

The Political and Legislative Environment of the 2020 Parliamentary Elections

Introduction

Throughout its extended history, Egypt has provided humanity with the oldest legislative and administrative systems as the oldest civilization in the region. On the banks of the Nile arose the oldest government structure in the written history of mankind. Across the ages, the Egyptian civilizations which followed flourished on the principles of governance and administration.

As elections are considered to be the expression of the nation's will and one of the main pillars upon which the ruling systems are based, Egypt is about to enter into a new parliamentary elections cycle (Parliament 2020), with the aim of electing 568 deputies. Half of the candidates will be elected individually (284 deputies) and the other half will be elected by the lists system. In addition, 5% (28 members) will be appointed by the President of the Republic, bringing the total up to 596 members of parliament.¹

As the election of the legislative body and the identification of the electoral system are among the most important decisions for the stability of any democratic system, the choice of the electoral system entails consequences for all the political and economic interactions in the country. Indeed, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states, "Individuals have the right to participate in managing the affairs of their country, directly or through freely elected representatives." As the Egyptian constitution and the Egyptian law stipulate a similar commitment, the Egyptian voter will go to the polls to vote in the House of Representatives elections from the 21st October to 23rd of October 2020.

As such, the main debate around electoral patterns often raises an important question around the ability of the adopted electoral system to accommodate the various active political forces in the political system, and about the suitability of this electoral system itself to the conditions and circumstances that the country is going through.

In light of the above, the report of the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights will discuss the political and legislative environment for the House of Representatives elections 2020 under the following main themes:

The first chapter: the right to participate in managing public affairs

The second chapter: the legislative framework governing the electoral process

The third chapter: the electoral system and its theoretical dilemmas

¹ ipulates the following: The Supreme Elections Authority, Law 46 of the 2014 Egyptian Parliament Elections

Fourth chapter: Empowering Women and Youth

The fifth chapter: the struggle for the seat and the challenges of forming lists

The first chapter: the right to participate in managing public affairs

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states in its Article 21 that every person has the right to participate in the conduct of the public affairs of his country, either directly or through freely chosen representatives. As such, the will of the people is the source of authority of the government, which should be garnered through fair elections that are held periodically with universal and equal suffrage among the electorate through secret balloting or an equivalent procedure that ensures freedom of voting.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights also indicated in Article 3, “The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to ensure the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights set forth in the present Covenant.”

Likewise, in Article (25), the Covenant stipulates that “Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:

- (a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;
- (b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors;
- (c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.”

The second chapter: the legislative framework governing the electoral process

The Egyptian parliamentary elections 2020 are taking place in a legislative environment characterized by legitimacy and represents the collective will of the nation, and it proceeds as follows:

First, the Egyptian Constitution

The Egyptian constitution stipulates in Article (87) of the constitution that citizen participation in public life is a national duty, and every citizen has the right to vote, run for office, and express opinion in referendums. The law regulates the directness of these rights, and exemption from fulfilling this duty may be made in specific cases specified by law. The name of every citizen is in the voter database without his request, whenever the voter eligibility are met, and you are obligated to periodically filter this base in accordance with the law. The state guarantees the

integrity, impartiality and integrity of referendums and elections procedures, and it is prohibited to use public money, government interests, public utilities, places of worship, business sector institutions, associations and civil institutions for political or electoral advertising purposes.

The Egyptian constitution refers in its articles organizing the parliament from Article (101) to Article (138). In chapter five of the constitution on the system of government, article 101 of it came to deal with the functions and tasks of the legislative body, which stipulated that “The House of Representatives is entrusted with legislative authority, and with approving the general policy of the state, the general plan of economic and social development and the state budget. It exercises oversight over the actions of the executive authority. All the foregoing takes place as set out by the Constitution.”

Article 102 specifies the number of council seats are not to be less than four hundred and fifty members, who are elected by direct, secret, general suffrage, provided that women are allocated no less than a quarter of the total number. The article also stipulates that a candidate for membership in the Council must be Egyptian, enjoying his civil and political rights, possessing a certificate of completion of at least basic education, and that his age should not be less than twenty five years of age on the day of candidacy.

As for the division of districts and the electoral system, the constitution did not specify a specific percentage or a specific division, but rather an indication that fair representation of the population and governorates should be taken into account, and it is permissible to adopt the individual or existing electoral system or combine any ratio between them. The President of the Republic may also appoint a number of members in the House of Representatives not exceeding 5%. The law defines how they are nominated. All of this is in the manner stated in Article 102 of the Egyptian Constitution.

