



# Elections in Egypt: Key Challenges for Credible and Competitive Elections

International Foundation for Electoral Systems

1850 K Street, NW | Fifth Floor | Washington, DC 20006 | [www.IFES.org](http://www.IFES.org)

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The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) is the world’s leading election assistance and democracy promotion NGO. IFES promotes democratic stability by providing technical assistance and applying field-based research to the electoral cycle worldwide to enhance citizen participation and strengthen civil societies, governance and transparency. We bring the requisite knowledge and tools to meet a full spectrum of electoral challenges, whether in emerging, transitional, or consolidating democracies; in the case of unanticipated transfers of political power; failed states; active conflict zones, and; post-disaster settings. Since our founding in 1987, we have worked in more than 112 countries.

IFES has played a key role in developing a rapid-appraisal methodology to perform electoral processes diagnostic assessments and election mapping exercises. Such tools present our donors with necessary benchmarks to identify and prioritize needs, craft technical election assistance that is appropriate and results-focused, and leverage and coordinate their support while providing electoral stakeholders with publicly accessible, technically sound, politically neutral guidance on specific electoral reforms. To date, IFES has applied this methodology to over 70 countries globally.

## Background

As the situation in Egypt continues to evolve on a day-by-day basis, Egyptian authorities acknowledge they must address important issues for reform. It is becoming obvious that elections will play a key role in political developments in Egypt over the next several months. Although President Mubarak has begun the process of appointing a new government and pledged to initiate constitutional reform before stepping down from the presidency, it remains to be seen what response will be forthcoming from the protestors, the opposition parties, opposition figures, and other influential groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood.

In calls for Egyptian elections to be credible and competitive, the U.S. Government and European institutions have indicated that the international community is willing to support democratic elections in Egypt. Indeed, U.S. Secretary of State Clinton stated, ‘We want to see free and fair elections and we expect that this will be one of the outcomes of what is going on...an orderly, peaceful transition to real democracy, not faux democracy, like the elections we saw in Iran two years ago.’<sup>1</sup> However, it is still unclear the extent to which Egyptian authorities are willing to accept international engagement in the electoral process.

While there has been a wealth of discussion about political developments in Egypt and the political fate of President Mubarak, the National Democratic Party (NDP), and the opposition, there has been little focus yet on the key issues that may emerge in relation to the conduct of these next elections. In this briefing paper, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), which has worked in Egypt since 2005, provides a preliminary overview of these issues and an assessment of the electoral framework in Egypt, with particular focus on presidential elections. IFES recognizes that credible transitional elections can take place in countries that have flawed electoral frameworks if there is the political will and public support for elections to succeed. The question remains whether this will be the case in Egypt in 2011.

## Forthcoming Elections in Egypt

### *Timetable*

The following table depicts scheduled (and recent) elections for Egypt:

	NEXT SCHEDULED	MOST RECENT
PRESIDENTIAL	September 2011	September 2005
LOCAL COUNCIL	2012	2008
SHURA COUNCIL	2013	June 2010
PEOPLE’S ASSEMBLY	2015	November/December 2010

In addition, referendums to approve amendments to the Constitution were held in 2005 and 2007. A further referendum will be needed to approve any constitutional amendments before the 2011 presidential election.

<sup>1</sup> Los Angeles Times, February 4, 2010, “Clinton: Egypt must Transition to Democracy.” [http://www.latimes.com/news/la-fgw-egypt-clinton-20110131,0,552916.story?track=rss&utm\\_source=feedburner&utm\\_medium=feed&utm\\_campaign=Feed%3A+latimes%2Fmostviewed+%28L.A.+Times+-+Most+Viewed+Stories%29](http://www.latimes.com/news/la-fgw-egypt-clinton-20110131,0,552916.story?track=rss&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+latimes%2Fmostviewed+%28L.A.+Times+-+Most+Viewed+Stories%29)

### ***Presidential elections***

The President serves a six-year term of office. Currently, there are no limitations on the number of presidential terms a candidate can serve.

