The Political Role of Political Parties in Egypt After 2014: Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' is a Case Study

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Abstract

Political parties are a fundamental kind of formal political associations and one of their most significant manifestations. The effectiveness of these parties contributes to the institutionalization of the system as they serve as a conduit for communication between the authority and individuals. The most important functions of these parties are represented in participation, political education, and recruitment. These parties also basically represent a group of people that share beliefs, such as a shared destiny and unity of purpose. They strive to achieve the function by gaining political power or, at least, by influencing state public policymaking. Furthermore, the beginning of political associations in Egypt dates to secret associations at the end of the 1960s of the 19th centuries. Some sources indicated the existence of some secret societies in Al-Azhar, in addition to other associations, at the end of the 1970s. As the crisis deteriorated in society, which led to a sense of how bad the country conditions had become, three political powers emerged: the army, intellectuals, notables and scholars, and members of the Shura Council of Representatives, which were represented by the political organizations that were formed in that period, reflecting popular hopes for reform and progress. To begin with, it can be said that the emergence of Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' was not very different from the emergence of several political parties that emerged after the January 25 Revolution, all of them were characterized by superiority and elitism. Thus, it was more elitist and superior to a natural emergence among a group of stakeholders that share at least an ideology or political reference with each other. Accordingly, it can be said that founding the party came in transitional circumstances, following the June 30 Revolution, when a group of young people from the Egyptian Student Union carried out a youth campaign entitled (The Nation's Future). The main goal of this party was to pass the 2014 constitution, but some quickly embraced the idea and worked to transform it into a political party. This caused a great uproar about the method of establishment and who was behind the party. The members of the party played a prominent role in the presidential elections in favor of President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi.

Introduction

Political parties are a fundamental kind of formal political organizations and one of their most significant manifestations. The effectiveness of these parties contributes to the institutionalization of the system, as they serve as a conduit for communication between the authority and individuals. The most important functions of these parties are represented participation, political education, and recruitment. These parties also basically represent a group of people that share particular beliefs, such as a shared destiny and unity of purpose. They strive to achieve the function by gaining political power, or, at least, influencing the state public policy-making. As pointed out by the evolution of political parties throughout history, political parties came into being as a consequence of the conflicts within society seeking to divide power in a way that would allow them to run the state, advance its objectives, and the handover of power. In Egypt, political parties and organizations emerged as a result of the interaction of societal dynamics aimed at achieving a goal based on political, social, or religious reality. It arose and developed with the development of the concept of the state itself. The first beginnings of Egyptian party life appeared at the end of the 19th century and then emerged and crystallized during the 20th century. The first decade of the current century was a reflection of the prevailing political, social, economic, and cultural interactions and conditions. Some of them arose to meet the demands of a specific segment of society, such as workers and farmers. There are also parties that emerged for the sake of faith and to demand that power be handed over to them, such as the Islamic Party. We also find some parties represented the desires of the classes in Egyptian society.

In Egypt, nonpartisan movements and groups played a more significant role than conventional or contemporary parties throughout the period from January 25 to February 11, when former President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak stepped down. However, these parties attempted to be present in the political scene, taking advantage of the comparative advantage they enjoy, which was the existence of infrastructure (offices, lists of members, organizational structure, electoral expertise, and etc.). This applies to the traditional ones. As for the newly established parties whose founders relied on their political positions, they played a major role in drawing the map for the political exploitation of their influence and instilling acceptability among members of society through emotional appeal in their political discourse. As for its political weight in the Egyptian arena, none of the political forces underwent an electoral test that could measure their popularity and organizational ability, and the referendum on constitutional amendments that took place on March 19 remains the only electoral process that Egypt witnessed. The current study sought to investigate the importance of studying and analyzing the reality and independence of the new political parties and the path of their development, as it formulated a new model for the party map, and employed political money extensively in party work. Many conflicting

interests competed for the ability to formulate future political decisions. Therefore, the political role of political parties in Egypt after 2014 could be read in general, with a focus on the study model "Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party'.

The importance of the study

The importance of studying the political parties in Egypt after 2014 stems from their great influence on the Egyptian political system, as these parties were able to spread their ideas and principles and win in the unions and parliament, as well as the importance of diagnosing the reasons and motivations behind the emergence of Mostaqbal Watan Party 'The Nation's Future Party' and its rapid rise to parliament.

