

**CENTER FOR TRADE UNION & WORKERS
SERVICES
(CTUWS)**
**Awarded the French Republic's Human Rights
Prize**

**The Absurd Scenario
Report on Trade Union Elections
2018-2022**

**Prepared by
CTUWS**

**CENTER FOR TRADE UNION & WORKERS
SERVICES
(CTUWS)**

**Awarded the French Republic's Human Rights
Prize**

**The Absurd Scenario
Report on Trade Union Elections
2018-2022
Prepared by
CTUWS**

Cairo/Egypt

Helwan, 1 Mohammed Sayed Ahmed Street (Alexandria Building), Petrogas Buildings, Second Floor, Apartment no. 2.

Tel & Fax : (+202)28182929/28182932 - (202) 01220532488

E-mail: ctuws.ctuws@gmail.com

Website: <http://www.ctuws.com>

Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/ctuws.center>

Branches:

Cairo/Down Town: 88 Al-Qasr Al-Ainy Street, First Floor,
Apt. 7

Mobile: (+2)01211972240 - Tel. & Fax: (+202)27962564

Al-Mahalla Al-Kobra: 3 Masaken Abu Shahin, Entrance B,
Apt. 3 (in front of Abu Shahin Bakery)

Mobile: (+2)01211972237 - Tel. & Fax: (040)2202486

Alexandria: 89 Gamal Abdel Naser St., Seidy Beshr, First
Floor (Next to Hegazy Dairy and above Style Gallery)

Mobile: (+2)01211972234 - Tel: (+203)3592609

CENTER FOR TRADE UNION & WORKERS SERVICES

Contents

1. Introduction	
2. Methodological Framework of the Report	
3. Legislative Environment of the Electoral Process	
4. Main Violations and Irregularities	
4.1 Violations and Irregularities during the Two Phases of the Elections of the Enterprise-Level Unions	
4.2 Elections in Sectoral Union Federation	
5. Conclusions	
6. Appendix	

1

1. Introduction

Trade unions elections were not held in Egypt for twelve years. However, when they were finally held they were arranged so that those elected to represent workers are unionists who are loyal the government and employers rather than workers. The objective of holding elections in this manner was to bring people on top of a decadent trade union structure that never fulfilled its role as a defender of workers' rights. However, the trade unions' elections for the term of 2018-2022 exceeded all boundaries of rationality and lacked even the formal requirements of elections.

The electoral process itself started exactly on the next day to deadline for the legalization of the status of independent trade unions pursuant to the Law amid absence of media coverage and community monitoring. Trade unionists who had exerted considerable effort to legalize the status of their unions had to move immediately to the next step which is the electoral process of the three phases of trade union organizations (i.e. that of the enterprise-level unions, sectoral federations, and national confederation) that was conducted all over the country in a very short and critical period (the month of Ramadan and *Eid Al-Fitr* (Lesser Barium) during which work is slow).

As elections started, everybody had to run in a hurry in order to complete the required documents and take the necessary procedures. All this had to happen within a time frame that is too tight in a way that is contradictory to guaranteeing the rights of all members of trade unions to nominate themselves without discrimination; the rights of candidates to promote their programs and carry out campaign activities; and the rights of voters to elect the best candidates capable of truly representing them and their interests.

Trade union elections should normally be conducted according to the internal regulations of these unions and the decisions adopted by their general assemblies. However, according to Law no. 213 for the year 2017, the Ministry of Manpower controlled the whole scene of labour and trade unions life in order to achieve the pre-arranged scenario.

As a normal consequence of the tight schedule of elections and the huge number of candidates, the Ministry of Manpower, which is an old bureaucratic apparatus, fell in several administrative mistakes, such as misplacing the names of candidates on the lists, delaying the publication of lists, and other matters that negatively affected the overall process. Moreover, the Ministry of Manpower managed to conduct a large scale process of exclusion and disqualification of candidates based on different

pretexts. The Ministry was acting according to the directions of the government-affiliated Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF) and of security apparatuses. This process affected hundreds of candidates to the administrative boards of trade unions in favour of other candidates. Exclusion and disqualification did not only take place against members of independent trade unions or workers' leaders who are considered opponents to ETUF's policies, but it also affected members of enterprise-level unions and sectoral federations that are affiliated to the ETUF. This includes cases like that of the President of Turah Cement Trade Union, and the Treasurer of the Sectoral Federation of Workers in Military Factories, which is an indicator of an existing conflict within the ETUF itself.

Disqualification of unwanted people did not only take place in order to allow the leaders of ETUF to win their seats by acclamation, but even to make their sons hold positions in the boards of trade unions in order to guarantee full control over the ETUF. This actually is a reminder of the pattern prevailing under Mubarak's regime and his attempts to place his own son on top of the country.

In addition to mass exclusions of candidates, the Ministry put obstacles before appeals and complaints to prevent candidates who were disqualified from participating in elections. It gave

the Commissions overseeing elections the authority to hear and decide in the appeals made by disqualified candidates. These commissions were the ones that originally made the decisions to exclude these candidates from the lists. Thus, they became an enemy and a judge at the same time.

Moreover, appeals and complaints witnessed many illegal practices hat deprived complainants from the things they need later at the litigation process. The General Commission overseeing elections refused to give complainants or plaintiffs in most of the cases any document that proves that they filed complaints. Most of complainants did not even receive any responses or statement explaining why their names were removed from the electoral lists. In addition, final electoral lists were announced very late at night after the end of the deadline for appealing.

The electoral process already started before issuance of the decision to form labour court circuits which are supposed to be responsible of reviewing appeals and complaints, making judgments and redress the situation. This was an additional factor that negatively affected the appeals made by some members of independent trade unions before the Courts of First Instance which are overwhelmed with tons of cases and consequently incapable of acting urgently.

Systematic and concurrent exclusions, coupled with obstacles put by the Ministry of Manpower in front of complainants against the elections of the enterprise-level unions (enterprise-level unions) shaped the features of the elections of the administrative boards of the next level which is the sectoral federations. The administrative boards of 15 out of 27 sectoral federations did not have competition in elections as the boards were elected by acclamation. In the other 12 federations which had elections: three ones had elections merely for the members of the administrative board while there was just one candidate for the presidency; two federations had elections merely for the presidency while seats of the administrative boards were filled by acclamation; and in seven federations elections took place for both the board and the president. The final scene of this farce was the formation of the administrative board of the ETUF away from the oversight and participation of workers inside the corridors of the ETUF and by agreement of the heads sitting on top of the 27 sectoral federations. The result of all this engineering is that the ETUF's President, General Secretary and Treasurer have retained their seats on top of its structure. Thus, the worst elections in the history of the Egyptian trade unions movement came to an end. These elections were held under the supervision of the Ministry of

Manpower which adopted the same old methods and dealt with the ETUF as if it is the only federation of workers and their organizations without any measures of fairness, transparency or neutrality. So, in fact what happened were not real elections. These were pseudo-elections the purpose of which is to improve the appearance of the Ministry of Manpower, representative of the Egyptian Government in front of the ILO, and to make the impression that the government fulfilled its commitments. However, violations took place in the phase of trade unions elections and in the legalization process that directly preceded elections. These violations completely contradict the recommendations of the ILO Experts Committee on the Application of Standards in front of which the Egyptian government pledged to hold elections in neutral and transparent manner.

Contrary to government's pledges, union elections were conducted under full governmental supervision in cooperation with the leaders of the ETUF. Thus, the results were predetermined either in enterprise-level unions, sectoral federations or national federation. The Ministry of Manpower managed these elections with the same old mentality which does not recognize any other trade union structure apart from the government-affiliated ETUF and its subordinate unions. It managed the legalization

phase in the same manner as if the old trade union law (Law no. 35 for the year 1976) still applies. It led to many injustices and ended up in the exclusion of hundreds of candidates with no reason. These people filed tens of reports in police stations to document the cases of exclusion, and filed hundreds of lawsuits against the results of elections before courts.

2. Methodological Framework of the Report

This section deals with the methodological procedures adopted in the preparation of this Report, including objectives and questions to be answered; adequate mechanisms to gather information and the tools used to collect data, in addition to the steps followed in field work. The last point includes selection of the team of monitors, the provision of training in monitoring and documentation, and the identification of obstacles and challenges faced during implementation.

This framework comprises the following:

- Objectives
- Methodology
- Selection of monitoring team and tools
- Field work and its challenges

2.1 Main Objective

This Report seeks to clearly present violations that took place during the electoral process through a reading of the events of the period from 16 May 2018 to 28 June 2018; and an analysis of the legal environment surrounding elections with its legislative defects including the impact of the Law and its Executive Regulation on the course and results of these elections.

Under this general objective, there are a number of **targets** that the Report seeks to achieve as follows:

1. Analyzing the legislative framework of trade union elections and its impact on the process;
2. Monitoring and documenting all the violations perpetrated against both candidates and electors during all the phases and levels of the electoral process;
3. Checking compliance with the provisions of Law no. 213 for the year 2017 and the problems that emerged during implementation;
4. Estimating women's representation in the boards of the different levels of trade union organizations (first-level unions that are either enterprise-level unions or professional unions at the city or governorate level known as union committees, sectoral union federations known as general unions, and the confederation of union federations), and whether final results reflect the magnitude of their membership in different trade unions;
5. Disseminating documented information and conducting quantitative and qualitative analysis of the situation of independent trade unions and trade unions affiliated to ETUF in order to provide credible source for researchers and the media; *and*

6. Providing worker leaders with a tool for evaluating the previous period and developing a clear vision for action in the coming period.

