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Elections in Egypt

2014 Presidential Election

Frequently Asked Questions

Middle East and North Africa

International Foundation for Electoral Systems

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Frequently Asked Questions

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When will the presidential election take place?

The presidential election will be held over two days — Monday, May 26 and Tuesday, May 27, 2014 — as announced by the Presidential Elections Commission on March 30, 2014. Out-of-country voting for Egyptian citizens living abroad took place from May 15-19, 2014.

Eligible voters will elect a new President of the Arab Republic of Egypt for a four-year term.

Why is Egypt holding a presidential election only two years after the last elections?

Egypt has been in a state of political transition since the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces stepped in to fill the political vacuum created by the fall of former President Hosni Mubarak's regime in February 2011. The first post-Mubarak presidential election held in May-June 2012, resulted in the election of President Mohamed Morsi, who assumed power on June 30, 2012.

On June 30, 2013, amidst ongoing political conflict, governmental paralysis and social unrest, massive demonstrations erupted across Egypt against Morsi's administration. On July 3, 2013, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces General Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi announced the removal of President Morsi from power. At the same time, in his capacity as military Commander in Chief, he announced a new transition roadmap outlining the return to civilian rule. The roadmap began with the immediate suspension of the 2012 constitution that had been promulgated by Morsi's government and the appointment of the President of the Supreme Constitutional Court, Judge Adly Mansour, as interim President during the transitional period.

As part of the transition roadmap, a constitutional referendum was held on January 14-15, 2014, during which amendments made to the suspended 2012 constitution were approved. Based on the new 2014 constitution's provisions allowing for changes in the transitional roadmap, interim President Mansour declared that the presidential elections would precede parliamentary elections. On March 30, 2014, the Presidential Elections Commission issued decrees No. 12/2014 and No. 14/2014 declaring that the presidential election will take place in May 2014, and calling for Egyptians to participate.

What is the legal framework for the presidential election in Egypt?

The presidential election in Egypt is governed by various pieces of legislation, including: the 2014 Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt¹; Law No. 73 of 1956 Regulating the Exercise of Political Rights and its Amendments; and Law No. 22 issued on March 8, 2014, by interim President Adly Mansour, regulating the presidential elections. The presidential election is also regulated by decrees issued directly by the Presidential Elections Commission.

¹ Hereafter all references to constitution shall refer to the 2014 Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt, unless otherwise stipulated.

What electoral system will be used in this presidential election?

The President will be elected through direct universal suffrage.

Egypt will use a majority two-round system for the presidential election. According to Article 39 of Law No. 22/2014, a candidate must obtain an absolute majority (50 percent plus 1) of valid votes cast in order to be elected. Should such a threshold not be met by any of the candidates in the first round of voting, then a second round of voting (run-off) must be held between the two candidates with the largest number of valid votes. However, given that there are only two candidates, a second round is not expected.

What are the powers and responsibilities of the new President?

The powers and responsibilities of the President are detailed in the constitution. Article 139 of the constitution declares that the President of the Republic is the head of State and of the executive branch. The article also states that the President shall "care for the interests of the people, safeguard the independence of the nation and the territorial integrity and safety of its lands, abide by the provisions of the constitution and assume his authorities as prescribed therein."

Upon assuming office, the President will undertake the following roles and responsibilities:

- Assign a Prime Minister to form the government;
- Set the State's general policy, jointly with the cabinet, and oversee its implementation as stated in the constitution;
- Represent the State in its foreign relations, conclude treaties and ratify those approved by the House of Representatives;
- Serve as the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces;
- Appoint and dismiss civil and military employees and political representatives and accredit political representatives of foreign States and bodies in accordance with the law;
- Declare a state of emergency as regulated by law, if needed, after consultation with the cabinet;
- Issue pardons and reduce sentences, after consultation with the cabinet;
- Call for a referendum on issues relating to the supreme interests of the State; and
- Appoint members of the House of Representatives. The President may appoint up to five percent of the total number of the House seats.

Who can be a presidential candidate?

According to Article 141 of the constitution, "a presidential candidate must be an Egyptian born to Egyptian parents, and neither he nor his parents or his spouse may have held any other nationality." The same article adds the following criteria for eligibility:

- The candidate must enjoy civil and political rights;
- The candidate must have performed military service or have been exempted by law; and

• The candidate shall not be less than forty calendar years of age on the day candidate registration begins.