The National Elections Commission Decision No. 52 of 2020 inviting voters to the House of Representatives elections:

The Supreme Election Commission has set polling dates for the Egyptian House of Representatives elections abroad, which will take place on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday 21, 22 and 23 October, while they will be held indoors on Saturday and Sunday 24 and 25 next October, provided that the results for the first phase will be announced no later than November 1 2020.

According to the decisions of the National Elections Commission regarding the elections to the House of Representatives 2020, the election process will take place in two phases according to the following dates:

The first stage in the (14) districts of governorates is:

Giza, Fayoum, Beni Suef, Minya, Assiut, New Valley, Sohag, Qena, Luxor, Aswan, Red Sea, Alexandria, Beheira, Matrouh,

The second stage in the departments of (13) governorates is:

Cairo, Qalyubia, Dakahlia, Menoufia, Gharbia, Kafr El Sheikh, Sharkia, Damietta, Port Said, Ismailia, Suez, North Sinai, South Sinai

As for advertising, donations, and the curtailment of political money that play a fundamental role in the background spaces of developing societies, the National Elections Commission decision No. 64 of 2020 - regarding electoral campaigning controls stipulates the following:

- Every candidate for membership in the House of Representatives, whether by individual system or by lists, has the right to prepare and practice electoral propaganda to address the voters to convince them of his electoral program. This can be accomplished by publishing and distributing election campaign materials, placing posters and banners according to the terms and duration specified by the competent administration authority, and using audio, visual, print and electronic media, and other activities, in complete freedom in all ways permitted by law and within the framework of the controls and rules contained in the Constitution, the law and decisions The National Elections Commission in this regard.
- It is prohibited to receive any contributions or cash or in-kind support to spend on the candidate's electoral campaigning from any of: - An Egyptian or foreign legal person, a foreign state or entity, or an international organization, an entity whose capital is contributed by an Egyptian or foreign person or legal person, or any foreign entity whatever Its legal form was a foreign person.
- The National Elections Commission, in accordance with the Law on the Exercise of Political Rights and its amendments, has determined the cases in which a candidate may be disqualified for the House of Representatives elections, and the procedures for eliminating candidates, whether by the individual or the list system. If a candidate has committed a violation of the controls stipulated in the constitution, the law, or the authority's decisions regarding electoral campaigning, the president of the commission must submit a request to the Supreme Administrative Court to remove this candidate's name from the final list to run in the constituency, provided that it includes the facts, evidence and supporting documents that the candidate has committed the violation.

The third chapter: the electoral system and its theoretical dilemmas

The debate over the principle, nature, extent, forms, degrees, and distractions of the election has allowed for the emergence of numerous and contradictory theories and opinions that all fall within the framework of so-called electoral systems. It explains the existence of formulas and procedures that enable the ruled to exercise political power.

In earlier stages of human history, elections were not an ordinary matter because the ruler derived his influence and the legitimacy of his rule from the divine right and from the family. However, the ruling systems in the world have evolved in tandem with the development of the discussion about the just and legitimate basis for those who demand the right to rule and power. From the philosophers of Athens to the philosophers of the European Renaissance, political thought resulted in the role of the constituents in the political role of choosing their rulers. This led to the establishment of a system of checks and balances leading to the establishment of political systems and oversight and legislative bodies governed by the public will, and for which the legislative body always expresses respect for the rights of Man and his individual freedom.

First, the Electoral System: The electoral system works, in its basic concept, by translating the votes cast in elections into the number of seats won by the parties and candidates participating in them. From here it defines technical rules, which are intended to favor the candidates in the election, or as David Farrell notes “the method by which votes are converted into seats in the process of electing politicians to fill certain positions.”²

The forms of electoral systems in force in countries have varied. Countries may differentiate from time to time between a system and a system according to their practical and political requirements. Countries may also decide on the way votes will be calculated (the majority, proportional, or mixed pluralism systems), what is the mathematical formula used to calculate the seats allocated to each winner, the composition of the ballot paper, does the voter vote for one candidate or for a party list, and can he express one option or a group of options?

Likewise, the same applies to electoral districts and the administrative aspects of the electoral process, such as the distribution of polling stations, the nomination of candidates, the registration of voters, the administrative apparatus of the electoral process, etc. However, these issues are of great importance as ignoring them undermines the desired benefits of any electoral system.