2.2 Methodology Used in Preparation of the Report

The present Report adopts a descriptive analytical methodology, using two methods of collection of information and data:

- 1) Field monitoring including varied tools
- 2) Personal interviews with number of candidates.

We aimed at conducting accurate monitoring and deep analysis of the fairness and freedom of these elections including the adequacy of the legislative environment. Thus, it was necessary to monitor violations and practices of administrative bodies especially the Ministry of Manpower and the Commission overseeing Elections during the specific periods mentioned above. On the other hand, the legislative framework had to be analyzed as it offers the basis for the violation of several basic guarantees of fair and free elections either for candidates or voters. Such analysis would allow us to conclude a number of indicators about the legislative deficiencies that directly impact the electoral process.

2.3 Tools Used in the Monitoring Process

- Facts and events observed by the monitoring team;
- Information released in the media after verification of sources;
- Periodic statements released by the Commission overseeing elections;
- Complaints filed by candidates themselves;
- Complaints presented to and documented by the offices of Public Prosecutor;
- Statements of facts documented in police reports;
- Appeals filed by disqualified candidates to the elections Commission; *and*
- Statements published by the Ministry of Manpower.

2.4 Steps Taken to implement the Methodology of the Report

1. Forming a team for monitoring and documentation made of 63 monitors throughout the governorates of Egypt. Members of this team were selected based on specific criteria;
2. Developing a guiding questionnaire that included specific questions aimed at collecting information and data necessary for the

- monitor to come with scientific and reliable documentation;
3. Training the working team on monitoring and documentation, as well as the basic data that need to be collected, and means of communication between the central documentation team and monitoring teams;
 4. The central team for monitoring and documentation relied on following up the process of monitoring using data and information provided. This was done by monitors themselves and via personal interviews with candidates; in addition to verification of such information and checking the sources. Sources also include statements released by the election Commissions and by the Ministry of Manpower, as well as everything published in the media after verification thereof, and reports to the Public Prosecution and police departments and lawsuits made by candidates who were excluded by election Commission;
 5. Issuing daily statements and reports by the central monitoring team about the ongoing violations and their repercussions to be included in the Report.

2.5 Geographic Scope

This Report covers the following governorates and areas: Cairo – Helwan – Giza – Al-Mahallah Al-Kobra – Al-Qalyoubeya – Al-Gharbeya – Suez - Port-Said – Ismailia – Qena – Alexandria – Al-Beheira – Al-Menya – Al-Fayoum – Ash-Sharqia - Beni Sweif.

2.6 Time Frame

The Report covers the period in which the electoral process took place which is from 16 May 2018 to 228 June 2018.

2.7 Field work and Related Difficulties

- 1) Difficulty to obtain sufficient information;
- 2) Lack of regular and timely statements from the Commission overseeing elections and the Ministry of Manpower;
- 3) Inability of the monitoring team to cover all the governorates of Egypt;
- 4) Time constraints resulting from the tight schedule of the electoral process; *and*
- 5) Fear of monitors in some instances from being harassed by security forces.

3. Legislative Environment of the Electoral Process

3.1 An environment conducive to violations

Decisions of the Ministry of Manpower are not the only thing to blame in this situation. The Trade Unions Organizations Law no. 213 for the year 2017 is also responsible for this. Those who wrote and passed this Law insisted in an “insightless” manner on stipulating in article two thereof that new bodies are to be elected within ninety days of the date on which the Executive Regulations of this Law become effective; and in article 3 that the Executive Regulations of this Law specifies the rules, procedures and dates in which trade unions have to legalize their status provided that this legalization phase does not exceed 60 days starting from the next day on the entry into force of the Executive Regulations.

This very tight time frame provided a pretext for violating some of the guarantees that are theoretically included in the Law. Later on, all other guarantees were violated. For example, the preliminary lists of candidates were not announced. Candidates had to search for their news and information about their contents from whatever source. This deprived many candidates from their

right to appeal against their disqualification, and consequently of the right to resort to courts as the Law necessitates that administrative complaints/appeals should be exhausted before the plaintiff goes to court (article 42 of Law no. 213 for 2017 and article 25 of its Executive Regulations). Most violations during the electoral process were not based on any law. However, we could say that the provisions of Law no. 213 for 2017 represented a milieu that is favourable to many of these violations, as follows:

Article 42 of the new Law, which is copied from the old Law, assumes that the elections have to take place simultaneously in all trade unions; and that governmental bodies have to organize and supervise them. This is to reproduce the experience of the ETUF which was being dealt with as if it is one the state's institutions. However, if we are talking about trade unions that are freely established and run by workers, this system does not work. It is inconsistent to insist on holding elections throughout the country at the same time by Commissions and Sub-Commissions created by decisions of the Minister of Manpower.

The new Law kept all the rules and procedures of elections which were promulgated by the old Law which is supposed to be repealed. The way elections

were conducted during the past decades already included various violations. The only sound provision was that elections have to be held under full judicial supervision (a judge in each polling station). The new Law left out this provision fearing that it may be used by the Supreme Administrative Court or the Supreme Constitutional Court to nullify the elections as what happened in the past when the elections of the different levels of the ETUF were declared null and void because full judicial supervision was not available. However, this particular provision was removed from the new Law.

Trade unions are the organizations of workers. They should be regulated pursuant to the bylaws that workers choose. Workers are the ones who should put the guarantees they deem necessary for guaranteeing the conduct of free and fair elections. They may request judiciary monitoring of elections, or call for supervision by other trade unions or civil society organizations. It is the duty of the government to enable them to conduct democratic elections without any intervention.

3.2 Faults in the Electoral Process

Article 42 states that nomination and voting take place under the supervision of the Election Commissions formed pursuant to decisions of the minister in charge. Each Commission has to be headed by members of the judiciary, and has to include in their membership the head of the relevant directorate or his/her representative, and a member of the concerned trade union. Article 16 of the Executive Regulations stipulates that Election Commissions are to be formed pursuant to the Law, and it added a technical secretariat whose work is to be carried out by an employee from the state administrative body, the public sector, the public works' sector, or the concerned federation and its affiliated organizations. This member is to be without vote in the Commission's deliberations. These commissions are assigned with the task of supervising all procedures of nomination, and the different phases of election of the boards of trade union organizations, deciding in complaints made by all relevant parties, and finally approving and declaring results.

Article 17 of the Executive Regulation also stipulates that the minister in charge issues ministerial decrees to form sub-commissions in

charge of organizing the processes of voting and counting. Each one of these sub-commissions has to be headed by one of the workers of the administrative apparatus of the state, the public sector, the public works sector, or the concerned trade union federation or any of its affiliated institutions. Its membership comprises two members of the trade union organizations who are not nominated in these elections. The technical secretariat of such sub-commission also has to be undertaken by one of the workers in the administrative apparatus of the state, the public sector, the public works sector, or the concerned trade union federation or any of its affiliated institutions. This member is to be without vote in the commission's deliberations.

The new Law and its Executive Regulations substituted the phrase “the Egyptian Trade Union Federation” with “the concerned federation”. However, this does not mean a real change as members of the government affiliated ETUF are members in the commissions supervising elections! Legislators who wrote the Law and its Executive Regulations didn't exert some effort to put criteria for selection of this member. Actually, in many cases, the member of the general Commission supervising elections was the president the trade union federation in the same governorate who – few

days earlier - was pressuring representatives of independent trade unions to join the government-affiliated federation along with executive apparatuses.

The general Commissions supervising elections, the ministerial decisions which formed them, how they were formed, and the broad powers they enjoy may be considered faults of the system which led to the corruption of the electoral process. These commissions are directly responsible – at least formally – for removing thousands of candidates from the lists, delaying the announcement of initial lists of candidates (or actually hiding them), depriving many candidates of the right to petition, and refraining from conducting elections in several independent trade unions, as well as delaying the announcement of results of elections at the end.

3.3 The Main Tool Used to Disqualify Candidates

Article 41 of Law no. 213 for 2017 determines the conditions for nomination to the election of the members of the boards of trade union organizations as follows:

1. The candidate has to be an adult of full capacity;
2. To be finished – at least - primary education or acquired the adult literacy certificate;
3. To be a member of the general assembly of the trade union organization, and to have regularly paid union subscription for the duration specified in the bylaws;
4. To have performed the military service or have been exempted;
5. Not to belong to one of the following categories:
 - A. Workers assigned with the exercise of all or some of the powers of employers in the different types of private sector, or delegated to exercise them during the period in which they exercise these powers;
 - B. Workers holding leadership positions in the government, units of local administration, public bodies undertaking service or economic

activities, governmental bodies with special budgets, and companies in the public sector or the public works sector, as well as workers in the investment sector, the joint sector, or the cooperative sector. Exempted from this provision are those holding recursive jobs of the level of general managers, and those holding general management positions, who don't have the power to impose sanctions;

C. Heads of sectors, board members of agencies and companies except for the elected members of the administrative boards;

D. Not to be a temporary, transferred, seconded, or assigned worker, performing his military service, serving in the army, or having a personal leave without pay; *or*

6. Not to have been convicted with a criminal punishment or by imprisonment in a misdemeanor that involves a breach of honour or honesty.

This is without prejudice to the provisions of article 40 which necessitates that the candidate is not retired.

These conditions violate the inherent right of the general assembly to develop its own internal regulations, and choose its own representatives.