Constitutional amendments in 2005 introduced contested presidential elections to Egypt. Further amendments setting additional requirements for presidential candidates were passed by referendum in 2007:

- An independent candidate or a candidate from a party that does not have a seat in Parliament must have the support of at least 250 elected members of the People's Assembly, the Shura Council and municipal councils, including at least 65 members of the People's Assembly, 25 members of the Shura Council, and 10 members of every local council in at least 14 governorates.
- Alternatively, for presidential elections held before May 2017, a party that has won at least one seat in the People's Assembly or the Shura Council, in the most recent elections, may nominate as a presidential candidate a person who has been a member of its board for at least one year. (After 2017, a party will have to be at least five years old and will have to win at least 3% of the seats in both the People's Assembly and the Shura Council).

The first requirement makes it highly unlikely that there could ever be an independent presidential candidate or a candidate from a non-parliamentary party. The second requirement covers seven parties<sup>2</sup> that won seats in the People's Assembly and one additional party that won a seat in the Shura Council in the mid-term 2010 elections.

In his speech on 1 February, President Mubarak announced that he would propose constitutional amendments 'concerning the conditions on running for the presidency,' including setting a limitation on the number of terms a president may serve. No further details have been revealed. The procedure for amending the Constitution is outlined below.

### ***Presidential succession***

Egypt's Constitution has the following provisions for presidential succession between elections:

- If the President resigns, dies or is permanently disabled, the Speaker of the People's Assembly (or if the Assembly has been dissolved, the President of the Supreme Constitutional Court) becomes President temporarily. A presidential election must then be held within 60 days. The temporary President may not be a candidate in that election.
- If the President is unable to carry out his functions due to a 'temporary obstacle,' he may delegate his powers to the Vice President (or to the Prime Minister if there is no Vice President). It appears that the President is the sole judge of whether a temporary obstacle exists.

In both these cases, the temporary president does not have the power to propose amendments to the Constitution, dissolve the People's Assembly or the Shura Council, or dismiss the Cabinet.

There is much debate about the possibility of holding elections within 60 days if there is a vacancy in the presidency. However, there are no clear powers in the Constitution to delay a presidential election beyond its scheduled occurrence. It is also worth noting that the State of Emergency Law does not contain provisions to allow for postponement of a presidential election.

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<sup>2</sup> The seven parties are: National Democratic Party, New Wafd Party, Tagammu, Al-Geel, Al-Ghad, Democratic Peace Party, Social Justice Party.