The problem of the study

Egypt, including the Egyptian political parties, has not enjoyed appropriate conditions for political development since its evolution, because they have not yet been able to convince the majority of the importance of the role they can play in the Egyptian political system. They are groomed by competent party cadres to occupy political posts during a political competition to win over the majority with the numerous plans it offers that benefit everybody. The problem of this study focuses on analyzing the following: Why were the Egyptian parties not accepted? The lack of clarity in the partisan visions of the Egyptian parties. And what are the motives behind the emergence of modern parties such as Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party'?

The hypothesis of the study

When conducting any theoretical study, the necessary conditions of vision and approach must exist. Under these two conditions, it is necessary to find some kind of approach to the methods followed, given that political and social phenomena are complex, multi-dimensional, and multi-variable. It is difficult to study it by dealing with a single approach, so we try to benefit from using the descriptive and comparative approaches with some analysis of the structure of Egyptian political discourse.

The objectives of the study

The study aims to describe the reasons behind the emergence of Egyptian parties, determine their patterns and forms, explain the nature of the political and social forces that contributed to forming, and analyzing the political, economic and social conditions that produced them in the form of the Egyptian political system. This will help in knowing the external and internal factors and their role in the Egyptian partisan phenomenon.

Method

When conducting any theoretical study, the necessary conditions of vision and approach must exist. Under these two conditions, it necessary is to find some kind of approach to the methods followed, given that political and social phenomena are complex, and multi-dimensional and multi-variable. It is difficult to study it by dealing with a single approach, so we try to benefit from using the descriptive and comparative approaches with some analysis of the structure of Egyptian political discourse.

The structure of the study

The study includes three sections, in addition to an introduction and conclusion: The first section is an introduction that deals with the theoretical and historical framework of political parties. The first requirement is the concept and definition of political parties and their elements, whereas the second one deals with the functions of political parties. The second section deals with the historical emergence and party map in Egypt after 2014. The first requirement is the emergence and development of political parties in Egypt, whereas the second one includes the party map in Egypt after 2014. The third section addresses the role, political program, and establishment of Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' as a study model. The first requirement is the establishment and formation of Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' and the second requirement is Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' and political participation.

Result and Discussion
The theoretical and historical framework of political parties

Political parties are linked effectively to the political system, as they cannot grow without the political system. Society and the political system are not merely the result of a process of assembling different entities; they are the product of harmonious values that drive all the tools and organizations that enter their formation. Historically, political parties were also the only guarantee of confronting individualism because party competition led to the development and progress of society. The main motive for the emergence of political parties is the difference in political, economic, and social interests, as well as the difference in thought, customs, traditions, values, and principles.

The concept and definition of political parties and their elements

Nearly a century ago, political scientists developed classifications and models of political parties to capture the essential features of the political parties and party organizations that have been the subject of their analysis. Consequently, modern literature is replete with party types falling into a variety of categories, some of which have become "classics" and have been studied by academics for many years. However, it is believed that current models of political parties do not adequately capture the full range of diversity in party types that exist in the world. If it were diverse and had multiple criteria, it would not have been conducive to building the cumulative theory. The absence of an expanded and updated classification of small parties and the multiplicity of models that make up the most commonly used types have often led to an over-extension of the concept. Inappropriate labels have appeared and have been applied to the newly emerging parties, whose characteristics differ significantly from those included in the original definition of the party.

In reality, this represents an attempt to cram square pegs into round holes, as both empirical studies, theory-building, and unjustified assumptions of commonalities (if not uniformity) between parties that are in fact quite diverse can be undermined. The second problem with current classifications is that they have generally been based on a wide range of criteria in an attempt to make them more consistent with contradictions. In addition,

there is an inaccuracy in defining certain types of parties, which has hindered research in this field and led to the construction of a cumulative theory based on types of functional criteria.

Parties have been differentiated on the basis of their organizational raison d'être or some specific goals they seek to achieve, and between "single-representation parties" (which articulate the requirements of specific social groups) and "social integration parties" (which have well-developed organizations), which provide a wide range of services to members, and their packaging within the party community. In contrast, members rely on the financial contributions and volunteer services of members during election campaigns based on the classification that "total integration parties" have more ambitious goals of seizing power, radically transforming societies, and demanding the full commitment and absolute obedience of members. Herbert Kitschelt distinguishes parties that emphasize the "logic of electoral competition" from those (such as the "libertarian left" type he presents) placing much greater emphasis on the "logic of constituency representation." Wolinetz distinguished between 'vote-seeking', 'policy-seeking', 'policy-seeking' and 'office-seeking' parties. Katz and Mayer implicitly introduce a functional logic in establishing a "cartel party" model in which public funding of parties and the expanded role of state leaders suppress competition and seek primarily to perpetuate themselves in power to take advantage of these new resources [1].