They also violate the rights to vote and to be nominated that should be made available to all members of the union. According to ILO literature, the only legitimate exception that could be made from the right to be nominated to executive positions in the union is that regarding the member who was convicted in a felony or a misdemeanor that contradicts honour or honesty as this means his/her integrity is dubious.

The oddest condition is the one which stipulates that temporary, transferred, or seconded workers may not run for elections of the administrative boards of trade unions. This provision is copied from the old Law which was adopted more than forty years ago and was tailored to fit the one and only trade union organization which was almost one the governing institutions. At that time, almost all its members were public sector workers who usually have permanent contracts. Back then, temporary labour contracts were a rare exception. However, nowadays the vast majority of workers in the private sector work under temporary labour contracts.

Moreover, the condition that retired workers may not be nominated is implicitly included in article 40. This article allows board members of trade unions who become retired to practice their right to vote and be nominated if they are immediately hired as workers in the same category of work included in

the union. This provision is actually a flagrant exception and discrimination in favour of board members against the rest of the members of general assembly of the trade union.

This provision caused much debate during the discussion of the draft law in the Parliament. It has considerable impact on the trade union elections as it was tailored to fit most of the current leaders of the government-affiliated ETUF to guarantee that they continue in their positions and to reduce opportunities of change.

Unfortunately, many procedures of trade union elections seem to have been taken in order to guarantee the continuation of a number of leaders in their positions within the ETUF and its affiliate unions.

For example, the ten conditions for nomination stipulated by Law no. 213 for 2017, and the provisions of article 20 of the Executive Regulations regarding the documents that should be attached to the candidate's application to the general Commission supervising elections, actually mean that the candidate has to have 13 different documents. Each condition needs an official document to prove it. Thus, all workers who wished to nominate themselves had to spend long time to complete the needed documentation.

With the start of the electoral process, we thought that the required documents that should be attached to the application are the principal pretext which would be used to disqualify many candidates.

However, as the electoral process proceeded it was clear that the executive authorities are not concerned with providing reasons or justifications for broad exclusion and disqualifications of members that reached unbelievable scope. They started disqualifying candidates without even providing reasons.

3.4 Expiry of the Deadline for Deciding in Complaints

Paragraphs 2 and 3 of article 43 (Law 213 for 2017) stipulate that everyone concerned member of the trade union organization has the right to appeal any of the procedures of nomination, results of elections, or any of the electoral steps at the competent Labour Court within fifteen days of the end of the nomination period, the start of elections, or the date of announcement of results in electoral polling stations as the case may be. No appeals are accepted except after presentation of complaints at the general Commissions supervising elections and the expiry of the deadline for deciding in these complaints.

There is a legal debate on the constitutionality of this provision as it may be infringing upon the right to litigation. However, this provision actually led in

practice to the violation of the right of many candidates who were removed from the electoral process to appeal the decisions of their disqualification or exclusion. The pace of the electoral process was excessively fast to the extent that the Ministry of Manpower and the general Commissions it formed could not fulfill it. This fast pace led to wasting the right of many victims of disqualification decisions to appeal against such decisions.

On the other hand, the general Commissions supervising elections did not fulfill their commitments. They did not announce the preliminary lists of candidates on the due time according to the timetable pre-determined in the Ministerial Decision no. 37 for 2018. They did not even publish these lists at all, which is a violation of transparency and of the rights of voters and candidates. Those who were disqualified did not know they were removed from the lists and could not appeal before the due date.

Moreover, final lists of candidates were not announced until the last day before elections. In some cases, they were announced on the same day in the morning.

Finally, it is clear that the legislators actually intended to stipulate in the Law that appeals against nomination or elections procedures or results of

elections should be made to the competent Labour Court rather than the Administrative Court. The reason, as evidenced in what happened during the last elections, is to prevent candidates from appealing to the administrative judiciary which used to be the last resort for candidates whose rights are violated by issuing summary judgments to stop the decisions of disqualification and add the names of the disqualified candidate to the list.¹ In addition, competent Labour Courts are not established yet as they are expected to be operational after the enactment of the new Labour Law. Therefore, there was no way for appealing except before the labour circuits of courts of first instance that are already burdened with hundreds of cases for several years².

¹ The government previously tried to immunize the decisions of disqualification from the judgments of the Administrative Court under the pretext that they do not fall under its jurisdiction. The Court decided that it is not within its jurisdiction to examine appeals regarding the procedures of election. However, procedures related to candidacy, and disqualification of candidates may be appealed before it. So, the provisions of the Law closed this option as well.

Moreover, the *Fatwa* and Legislation Department of the State Council made a recommendation regarding the draft Law before it was enacted that the phrase “without prejudice to the jurisdiction of the State Council Courts” to the provision of article four of the Issuance Articles. However, the legislators ignored this recommendation.

² The general session of the Parliament did not discuss yet the draft Labour Law presented by the government.

Law no. 213 for 2017 and its Executive Regulations did not stipulate that trade union presidents are to be directly elected by members of the general assembly of the trade union unlike what used to happen before. Unions should freely decide these regulations by themselves. However, the model bylaws issued by ministerial decision no. 36 for 2018, which is supposed to be non-compulsory, adopted this rule and elections were conducted based on it in all unions.

This rule may have been contradictory to the bylaws of some independent trade unions that succeeded to adopt their own internal regulations in spite of the pressures exerted on them to adopt the model bylaws made by the Ministry. Election of the president by the general assembly gives him/her a parallel and equal power to that of the board which becomes incapable of changing the president or holding him/her accountable. However, this rule may have been included in the “model” bylaws based on the request of the government-affiliated ETUF leaders and it seems that it was one of the important points which caused many violations to take place in the electoral process.

Since day one, a nomination form was distributed in some important enterprises including two check boxes: one for membership in the board and the other for the president, while the president's check

box was crossed to prevent anyone from nominating to this post except the person agreed upon by government bodies or the government-affiliated union. In other cases, there were verbal instructions that no one can be nominated for president unless s/he was elected in the board for at least one previous term.

Then, removal of candidates for presidency became wider and for increasing reasons. Not only candidates who are “unwanted” were removed, but also some people were removed just because they compete with the candidate which is predetermined to win according to the arrangements of the government-affiliated ETUF.

Thus, elections of enterprise-level unions were full of violations.

4. Main Violations and Irregularities

4.1 Violations and Irregularities during the Two Phases of the Elections of the Enterprise-level Unions

The First phase of the elections of the enterprise-level unions for the term of 2018-2022 began with allowing candidates to apply for nomination on the 16th and 17th of May 2018. It extended for eleven days including two days for voting (on the 23rd and 24th of May), followed by the deposition of documents on 25th and 26th of May. According to the ministerial decision no. 37 for 2018, this phase included trade unions in 12 sectors as follows: road transportation; railways; public utilities; commerce; agriculture, irrigation and fishing; banks and insurance; education and scientific research; tourism and hotels; administrative and social services; military production; petroleum; and taxes and financial business.

The second phase started with allowing candidates to apply for nomination on the 25th and 26th of May. It lasted for nine days ending with elections on Thursday, the 31st of May 2018 and the deposition of documents on the 1st and 2nd of June 2018. Trade unions included in this phase belong to 13 sectors as

follows: food industries; engineering, metallurgical and electrical industries; chemicals; journalism, printing and media; health services; construction and wood industries; spinning and weaving; maritime transportation; air transportation; mines and quarries; mail services; and offices of public prosecution and courts.

Throughout the country, applicants to elections in the first phase of the first level of trade union organizations were 20,870 candidates including 17,974 candidates for the membership of union boards and 2113 candidates for the presidency of unions. These applications were regarding 1004 unions under the 12 sectors included in the first phase out of 1731 unions that managed to legalize their status. This information is based on what was announced by the Ministry of Manpower (Table 1). However, the Ministry did not – until this report was written – announce the numbers of candidates in the second phase and the total number of candidates for this level of trade union organizations (table 2).

Table 1 - Total Number of Enterprise-level Trade Union Organizations in the First and Second Phases of Elections (2018-2022) according to the Statements of the Ministry of Manpower

Number of unions committees where elections were held	Number of unions where elections were held in the first phase in 12 sectors	Number of unions where elections were held in the first phase in 13 sectors
1731	1004	727

Table 2 – Number of Candidates in the First Phase throughout the Country

Number of candidates	Candidates for Membership in the Boards	Candidates for Presidency
20,087	17,974	2113

The following are the main violations and irregularities that had been observed by CTUWS' monitoring team during the elections period. These violations come under two broad categories:

1. The large number of removals/disqualifications made by the

- general commissions supervising elections and chaos that characterized all the procedures.
2. The very tight timetable that the Ministry of Manpower itself, and the Commissions it formed to supervise elections, failed to comply with. This timetable included just one week for each stage including the announcement of preliminary lists of candidates, submission of appeals, declaration of final lists, and the process of voting and counting.

4.1.1 First: Violations during the Nomination Period and at the Announcement of Names of Candidates:

The start of the nomination period witnessed the removal of thousands of candidates using different pretexts, including requiring workers to stamp their documents with the Republic's official stamp even if they work in private sector companies that don't have this stamp; absence of a photocopy of the educational certificate in the nomination documents; and loss of nomination files, as well as unlawful reasons or even without presenting any reasons.