Law No. 22/2014, which regulates the presidential election, affirms the eligibility criteria set forth in the Constitution and adds that a presidential candidate shall also:

- Hold a university degree;
- Must not have been sentenced to a penalty in any felony or offense involving breach of honor or trust, even if he has been rehabilitated; and
- Must not be suffering from any physical or mental disease that may negatively affect his performance of presidential duties.

What are the nomination procedures for presidential candidates?

The constitution states that candidates have two options to submit their nominations:

- 1. The candidate is formally endorsed by at least 20 members of the House of Representatives.
- 2. The candidate must secure the endorsement of no less than 25,000 eligible voters in at least 15 governorates, with no less than 1,000 supporters from each of those governorates.

The presidential election law has similar procedures. However, in the absence of the House of Representatives, Article 2 of the Presidential Election Law stipulates that the first presidential election to be held after the enactment of this law, shall solely be based on the citizens' endorsement method (option two above).

How many candidates have registered to run in the presidential election?

On May 5, 2014, the Presidential Elections Commission announced the final list of candidates for the presidential election. The list consists of General Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, former Defense Minister and Commander of the Armed Forces who is running as an independent candidate, and Hamdeen Sabbahi, former 2012 presidential candidate and founder of the Egyptian Popular Current.

Which election management body is responsible for administering the presidential election?

Currently, the electoral management system in Egypt is based on the establishment of ad-hoc bodies, each with a temporary mandate and responsibility to administer a specific election or referendum process.

The Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) is responsible for the administration and overall supervision of the presidential election, per Article 228 of the constitution. According to Law No. 22/2014, the PEC is

composed of five commissioners and chaired by the head of the Supreme Constitutional Court (SCC)². Other members include the President of the Cairo Court of Appeals; the most senior Vice President of the SCC; the most senior Vice President of the Court of Cassation; and the most senior Vice President of the State Council. The PEC's structure also includes a General Secretariat, whose membership is established through a decision issued by the PEC's chair. The work and mandate of the General Secretariat are determined by regulations issued by the PEC.

What are the roles and responsibilities of the Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) in the presidential election?

The responsibilities of the Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) begin with overseeing the creation of a voter database and end with the announcement of election results. Article 6 of Law No. 22/2014 exclusively vests the PEC with the following responsibilities:

- Supervise the creation of a voter database drawn from information listed in national identification card databases, including its contents, method of review, filtration, updates, registration and correction.
- Declare the start of the presidential nomination process.
- Establish necessary procedures for nominations and supervise their implementation.
- Receive and examine nominations for presidential candidacy, and verify that presidential candidates meet relevant requirements.
- Identify entities responsible for the medical examinations of candidates.
- Prepare and announce a final list of candidates, and announce the date and procedures of relinquishing candidature.
- Set the start and end dates of the electoral campaigning.
- Set rules governing electoral campaigning as mandated by law, and verify the application of such rules in a way that ensures equality between candidates in using State-owned audio-visual media, newspapers and printed materials issued by press institutions for electoral campaigning purposes, and take such measures as it deems appropriate in cases of violation.
- Set rules and procedures of notifying presidential election candidates of its decisions.
- Call on voters to vote in the presidential election, and fully supervise balloting and vote-counting processes.
- Set rules governing the participation of media and domestic and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in observing the election process.
- Set regulations necessary for regulating the work of the PEC and the methods for exercising its competencies.
- Decide on all matters referred to it by the General Committees.
- Decide on all objections, complaints and challenges related to elections.
- Receive the consolidated election results, and determine and announce the final results.

² The President of the Supreme Constitutional Court (SCC), Judge Adly Mansour, currently serves as interim President of the Republic and is not available to serve as Chair of the Presidential Elections Commission (PEC). Article 3 of the same law provides that if the Chair of the PEC is unavailable, he is to be replaced by the most senior deputy of the President of the SCC.

In exercising its competencies, the law entitles the PEC to request documents, data and any other information as it deems necessary from official or public bodies, including commissioning experts to carry out any such investigations, research or study as may be necessary.