In the end, it remains that the design of the electoral system is closely related to the political system and the rules for accessing power. Therefore, we find that studying these systems should not be done in isolation from the institutional and political framework for each state, because the same system does not work in the same way in different countries, and each political system has an environment that is affected and influenced by it.

Second: The difference between the absolute and relative list advantages and disadvantages:

1. The single electoral system:

² زهرة بن علي " دور النظام الانتخابي في إصلاح النظم السياسية: دراسة مقارنة" رسالة دكتوراه، جامعة أبي بكر، الجزائر 2015، ص 71.

This electoral system is based on dividing the country into small constituencies, so that each constituency sends one deputy to the representative body. In the single electoral system the voter selects one of the candidates in the electoral process in his constituency. As such the number of electoral districts is large in the single electoral system, as it would match the number of representatives elected throughout the country.³

Perhaps one of the advantages of this system is that it leads to the development of communication mechanisms between the candidate and the voter who due to the small size of the constituencies. This facilitates familiarity and knowledge of the person and the candidate's background. Indeed, it becomes clear that in the single election system there is only one seat and every voter casts only one vote.

The single electoral system helps in the proliferation of electoral districts and facilitates the maintenance of personal contact between the electorate and its voter. Egypt has adopted the single election system from the 1923 constitution until the 1971 constitution.

However, there is no ideal system. Everything has its advantages and disadvantages, and the individual system has several disadvantages, the most important of which are: It is not based on integrated party programs that offer solutions to general political, economic and social problems that occupy the nation and the people, but the choice of individuals may be limited to kinship and relations. In some cases, the electorate is chosen based on ethnic and cultural reasons, which happens in some governorates, particularly in Upper Egypt, South and North Sinai, as well as the New Valley and Matrouh, in which the election is based on tribal and sectarian grounds and not on the basis of electoral programs. In addition, minorities are not allowed to be represented in electoral districts because the majority who vote will overlook the capabilities of the candidates.

In addition, the same candidate may become a prisoner of his electors in the individual system, which leads to the advancement of private interests over the public interest in the country. Moreover, bribery in order to ensure victory in the election is common in the single electoral system. Indeed, because of the spread of this phenomena in previous parliaments, the MPs deliberately caused riots in Parliament, using buzz words in front of the cameras in order to appear before their supporters, often neglecting the public interest.

2. List electoral system:

The list system is based on the fact that the voter, unlike the previous system referred to, votes on a list that contains a number of candidates who either represent one political party or a group of parties. In this system the electoral districts are relatively large because the list will include a

³ Ibid.

number of candidates for a number of the seats, unlike the individual system, in which one candidate is voted on for one seat.⁴

In the list system, there are a set of questions related to the voter's right regarding the type of voting, in the sense of whether he has the right to vote on parts of the list and not others? In other words, can the voter affect the composition of the list or the order of the candidates. These problems are of three types from the list, which we refer to very briefly.

1. Closed list

The closed list is a fixed list and the voter cannot change the order of the candidates, which means that the voter gives his vote to the entire list with all the candidates equally without making any changes to the list.. This leads to a reduction in the voter's freedom. The essence and truth of the matter is that he does not vote freely and with an independent will, as the electoral process is limited to merely raising the list that has been built and with coordination between political parties unilaterally or collectively, which distorts the entire democratic process.

Some Egyptian parties that intend to enter the parliament elections 2020, including the Egyptian Social Democratic Party, objected to the closed-list election system. They argued that the closed-list election system wastes more than 49 percent of the votes, causes huge constituencies to expand, and needs clear electoral alliances. This reality drives small parties to seek an alliance with other parties for the sake of competitiveness.⁵ However, other parties see it as a good system that guarantees the representation of specific groups in parliament that would not have existed in parliament without the closed list, which would have disturbed the social representation in the legislature.

It is also worth noting that the closed list with preference deals with the absolute defect of the closed list, by allowing the voter to indicate their preferences of different candidates on the list.