4.1.1.1 Requesting Unnecessary Documents:

- Some candidates were excluded because they failed to present documents that are not legally required in the first place. For example, Tareq Qo'eeb, current President of the Independent Sectoral Union of Workers in Real Estate Taxes and candidate for the Presidency of the Union for Real Estate Taxes in the governorate of Qalyoubia, stated that he had been removed along with two other members (Magdy Ismail Zaki and Salah Mahmoud Afifi) under the pretext that their educational certificates were missing. It is important to note that these documents are not required among nomination papers. Therefore, they filed a complaint and resorted to the Administrative Court that scheduled a hearing on the 8th of June 2018;
- Karam Abdel Halim, candidate for the presidency of the Union of Workers in the Clubs of the Suez Canal Authority, was disqualified because the document stating his work status was stamped with the official stamp of the Republic although his papers should not only be stamped with the stamp of the employer because it is not a governmental body. Only governmental bodies/enterprises possess the official stamp of the Republic;

- Likewise, all candidates for the board of the Union of Workers in the Clubs of Suez Canal Authority in Ismailia were disqualified because the official stamp of the Republic was missing from their papers. However, they work for a private employer that doesn't have the official stamp as mentioned above.
- Ahmad Mohamad Thabet, a candidate to the board of the Union of Workers in Potable Water and Sewage Agency, was disqualified on the pretext that the certificate stating he was free from drugs was not clear;

4.1.1.2 Loss of the Application File

- In Cairo, the candidates of the Independent Union of Workers in the Profession of Public Transports were removed from the list of candidates under the pretext that the application file had disappeared. Amr Shahat Gad El Rab, president and legal representative of the union had received a receipt upon delivery of the application file to the Commission supervising elections the 18th of May 2018. However, he was notified of the disqualification of all seven candidates for the board of the Union for this fake reason;
- In Giza, all the candidates for the board of the Independent Union of Workers in the

Professions of Tourism were removed for the same reason, although their president, Wahid Ahmad Helmy, and his seven colleagues had provided all the required documents and got a receipt;

4.1.1.3 Disqualification without Justification

- In the second phase of the first/enterprise-level union elections, the Commission supervising elections disqualified 27 candidates out of 126 applying for the elections of the Union of workers in Helwan Iron and Steel Factory, on the top of whom was Al-Sayed Saad AL-Diene who was applying for the presidency of the union;
- 22 candidates out of 33 for the board of the Union of Workers in the National Company of Cement were removed which left merely eleven candidates who won all the seats of the board. Meanwhile, just two candidates were nominated for the presidency of the Union (Rafaat Taha and Mokhtar Soleyman) and both of them were disqualified.
- Five candidates out of 13 for the board of the Union of Workers in Income Tax Authority in Cairo were removed without justification. The removed/disqualified candidates made an appeal against this unlawful act. However,

nothing happened. The five disqualified candidates are: Mahmoud Hassan Mohamed, Gamal Ahmed Mostafa, Salah Ali, Shaaban Abu Al Salheen, and Tamer Abdel Fattah.

- In Assiut, the whole list of candidates for the Union of Workers in the Profession of Transportation was removed under the pretext that it is incomplete. In fact, after several frictions and struggles with the personnel of the Ministry of Manpower who were refusing to receive their papers, one of the candidates lost his file. Therefore, only six candidates applied leading to the disqualification of the entire group and the abolition of the union;
- The Union of Workers of Telecom Egypt was also subject to many removals of candidates nation-wide: 17 candidates were disqualified in Giza; and one in each of Cairo, South Sinai and Beni Sweif. Moreover, five candidates to the board of the Union of Telecom Egypt Workers in the Smart Village were removed from the final lists without providing any justification. They are Mahmoud El Sayed Mohamad Sayed, Waleed Abdel 'Aleem, Ibrahim El Said, Moustafa Soliman and Khaled Radwan;
- The following candidates were removed from the elections of the Union of Al-Ahram

Company for Consumers Cooperatives: Maher Ghamri Abdel Wahed, Mahmoud Fahmi Mahmoud, Abdel Nabi Mahmoud Awwad, Tawfiq Sayed Tawfiq, Magdy El Sayed Mohamad, Ahmad Labib El Mansi, Ahmad El Sayed Mahmoud Ouf, Mohamad Hassan Abdel Hamid El Afifi, Sayed Kamal Ibrahim, Ahmad Metwalli Mohamad, Mohamad El Sayed Ali, Mohamad Hussein Mekkawi, Nefissa Farag Ali, and Mohamad Abdallah Mahmoud. Thus, they presented a complaint at the Ministry of Manpower with no. 565 for 2018;

- In the governorate of Al-Daqahleya, 44 of the member of the Union of Workers in the Company of Production and Refinery of Sugar were denied the right to apply for nomination under the pretext that they are no longer members of the general assembly of union. So, the applicants sent their files via an official bailiff, and sent official warnings to the company administration, the union and the general Commission supervising elections, contesting the decision of removing them from the membership of the general assembly although they paid all their due union subscriptions;

- In the elections of the Union of Workers in The Engineering Automotive Manufacturing Co., Hesham Metwaly, Ragab Abdel Kareim, and Mohamed Eid Mohamed Al-Sayed were removed and they made an appeal to the general Commission supervising elections in the directorate of Manpower in Cairo.
- The general Commission supervising elections disqualified five candidates from the Coke Company in the second phase. They are Ayman Sobhi El Sayed, Essam Al-Diene Sabri Mohamad, Essam Ali Ahmad, Mohamad Ahmad Mohamad Ibrahim and Shadia Ahmad Hegab;
- In the governorate of Gharbeya, Mohamad Fouad Younis, current vice-president of the union of Workers of the Railways and candidate to the presidency of the Union, was removed along with with Ayman El Dessouki El Sayed Ghanem, Mohamad Mohamad El Sayed Mourad, and Wahid Fathallah El Guindi who were candidates to the board of the Union;
- Moustafa Hamed Mohamad Abdallah, candidate to the presidency of the Union of Workers of Real Estate Taxes in Ismailia, and Ashraf Kamel Mohamad, candidate to the board, were disqualified without any explicit

reason. When they tried to inquire about the reasons for this decision, they were merely told they could make an appeal or present a complaint;

- In the Union of Workers in Ports in Ismailia,, Galal El Gizawi is a candidate who was removed without justification;
- Two candidates, Mohamed Taqi Mohamed Hashem and Awsam Ali Farag, working in Naga Hammadi Sugar Company were disqualified without any justification;
- In Al-Fayoum Sugar Company, the general Commission supervising elections refused to receive the application file of Ashraf Abdel Tawwab Abdel Wanis under the pretext that he was not registered in the general assembly of his union;
- While presenting his application, Islam Mohamad Abdallah from Nile Lenin Group Company in Alexandria was arrested for no reason and was taken to the National Security Apparatus, then released and disqualified. Shadi Ali Ali, from the same company, was also removed from the list of candidates;
- The nomination application of Mohamed Hassan, who is working in Alexandria Cadbury Factory, was changed from presidency to membership of the board;

- In the Union of Workers in the Suez Canal Authority, there were 40 candidates (17 for the seat of the president and 16 for the seats of board members). Abdel Aziz Abdel Gawad Mohamad Ali Khalifa was removed under the pretext that he belongs to a religious group although he was an elected board member in the same union during the previous term;
- In Turah Cement Company, the final lists of candidates were announced after midnight. They did not include the names of Mohamad Mahmoud Ramzi (current president of the union and candidate for presidency) and the name of his rival Hazem Mohamad Selim. The uncontested winner was Mahmoud Hussein Ismail;
- In the Company of Coke, Ahmed Qassem (candidate to the board of the union) was disqualified late at night at the time of the deadline for appeals. This removal was also not justified by any explanation;
- In 6th of October city, the Union of Workers in the Packaging of Products, Mahmoud Shalaqani Abdulllah Soleyman was removed without justification;
- Yousri Maarouf was disqualified from nomination to the elections of the Union of Workers of Alexandria Container & Cargo

Handling Company, as well as Mahmoud Mohamed from the Union of Workers in of Alexandria Company for Oils and Soap.

4.1.1.4 Exclusions in Military Production Factories

There are 18 military production factories. Several removals took place in the union elections in these factories. It was noticeable also that the applications of some candidates were changed from nomination to presidency into nomination to the board without any justification:

- In Factory 99, Mahmoud Barakat Ahmed, Ashraf El Sayed Shalabi, Mohamad Sayed Mohamad, Hassan Mohamad Abdel Aal, Mohamad Mohamad Said, Mohamad Nasr Al-Diene Allam, Ahmad Mohamad Ahmad Radwan, Ali Salah Ali Ismail, Mohamad Sayed Abdel Magied, Badawi Ahmad Badawi, Reda Ahmad Amin, Hani Abdel Wahab Ahmad, Nasser Salah Ibrahim, Hosni Fahim Ibrahim, Khaled Abdel Moez, Ahmad RagabGomaa, Ahmad Ragab Mahfouz, Mahmoud Abdel Magied Mahmoud, and Ahmad Abdel Aziz were removed. Ahmad Abdel Hadi, who was the president of the

- union for three successive terms, was also disqualified without justification;
- In Factory 9, Ahmad Samir was nominated for president. However, his application was changed into nomination for the membership of the board. This was accompanied by the disqualification of another group of candidates. They are Ahmad Mohamad El Fuli, Mohamad Shaa'ban, Ahmad Abdel Salam, Hussein El Beheri, Hassan Refai, Mohamad Abdel Rahman, Ibrahim Faze', and Hamdi Moussa;
 - In Factory 999, five candidates were removed from the electoral list (Aboul-Fottouh Abdel Maa'boud Moussa, Mahmoud Mansour Helal, Wael Mahmoud Moustafa, Ismail Ahmad Ahmad, Mohamad Gomaa El Fayoumi). They were told that their names were mistakenly missing and that they would be re-added to the list. This led them to refrain from filing a complaint. However, these promises were not fulfilled and it was too late to file a complaint;
 - In Factory 45, candidate Faten Mohamad Ahmad Aboul Dahab was removed although she was a board member in the two previous terms. She was given no justification for this. This also happened to Ashraf El Sirgani, Ahmad El Sharkawi, Sabrine, Ramadan

Mohamad Ramadan, Abdel Rahman Radi, and Ibrahim Ragab;

- In Factory 360, Ashraf Mohamad El Far (president of the Union), Osama Ibrahim (treasurer of the Sectoral Federation of the Unions of Military Production Factories), Moustafa Mahmoud, and Hesham Ahmad Megahed were removed; *and*
- Moreover, Warda Ismail Othman and Amr Abdel Aziz were nominated for president in the elections of the Union of Workers in the Training Sector of Military Production Factories. However, the application of each of them was changed from presidency into nomination to seats in the board of the Union without any justification.