**Parliamentary elections**

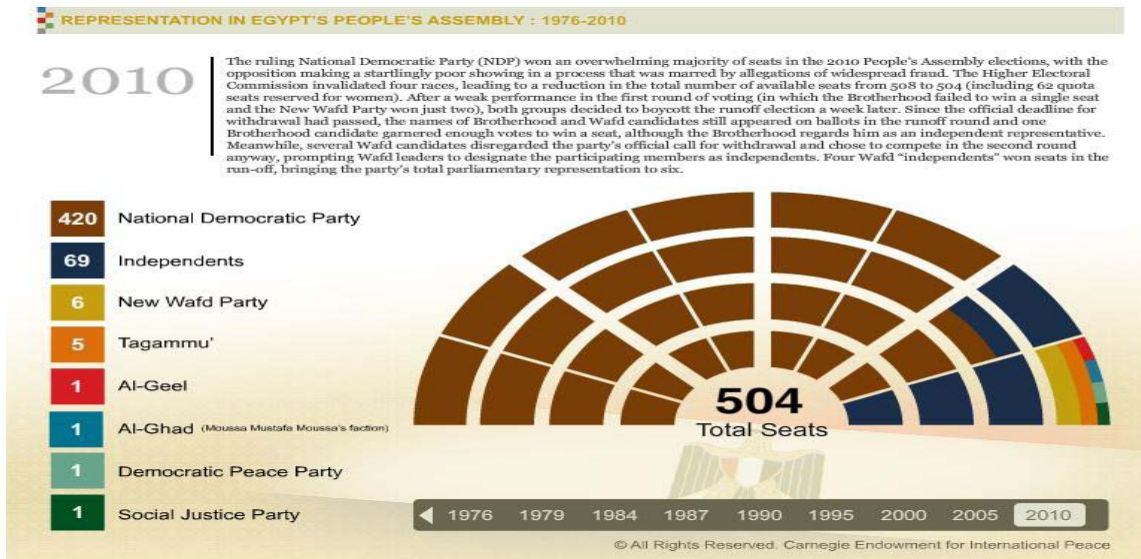
*People’s Assembly*

Members of the People’s Assembly (PA) are elected for five-year terms. There are 518 seats in the PA, including 508 elected members and 10 members appointed by the President. The number of elected members includes a quota of 64 seats to be filled by women.

People’s Assembly elections were last held in November and December 2010. Initial balloting took place on 28 November, and run-off balloting took place on 5 December. These elections were widely viewed as deeply flawed within Egypt. Amaal Othman, the head of the Egyptian parliament’s Constitutional and Legislative Affairs Committee, has been reported as stating that the Committee ‘has referred 1527 appeals challenging the parliamentary election results to the Court,’ affecting the membership of 486 MPs.<sup>3</sup> It was also reported that administrative courts have nullified the elections in a number of constituencies, although it is not known when new elections will be held in those seats. Whatever the results of these appeals may be, there will continue to be serious questions about the legitimacy of the People’s Assembly elected in 2010, even if no MP’s membership is declared invalid by an Assembly resolution. It is therefore possible that a new President elected in September 2011 may wish to dissolve the Assembly in order that new elections may be held that are regarded as having more integrity than those in 2010.<sup>4</sup>

The President has the power to dissolve the assembly if deemed necessary. Should the Assembly be dissolved over a certain matter, the new Assembly cannot be dissolved for the same reason. The decision to dissolve the Parliament must include a call for elections within 60 days of the day of issuing the dissolution.

**Figure 1 – Representation in Egypt’s People’s Assembly in 2010 parliamentary elections<sup>5</sup>**



<sup>3</sup> ‘Egypt’s parliament admits 90% of MP memberships may be invalid’, *Al Masry Al Youm*, January 22, 2011, [www.almasryalyoum.com/en/news/egypts-parliament-admits-90-mp-memberships-may-be-invalid](http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/news/egypts-parliament-admits-90-mp-memberships-may-be-invalid), accessed February 3, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> ‘The result of the investigation and the decision reached by the Court shall be submitted to the Assembly to decide upon the validity of the contestation within sixty days from the date of submission of the result of the investigation to the Assembly. The membership will not be deemed invalid except by a decision taken by a majority of two-thirds of the Assembly members.’ (Article 93 of the Egyptian Constitution)

<sup>5</sup> <http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2010/09/10/egypt%e2%80%99s-elections-primer>

### *Shura Council*

The Shura Council is the upper house of the Egyptian bicameral Parliament. It was created in 1980 through a constitutional amendment. Two-thirds of the members of the Shura Council are elected and one-third are appointed by the President. Once elected, members of the Shura Council serve for six years, and half the members are elected or appointed every three years. The Council's legislative powers are limited. On most matters of legislations, the People's Assembly retains the last word.

The most recent Shura Council elections were held in June 2010. The observation reports of The Egyptian Association for Supporting The Democratic Development (EASD) on the 2010 Shura Council elections mentioned various violations such as non-secret voting, unsealed ballot boxes, improper use of public resources and facilities, and the use of religious slogans in violation of the Constitution and applicable laws.<sup>6</sup>

### ***Amending the Constitution***

Article 189 of the Constitution stipulates the following procedural steps for amending the Constitution:

- An amendment may be requested by the President or by one-third of the members of the People's Assembly, accompanied by the reasons justifying the amendment.
- The Assembly then discusses and votes on the proposed amendment in principle.
- If a majority of the members of the Assembly rejects the amendment, no amendment to that article of the Constitution may be requested for the next 12 months.
- If a majority of the Assembly approves the amendment in principle, the proposal is considered again in detail two months later.
- If the proposed amendment is then approved by two-thirds of the members of the Assembly, it must be referred to a referendum.
- An amendment that is approved by the voters comes into effect from the day the official results of the referendum are announced.