As such, closed lists constitute half of the seats in the next Parliament in 2020 for which 4 groups represented by dozens of political and ideological parties and sects are competing. There will be 568 main candidates, with the addition of the reserve seats, the total number of seats jumps to 1136. Accordingly, 50% of the parliament is offered through the individual electoral system, with about 4 Thousands and 6 candidates, including 3 thousand and 128 independents at a rate of 68%. 878 of the candidates are representatives of 36 different parties, of which 6 major parties account for 625 candidates representing 71% of the partisans. Each seat on the list and 14 individually, and with an average of 9 contestants for each seat in the council, levels that far

⁴ أندرو رينولدز وآخرين " أشكال النظم الانتخابية " دليل المؤسسة الدولية للديمقراطية والانتخابات، متاح علي الرابط التالي <https://www.idea.int/>

⁵ BBC " انتخابات مجلس النواب " متاح علي الرابط التالي <https://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast-54452226>

exceed the previous parliaments throughout the last half century⁶.The most dangerous thing is that 68 parties representing 65% of the square were absent from the scene, and 23 of the participants decreased their individual presence in 253 candidates.

The proportional list:

The proportional list system is based on the idea that each political party should submit a list of candidates in each of the multi-representative constituencies. Voters vote for the parties, with each political party winning a share of constituency seats proportional to its share of the electorate. Candidates on the party lists will win the election, according to their hierarchical order on the list. A number of issues must be taken into consideration to determine how the proportional list system works, the approved system may require passing a specific threshold in order to obtain representation in the elected legislative body, in some countries a high percentage of up to 10% is set, which results in the exclusion of small parties, while a low percentage of 1.5% may allow them, as is the case in some countries.

National Dialogue:

A number of political parties at the headquarters of the Nation's future party, before amending the election law, conducted a "national dialogue" concerning the laws organizing the elections. The heads of the parties discussed (Nation's future party, The Wafd, The Assembly, Reform and Development, Justice, The Egyptian Democracy, Al-Ghad, The Republican People, The Conservatives, The Conference), Where Wafd party presented its vision for the elections with a percentage of 75% in the closed list and 25% by the individual system, and Justice Party also settled on the proportional list: two-thirds of a list and the third is individual, while the Reform and Development Party proposed that the party has a preliminary agreement that the elections of "senates and representatives" will take place, With the open and not closed proportional list at the level of the Republic. without any individual seats, the competition will shift in favor of businessmen and influential people who are able to decide positions.

Opinions were divided and we can summarize it into two main directions:

An opinion that suggests : an open list proportional system to ensure that 49% of the number of votes are not wasted.

⁶جريدة صوت الأمة " الأسئلة المسكوت عنها" متاح علي الرابط التالي

<http://www.soutalomma.com/Article/943523/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B3%D8%A6%D9%84%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D9%83%D9%88%D8%AA-%D8%B9%D9%86%D9%87%D8%A7-%D8%A8%D8%B4%D8%A3%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%85%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B7%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%A3%D8%AC%D9%84-%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%B1-%D9%87%D9%84>

Another opinion that suggest: a closed list system to ensure the representation of the different social groups and segments in the society.

Fourth Theme: Empowering Women and Youth: Women in Parliament 2020:

In recent decades, there has been a clear increase in the frequency of calls for empowering women and making room for their participation in public life as a primary actor, and on top of these calls is the issue of women's political participation in Egypt and the opportunities available to them to access all decision-making positions, whether at the state level or in civil society organizations.

Despite the importance role of women, they were not allowed to participate in political life in Egypt until recently and after the efforts done by the women's movements since 1925, and the first time they were allowed to participate in political life and to run for parliament elections was in 1957, and the rate of women's participation in Parliament was 6.0% and increased to 5% in 1962⁷.

And due to the weak representation of women in the Egyptian parliament, where the percentage of women in the 2005 parliament was only 4 women out of 127 candidates⁸, and in conjunction with the global trend calling for the political, economic and social empowerment of women as partners in life and in building states, the Egyptian state tended to allocate what was known as The "quota" to force political parties to push for female candidates on the electoral lists, which was a step forward to enhancing the role of women in political life.

A quota was allocated to women in 1979 by adding 30 seats for women as a minimum. Thus, the representation of women reached 8%. Despite the low percentage, it was a successful experience and women felt the importance of their role. That's why the percentage of women in the current Egyptian parliament increased to reach 25% after the Egyptian state made a great effort to improve the status of women and to consolidate the principle of equal opportunities and equality, The 2014 constitution was also a push forward, as it included articles that support women in various fields. The percentage of women representation reached from 2% in 2013 to 15% In 2018, and 25% in 2019, according to the constitutional amendments in the same year⁹.