4.1.1.5 Exclusions in the Transportation Sector

- Several Exclusions took place in the different unions of workers in the Public Transports Authority. Hany Mohamad Afifi, Tayseer Saber Fakhri, Waleed Mohamad Abdou, and Saleh Ibrahim Ahmad were removed from nomination to the elections of the Union of the Central Department of the Mini-Bus Sector 1. Hany Mohamad 'Omayra, Sayed

- Hosni Sayed, Ayman Abdel Tawwab Salem, Mohamad Ahmad Mahmoud, Ayman El Sayed Abdel Hamid, Hisham Farouq Eid, and Samir Gad Khalaf were removed from the list of candidates to the elections of the Union of workers in the Central Department for the Sector of Central Cairo. Gamal Mohamad Khayami was nominated to the presidency of the Union of Workers in the Central Department of the Authority but he was removed. Ahmad Abdel Aziz Hassan, Nageh Abdel Maqsoud Al-Yamani, Saied Abdel Zaher Al-Gawwad, and Ali Fattouh were removed from the lists of candidates for the elections of the Union of Workers in the Central Department of North Cairo Sector;
- Mohamad Aboul-Fotouh was also disqualified from nomination to the presidency of the Union of Workers in Land Transports in Damietta in order to guarantee the success of the current president who has been in his position for twenty years; *and*
 - Moreover, some candidates to the elections of the Union of Workers in Cairo Metro Company which belongs to the government-affiliated ETUF's Sectoral Union for Metro were removed. They include Ashraf Helmi Riad, Fathi Mounir El Dardiri, Metwalli

Abdel Hameed, Ahmad Ibrahim Ahmad, Reda Ragab Ahmad Ali, Hossam El Nabawi, Hamdi Mohamad Hassan, El Sayed Sayed Ahmad Farid, Yasser Salah El Sayed Dagher, Ahmad Hassan Ahmad Hassan, Mohsen Abdel Megied, Mamdouh Mohamad Ibrahim, Moustafa El Sayed Ibrahim, Mohsen Abdel Megied Abdel Aziz, and Ali Hassan Abdel Aatie. The applications of Amal Abdel Hafez and Alaa El Said were changed from nomination to the presidency into nomination as board members.

4.1.1.6 Disqualified Workers from the Postal Services

- In the Union of Workers in Alexandria Postal Services, Abdel Rahman Mohamad Mohamed Abdel Motelleb (candidate to the presidency of the union) was removed. In South Sharqeya, Mohamad Naguib Abdel Khaleq (candidate to the presidency of the Union) and Ismail Mohamed Fayed (candidate to the membership of the board) were removed;
- In Giza postal services, a number of candidates were disqualified including Magdi Kamal Ibrahim Ibrahim, Walaa Ahmad Abdel

- Wahab Shamroukh, Ahmad Hamdi Mohamad Hassan, Mohamad Hamdi Mohamad Hassan, Mahmoud Abdallah El Tohamy, Mahmoud Mohamad Sobhi, Ali Taher Ahmad, Khaled Shaaban Abdullah Rehan, Hassan Ramadan Amin and Abeer Hassan Abbas;
- In the Union of Workers in Beni SWeif Postal Services, a number of candidates were removed including Adel Kamal Hashem Mohamad (candidate to the presidency of the Union), in addition to Mohamad Abdel Badie Ismail Ibrahim, Osama Seoudi Abdel Aziz Saad, Mohamad Mahmoud Ibrahim Mohamad, Bassem Hamdi Ahmad Ali, and Mahmoud Gaber Gouda (candidates to the board). When these disqualified inquired about the reason, the Director of the Manpower Directorate of Beni Sweif first informed them that it was for security reason. However, it then claimed that their names were missing from the list of the members of the general assembly. Candidates presented the said list, and showed that it included their names along with the proof that they paid their union subscription. He then claimed that their names were not in the CD given to the Directorate during the legalization process. Candidates had nothing to do regarding these

- violations but to appeal to the High Commission supervising elections;
- In the governorate of Al-Beheira, Mohamad Hamdi Mohamad Rizk, Embabi Ali Embabi, Mohamad Mahmoud El Gharbawi and Tareq Sobhi Mahmoud El Zagħ were removed. Likewise, Hossam Al-Diene Ahmad Abbas who was a candidate to the presidency of the union in Assiut, and Abdel Rahman Ahmad Abdel Rahman Moawad who was a candidate to the board were disqualified along with three candidates from Qena, one candidate from Ismailia and one candidate from Luxor.

4.1.1.7 The Administration just doesn't Want to have a Union in the Company

- All members of the Union of Workers in Enpi Company for Petroleum were removed simply because the Company's administration does not to have a union in the enterprise. This is what candidates were told by the head of the Commission supervising elections in Cairo without providing any further clarifications either about the nature of objections or the legality of such decision! It is worth-mentioning that the union had succeeded to obtain a legal status on the 30th of April 2018 following a long struggle with the Company's

administration that abstained from stamping their membership list. However, the union had legalized its status pursuant to the Law and managed to have the names of its candidates on the preliminary list for the elections before these seven names were erased from the final list; *and*

- Mahmoud Shaaban was fired from work as a consequence of his nomination to the presidency of the Union of Workers in Hotel Meridien El Haram against the candidate of the ETUF-affiliated sectoral union and one of the most influential people in this business. Mahmoud Shaaban was dismissed without any accusation of unsatisfactory performance at work or any other reason.

4.1.2 Second: Violations related to Complaints and Appeals including the Announcement of Final Lists of Candidates

According to results announced by the Ministry of Manpower, the Ministry received 1554 appeals in the first phase of the elections. These appeals were reviewed by the general Commission supervising elections in merely two days. The final lists of candidates running for elections were announced on the 21st of May 2018. A number of the disqualified/removed candidates sat down in front of

Cairo Stadium where they had presented their applications. This led to altercations with security forces. The Commission supervising elections abstained from providing the majority of complainants a proof that they had submitted complaints, and most of them didn't receive answers to their questions about the reasons for removal.

- Ali Mohamad Abdel Rahman Naguib, Secretary General of the Union of Workers in the Professions of Drivers Services in Qalyoubeya, was arrested based on an accusation of assault from the judge of the Commission supervising elections. The appeal of Mr. Naguib and other disqualified candidates was dismissed under the pretext that they had deposited their documents as an independent trade union and that its status was unlawfully legalized. Workers got angry so the judge summoned security forces that arrested four of them. All of them were released except for Naguib against whom a report was made accusing him of physical assault against the judge, so he was moved to Benha police station and the Prosecution Office there was notified which decided to release him on bail of 1000 pounds;
- On the 29th of May 2018, El Sayed Saad Al-Diene, candidate to the presidency of the

Union of Workers in the Iron and Steel Factory, presented an appeal before the High Commission supervising elections as his name was removed from the list of candidates. He also made appeal against the candidacy of Gamal Abdel Mawla, former president of the Union and the candidate currently supported by the government-affiliated ETUF. His appeal against the nomination of Gamal Abdel Mawla was based on the fact that Mr. Abdel Mawla was retired since the 22nd of December 2017, and the administration of the Company hired him again with a contract dated on the 25th of December 2017. This gap contradicts article 40 of Law no. 213 for 2017 that allows the retired worker to continue the term s/he was elected for provided that s/he is hired in the same sector or profession without any interruption of time. Obviously, this was not the case with Abdel Mawla who held the presidency of the Union since 2013. Actually, iron and steel workers consider him a contributor to the loss of their rights including reduction of bonuses, delay of food allowance, and loss of the rights of retired workers in the solidarity fund;

- The final list of candidates for the elections of the Union of Workers in the Offices of Public

Prosecution and Courts in North Cairo were announced very late at night after the end of the deadline for appeals. Shaker Abdullah El Shenawy, who was nominated for the Board, did not find his name on the list;

- Similarly to the previous case, five candidates in the Union of Workers in Telecom Egypt were removed from the lists that were announced as late as 3 AM after the deadline for appeals. These five candidates are Mahmoud El Sayed Mohamad Sayed, Waleed Abdel Aleem, Ibrahim El Said, Moustafa Soliman and Khaled Radwan.