For this reason, political parties are among the most crucial collective tools for achieving democracy. Based on the interaction between people and the political system, which has always been marked by complexity and interconnectedness, these entities have grown in significance and influence over time, influencing not only the direction and rules of the political process but also the vast majority of the systems of the nations. This led to the possibility of saying that when individuals unite, their participation in political life is more influential and effective, and its results are larger and more profitable, as they have stronger means to impose their demands and greater opportunities to achieve their goals and aspirations by utilizing the material capabilities they enjoy and the personal capabilities that make them one collective force [2].

Definition of political parties and their elements

Linguistically, the word "party" refers to "the sect", "the man's companions, group", indicating "grouping". As for the word "political", it is taken from the word "politics", which means everything related to the affairs of the state and its system of government, and the rights they have and duties within the political environment [3].

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[1] Richard Gunther and Larry Diamond, "Species of Political Parties: A New Typology," *Party Politics* 9, no. 2 (2003): 167–99.

[2] S. H. Safar, "Political Parties in Iraq - A Comparative Law Study," *Master's Thesis, College of Law, University of Kufa.* (HeinOnline, 2009).

[3] A. S. Al-Omari, *The Facilitated Dictionary of Political Sciences* (Egyptian General Book Authority Press, Cairo, 1977).

A political party is defined linguistically as a group of people, and the plural of this word is "parties", and (the people grouped) means they become a party, and a man's friends. The word party means a gathering of people, and the word (political) is taken from the word (politics), and politics is a language that means carrying out the affairs of the people. The Arabs used the word politics in the sense of guidance and direction, and it includes the study of politics, the state system and its basic law, and its system of government, including individual and collective activities that affect the course of public life [4]. Therefore, a group is described as political when its goal is to attain, remain, or participate in power. Therefore, adding a political description is necessary for specificity and not confusion. Idiomatically, it was also defined by identifying three trends, which were based on the following meanings:

The organizational meaning of the "party", i.e. the party is an organization, whose pioneers are (Ostrogorsky, Michels, and Duverger). There is the ideological meaning, which refers to the definition of the party according to the principles and goals embraced by its members. One of the supporters of this concept is Professor Edmund Burke. Finally, the functional meaning, as its supporters look at the functions of the party as a basis for defining it, including Professor Raymond Aron [5].

According to these trends, the political party can be defined as an organization that includes a group of individuals who hold the same political vision and which works to put ideas into practice. This is done simultaneously to include the largest possible number of citizens in their ranks and to assume power, or at least influence the decisions of the ruling authority." [6]. Professor Majid Ragheb Al-Helu defined the political party as "an organized group of citizens that seeks, through legitimate means, to reach the seats of government and defend those who occupy them" [7]. As for Professor Osama Ghazali Harb, he defined it as "a union or grouping of individuals with an organizational structure at the national and local levels, which expresses, in essence, the interests of specific social forces." It aims to gain political power or influence it through various activities, especially through its representatives assuming public positions, whether through the electoral process or without it [8].

The most important elements of political parties can also be summarized as a group of citizens who share certain "ideological" opinions and ideas. Political party is a set of higher political, moral, religious, national values, and other visions on which the party relies in forming its positions toward problems, political positions, goals, and interests. This political organization also continues in the states of control that prevail in its formations, including bodies, individuals, leaders, and the masses, and its success

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[4] H. A. M. Amer, *Political Parties in the Political System and Positive and Islamic Law, Comparative Study*, *Pacific Review*, 1st editio, vol. 21 (Dar Al-Fikr, Alexandria University, 2014).
[5] N. A. Kamil, *Political Parties in the Contemporary World* (Cairo, Dar Al-Fikr Al-Arabi, 1982).
[6] Kamil.
[7] M. R. Al-Helo, *The State in the Balance of Sharia and Political Systems*, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 128 (University Press House, Alexandria, 1996).
[8] Osama Al-Ghazali Harb, "Political Parties in the Third World," *The Knowledge World Series, Kuwait*, 1987.

depends on the strength of its organization. It is not possible to imagine the existence of a party without an organization, whether central or decentralized, that aims to obtain power or participate in it through constitutional means, through which it will be able to implement its declared programs and policies [9].