⁷الهيئة العامة للاستعلامات " المرأة في السلطة التشريعية" متاح علي الموقع الإلكتروني للهيئة:

<https://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/116462/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%A3%D8%A9-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%B7%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B4%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B9%D9%8A%D8%A9?lang=ar>

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

The national list that competed in all electoral districts and with the largest number of candidates included wives of the army martyrs, who were killed in terrorist attacks in Egypt during the recent years, such as; Eman Abdel kader, the district of the Cairo, south and central delta, and she is the widow of the martyr Adel Abdel Hamid Eid Hassan, who was martyred in the Bir Lahfan area. Also the list included Rehab abdelghani the wife of the martyr "Ahmed shahata " who was killed on 25 february 2020 in Karam al kawdes, northern sinai. adding the wives of the armed forces's martyrs to the national list was widely criticized, an was perceived meaningless in terms of democracy, it was further said that it's our duty to honor the martyrs but to place their wives in the legislative bodies that legislates the nation's laws offenes the electoral process, and emptene it of its meaning.

The Youth:

youth represent the largest segment of Egypt's population¹⁰, reaching 60% of the total population, and the state strongly relies on them in building the future of the state. The presence of youth in the society increases the capabilities of the society, but it also raises some problems, as when youth make up the largest proportion in society it results in an unstable political situation, driven By their well in changing their societies, as youth is considered the period in which a person can give himself completely to a political purpose, ideological principle, or desired ideal, in this world or the hereafter... In the absence of political channels, the crisis exacerbates, especially if it is accompanied by high rates of Unemployment¹¹.

The recent circumstances and conditions in Egypt produced a state of political instability. Youth formed the backbone of this situation, which prompted the Egyptian state to give utmost importance to the issue of empowering youth and placing them in leadership positions within state institutions and society.

In order to avoid the mistakes of the past, practical steps have emerged in integrating youth into various executive institutions, as the Prime Minister issued Decree No. 1592 of 2014 authorizing ministers to choose their assistants, as well as Resolution No. (93) of 2015 appointing 4 assistants for each minister, in each agency Separately, assistants were appointed for urban planning, urban communities and facilities, and Prime Minister Dr. Mostafa Madbouly was not satisfied with the decision of his assistants only, but also issued a ministerial decree appointing

¹⁰ *ibid*

¹¹ جمال أبو الحسن " الديمغرافيا القاتلة في الشرق الأوسط " متاح علي الرابط التالي: <https://daqaq.net/%d8%b9%d9%86-%d8%a7%d9%84%d8%af%d9%8a%d9%85%d9%88%d8%ba%d8%b1%d8%a7%d9%81%d9%8a%d8%a7-%d8%a7%d9%84%d9%82%d8%a7%d8%aa%d9%84%d8%a9-%d9%81%d9%8a-88%9%d8%a7%d9%84%d8%b4%d8%b1%d9%82-%d8%a7%d9%84%d8%a3%d>

youth engineering assistants to heads of new cities' agencies for a year, and then many ministries proceeded to appoint youth assistants to ministers¹².

Likewise, in appointing governors, which included 39 new governors and a deputy governors, 60% of them were youth, 16 of them were appointed as governors and 23 as deputies, and the number of youth came to 25, including two governors, and 23 deputy governors¹³.

Not to mention the youth conferences that President Al-Sisi himself attends, as well as the presidential program to train youth and qualify them for leadership positions. President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi launched, on 9/13/2015, the "Presidential Program for Youth Leadership Qualification" with the aim of creating a strong and rich base of youth competencies to be qualified for political and administrative work. This is in addition to the African Youth Forum, the Arab African Youth Forum, and the World Youth Forum. The President also issued Republican Decree No. 434 of 2017 to establish the National Academy for Training and Rehabilitation of Youth, which aims to achieve the goals of human development for youth in all sectors of the state and upgrade their capabilities and skills.

The 2020 Egyptian Parliamentary elections takes place in a context of youth empowerment, as recent amendments in the Law Regulating the Exercise of Political Rights No. 45 of 2014, Parliament Law No. 46 of 2014, and Law No. 198 of 2017 Concerning the National Elections Commission, necessitated that for any list with 100 seats to be considered it has to include the following: nine Christian candidates, six workers and peasants 'candidates, six youth candidates, three persons with disabilities candidates, three Egyptian candidates living abroad, at least 50 women must be among those possessing these characteristics¹⁴.