4.1.3 Third: Violations during Voting

- During the vote in the elections of the Union of Electricity Workers in Naga Hammadi, ballot papers were not stamped which raised the suspicions of voters;
- Ballot papers arrived late (at 10:45 AM) in the elections of the Union of Workers of the Company of Potable water and Sewerage in the districts of Farshout, Naga Hammadi, Deshna and Abu Tesht;
- Voting started later than scheduled in the elections of the Union of Mansoura Electricity Workers because voters were objecting to the absence of judiciary supervision of the process. However, no judiciary supervision was available and the vote continued without supervision;
- In Helwan Iron and Steel Factory, eight polling stations out of eighteen did not open their doors until 12 PM. So, voting actually stopped in 16 ballot boxes (each polling station has two box, one for electing members of the union board and the other for electing representatives of workers in the administrative board of the company). Moreover, ballot boxes in two stations (the

one for Sintering Department and the one for the Apparatuses Department) were broken, which raised doubts in the soundness of both stations;

- In the Coke Company, voting started at 11:30 AM because ballot papers were not ready;
- In the Union of Workers in the Ministry of Health in Cairo, the list of candidates and ballot papers were not brought to the voting stations until 12:00 PM;
- In Al-Diwan polling station in the company of Telecom Egypt in the Smart Village, the list of voters of the technical and human resource section were mixed with the list of voters from other sections. Thus, 134 voters could not cast their votes because their names were written in another polling station. In addition, five candidates were removed from the final lists after midnight without providing any justification. These candidates are Mahmoud El Sayed Mohamad Sayed, Waleed Abdel Aleem, Ibrahim El Said, Moustafa Soliman and Khaled Radwan;
- Voting was delayed for one and a half hours in the elections of the different unions of the workers in Al-Mahallah Weaving and Spinning Factory. Workers actually waited in front of the doors since 9:00 AM which is the

determined time for the start of voting. Voting also stopped for almost two hours for the mid-day and early afternoon prayers, and it was resumed from 5:00 to 6:00 PM then resumed after the fast-breaking until 2 AM. In the polling stations of workers in spinning section no. 5, the lists of candidates were hanged outside the door and security personnel of the company were directing workers to vote for specific candidates;

- In Assiut postal services, there were eight polling stations. Voting in Abu Tig station started at 10:30 AM, i.e. one and half hours late. Moreover, some members of the former union board were present inside the voting room and casted their votes instead of the voters. In addition, the Directorate of Manpower had printed 2000 ballot papers for the election of both of the Union board and representatives of workers in the administrative board of the company. However, the number of voters was 1490. The additional number of papers represents a serious violation as it widely opens the door for electoral fraud. It is also worth mentioning that the lists of voters were full of names of retired workers and other who were members in the union in the first place;

- In the polling station of East Cairo of the Union of Workers in Postal Services, 1600 voters assigned just one station which resulted in crowd and chaos;
- In Tanta's polling station of the Union of Workers of Postal Services, a huge number of members of the old board were present inside the room, preventing other candidates from entering and practicing their right to observe the proceedings of the electoral process;
- In the elections of the Union of Workers in the Suez Canal Authority in Port-Said, voting started at 11:00 AM with candidates lists including names of retired and deceased persons. Moreover, there were interventions from the administration in favour of a particular candidate who is member of the ETUF-affiliated sectoral union;
- Elections of the Union of Workers in Cairo Airport started at 10:00 AM (one hour after the determined time);
- Polling station no. 5 for workers in the railways Union started at 10:00 AM. Workers filed a complaint about this delay;
- Sherif Hussein Mohamad, a candidate to the board of the Union of PetroTrade Workers, was referred to administrative inquiry for taking pictures to document violations that

occurred in polling station no. 14. This station was supposed to have two ballot boxes (one for the election of union board, and one for the election of workers representatives in the company's board). However, Sherief Hussein Mohamed protested the absence of a second box and requested the registration of his objection in the station's minutes report. His demand was refused by the supervisor. Moreover, ballot papers were less than the number of voters. The worker asked to include this remark in the minutes report as well which was refused again by the supervisor, and he was referred to administrative inquiry;

- In the Union of Workers in the Engineering Automotive Manufacturing Co. (EAMCO), it was observed that retired workers voted although they don't have the right to vote. Mohamed Eid Mohammed Al-Sayed, a disqualified candidate, proved in his appeal to the general Commission supervising elections that there are workers who retired on the 1st of April 2018, including Noshie Nazir Bahnan, in polling station no. 2 in the engines factory.
- In the elections of the Union of Workers in Alexandria Petroleum Company, several irregularities took place, as follows:

The Company was divided into electoral districts. However, this was canceled later just 72 hours before the elections. Aliases of candidates were not written on the electoral lists, which led to the confusion of voters. Polling station was not opened until 10:00 AM rather than 9:00 AM according to the Law.

Members of the Commission supervising elections did not check the ID of specific voters, although they did this with the others. Some candidates and people accompanying them were allowed to enter polling station, check voters' lists, and vote and sign in place of absent voters.

Counting votes was delayed until 9:00 PM instead of 5:00 PM according to the Law. Candidates were not allowed to remain near the ballot boxes while some employees were permitted to stay although there is no legal justification for their presence.

The judge responsible for supervising the electoral process was absent during and after the vote count, or during the collation of votes and announcement of results.

Counting of votes was conducted on the span of two days. When voters objected, the representative of the Ministry of Manpower

stated that these decisions are made by high political authorities!

On the second day of counting, candidates and their agents were denied the right to attend the count in violation of the Law.

Counting was stopped at 12:00 PM for the prayers without sealing the ballot boxes or the doors of the polling station.

After the end of the count, the door remained closed for three hours. No one was allowed to remain inside except the current president of the Union and some employees although he is a candidate, while other candidates were not allowed to do so.

Finally, the results were leaked before the official announcement thereof. Candidates were not given any records of the count, number of votes or the tallying of winners, leaving this to the Company's administration.

4.1.4 Violations during Vote Count

- In the elections of the Union of Workers of the City Council of Deshna (Qena governorate), the workers of the Council gathered in protest because elections of the Union come to an end with the victory of board members by acclamation although they (the employees) did not even know that there is a union in their establishment. They also objected to the fact that they were compulsorily added to the membership of the general assembly of this Union (the Union of Workers in the City Council of Deshna) that is member in the sectoral Union of Workers in Public Utilities (part of the government-affiliated ETUF) without their consent;
- In the elections of the union of workers in Al-Mahallah Spinning Factory, the judge supervising elections announced the name of the elected president of the Union and left. Results of the election of workers' representatives in the company's administrative board were announced by the Company's security guards two hours after the judge left. This led the candidates to file a police report (no. 3448 in Al-Mahallah 2nd Police Department) regarding the departure of the judge from the location of the polling

station and the announcement of results by security guards).

- In the elections of the Union of Workers in the United Bank, elections took place in 15 polling stations. The result was announced at the end of the elections day based on the tallying of results from different stations that Khaled Abdel Nasser Saqr won the presidency with 274 votes while the candidate competing him, Nader El Eryan (current president of the Union), was said to have 244 votes. However, when the general Commission supervising elections announced the result it was stated that Nader El Eryan won with 272 votes against 235 votes for Khaled Abdel Nasser which is contradictory to the records of votes and tallying of results.

4.2 Elections in Sectoral Union Federation

Elections for the term of 2018-2022 in 15 out of 27 sectoral federation ended before they even start as all candidates won by acclamation and there was no competition. These 15 federations are for unions of the following sectors: maritime transportation - administrative services – commerce - food industries - air transportation - spinning and weaving – engineering, metallurgical and electric industries - education and scientific research – journalism, printing and media - quarries and mines - land transportation - military production - banks and insurance - agriculture and irrigation - health sciences.

Elections took place in 12 sectoral federations. In three of them (Chemicals – Public Utilities – Public Transportation), elections took place only for the Union boards, while there was only one candidate for the presidency of each. In two federations (Construction and Wood Industries - Tourism), elections only took place for the presidency of the Union while there was no competition for seats of the board. In seven union federations, there were elections for both the presidency of the Union and membership of the board. These seven unions are postal services; railways; communications; health

services; offices of public prosecution and courts; petroleum; and financial businesses and taxes.

Table 3 - Total Number of Sectoral Union Federations including Federations in which Elections Took Place and Others in which there was no Competition

Number of Sectoral Federations	Number of Federation in which There was No Competition for Neither the Presidency nor the Board	Number of Federations in which Elections Took Place only for the Board	Number of Federations in which Elections Took Place only for the Presidency	Number of Federations in which Took Place for both the Board and the Presidency
27	15	3	2	7

According to the statements of the Minister of Manpower, 707 candidates were nominated for the elections of the membership of the boards. In these elections as well, the number of sectoral federations

which are part of the government-affiliated ETUF increased from 23 (in the last elections in 2006) to 27 federations. The four federations that joined the ETUF are those of unions of workers in taxes, customs and finance; offices of public prosecution and courts; health sciences; and public transportation.

The Egyptian government announced before the International Labour Office that the elections of unions have resulted in an 85% new composition of the trade union structure. However, no significant change happened in the composition of the leadership of sectoral federations. Most presidents kept their positions on top of their federations. Changes were mostly confined to the move of the secretary general or the treasurer to the post of the president or vice versa (e.g. the Federation of Unions of Workers in Postal Services, the Federation of Unions of Workers in Petroleum, among others).