What are the roles and responsibilities of other State bodies in the presidential election?

Under the supervision of the Presidential Elections Commission (PEC), the Ministry of Interior (MoI) is responsible for all necessary administrative, operational and logistical support of the electoral process, such as procurement and distribution of various election materials, including ballot papers, ballot boxes, indelible ink and polling booths. The MoI also has the mandate to supervise all security arrangements for the electoral process.

The Ministry of State for Local and Administrative Development, under the supervision of the PEC, is responsible for the creation of the voter database drawn from information listed in national identification card databases. The Ministry also handles all election IT-related issues such as any electronic systems for out-of-country and out-of-governorate voting.

What are the roles and responsibilities of the judiciary in the presidential election?

The judiciary holds a number of roles and responsibilities during the presidential election process, including supervising the voting process on Election Day. In each polling center, a judge will preside over voting in one or more polling stations provided that they are not separated and that the judge can physically oversee each of them. In addition, the General Committees in all governorates are comprised of judges and members of judicial bodies, all of whom are responsible for supervising polling stations and tabulating results within their territorial jurisdiction. The roles and functions of the General Committees are determined through the rules and procedures established by the Presidential Elections Commission.

Who is eligible to vote?

Article 87 of the constitution guarantees the right of every Egyptian citizen to vote; however, the article also permits the exercise of this right to be regulated by law.

Law No. 22/2014 restricts eligibility to voters registered in the national voter database. Voters can only vote in person.

According to Articles 1, 2 and 3 of Law No. 73 of 1956 Regulating the Exercise of Political Rights and its Amendments, all Egyptian citizens ages 18 or older have the right to vote in referenda and presidential, parliamentary and local council elections. The articles also stipulate that officers and members of the Armed Forces, as well as officers and personnel of the police, are not eligible to vote throughout the duration of their service.

Who is not eligible to vote?

According to Article 2 of Law No. 73 of 1956 Regulating the Exercise of Political Rights and its Amendments up to December 2011, the following citizens are deprived from exercising political rights including voting:

- Those convicted of a felony, unless they have been rehabilitated.
- Those convicted by the court of values whose sentence includes confiscation of funds. The deprivation of rights shall be for a period of five years from the date of passing the sentence.
- Those sentenced to imprisonment terms for a crime of theft, hiding stolen objects, swindling, issuing an uncovered check, breach of trust, perfidy, bribery, criminal bankruptcy, forgery, using forged papers, perjury, suborning witnesses, rape, corrupting the youth, committing a breach of morals, vagrancy, and committing a crime to get rid of military or national service, as well as those sentenced for attempting to commit one of the said crimes, unless the sentence was suspended or the individual has been rehabilitated.
- Those sentenced to a penalty that entails deprivation of his or her freedom in one of the crimes stipulated in Articles 41 to 51 of Law No. 73 of 1956 Regulating the Exercise of Political Rights and its Amendments, unless the sentence was suspended or the individual has been rehabilitated. Crimes covered by these articles include violence, threats or insults against any head of the election committee, intimidation of voters or stakeholders with the aim of affecting the reliability of the election process and theft or damage of a voters' list or ballot paper with the aim of altering results.
- Civil servants of the state or public sector workers who were discharged from service because of a breach of honor, unless five years have lapsed since the date of discharge, and unless a final judgment was awarded in their favor ruling the annulment of the decision discharging or indemnifying them.

The following persons are temporarily prohibited from exercising their political rights:

- Persons under court order during the period of their interdiction.
- Detained persons with mental illnesses during their detention period.
- Citizens who have declared bankruptcy are ineligible to vote for a period of five years from the date of their bankruptcy, unless resolved.

How many eligible voters are there, and what percentage of them are women?

The Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) has not yet officially released any figures pertaining to eligible voters. However, various news reports have indicated that the PEC will print approximately 54 million ballots. By comparison, the official number of registered voters in the January 2014 referendum was 53,423,485 voters, according to the High Election Commission.

How are voter lists compiled?

Voter lists available at polling centers are compiled based on citizen information stored in the national identification card database. The personal information of all Egyptian citizens possessing a national identification card, who are above the age of 18 and are eligible to vote, is transferred from the national identification card database to the voter register database. The electoral rolls ultimately distributed to each polling station are extracted and compiled from the national identification card database.