The Constitution does not specify a timeframe in which the referendum must be held after the Assembly finally votes to approve a proposal. The constitutional referendum in March 2007 was held one week after the final Assembly vote.

The minimum time for holding a constitutional referendum from introduction in parliament to a vote by the people appears to be about ten weeks based on the chronologies of multiple referenda over the last 20 years.

It is worth noting that the current members of the Assembly, many of whose own legitimacy is still in question due to pending challenges which potentially affect their membership (see section on the People's Assembly), will play a central role in approving the precise wording of any amendment to the Constitution to be put to the voters, including any constitutional changes to be made before the 2011 presidential election. Although it is not specified in the Constitution, it seems that the Assembly could decide to try to increase perceptions of the legitimacy of the legal framework by establishing a consultative mechanism to allow input on the proposed amendments from constitutional experts, parties not represented in the Assembly, and civil society, even though this could take additional time.

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<sup>6</sup> The Egyptian Association for Supporting The Democratic Development (EASD), *Final Report : Observing Events of the Election Campaign for Shoura Council Mid-Term Elections June-2010 and The Shura Council Reelection (2010)*.

## Electoral Management

Egypt has different election management structures for presidential elections on the one hand, and for parliamentary elections and referendums on the other:

- Presidential elections are governed by the Constitution and Law No. 174 for 2005 On Regulating the Presidential Elections which provides that these elections will be held under the supervision of the 10-member independent Presidential Elections Commission (PEC), chaired by the head of the Supreme Constitutional Court. The other members are four senior judges and five impartial public figures, three of whom are nominated by the People's Assembly and two by the Shura Council. The Constitution specifically provides that the PEC's decisions are final and are not subject to judicial review.
- Due to a constitutional amendment from 2007, other elections and referendums are held under the supervision of the independent High Elections Commission (HEC) whose detailed mandate is set by Law 73 for 1956 On Exercising of Political Rights. The HEC is chaired by the Head of the Cairo Court of Appeals and includes three other serving judges. The seven other members are chosen by the People's Assembly and the Shura Council and include three former judges and four public figures.

The Ministry of Interior carries out the major operational tasks for all elections and referendums, theoretically under the supervision of the PEC or the HEC as the case may be. However the ability of the PEC and HEC to carry out their supervisory responsibilities is severely limited by their lack of expertise and executive capacity. The role of the Ministry in elections does little to boost public confidence in the integrity of the process – not least because it also houses the security forces and the police, neither of which enjoys wide public support.

The PEC and HEC appoint committees at various levels to conduct elections and referendums. It is likely that some of the violations and irregularities that occurred during the 2010 Shura Council elections (e.g. non-secret voting, unsealed ballot boxes, improper use of public resources and facilities, and the use of religious slogans in violation of the Constitution and applicable laws<sup>7</sup>) and the 2010 Assembly elections (e.g. voter intimidation, vote buying, ballot stuffing, failure to identify voters, and denial of access to polling stations<sup>8</sup>) were the result of inadequate training of committee members. The EASD report on the PA elections also identified a number of logistical problems at polling stations, such as lack of transparent ballot boxes, and no supplies of the indelible ink mandated by Article 29/Law 73 which is to be used during elections and referendum to prevent double voting.

Before the 2000 PA elections, the Constitutional Court ruled that Article 88 of the Constitution required the presence of a judge at each ballot box. This was implemented for the 2000 and 2005 PA elections and was regarded as reducing fraud at those elections.<sup>9</sup> Because of logistical difficulties, the amendments to the Constitution approved in 2007 included removing the requirement for a judicial presence at each ballot box.

