with the polluted underground water.

**Family’s land possession before the law implementation**, they owned two fedens of the reform lands rented secretly from the landlord since 1961. the sons used to cultivate the land for affording their living expenses in addition to working with daily wages sometimes. uncle Ayob made use of loans of DACB for cultivating the land in addition to the role of the agrarian cooperative that provides him with seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and machines. uncle Ayob heard about the law in 1992 through the radio and neighbors. in 1997, the landlord persisted in evicting uncle Ayob from the land refusing the options offered by uncle Ayob as raising the rental coding with the new law. On the other hand, uncle Ayob refused to leave the land until he was imprisoned and tortured many times. when he was released, he found his crop "cotton" was destroyed under the cattle legs so he found no solution but leaving the land to live with his family in hard living conditions.

After eviction, the family's member began to search for work opportunity; therefore,
uncle Ayob cultivates others' lands for receiving half of the crop, but this work wasn't sufficient for satisfying the family basic needs. Therefore, he worked in other lands for receiving daily wage but such work was so hard. About his sons working different professions, Mohamed and Al-Sayed as agrarian labourers, Abyob as concrete carpenter, Reda as volunteer in the army while Mona that learns in the commercial vocational school without work.

These conditions pushed the sons to be financially independents after they used to cooperate in affording living expenses of the whole family. It means that the sixty year father becomes responsible for satisfying the needs of his wife, daughter and son in spite of his old age and deteriorated health conditions. The living conditions of the family are being deteriorated in spite of increasing working hours that pushes the family to decrease their expenses for food and medical treatment especially that the hospital in the village presents no health care. Despite of these trials, uncle Ayob as other farmers couldn't afford the living expenses for his family that the poor farmers couldn't even have the pure drinking water that they depend on the polluted underground water. Moreover, the families suffer from the destructive land as the families called for the canal that was filled for along period. This land becomes a garbage area where rubbish are burnt daily threatening children with fatal diseases because of pollution and insects.

To solve the problems of farmers in these villages, we have to guarantee their returning to their lands, promoting their safe land possession, solving their developmental problems and protecting their rights in public services and humane and adequate life.
THE FIFTH CHAPTER
RESULTS

The center began to issue its report about farmers' problems for six years; these reports express the deteriorated living conditions in the countryside. Those farmers used to enjoy with guaranteed work opportunities in their plots in addition to satisfying their needs of food from the crops that they cultivated and cattle that they bred. Suddenly, they were obliged either to leave the land or pay very high rentals. The law implementation extracts amount estimated with two billion pounds a year "the difference between the rental value before and after the law" from the tenants' rights. About work opportunities, the farmer rents the land with high amount that he couldn't afford; moreover, he may be easily evicted any time that there is no document proves his rights. Therefore, the farmer has no solution but working with daily wage in the fields of agriculture or building that are hard work and seasonable. The law implementation leads to more impoverishment, deterioration of agriculture, increasing violence and violating social, economic and civil rights of small-scale landlords and tenants as follows:

- Appearance of violent disputes around land possession and lands owned by religious endowment institution and land reform institution, houses built of the arable lands, irrigation and borders in addition to appearance of other forms of violence related to poverty as killing and robbery.
- Increasing of land rental to 13 times comparing with the rental before issuance of law 96/1992.
- Violating safe land possession that the landlord could dismiss the tenant from the plot even before harvesting his crop because there is no registered tenancy contracts that leads to more social violence in the countryside.
- Depriving tenants from the credit resources especially that the developing and agricultural credit bank refused to present any credit for tenants. Moreover, the small-scale landlords face many forced procedures as imprisonment if they couldn't pay off their debts to the bank especially that the bank employees abuse the farmers' illiteracy to increase their financial burdens.
- The absence of the registered tenancy contracts that means unsafe land possession leads to appearance of new forms of exploitation farmers.
- Increasing prices of cultivation staff that leads to collapse of incomes of tenants and small-scale landlords.
- Many tenants become without land that pushes them to work in others' land with daily wages with no legal guarantees, social insurance, professional safety, adequate wages, etc.
- The law implementation was accompanied with commitment of violations concerning housing because the majority of farmers used to live in houses attached with their lands.
- Only few percentages of tenants receive compensation for evicting from their lands represented in receiving alternative lands. Moreover, the tenant that received these plots, they face many problems for cultivating the land because of their insufficient financial resources.
- Some of the victims of the law implementation were women that faced many violations. Those women inherited the land from their dead husbands without registering the land as landlords so they couldn't be compensated with
receiving alternative lands. In some provinces in the Upper Egypt, women represent 5% of landlords or tenants. 16% of rural families, women afford their living expenses and 70% of them live in continuous poverty.