The functions of political parties

Some researchers of party politics implicitly or explicitly base their work on the idea that parties are the product of different social groups, which should represent their interests. This social orientation characterizes the analyses of parties developed by Samuel Eldersfield (1964) and Robert Michels [10]. There are also some prominent scholars who randomly mix the criteria of the three groups, such as Otto Kirchheimer [11], who posits four party models: Bourgeois parties with single representation; Mass-class parties; Sectarian mass parties, in addition to systematic hypothesis testing. The propensity of advocates of disparate categories to "talk past" one another without methodically evaluating distinctness or overlap, as well as the relative benefits of various categorization systems, has impeded the development of cumulative theory. This lack of conceptual and terminological consistency is in sharp contrast to some other classification schemes. The subfields of political science also include literature closely related to party regimes in which a clear consensus has emerged regarding the meaning (and even specific operational indicators) of key concepts such as "fragmentation," "volatility," and "disproportionality." Moreover, some, but by no means all, of these patterns were based on the selection of only one criterion as the basis for classification (be it the organizational structure, the main organizational goal, or the social basis of the classification representation).

It is also worth noting that the structural or behavioral characteristics of parties are supposed to be adopted due to one distinct variable, as defined by Duverger [12]. It is an organization-based classification, but it also recognizes the great importance of linking cadre parties between the social class, the middle and upper classes, and the working class with mass-based parties. He explains this relationship by arguing that these organizational forms are dictated by different levels of resources and constraints that party builders face in their efforts to secure the necessary funding to support their activities.

During times of democratic transition, society undergoes drastic changes, leading to the collapse of long-standing norms and traditions and the adoption of entirely new rules for the political game by the major actors. They could be ill-equipped to deal with them. This may be the reason why a lot of partygoers have been watching since former President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak announced his resignation in February 2011. It is also important to note the numerous issues and signs of weakness that emerged from this

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[9] A. H. H. Al-Shakrawi, "Contemporary Political Systems," *Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya, Cairo*, 2014.

[10] Robert MICHELS, "MICHELS, Robert," *Los Partidos Políticos. Un Estudio Sociológico de Las Tendencias Oligárquicas de La Democracia Concreta. Madrid: Amorrotu*, 2017.

[11] Horst Ehmke, "Otto Kirchheimer," *Archiv Des Öffentlichen Rechts*, 1966, 117–19.

[12] Maurice Duverger, "1963," *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*, 1954.

time and the floods that followed, as well as how quickly people's value was sometimes elevated above organizations and other times it fluctuated and became more unstable. In general, a number of key characteristics of parties and party systems in these nations can be inferred from the experiences of political parties in the developing democracies of Eastern and Central Europe and Latin America. Additionally, the degree to which these conclusions apply to the Egyptian case can be evaluated. The most significant of these characteristics are the extreme fragmentation of the party system, the incapacity to create substantial organizations, the regional variations in the ability of parties and their organizations, and the fact that many parties are more focused on individuals than on concepts and policies [13].

Political parties transform the natural divisions in society into organized divisions, as they perform several functions: Activating politics through competition, presenting its programs and ideas, and trying to gain the support of public opinion, to win the elections and remain in power; Forming public opinion through directing citizens by the party and making them aware of political problems and its proposals for solving them, in addition to encouraging them to participate in public affairs and crystallize their opinions in a specific direction. Forming political leaders: The party trains its members to practice political work and exercise authority, nominates them for general elections and then holds public positions. And achieving political stability through its leadership of public opinion trends in controlling and organizing citizens' aspirations and contributing to solving their problems.

The origins and historical map of the Egyptian political parties

Some studies trace the emergence of political parties in Egypt since the 19th century, as a result of historical, national, and political events that came together. During the period that witnessed the development and emergence of the party, its beginning was based on the institutions of government in Egypt, such as parliamentary councils, ministries, councils, unions, and others. Many observers of the emergence and history of political parties have agreed that there are two origins of parties: parties of parliamentary and electoral origin (endogenous in origin), and parties of non-electoral or parliamentary origin (exogenous in origin) [14].

The emergence of Egyptian parties dates back historically to several reasons, including political reasons as a colony or under protection, and geographical location, on the other hand. Egyptian parties appeared in the late nineteenth century. The first political party was founded in 1881. The National Party was formed under the leadership of Mustafa Kamel and had a role in combating the British occupation, as its formation

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[13] Gunther and Diamond, "Species of Political Parties: A New Typology."
[14] Christopher Zambakari and Tarnjeet K Kang, "The Arab Spring and the Struggle for Democracy in Egypt," *Georgetown Public Policy Review* 21, no. 1 (2016).

reflects the historical dynamism of the development of political parties and organizations throughout Egypt's modern and contemporary history [15].