On what basis are voters allocated to polling stations?

Voters are allocated to the polling station that is closest to the address listed on their national identification card.

Are there special polling stations for women?

Although most polling stations in Egypt are mixed, in past elections, a number of special polling stations for women were set up. At the time of writing, the Presidential Elections Commission has not yet announced a specific number of the polling stations that will be reserved exclusively for women.

What are the hours for polling stations on Election Day?

According to Article 1 of Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) decree No. 22/2014, polling stations in Egypt will open at 9:00 a.m. and close at 9:00 p.m. However, to accommodate the large numbers of voters who might still be queuing inside the polling center after polling stations close, both Articles 35 and 45 of PEC decree No. 1/2014 state that polling stations shall establish a list of voters' names who are present prior to closing and extend the operating hours of a polling station until all voters on said list cast their vote.

Can voters with disabilities be assisted to cast their votes?

Yes. The Law No. 73 of 1956 Regulating the Exercise of Political Rights and its Amendments allows persons with disabilities — who are unable to mark the ballot independently — two choices for assistance at the polling station:

- 1. The voter can choose to indicate verbally a voting preference, so polling station personnel can mark the ballot paper appropriately on the voter's behalf. In this case, the head of the polling station must sign the ballot paper.
- 2. The voter can choose to allow a person accompanying him/her to mark the ballot paper on his or her behalf. The head of the polling station must record this second option.

It is important to note that neither option safeguards the secrecy of the vote.

Can illiterate voters be assisted to cast their votes?

There are no legal provisions for assisting illiterate voters. Nevertheless, it is common practice in Egypt for the head of the polling station to assist illiterate voters or others who expressly request such assistance to mark their ballot paper.

Can voters vote in polling stations outside their governorates?

Article 37 of Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) decree No. 1/2014 allows voters present outside their voting domicile to vote in a polling station in the governorate in which they currently reside, provided that they submit a request to the relevant authorities in advance to be registered in designated locations.

Is out-of-country voting permitted?

Yes. In compliance with Law No. 22/2014, the Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) has made necessary provisions for out-of-country voting (OCV), so Egyptian nationals living abroad can vote in the presidential election.

Law No. 22/2014 guarantees the right of every Egyptian who is abroad (permanently or temporarily) on Election Day to vote, provided that the person's name is registered in the voter database and that the voter possesses a valid national identification card or a valid passport that includes the national identification number.

Unlike previous presidential elections, where voters abroad were required to undergo a separate registration process, Egyptians who are abroad do not have to register to vote — they simply must hold a valid national identification card or a passport with their national ID number, the presence of which ensures representation in the voter database. The PEC will instruct out-of-country voters to go directly to locations designated by the PEC (normally an Egyptian diplomatic mission) in the voter's country of residence. On March 30, 2014, the PEC issued decree No. 12/2014 announcing that OCV for this election will start on May 15, 2014, and will end on May 18. PEC decree No. 30/2014 further extended OCV till May 19. Assigned polling stations will be open for 12 hours during election days between 9:00 a.m. and 9:00 p.m.

The PEC has introduced a voter identification system through electronic ID card readers that will be provided to Egyptian embassies and consulates. This system will detect and prevent those who voted abroad from voting again in any polling station in Egypt, as the names of persons who voted abroad will automatically be removed from their original polling station list in Egypt.

What are the steps in the voting process?

Article 43 of Presidential Elections Commission decree No. 1/2014 outlines the voting process for the presidential election through the following steps:

- 1. Voter identification: A voter presents his or her national identification card (or a valid passport that includes the national identification number) to the head of the polling station for identification purposes.
- 2. Verifying names in the voter list: The head of the polling station will make sure that the name of the voter is listed in the electoral roll assigned to the polling station.
- 3. Issuing the ballot paper: Once identified, the voter receives an open ballot paper from the head of the polling station.
- 4. Marking the ballot paper: The voter proceeds to one of the polling booths, marks the ballot paper in secrecy, places it in the ballot box and exits the polling booth.
- 5. Signing on the electoral roll: After casting the vote, each voter has to place his or her signature (or apply a thumbprint) next to his or her name on the electoral roll.
- 6. Application of indelible ink: After voting, indelible ink is applied on the voter's finger and he or she exits the polling station immediately.