And the National List for Egypt, which consists of 12 political parties, has allocated 26 seats in the list to be from the "Coordination of Party's youth leaders and Politicians" (CPYP), In addition to the latter winning 5 seats in the Senate, to increase the total representative

¹² جريدة الأهرام الرسمية بتاريخ 2015/3/8، متاح علي الرابط التالي: <http://gate.ahram.org.eg/News/606532.aspx>

¹³ قرارات مجلس الوزراء المصري بتاريخ 2019/2/27، متاح علي الرابط التالي:

<https://cabinet.gov.eg/Arabic/MediaCenter/CabinetNews/Pages/%D9%85%D8%A4%D8%AA%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%B5%D8%AD%D9%81%D9%8A-%D9%84%D8%B1%D8%A6%D9%8A%D8%B3-%D9%85%D8%AC%D9%84%D8%B3-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B2%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D8%B9%D9%86-%D8%AA%D8%B9%D9%8A%D9%8A%D9%86-%D9%85%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%81%D8%B8%D9%8A%D9%86-%D9%88%D9%86%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D8%AC%D8%AF%D8%AF.aspx>

¹⁴ الهيئة العامة للاستعلامات " المرأة في السلطة التشريعية " متاح علي الموقع الإلكتروني للهيئة:

<https://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/116462/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%A3%D8%A9-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%B7%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B4%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B9%D9%8A%D8%A9?lang=ar>

representation of the CPYP to 31 seats in Parliament¹⁵, which raises many questions about its nature , as the coordination was established recently, and did not own a headquarter until 2020, and held a lot of seminars and conferences, and despite all of this, the coordination had succeeded in winning 5 seats in the Senate, which raises some questions concerning its legal basis. The coordination actually began with a group of youth who participated in youth forums, and later a group of youth parties joined it, to call themselves the (CPYP). There are also lots of questions about the support they get from various governmental institutions and agencies.

Socialist Youth Organization:

When we think of the (CPYP), the first thing that pops up to our minds is the "Socialist Youth Organization" in (1964), which was a real organization from the base to the summit but affiliated with the Socialist Union, although its formation was almost independent. The organization was back then affiliated with the secretary of the socialist union, Ali Sabri.

The Socialist Youth Organization provided the Egyptian society with a new generation of leaders during the sixties and seventies of the twentieth century. This generation revived vitality in mass organizations, renewed political life, provided the country with a new leadership elite and stood up in response to the policies of 1952 revolution. Some of those leaders are still actively influencing the political life in Egypt¹⁶.

The fifth theme: The struggle for the seat and the challenges of forming lists:

Since the call to the 2020 parliamentary elections, a fierce battle was waged in conjunction with this announcement within the political parties themselves, and between the political parties that wrestled over the number of seats they represented on the closed list.

The Electoral District Law of the House of Representatives stipulates that the republic is divided into 143 electoral districts devoted to the single system elections, and 4 electoral districts devoted to the list system election, in which 4 lists compete, and the National List for Egypt competes in the four constituencies, which includes 12 political parties They are "Nation's future party, the Wafd Party, the Homeland Protectors Party, the Modern Egypt Party, the Egyptian Democratic Party, the Republican People's Party, Reform and Development, Al-Tagammu ', Will

¹⁵ تنسيقية شباب الأحزاب والسياسيين، الموقع الرسمي، متاح على الرابط التالي: https://cpyp.net/?fbclid=IwAR03j70rT4O1gscrrrT-5xZUQM1P_8ES6IC0HQogGsifuraUrzyLxdMsfWo

¹⁶ عبد الغفار شاکر " منظمة الشباب الاشتراكي: تجربة مصرية في إعداد القيادات 1963 – 1976 " مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، بيروت، 2005، ص1_10

of a Generation, the Egyptian Freedom Party, Al-Adl, and the Conference", in addition to the CYPY.

This list, for which the "Nation's future party" is the main core of it, is competing with the biggest share in the distribution of shares within it, which has captured 70% of the seats in the Senate, competing with the list of the Independents Alliance, which It includes some public figures and the New Independents Party. This competition is confined to Cairo, South and Central Delta constituencies. And the National List competes for 100 seats.

Number of parties participating in the electoral process:

More than 36 political parties will participate in the upcoming elections to the House of Representatives, competing in 4 districts at the list level and for 284 seats for the individual.