The emergence and development of political parties in Egypt

The beginning of political organizations in Egypt dates back to secret associations, whose existence dates back to the end of the 1960s of the 19th century. Sources indicate the existence of some secret societies in Al-Azhar, in addition to other associations, at the end of the seventies. With the escalation of the crisis situation in society, and the feeling of how bad the country's conditions had become, three political powers emerged: the army, intellectuals from notables and scholars, and members of the Shura Council of Representatives. This was represented in the political organizations that were formed during this period, such as the Young Egypt Association in Alexandria and the Helwan Association, which were founded in 1879 AD. In the same year, the National Party, also known as the Domestic Party or the Peasants' Party, was established and led by Ahmed Orabi. In fact, it is the closest thing to a national front with general goals that reflect popular hopes for reform and progress. Furthermore, the organization lacked the necessary continuity [16].

The political parties that emerged in Egypt between the years 1907 and 1920 are considered to be governed at that time by the conditions in which the country was living, represented by the British occupation and the official Egyptian subordination to the Sublime Porte in Istanbul. However, after the year 1922, in which Egypt's independence was declared, the 1923 Constitution was issued, which established a constitutional monarchy based on the multiplicity of parties and some of the principles of liberal democracy. During the period from 1923–1952, Egypt witnessed a rich experience of political and democratic practice, but it was an experience that suffered from many impurities, including the continued occupation and foreign interference in Egyptian affairs, as well as the interference of the Royal Palace in political life (sisgor.org).

The emergence of political parties in Egypt was linked to two circumstances: one of them was objective, which was the existence of a state of crisis in society that required the emergence of political organizations to confront it and propose various solutions to it. The other one was subjective, related to the feeling that this crisis could be solved, that a better situation could be achieved through public action, and that there was the social strength and leadership necessary to achieve this [17].

Therefore, most researchers agree that the real beginning of the emergence of political parties in Egypt was in 1907, when three parties were founded in the same year,

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[15] I. H. A. Al-Dulaimi, "Multiplicity of Parties and National Unity in the Arab World," *The Middle East* (Al-Nahrain University, 2008).

[16] A. Hilal, *The Egyptian Political System: The Legacy of the Past and the Prospects of the Future 1981-2010*, 1st editio, vol. 1 (Egyptian Lebanese House, Cairo, 2010).

[17] Anup Chand Kapur, *Principles of Political Science* (S. Chand Publishing, 2022).

the National Party, the Umma Party, and the Reform Party, on constitutional principles [18].

It is also worth noting that studies related to the Arab world and Egypt specifically were largely within the framework of democratic transformation in the past decade. Political parties are a recent phenomenon in Egypt, as the roots of their emergence date back to the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In this period, the word (party) was used to mean (political organization, in addition to its traditional use in the sense of a group or sect, as indicated by the surrounding dictionary, which is the meaning that is justified in the Qur'anic use of the word, as it appears in Surat Al-Ahzab [19]. Since the publication of Huntington's Third Wave in 1991, many analysts have stood by waiting for a radical change during Egypt's democratic cascade. Some have argued that Egypt remains both a mature democracy and an immature one simultaneously. It should be noted that many believe that "freedom of expression and the press is largely guaranteed, as well as an increased role for the judiciary and the rule of law." These are all important indicators of progress in the democratic transformation process. However, despite arguments that the managed process in Egypt had a democratic end, the 1990s saw a decline in civil society and political opposition. This does not mean that analysts have disregarded political realities. Some observers noted that trading became the norm after a period of relative tolerance in the 1980s. As Kinley says, since the early 1990s, Egypt has witnessed a significant degree of political deliberation that challenges the idea of an obstructed transition to democracy, as amending the penal code and legislation regulating professional unions and trade unions, as well as unprecedented electoral fraud, are just some of the indicators. Although related to the conflict between the regime and armed Islamist groups, the erosion of political participation and freedoms also reflects other factors, including attempts to contain opposition to economic liberalization under the current reform program.

The party map in Egypt after 2014

Party life in Egypt still suffers from many defects and negatives that have worsened in recent years, which have witnessed a noticeable decline in the membership of these parties, the size of their presence in mass organizations and civil society institutions [20], the size of their representation in parliamentary assemblies, and the extent of their geographical spread throughout the Republic [21].

The party map in Egypt witnessed a large number of parties in a way that led to the weakness and fragmentation of the party system on the one hand and hindered the

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[18] Kapur.

[19] Astrid Nordin, *China's International Relations and Harmonious World: Time, Space and Multiplicity in World Politics* (Routledge, 2016).

[20] Hassan Ali Muhammed, "Civil Society Organization in Iraq and Its Impact on Democratic Transformations," *Resmilitaris* 13, no. 1 (2023): 2139–50.