How many poll workers are in a polling station and what are their main duties?

At a minimum, each polling station must have a judge (head of the polling station), one civil servant or more who serves as the secretary and a sufficient number of civil servant backups for each polling station and General Committee. The judge has the authority to supervise more than one polling station provided they are all in the same room. As a result, there can be situations where one room has one judge and several civil servants, depending on the number of polling stations in a room. The judge supervises all electoral operations at the polling stations. Presidential Elections Commission decree No. 1/2014 assigns the head of each polling station the task of cross checking each voter's name against the electoral roll and ensuring that all those present sign next to their names on the electoral roll. However, other duties, such as inking the voter's finger and directing the voter toward a polling booth, are assigned to civil servants who support the head of the polling station.

When and where will vote counting take place, and how are results tabulated?

Vote counting in the presidential election will be conducted at the polling station level. The Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) and assigned police personnel are responsible for ensuring ballot security after the polls close on the first day. According to Article 44 of PEC decree No. 1/2014, ballot boxes and other related documents will be sealed by the head of each polling station and placed under the guard of police personnel. The police are also responsible for sealing the doors of polling stations with tamper-evident red wax. At the start of the next polling period on the second day, the head of each polling station is responsible for ensuring that no items within the station have been tampered with and documenting his or her findings in official reports.

Votes are counted after the close of polling on the second day. Upon completion of counting, the heads of the polling stations will deliver all ballot papers and other related documents to the general committees for verification and compilation. Subsequently, the items will be sent to the governorate committees and then finally transmitted to the PEC.

Afterwards, the PEC will carry out a national aggregation of votes, which serves as the official source of the final election results. Article 53 of PEC decree No. 1/2014 instructs each governorate to retain all ballot papers and other documents.

When will official results be announced?

Article 6 of Law No. 22/2014 states that the Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) is the responsible body charged with announcing the final election results. The law tasks the PEC with announcing the final results within five days following the receipt of all reports from the general committees and to publish the results in the Official Gazette.

The PEC will announce a winner when a candidate has obtained an absolute majority of valid votes in the first round.

Will there be local and international observers for the presidential election?

Decrees No. 5 and No. 6, issued by the Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) in March 2014, permit international and domestic observers, and foreign election management bodies, to observe the presidential election. However, each entity is required to obtain the PEC's approval. The PEC has signed two memorandums of understanding with the European Union and the League of Arab States concerning presidential election observation. Other international observation groups that have received PEC approval include Democracy International, the African Union, the Carter Center and Transparency International.

Article 2 of PEC decrees No. 5 and No. 6 allows authorized international and local entities to observe all aspects of the election process. However, Article 12 of PEC decree No. 5 prohibits domestic observers from releasing any information, comments or reports related to the elections prior to the official announcement of results. The PEC also requires all authorized local and international observers to submit their observation reports to the commission at the end of the election and prior to their publication in order for the reports to incorporate responses from the PEC. Finally, the decree for international observers does not regulate the issuance of preliminary statements.

What are the rules on electoral campaigning?

Law No. 22/2014 governs campaigning during the presidential election period. In compliance with Article 18 of the law, the Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) has announced an election schedule

that allows for campaigning to begin from the date of announcing the final list of the candidates (May 2, 2014) until two days before the date of the election (May 23, 2014).

Campaigning may include activities conducted by a candidate and his supporters encouraging voters to elect him. Campaign activities permitted by law and PEC decrees include private and public meetings, interviews, dissemination and distribution of electoral campaign materials, displaying posters and banners and using audiovisual, printed and electronic media.

Moreover, the law emphasizes observing the provisions of the constitution, law and PEC regulations regarding electoral campaigning. Article 19 of the law establishes that candidates:

- Must refrain from encroaching on the sanctity of the private life of any candidate;
- Must refrain from threatening national unity, and abstain from using religious slogans;
- Must refrain from using, or threatening to use, any form of violence;
- Are prohibited from offering voters gifts, donations, financial assistance in cash or in-kind or any other benefits or promising to offer them, directly or indirectly;
- Are prohibited from using buildings and facilities, as well as means of transportation and movement owned by the State or by State-owned companies or the public sector for electoral campaigning in any form;
- Are prohibited from using governmental bodies, public utilities, places of worship, schools, universities and other public or private educational institutions, and the headquarters of non-governmental organizations for campaigning purposes;
- Are prohibited from spending public funds, and those of state owned companies and the public sector, as well as funds of civil society associations and organizations for the purposes of election campaigning; and
- Must refrain from writing on the walls of governmental or private buildings for campaigning purposes by any means.