CTUWS managed to observe and document several violations related to the elections of federations of unions:

4.2.1 Violations related to Nomination Application Forms and Membership of General Assemblies

The second phase of elections of the leadership of sectoral federations started on the 11th of June 2018. On this day, the Commission supervising elections received nomination applications from candidates to the boards. Candidates' lists were announced on the next day. Appeals and deciding therein came on the next. Finally, announcement of final lists were announced on Thursday, the 14th of June 2018. Voting was conducted on the 18th of June 2018 in an election process that may be criticized for many illegal practices including:

- The boards of sectoral union federations were controlled by the same people since 2006 and most of them also were nominated for this term. with most of them applying for new candidacy was the same old board that delivered the application forms to the desired winners and abstained from delivering them for the persona non-grata under the pretext that they didn't present a certificate proving their membership in the general assembly; this issue created an important crisis in the general trade union of petroleum where it was denied for several candidates; accordingly, the Minister of

Petroleum issued directives to accept the applications even without the application form or the stamps of the general trade unions as long as applicants were members in the general assembly.

- The board of such sectoral union federations is the entity which gives nomination application forms to those who want to run for elections. This reminds us of “membership certificates” which used to be given in the previous terms for those wanting to run for elections. ETUF-affiliated federations used to give these certificates for those they agree with and withhold them from those they are disagree with in order to prevent them from their right to run for elections. So, “nomination applications” substituted “membership forms” in this regard. Nomination applications caused serious crisis in the sectoral union federation for petroleum workers as the sectoral federation refused to give many applicants those forms. So, the Minister of Manpower had to give his directions to the concerned Commission to accept the nomination papers of candidates without this form and without the stamps of the sectoral federation as long as candidates

are members in the general assembly of the federation.

- Membership in the general assembly is a precondition for the eligibility for nominating oneself to the board of the federation. Some of the winning candidates in the elections of the enterprise-level unions managed to acquire this membership, while others were denied this membership although all of them were winning in the union election. Administrative boards of the enterprise-level unions chose who represents the union in the general assembly of the sectoral federation. In some cases they choose those representatives from among the members of the board or choose anyone from the members of the general assembly of the union. Disqualifications which widely took place in the elections of the first (enterprise) level unions allowed for selection rather than election in many locations. This particularly applies to the flagrant case of the Union of Postal Services in the governorates of Alexandria, Beni Sweif, Gharbia and Assiut, as well as to the case of unions of workers in railways and in military factories, leading to the victory of a predetermined composition of the boards in these trade union organizations.

To confront these violations, several actions were taken including:

- Magda Ibrahim, candidate for the presidency of the sectoral federation of unions of workers in taxes, customs and finances, made a police report no. 1573 on the 4th of June 2018 in Al-Azbakeya Department accusing Magdy Shaaban, the President of the administrative board of the federation, of hiding the official documents stamped with the union's stamp that prove her membership in the general assembly of the federation as her union chose her among its representatives in the elections of the sectoral federation.
Magda Ibrahim had already announced her intention to be nominated for the presidency before accusing Magdy Shabaan of hiding her papers and consequently depriving her from her right. She filed another complaint with no. 108 on the 11th of June 2018 accusing the same person of fraud and manipulation of the membership of the general assembly for his own benefit. Finally, her nomination documents as a candidate for the presidency of the sectoral federation were accepted.
- In the Federation of Unions of Engineering, Metallurgical and Electric Industries, Ms.

Fardous Mohamed Rashad Abbas, employee of the Egyptian Organization for Standards and Quality and board member in the Federation of Engineering Industries since 2006, filed a report against Khaled Mounir Hassanein El Fikky (the President of the Federation), Abdel Rahman Abdel Ghany (the General Secretary), and Waheed Othman (the Treasurer) for refusing to give her the nomination application form until the deadline for nomination – determined by the Ministry of Manpower, was over.

She confirmed that the President of the Federation stamped a small number of the application form and left to Alexandria taking with him the stamps in order to deprive members from nomination to the presidency or membership of the board of the federation. Because of her insistence, she was given an application form but the end of the deadline. Thus, the application form became a meaningless piece of paper.

She made an appeal against the nomination of Khaled El Fikky as president of the federation as he had two posts at the same time (i.e. being the President of the Federation and being an employee in one of its enterprises).

4.2.1.1 Disqualifications and Removals from the Lists of Candidates

According to the Ministry of Manpower, 707 people were nominated for the elections of the boards of sectoral union federations. Voter turnout varied from one federation to another. Relatively high turnout was evident in some federations including those of unions of workers in railways; communications; petroleum; and offices of public prosecution and courts. However, turnout was lower in other federations including those in the sectors of journalism, publication and media; land transportation; and banks.

With the announcement of the final lists of candidates' lists, it was noticed that some candidates were just removed. Mohamed Ahmed Mohamed Ahmed, head of the union of workers in Communications in Alexandria and candidate to the presidency of the sectoral federation of unions of workers in Communications, was removed from the list without any justification. Mohamed Al-Takkie Abdel Aziz Hamza, candidate to the membership of the sectoral union federation of Communications was also removed from the list. In the governorate of Gharbeya, Ahmed Abdel Aziz was removed from

the list of candidates nominated to the membership of the board without reasons as well.

In the elections of the sectoral federations of unions of workers of Health Sciences, nine candidates were disqualified without giving any justifications. Some of them appealed against their disqualification and removal from the candidates' lists, and filed a lawsuit. They are Hossam Abdullah Ali, Mohamed Sayed Hazem, Al-Baz Taha Al-Baz Taha, Nabil Al-Bouche, Gergis Mikhail Gabriel, Ghada Abdel Razek, Sana Mohammed Jum'aa, Diaa Al-Deen Abdel Sattar, and Mohammed Al-Sayed Sabri.

4.2.1.2 Violations during the Voting Stage

These violations include the following:

- In the sectoral federation of unions of workers in offices of public prosecution and courts, elections were conducted for the posts of the president and 13 members of the board. Seven members have already occupied seven seats uncontested based on geographic and professional categorization as there was only one candidate for each of these seats. At the ballot, voters were surprised to find Ashraf Khafagi and Ahmed El Zayat present and assigned the task of supervising elections

although both of them are supporters of Ali Abdel Wahab who the ETUF appoints as this federation is new. Workers in public prosecution offices and courts did not have a sectoral federation and this is the first time I which elections are held.

Moreover, the polling station was held in the premises of the sectoral federation of unions of workers in Administrative Services rather than that of the Federation of Offices of Public Prosecution and Court.

- In the case of the sectoral federation of unions of workers in construction and wood industries, election of the post of the president took place between Abdel Monein El Gamal (the current president), and Mahmoud Hussein Ismail (the president of the union of workers in Tourah Cement Factory, in the premises of the federation's training center in Zahraa AL-Maadi, Al-Qatameya Road. Elections were held amid interventions from the ETUF which gathered voters in favour of the candidate Abdel Monein El Gamal. Moreover, Gebali Al Maraghi (the former and current president of the ETUF)) visited the polling site and declared his support to setting and declared his support to the governmental candidate;

Abdel Monein El Gamal against Mahmoud Hussein Ismail.

- In the elections of the Federation of Unions of Workers in Public Utilities, there was monitoring or observation inside the polling station no monitoring or supervision of the elections by members of the general assembly. Moreover, unknown people were present next to the ballot boxes directing voters. In addition, cases of collective voting were noted. The supervisor also tried to close the polling station before the end of working hours. Furthermore, 15 members from the governorate of Cairo and five from the governorate of Al-Fayoum were removed from the list of members of the general assembly depriving them from their right to vote.
- In the sectoral Federation of Unions of Workers in Railways, the current president, Abdel Fatah Fekry, was announced the winner of the presidency for the new term. There were severe criticisms of the reduction of the number of general assembly members from 240 in the last elections to 170 in the current elections.
- Al Sayed. Saber Gouda Salem, Senior Deputy of the Minister of Social Insurance, held the

post of the vice-president for the Sectoral Federation of the Unions of Works in Banks and Insurance Services, although article 41 of Law no. 213 for 2017 stipulates that those who nominate themselves for the leadership of any trade union organization may not a worker who has the right to infringe penalties on other workers.

- In the elections of the sectoral federation of Unions of Workers in Banks and Insurance Services, the Agricultural Bank of Egypt had ten seats out of the total number of seats in the Federation. This is not a fair representation of other banks as there are banks that have many branches like the National Bank of Egypt, Banque Misr or Banque du Caire. It is noteworthy that Gamal Abdel Nasser 'Aqbie, who is the president of the sectoral federation of unions of workers in banks and finance, works in the Agricultural Bank of Egypt.

4.3 Elections of the Board of ETUF

On the 23rd of June 2018, nomination for the ETUF board started. Final lists of candidates were announced on the 26th of June 2018. Elections took place on the 27th of June, and results were

announced on the 28th of June 2018. The current president, Gebali El Maraghi, was nominated for presidency uncontested. Four candidates had announced their intentions to run in elections, but they did not actually submit their nomination documents. Each of the twenty seven federations submitted just one candidate for the board which is made up of 27 members. So, there was no competition in these elections.

So, Gebali El Maraghi, became the president of ETUF along with ten vice presidents. This is actually unprecedented in the history of the Egyptian trade unions. It is the first time that we find in the ETUF ten vice presidents each one of them is supposed to have a particular job (e.g. regional, international, provincial, sectoral, functional affairs, etc) as if such division was made to fit a pre-determined number of people rather than the actual needs of work.