[21] A. Al-Saadawi, *The Leadership Crisis in Egyptian Political Parties, Democracy within Parties in Arab Countries*, 1st editio (Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2004).

ordinary citizen from following this large number of parties, their programs, and their leadership on the other hand. In addition, the ability of parties varied from one region to another, where the new political parties in Egypt counted on the personalities of their founders. It is a natural phenomenon during the first years of the parties' emergence and does not indicate a problem specific to the Egyptian party system, the Egyptian political culture, or the Egyptian elite alone. It is an expected and even recurring phenomenon in most emerging democracies. In light of the new parties' lack of organizational structures ready to operate, their electoral programs are often in the process of development and are generally general. This is what makes relying on the personalities of party founders a natural matter in the early stages [22].

Despite the holding of Parliament in 2015, which is the first parliamentary elections under the 2014 Constitution. It is described as what some political science literature calls constructive elections, which means that the elections that create a new phase differ in their context, and perhaps their players, from the previous phase [23]. President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi issued some political and economic decisions, but he did not care about political parties, especially with the control of Parliament by the Egypt Support Alliance, which supported the President (Abdel Fattah El-Sisi). He also met with the leaders of political parties only a few times, and these meetings did not produce tangible results through which the parties' position could be strengthened. The reason why the president did not represent one of the parties in his choices for members of the executive institution was because he was convinced of the weakness of the role of these parties in creating a state of political instability [24].

The President also reduced the number of political parties, as the number of parties officially registered and approved by the Parties Committee reached (104), of which only 19 parties are within Parliament. He sought to reduce the number of existing parties inside and outside Parliament through mergers of parties, resignations of members, joining another party, reaching a form approaching the ruling party, and the presence of a party or several parties that would play the role of opposition loyal to the regime [25]. The reason for this is the absence of opposition parties with electoral and representational weight, after the Muslim Brotherhood boycotted these elections. The new parliament has become composed of a mosaic of parties that are unable to form a strong opposition due to their dispersion and the loyalty of most of them to the regime [26].

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[22] Al-Saadawi.

[23] A. Hilal, *The Return of the State and the Development of the Political System in Egypt after June 30*, 1st editio (Egyptian Lebanese House, Beirut., 2015).

[24] S. Ramzi, *The State of Political Parties in the Sisi Era - Steps Backward, Al-Badil Center for Planning and Strategic Studies, Amman* (Al-Badil Center for Planning and Strategic Studies, Amman, 2017).

[25] S. T. M. Al-Jubouri, "The Role of the President of the Republic in the Egyptian Political System Since 1981" (Al-Mustansiriya University, 2021).

[26] B. Qasim and R. Al-Dannan, *Constitutional Changes and Elections, Egypt Between Two Eras, Comparative Study (1)*, 1st editio (l-Zaytoun Center for Studies and Consultations, Beirut., 2016).

Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' (origin, role and political program)

Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' is an "elite-based" party. These are parties whose main organizational structures are based on established elites and networked figures within a specific geographical area, out of respect for authority. These elites are a common feature of the two types of parties within which this "genre" falls. Whatever party structure exists at the national level, programmatically, it depends on the alliance between local elites. These parties are not ideological at the lowest level within the party (i.e. the association between voters and the local candidate). The primary electoral obligation involves the distribution of private benefits to the geographical residents of a specific constituency or to "clients" at the bottom of the patron-client hierarchy.

Origins and formation (Mustaqbal Watan Party)

In any political system that believes in democracy, political parties are the focus of the democratic process because they form the legislative council and formally draw up public policy legislation within official institutions. The members of one party within Parliament are cohesive in their position, principles, and ideology, which reflect positively on the political system and then on the democratic process in the country in general and on the political system in terms of achieving political stability. On the contrary, it has a particularly negative impact, which leads to political instability. To begin with, it can be said that the emergence of Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' was not very different from the emergence of many political parties that emerged after the January 25 Revolution, all of which were characterized by superiority and elitism. It was more elitist and superior than a natural emergence among a group of stakeholders that share at least an ideology or political reference with each other.

Accordingly, it can be said that the founding of the party came in transitional circumstances, following the June 30 Revolution, when a group of young people from the Egyptian Student Union carried out a youth campaign entitled (The Nation's Future). Its main goal was to pass the 2014 constitution, but some quickly caught on to the idea and worked to transform it into a political party [27]. This caused a great uproar about the method of establishment, and who stands behind the party, especially since the party succeeded in gathering the required agencies (5,000 agencies) to announce it in less than two days. Party members played a prominent role in the presidential elections in favor of President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi[28].