What are the main rules governing electoral campaign financing?

Campaign financing is regulated by Law No. 22/2014 and Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) decrees No. 1/2014 and No. 9/2014. The main regulations include the following:

The ceiling for election campaign expenditures:

- First round: Maximum expenditure by each candidate on campaigning shall be 20 million Egyptian pounds (approximately \$2.9 million USD).
- Second round: In the event of a run-off election, the law specifies that each candidate will have up to five million Egyptian pounds (approximately \$0.7 million (USD)) to use toward additional campaigning.

Contributions to electoral campaign:

- Candidates may receive contributions in cash or in-kind from any Egyptian natural citizen. Each contribution shall not exceed two percent (400,000 Egyptian pounds or approximately \$56,000 USD) of the maximum expenditure allowed on electoral campaigning.
- Candidates must open an account and deposit all financial donations and personal funds in a bank designated by the PEC (National Bank of Egypt or Bank of Egypt).
- Each candidate and his or her bank must disclose to the PEC on a daily basis all financial transactions related to election campaigns. Candidates can only fund their election campaigns through such a bank account.
- Candidates must submit to the PEC a statement showing total sums obtained, as well as their sources, type of asset, total amount, and aspects of expenditure on electoral campaigning within 15 days from the date of announcing election results.
- Candidates are prohibited from receiving any election campaign contribution, in cash or in-kind support, from any Egyptian or foreign entity; from any foreign state, agency or international organization; from any corporation where any foreign person holds an equity stake; or from any foreign nationals.

What is the code of conduct for the media during the electoral campaign?

According to Articles 20 and 21 of Law No. 22/2014 and Article 32 of Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) decrees No. 1/2014 and No. 15/2014, all private and State-owned media must comply with the following rules during campaigning periods:

- State-owned audio-visual media and press institutions must ensure equal access for all candidates when used for electoral campaigning purposes. The PEC has the authority to ensure full compliance with this requirement and stop and/or correct any violations.
- Opinion polls on the presidential election that are broadcast or published by the media must disclose all information on the entities conducting and financing the polls; the questions asked; the size of the sample selected; the locations where polling will take place; the methodology and data collection methods used; the date or dates of polling; and margin of error for their findings.
- It is prohibited to broadcast or publish opinion polls five days prior to Election Day.

How will electoral disputes be adjudicated and by which body?

The Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) has responsibility for addressing electoral disputes arising from the presidential election. In decree No. 12/2014, the PEC announced the timeline for the adjudication period, stating that all appeals should be submitted to the PEC by May 29, 2014. The PEC will deliberate all cases on May 30-31 and announce the final election results at any time during June 1-5, 2014. Candidates may appeal to the PEC against decisions taken by general committees. However, according to Article 7 of Law No. 22/2014, all PEC decisions are final, self-enforcing and cannot be

appealed by any means or before any other body or institution after the announcement of the final results, including the PEC's determination mechanism of electoral disputes.³

Resources

- Briefing paper, <u>Egypt's 2014 Presidential Election Law</u>, International Foundation for Electoral Systems
- Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt 2014 (Arabic)
- Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt 2014 (English)
- Law No. 22/2014 Regulating the Presidential Election (Arabic)
- Law No. 22/2014 Regulating the Presidential Election (English)
- Law No. 73 of 1956 Regulating the Exercise of Political Rights and its Amendments up to December 2011 (Arabic)
- Law No. 73 of 1956 Regulating the Exercise of Political Rights and its Amendments up to December 2011 (English)
- Presidential Elections Commission (PEC) decrees in 2014, here and here

³ For more information on the Presidential Elections Commission's (PEC) electoral dispute resolution mechanisms, please see (2014). *Egypt's 2014 Presidential Election Law, IFES*. Manuscript in preparation.