The National List competes with the "Sons of Egypt" list for 42 seats in the East Delta district. The "National List" also faces the "Call of Egypt" list in the remaining two constituencies, with 42 seats in the West Delta and 100 seats in the Upper Egypt district.

It seems clear to the eye that the national list that competed in all circles, in addition to pushing many candidates for individual seats, which includes in its ranks a group of parties supporting and opposing the current political system, and from which it was not easy to form the list dominated by the Future of the Nation party close to The political power in the country, a matter that sparked a wave of internal disputes between the parties and their share in the list, and within the parties themselves over the criteria for joining and nominating their members on that list.

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It seems very clear that the national list which competes in all circles, and which pushed many candidates for individual seats, and included a number of pro and anti government parties, and thus it was not easy for this list to be dominated by the Nation's future party, which is considered a pro government part and very close to state elites. This was a matter that sparked a wave of internal disputes between the parties and their share in the list, and within the parties themselves over the criteria for joining and nominating their members on that list.

The Wafdist crisis was a prominent example that reflects a severe partisan crisis threatening internal cohesion due to the nomination of its members on the national list, as the Wafd Party recently witnessed sharp disagreements between members of the supreme committee of the party and the party president, following Wafad's share issue in the national list for the House of Representatives elections, this is in addition to the problem of the party president's daughter himself. Which was among those pushed by the party at the top of the national list.

In the wake of this dispute, the Supreme committee announced, for its part, that the party leader, Counselor, Bahaa Abu Shaqah, is practicing an illegitimate decision that goes against the party rules, and thus he will be cut off from the party. Furthermore the supreme body announced that the party will withdraw from the national list¹⁷.

The problem with Wafd is that the party knew that it would only be represented by a limited number of candidates, as the Nation's future party has suggested to included 13 women in the name of Al Wafad, of whom 8 were from the Nation's future party itself but would run in the elections in the name of Al Wafad, and six men, only two of them are from Al Wafad and four from Nation's future party¹⁸.

Besides the crisis of Al Wafad's share in the national list, there is another issue that is more severe, which is the issue of Dr. Amira Abu Shaqqa, the daughter of Counselor Baha Abu Shaqqa, head of the Wafd Party, where he faced accusations of inheritance, courtesies, and upholding private and personal interests (Abu Shaqqa's son is the legal advisor to the President of the Republic) on the interest of the party and the national interest. Where Dr. Amira was on the national list despite her very limited political activity compared to others who were much more qualified than her, among them is "Raef Tamraz". Furthermore, the names that were added to the list were not discussed in the meetings of the supreme committee¹⁹.

The party and Abu Shaqah issued 30 statements in response to these criticisms within 48 hours from its supporters, representatives among the senators and candidates on the list. It included

¹⁷ جريدة الوطن " انسحاب الوفد من القائمة " متاح علي الرابط التالي: [4986400/https://www.elwatannews.com/news/details](https://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/4986400)

¹⁸ جريدة العرب "التحالفات الانتخابية وخلافات الوفد" متاح علي الرابط التالي:
<https://alarab.news/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%AC%D8%B1-%D8%AE%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AE%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D9%81%D8%AF-%D8%A3%D9%82%D8%AF%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A8-9%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A>

¹⁹ جريدة المصري اليوم "أزمة الوفد بوضع ابنة أبو شقة بالقائمة المرشحة لانتخابات النواب" متاح علي الرابط التالي:
[2032525/https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details](https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/2032525)

support to Abu Shaqah in making the decisions he deems appropriate for the party, whether from separating opponents or nominating whom he deems suitable for seats in Parliament.

This crisis is still present, after the Administrative Court rejected the appeal decision, despite the al wafad's participation on the national list with its candidates²⁰.

In general, it can be said that these manifestations carry a deviation from the correct democratic path, which could deprive Egypt of the existence of real competition in its parliaments, which is what the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights warns of, to avoid a disruption that may occur as a result of those practices that threaten to empty the Democratic process of its true meanings and contents. Also to avoid the outbreak of what is known as a "legitimacy crisis" for the next parliament, due to the receding of its seats, which leads to a decrease in popular support, which leads to a gap and a vacuum between the elected institutions and the citizens, which may result in protests and cause instability in the Egyptian society.

²⁰ جريدة الرئيس " غضب الوافدين وابنة أبو شقة " متاح علي الرابط التالي: <https://www.alraeesnews.com> 69489