## Suffrage

Egyptian citizens age 18 and over are eligible to register to vote in public elections and referenda. Egyptian citizens who cannot vote include members of the military, the police force, prisoners, and “those with mental diseases who are detained.” In 2005, approximately 32 million voters were registered to vote, while 10 million eligible

<sup>7</sup> The Egyptian Association for Supporting Democratic Development (EASD), *Final Report : Observing Events of the Election Campaign for Shura Council Mid-Term Elections June-2010 and The Shura Council Reelection* (2010).

<sup>8</sup> The Egyptian Association for Supporting Democratic Development (EASD), *Report on the End of Parliamentary Election Voting and Counting Proceedings* (2010).

<sup>9</sup> Democracy Reporting International (DRI), *Assessment of the Electoral Framework, Final Report: The Arab Republic of Egypt* (2007), p. 27.

voters (or 25%) remained unregistered.<sup>10</sup> However, voter turnout for the 2005 elections was extremely low, with only 23% of registered voters taking part in the presidential election and just over 28% for the PA elections. The government estimated turnout in the 2010 PA elections at 25%, although observers from the Egyptian Association for the Support of Democracy estimated turnout at 10-15%.<sup>11</sup>

Voter turnout in recent constitutional referendums has also been very low. Official turnout for the 2005 referendum was 54%, although another estimate put turnout at 3-5%. Official turnout at the 2007 referendum was 27%, with 76% of those who voted approving the amendments.<sup>12</sup>

By law, non-voters can be fined, although this is not enforced. A massive 63% of the respondents in a 2009 Al Ahram Center survey said they did not have the voter's card normally needed to vote, with more than half of those saying they were not interested in the electoral process.<sup>13</sup> The most common reason for voter apathy, cited by 35% of those who had not voted at an election from 2005 to 2008, was 'elections useless/disinterest/distrust.'

Women participate at a much lower rate than men. The ACPSS survey showed that only 21% of women said they voted in the 2005 PA elections compared to 49% of men, and only 13% of women voted in that year's presidential election compared to 40% of men.<sup>14</sup>

## Voter Registration

Law 73 for 1956 On Exercising Political Rights and its executive regulations detail the methodology and responsibility for registering voters.

Egypt has adopted a permanent voter registration system, which is administered by the Ministry of the Interior (Mol). Citizens born after 1982 are added automatically to the voters lists. The registers are updated annually over a three month period, normally starting from 1 November and proceeding through 31 January of the following year, followed by a challenge and appeal period. However, because the PA elections were held in November and December 2010, the voter registration period is currently scheduled to run through 8 March 2011. During the update period, eligible voters must go to the nearest police station to register their names in voters lists or to correct their details. The voters lists are final once the call for an election or referendum has been issued.

A registered voter must go to a police station to obtain his or her voter's card; this can be done at any time during the year. Voters should present their voter's card along with their Identity Card on Election Day.

During a presidential election, voters present at a city, town or village other than that where their name is registered may cast their vote at any polling station where they are present, provided that they produce proof of identity to the head of the election committee. This law does not state what proof of identity is required for a voter who votes in a presidential election at the polling station where s/he is registered. The PEC sets the rules and procedure to be adopted in this regard.

On casting their votes for a referendum or a national election other than a presidential election, voters are required to present their voting card to the station's committee, and to identify themselves to the committee by

<sup>10</sup> Democracy Reporting International (DRI), *Assessment of the Electoral Framework, Final Report: The Arab Republic of Egypt* (2007), p. 31.

<sup>11</sup> 'Egyptian Observers track the conduct of parliamentary elections', [www.ndi.org/print/16856](http://www.ndi.org/print/16856), accessed January 5, 2011.

<sup>12</sup> Democracy Reporting International (DRI), *Assessment of the Electoral Framework, Final Report: The Arab Republic of Egypt* (2007), pp. 11, 15.