- The tenants face these violations without any external support especially that their participation in the rural community becomes absent because of the impacts of the law implementation. moreover, tenants aren't member in the union o the agrarian labourers that the membership of the agrarian labourers is only 10%. this union plays no role for protecting labourers that it only collects subscriptions from big farms and companies working with the agrarian industry. so it is necessary to establish new independent associations for farmers whose membership are free.

- The agricultural associations hider the agricultural development, e.g. the ministry of agriculture with its branches and offices in the different provinces are supposed to play monitoring role over buying and selling seeds and chemical pesticides; on the contrary, every year some agricultural catastrophes are appeared because of spreading of ruin seeds or pesticides. Moreover, the ministry doesn't react fast during the spreading of the problem that increases the farmers' losses.

- Absence of the role of the agrarian guide that is supposed to contribute to developing the countryside. Therefore, we wonder about the role of the governmental agrarian associations towards improving the farmers' conditions? Is it important to establish alternative associations?

- The law implementation contributes to increasing the ratios of the environmental waste resulted mainly in shrinking the person's share of the arable land in the countryside from 0.9 in 2001 to 0.11 in 1988.
THE SIXTH CHAPTER
RECOMMENDATIONS

Solving farmers' problems in the rural Egypt requires alternative studies. It needs believing in rights and role of those farmers to make better future for our country. We have to promote and protect their rights and achieve social and political cooperation between the community categories in addition to re-distribution of wealth, income and participation fairly. These policies have to consider with the following recommendations:

- Monitoring the seeds and pesticides distributed between farmers in addition to the promote reaction to secure the crops in case of infection with pests.
- Obliging the companies' owners with their contracts with farmers regarding buying the crops in addition to giving promote compensations for farmers whose crops are destroyed with the virtue of natural catastrophes.
- Protecting farmers' rights in safe land possession through determining the duration of the tenancy contract "not less than five years" in addition to determining the rental of the arable lands coding with the income of cultivation process "not more than 1000 LE/feden/year.
- Stopping eviction of farmers from the land owned by the state in addition to selling it for the sake of farmers with adequate facilities.
- Taking the necessary guarantees from the investment that buy the state's lands to not evict tenants
- Caring with projects of irrigation and underground water, re-using of sewerage water, cleaning and extending canals and providing the reclaimed land with the irrigating water in order to guarantee the just distribution of water between farmers.
- Not-evicting farmers from their houses in addition to stopping the preservations minutes filed against farmers.
- Deleting bank debts of farmers evicted from their plots, small-scale landlords and youth in the reclaimed lands that couldn't achieve success in their agricultural projects in addition to issuing decrees by the prosecutor general to stop implementing the judicial sentences issued against those farmers.
- Selling the land owned by the different governmental institutions for farmers through long-term installments with interests "not more than 4%".
- Loaning farmers and tenants with annual interest not more than 4%
- Putting timed "not more than ten years" plans and clear budgets for solving housing, health and educational problems of farmers.
- Completing the infrastructure projects "sewerage and drinking water" in the Egyptian countryside.
- Developing the health units in villages and districts through the real monitoring that protect the sick from corruption in addition to providing the employees in these units with adequate salaries.
- Not establishing any factories in the agrarian areas in addition to implementing the scientific means in the industry and getting rid of industrial leftovers in addition to obliging factories to apply the necessary protective procedures against the environmental pollution.

LCHR asks the whole officials to examine the report with more consideration with the mentioned recommendations in order to protect life and health of our families in the
countryside and protecting their rights stipulated by the law, constitution and international covenants of human rights.