Mostaqbal Watan, 'The Nation's Future Party' is an Egyptian political party founded by members of the Egyptian Military Intelligence and Reconnaissance Department in 2014. It appeared after the events of 2013 in Egypt (Mohamed Badran, Ahmed Shaaban). The party has grown until it has become one of the largest parties in

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[27] Y. Al-Azbawi and M. Hassan, "The Party Map in Egypt after the Revolution from Restricted Multiplicity to Party Fragmentation," *Strategy Brochures* 234, no. 2 (2012): 161–78.

[28] Y. Al-Azbawi, *A Reading of the Crisis of Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party'* (Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Cairo, 2016), https://acpss.ahram.org.eg/News/5471.aspx.

Egypt. It absolutely supported President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi and his relationship with senior government officials. Considering Eberhard Kienle's argument for liberal deliberation and the aftermath of Egypt's legislative elections, it reveals the Egyptian government's tactics in causing the fragmentation of legitimate political parties in Egypt. In this context, he expands both arguments by applying them to opposition parties in Egypt. Since 1998, the Committee of Political Parties has closed seven of the sixteen legal opposition parties. The government not only stifles group development but also prevents prominent independent members of Parliament from using existing parties to challenge the ruling National Democratic Party. By examining the government's tactics towards opposition parties, he shows that the re-entrenchment of authoritarianism has emerged and argues that the process of democratization in Egypt has ended [29].

This is what made some critics liken it to the National Democratic Party, which ruled Egypt during the era of former President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak.

Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party', program and political participation

Mostaqbal Watan, 'The Nation's Future Party' was founded in 2014 and began to take shape after June 30, 2013. It is a liberal political party headed by Counselor Abdel-Wahab Abdel-Razzaq Hassan Abdel-Wahab. The party is based on a set of principles that constitute its identity and control its partisan and political practices. The most prominent of these principles are [30]: Citizenship and full equality; Guaranteeing basic rights and freedoms; Social justice; Consolidating democracy and multiplicity and enhancing popular participation; Strengthening the civil service within the framework of effective public administration; Protecting the gains of the January 25 and June 30 revolutions. And ensuring human security to protect national security.

The head of the party also issued a decision regarding a general program for the party aimed at clarifying the party's vision and the most basic principles that the party seeks to implement in political, economic, and social life in Egypt, which included the following topics [31]: The first axis: public rights and freedoms; The second axis: The political system and its institutions; The third axis: public and local administration; The fourth axis: the economic and political system; The fifth axis: social policies; The sixth axis: identity and cultural policies. And the seventh axis: foreign policy and national security.

The head of Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' (Mohamed Badran) also announced the electoral program for Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party'

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[29] Joshua Stacher, "Parties over: The Demise of Egypt's Opposition Parties," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 31, no. 2 (2004): 215–33.

[30] Nadine Abdalla, "Youth Movements in the Egyptian Transformation: Strategies and Repertoires of Political Participation," in *Dynamics of Transformation, Elite Change and New Social Mobilization* (Routledge, 2018), 44–63.

[31] Abdalla.

during a speech announcing the party's entry into the electoral race. This program included a number of axes, including [32]:

Firs, reliance on youth: In its statement, the party emphasized the youth identity of the state and the role of youth in building and developing it. It also worked on developing a plan for youth development by launching a national project to prepare them (the Academy for the Future of a Nation) as a generation of patriotic youth.

Second, the field of education: paying attention to education because it is the basic foundation for the advancement of the state through the teacher, developing modern curricula in line with the modern system, establishing a law for university admission based on justice and development, etc. There is another aspect of this field represented in paying attention to education to eliminate unemployment.

Third, the economic field: The party adopted a project based on participatory development to raise the level of citizens through quality of life standards to reach cities, neighborhoods, villages, and hamlets, in addition to developing agriculture and establishing fisheries projects.

Participation in the political process of Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party'

Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' went through its first democratic experience in the 2015 parliamentary elections, which witnessed a high representation of parties, with the number of elected representatives reaching 568 representatives. Despite the surprise that occurred in the first stage when parties obtained a majority of individual seats, the phenomenon quickly declined, as political parties obtained 243 seats, or 42.8%, while independents obtained 325 seats, or 57.2% of the total number of seats. Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' entered the elections as part of the "For Egypt" electoral coalition, which won all of the party's 120 seats in Parliament. After that, 53 seats were allocated in Parliament, making it the second largest party after the Free Egyptians Party, which won 65 seats. The total number of seats Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' obtained through individual nomination was 43, and the total number of seats the party obtained through nomination on lists was 10. The percentage of those elected (568) was 9.3 [33]. The elections witnessed several accusations of the spread of electoral bribery during their conduct and the spread of the phenomenon of (political capital) through the superiority and progress of political parties compared to independent candidates in individual seats. The winner is the one who spends the most on the electoral process and is most able to buy votes. Those parties are Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party', Al-Ahrar "Free Egyptians Party, and Wafd "the Delegation Party [34].