<sup>13</sup> Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies (ACPSS), *Survey Results of Citizens' Attitudes to Political Participation* (2009), p.13.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

any means. Those who have lost their voting cards are allowed to cast their votes as long as their names are on the electoral lists of the polling station.

The current voter registration system has a number of problems which have been cited by domestic observers. These include, but are not limited to, issues such as: registration in multiple constituencies; voter lists which include the deceased, criminals and members of the military and police force; and confusion on Election Day due to voters with identical names.

## Political Party Registration

The political party law was created by Law 40 for 1977 Concerning the Political Parties System, and was amended by Law 177/2005. The constitutional prohibition against the creation of political parties along religious lines does not meet the threshold outlined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which Egypt ratified in 1982.

The nine-member Political Party Committee (PPC), is the official body responsible for managing political party affairs in Egypt. The PPC is headed by the Speaker of the Shura Council, and its members include the Minister of Interior and the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. The other six members (three former senior judges and three individuals who are not associated with political parties) are appointed by the People's Assembly. The lack of formal independence has been further compounded by the NDP's dominance of the selection and nomination processes of the PPC.

The decisions of the PPC can be appealed to the courts. Indeed, the courts have reversed many of the PPC's decisions in the past. Additionally, while the PPC is allowed to impose a temporary suspension of a party's activities, it has to seek the decision of the court in order to dissolve any political party.

## Election Observation

Law No. 174 for the year 2005 On Regulating the Presidential Elections does not contain any provisions concerning domestic observation of those elections. On the presidential Election Day in 2005, however, the head of the PEC approved local observation by those who had obtained the necessary permits from the PEC, but this decision was not communicated to many of the judges at the polling stations. This flawed decision-making process guaranteed that observation could not be widespread or effective.

There was domestic observation of the 2005 and the 2010 Shura and Assembly elections. In 2005, NGOs reported difficulties with the accreditation process, and that security forces denied some accredited observers access to polling and counting stations. In 2007 the HEC issued Decision No. 4/2007 On Civil Society Election Monitoring Authorization which authorized the National Council of Human Rights (NCHR)<sup>15</sup> to receive accreditation applications from civil society organizations (CSOs) that wished to monitor the elections, while also leaving it open to CSOs to apply directly to the HEC for accreditation. It is likely that similar arrangements would be made covering domestic observation of a constitutional referendum

Before the 2010 PA elections, NCHR indicated that there was no need for international observation of the Egyptian elections as the Council together with local CSOs would be able to do so. No information has been available on whether there were similar problems in 2010 as had been reported in previous elections.

There has never been international observation of Egypt's presidential elections.

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<sup>15</sup> NCHR was created by Law Number 94.

## Electoral Violence

Electoral violence is common during Egyptian elections,<sup>16</sup> and there were reports of occurrences at the November 2010 PA elections.<sup>17</sup> This violence varies from tribal in the coastal areas to familial in the Sa'id (upper Egypt) and South areas. Some observers have also noted that the government has, in previous elections, used security concerns to justify creating security cordons and preventing opposition voters from accessing polling stations.<sup>18</sup>

## Election Complaints and Disputes

As in the case of electoral management in Egypt, there is a two-track electoral dispute resolution mechanism, one for presidential elections and another for other elections.

Under Law 174 for 2005, the Presidential Election Commission (PEC) is charged with election dispute resolution in presidential elections, and both complaints and appeals must be submitted to it. The Constitution and Law 174/2005 state that the PEC's decisions are final and cannot be appealed, even to the highest court in Egypt, i.e. the Supreme Constitutional Court.<sup>19</sup>

With regard to all other elections and referendums, there are three main avenues for complaints – administrative, judicial and parliamentary:

- **Administrative** – Under Law 73 for 1956, the HEC has the mandate to receive complaints about irregularities in electoral operations that precede voting and the declaration of results.
- **Judicial** – The Administrative Courts also have jurisdiction over electoral operations prior to the declaration of a winner, including appeals against voter registration decisions and removal of candidates from the list of candidates; Law 73 for 1956 requires the HEC to seek the approval prior to the removal of candidates for gross violation of electoral law. *The Constitutional Court has made a number of important electoral decisions in the past. Some commentators observe that the main reason behind the exclusion of the judiciary from exercising supervision over the presidential elections is the ability of the Constitutional Court to assert independence and some degree of neutrality.*
- **Parliamentary** – The Constitution provides that once the final results of the PA elections are declared, the validation or invalidation of the new membership falls solely within the mandate of the People's Assembly. A similar procedure is followed for appeals against the election of a member of the Shura Council. *However, this procedure does not seem to have been invoked successfully during the 2005 PA elections as the NCHR noted that the courts examined and made recommendations in relation to 90 out of over 1,000 complaints received by the Speaker, but the Assembly did not make a decision in relation to any of these 90 complaints before the 2010 elections.*<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The Egyptian Organization of Human Rights reported that 'In 2005, 12 people were killed and 500 were injured in election related violence compared to 8 killed and 64 injured in 2000'. Cited in Democracy Reporting International (DRI), *Assessment of the Electoral Framework, Final Report: The Arab Republic of Egypt* (2007), p.16.

<sup>17</sup> BBC News, 'Egypt holds parliamentary poll', November 28, 2010, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-11855691>, accessed November 29, 2010.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, DRI, *Assessment of the Electoral Framework, Final Report: The Arab Republic of Egypt* (2007), p.16.

<sup>19</sup> The law goes further to state that the decisions of the PEC (including regulations) are not subject to interpretation by any other authority

<sup>20</sup> Three MPs (two NDP and one Muslim Brotherhood 'independent') were stripped of their membership of the People's Assembly during the 2000 parliamentary term.

## Conclusions and Priorities for Reform

Without major changes, public confidence in the integrity of Egypt's electoral process will remain low and elected bodies will lack the democratic legitimacy they need to act as representatives of the people.

It is possible that one of the legacies of the current unrest will be a new climate in which there is the political will to take some significant steps towards a credible and competitive electoral process. The presidential elections in 2011 will be the first major test of that political will, although a constitutional referendum and statutory amendments beforehand will provide some useful indicators. The overriding objective should be to increase public confidence in the integrity of the electoral process. That requires coordinated action on several fronts, including:

- Ending the current emergency law to provide for, amongst other things, greater freedom of assembly
- Removing the ban on religiously-based political parties
- Reintroducing independent judicial or similar supervision of the electoral process at the ballot box level
- Increasing the independence, impartiality, openness and transparency of the PEC, HEC, and PPC
- Allowing the decisions of the PEC to be appealed to the courts
- Ensuring that the MoI and the security forces are clearly accountable to the PEC and HEC in carrying out their electoral responsibilities
- Ensuring that the PEC and HEC enforce the election laws, particularly provisions prohibiting intimidation of voters and candidates
- Establishing timely and effective procedures for receiving and determining electoral complaints and resolving electoral disputes
- Improving the voter registration system, particularly removing voter registration offices from police stations
- Ensuring compliance with election finance laws, especially prohibitions on the use of State resources in election campaigns
- Allowing unfettered domestic and international observation of elections

Although it is unrealistic to expect all these goals will be completely achieved at the 2011 presidential election, it is vital that there is demonstrable progress to ensure a more competitive and open campaign process, robust participation by an informed electorate, and administration and oversight of the electoral process by an electoral authority that is independent, transparent, and accountable. Only with real progress in these areas will Egypt be able to create an enabling environment for credible elections which will earn the confidence and participation of Egyptian voters and citizens, and in the process, move it forward along a path of meaningful political reform.

### Contact Information:

John Lawrence, Congressional Affairs Manager, (202) 262-0025, [jlawrence@ifes.org](mailto:jlawrence@ifes.org)

Laura Osio, Press Officer, (202) 550-9634, [losio@ifes.org](mailto:losio@ifes.org)