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[32] S. Al-Hariri, "Electoral Phenomena in the 2015 House of Representatives Elections: The Nation's Future Party," in *From the Unknown to the Dark Horse, Arab Alternatives Forum, Cairo*, 2016.

[33] Moneef R Zou'bi et al., "17. The Arab States The Arab States," *UNESCO Science Report: Towards 2030*, 2015, 431.

[34] B. Qasim and R. Al-Dannan, *Political Parties and Forces, Egypt Series between the Eras of Morsi and Sisi, a Comparative Study (2)*, ed. 2nd Edition (Al-Zaytoun Center for Studies and Consultations, Beirut., 2016).

As for the elections of the House of Representatives 2020, Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party', which supported President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi, participated and won the largest share of parliamentary seats. The party was able to gain a parliamentary majority, and the Republican People's Party was second. The independents were also able to obtain 95 seats, including 25 in the list system and 70 in the individual system, according to the party composition of the new parliament. Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' had 316 seats, including 145 in the list system and 171 in the individual system. As for the Republican People's Party, it won 50 seats, including 28 in the list system and 22 in the individual system. Wafd 'Delegation' Party also won 26 seats, including 21 in the list system and 4 in the individual system (Middle East Journal).

The results also confirmed the status of the party as a dominant force after it won about 75 % of the electable seats in Egypt's newly re-established Senate in August. The results showed that a small opposition bloc that includes leftist and independent representatives lost several of its seats in the elections. Voters and politicians expected that the party of Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future" would benefit from new electoral laws to gain control of Parliament, where Sisi could directly appoint up to 28 representatives. Some voters and rival candidates accused Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' of providing food and cash aid to voters to gain their support, accusations that the party has repeatedly denied. Candidates and competing parties also submitted grievances to the Election Commission about alleged fraud in the elections, but the Commission rejected all grievances. Some filed lawsuits before the courts to challenge the election results. The participation rate in the two main rounds of the elections was 29 %. Critics say that Sisi's era has witnessed a widespread crackdown on political opposition since he led the overthrow of former President Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood in 2013. Sisi and his supporters say that the measures taken by the authorities are necessary to achieve stability in the country.

Conclusion

It is difficult to anticipate the future of parties and the multiplicity of parties in Egypt since the ruling regime party has deliberately, throughout Egypt's history, restricted the partisan experience with legal, constitutional, and political restrictions that played a major role in excluding parties and restricting public rights and freedoms. This led to a distortion of the democratic process. The goal of these restrictions was the continued dominance of the authority and its survival in power, in addition to the challenges facing the democratic experiment in Egypt, which negatively affected the future of the experiment, whether they were internal challenges or external ones. All of these challenges contributed to obstructing participation and the multiplicity of parties. Political parties are one of the most important foundations of the democratic process because the latter opens the way for multiplicity, which allows for the presence of a number of parties competing for power. Thus, it contributes to consolidating electoral work, but this requires that there

be a sufficient degree of freedom for these parties to move, along with the existence of rules that regulate the work of those parties.

It is agreed that the legislative institution represents the people, and this representation takes different forms: it may be geographical, where the representative is linked to a partisan region on a tribal or ethnic basis or based on identity. It may be political within the electoral constituencies or an entity that seeks to ensure that the elected legislative council includes men and women. This is done by the defection of members belonging to the party of the sect or nationality to which he belongs and joining the party that is certain to take power given that it represents the majority. Legislative representation can be achieved through a single legislative chamber at the national level, where one party may be able to obtain a majority with the support of a winner-take-all electoral system without allocating seats for women or minorities. This form of parliamentary representation reflects the diversity in the country and the different interests therein, especially in a diverse society that has suffered from conflict due to the marginalization of some groups. Hence, founding the party stems from relying on power and using it to build a hierarchy based on emotions and social and religious divisions that cannot achieve political stability and democratic prosperity.

We conclude from the study that, despite the expansion of the number of Egyptian political parties in 2014, this expansion was not accompanied by an increase in the vitality of party life or the activation of the role of those parties, in addition to the failure to get rid of the phenomenon of the ruling party controlling the Egyptian political arena. Many liken Mostaqbal Watan 'The Nation's Future Party' to the National Democratic Party, which was dominant until the revolution in 2011.

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