Mohamed Wahaballah became the General Secretary. Hesham Fouad and Mamdouh Mohammadi became Assistants to the General Secretary. Adel Abdel Fadil was chosen as the Treasurer, while Ibrahim Haikal and Hisham Radwan were Assistant-Treasurers. However, no unionists were assigned with the management of the Workers' University, Dreams Resorts owned by the ETUF, the Workers' Cultural Institute. The

composition of Secretariats happened the same way as it included so many posts in order to include as much persons as possible.

So, the leadership of the government-affiliated union remained largely unchanged (the President, the General Secretary and most members of the board). According to the statements of the Ministry of Manpower, changes in the board of the ETUF amounted to 26.9% of the posts compared to the 2006 term.

5. Final Conclusions

Trade unions elections were conducted this term according to a new law which is the Law no. 213 for 2017. However, the current elections were not different in many respects from that of 2006. Provisions of the new Law (especially chapters 4 and 5 that regulate the structure of trade union organizations and terms and conditions for voting and nomination) were not different from that of the old Law. Elections took place under governmental supervision, or in fact full control of executive authorities in cooperation with the leaders of the ETUF. Therefore, most results were pre-arranged and determined. The pyramid-shaped structure and its institutional features remained unchanged. People holding positions in the leadership of the ETUF remained largely unchanged as well.

5.1 Not Real Elections

It is true that trade unions elections in 2006 witnessed many violations and irregularities. However, the last elections which were conducted during the preceding month were even worse to the extent that we may not characterize them as elections in the first place. Voting was preceded by

the disqualification of unwanted candidates by the different parties controlling the so-called elections. Security apparatuses removed candidates who are from the political opposition or thought to be so. Moreover, Ministry of Manpower, and companies' administrations, as well as current and previous leaders of ETUF intervened in order to reach pre-designated results. The whole process witnessed flagrant violations of the right to be nominated and the rights of voters to freely choose their representatives. Voters were forced to choose from among the remaining candidates because removals and disqualifications removed most candidates from candidates' lists. Moreover, in many cases there was no competition at all as nobody remained except those candidates "agreed upon" by dominant forces. So, they won the seats uncontested.

The absurdity of the situation was exacerbated by the unbelievably tight time-frame of the entire process, as well as the total chaos characterizing all the procedures. Each stage of the electoral process was assigned one week. So, the election of thousands of enterprise-level unions were conducted in one week including the submission of applications for nomination which required lots of documents to be attached; announcement of preliminary lists of candidates; submission of appeals and deciding in these appeals; announcement of final lists of

candidates; and conducting the ballot and vote count.

Moreover, preliminary lists of candidates were reviewed inside the premises of the Manpower Ministry in cooperation with all parties interfering in the process. Candidates who are unwanted by any of these parties or those competing “agreed upon” candidates were removed. The purpose was to engineer a pre-determined result. In addition, the management of the electoral process was highly inefficient non-transparent because of such massive violations. The whole process was thus highly chaotic. Preliminary lists of candidates were not announced on the due time. They were not even announced at all. Candidates used to get information based on word of mouth from influential people inside the ETUF. Final candidates’ lists were usually published on the same day. Voting usually started two or three hours later than the due time. Voters’ lists were full of mistakes. The voting process was conducted without any monitoring from candidates or voters (members of the general assembly). Counting was usually done in the absence of candidates and their agents.

5.2 Compulsory Electoral Regulations

The Ministry of Manpower imposed a single model bylaw to all trade unions. This bylaw included the provisions that the government and leaders of the government-affiliated ETUF failed to include in the Trade Unions Law no. 213 for 2017 and its Executive Regulations. Article six of the Law stipulates that the bylaw put by the Minister of Manpower is not obligatory and that its provisions are merely optional. Likewise, article one of the Ministerial Decision no. 36 for 2018 which issued this bylaw stipulates that trade union organizations have the right to put their own bylaws and they may use them if they wish. However, independent trade unions were forced to adopt the bylaws of the Ministry as a precondition to legalize their status. Trade unions affiliated to the EFUF automatically adopted these bylaws as the general assemblies of these organizations don't have any role. They don't convene or discuss any of the matters of the union. The imposition of the governmental bylaws resulted in the following:

- According to article 13 of the imposed bylaws, nomination to the presidency of the union became separate from nomination to seats of the board. So, these elections witnessed specific violations related to the

election of presidents of unions. First of all, people who want to nominate themselves to the presidency were discouraged under the claim that only former members of the board may be nominated to presidency; by depriving them of nomination forms; preventing them of submitting their applications; or even by direct removal of the lists. It is worth mentioning that disqualifications of nominees to the posts of presidents were much higher than to disqualifications of nominees to other posts.

- Unions' bylaws – or actually the bylaws imposed by the Ministry of Manpower – did not include rules for geographical and thematic proportional representation. These rules, according to article 27 of the bylaw, were left to be determined by the sp-called electoral committee which is composed by the former board and headed by its president. Therefore, these rules were made by the leaders of the government-affiliated ETUF leaders after nomination applications have been made and the map of candidates has been studied carefully in order to reach the pre-desired results.
- According to article 27 of the bylaw of enterprise-level trade unions, and article 12

and 13 of the bylaw of sectoral federations (both imposed by the Ministry of Manpower), the board of the enterprise-level union chooses its representatives in the general assembly of the sectoral federation in compliance with the rules put by the federation and the proportions of representation determined in the bylaws. Moreover, the numbers of representatives were too small leading to the shrinking of the general assembly of the sectoral federation in order to guarantee full control on results of the election of the boards of sectoral federation.

5.3 Increasing Number of Enterprise-level Unions joining the ETUF

According to official statements, the number of enterprise-level unions joining the ETUF increased. This may be presented as a proof of the expansion of the influence of the ETUF or its ability to attract new sectors and organize them. However, the following issues are important to note in this regard:

- The majority of recently established or registered unions are professional unions formed at the city- or governorate-level for informal workers. It is important to note that

most of these unions that the government-affiliated ETUF registers don't actually exist as unions. It is mainly made of nominal membership. Those workers are forced to join the union in order to receive a work permit, issue a driving license or an ID. So, s/he is registered in the Union without having a real relationship or role therein.

- It is also important to note that the Ministry of Interior had issued periodic book no. 6 for 2016 deciding that the stamps of independent unions are not recognized by official authorities and that unions affiliated with the ETUF rather than independent unions have the authority to confirm workers' professions. So, independent unions ceased to function in this regard and “governmental” unions monopolized again the issuance of work license and proof of workers' professions.
- Some administrative committees affiliated to the ETUF have legalized their status although the number of their members is less than 150, which is the minimum number of members in each union according to the Law. Although the Ministry of Manpower didn't admit this, there are confirmed cases of this kind. Moreover, some of the directorates of Manpower explicitly announced that the legal

provisions regarding the minimum number of members don't apply on the unions of the government-affiliated ETUF.

- The Ministry of Manpower estimated that the so-called union elections resulted in 80% change in the leaders of the enterprise-level unions. However, this high rate did not (and will not) lead to change or amend the status of government-affiliated national federation for the following reasons:
 - The high rate of change witnessed in union elections is not new. Union elections usually used to end in high changes in the composition of enterprise-level unions but this did not lead to any considerable change in high levels of the government-affiliated ETUF or to any change in the structure of this institution or its nature.
 - This time, the high percentage of change in the boards of enterprise-level unions is a result of the vacuum left by the passing of 12 years since the last elections held in this federation. Lots of things happened since 2006. Some of the members of the boards of these unions died. Others retired. So, they had to be substituted with new people.
 - This situation could have led to the pumping fresh blood in this aging institution. However,

it did not actually lead to positive results due to the undemocratic course of the electoral process especially the disqualification of thousands of candidates and depriving workers from their right to freely chose their representatives.

- The wide process of disqualifications and removals of large numbers of candidates led to limiting the choices of voters, and consequently potential change in ideas and directions. Moreover, the extremely tight timeframe of the electoral process did not allow voter to conduct electoral campaigns, or present themselves and ideas to voters regarding unionist strategies.
- So, the high change rate in the membership of the boards of enterprise-level unions did not result in any considerable change. Presidents of 18 federations won uncontested. 16 boards of federations won uncontested as well. Most presidents of sectoral federations kept their posts. Merely two presidents were changed and were substituted by others from the same board (the general secretary of one federation and the treasurer of another became presidents). Moreover, with the prolonged presence of leaders of the government-affiliated ETUF in their posts led to the

emergence of cases of bringing leaders' offspring which increasingly reveals the degree of corruption in this structure (See table 7 in the Appendixes).

- The number of sectoral federations in the government-affiliated ETUF increased from 24 to 27. The three federations that managed to legalize their status (i.e. that of Unions of Workers in the Offices of Public Prosecution and Courts, of Unions of Workers in Public Transports, and of Unions of Workers in Health Sciences) joined the ETUF.
- The situation is very clear. No federation outside the government-affiliated ETUF was allowed to legalize its status.
- The absence of women from the boards of unions affiliated to the ETUF is striking although the new Trade Unions Law stipulates that the composition of the boards of unions should include suitable representation of women as much as possible (article no. 36 of Law no. 213 for 2017).
- The seats of the Board of ETUF's don't include any women. On the other hand, there are 26 women in the boards of 27 federations, including three women only in top positions (the general secretary of the Federation of Unions in Health Sciences, the Treasurer of

the Federation of Unions of Workers in Health Services, the fourth Vice-President of the Federation of Unions of Air Transport). The other women held positions in the secretariat for women and children affairs or the position of vice president for women's affairs (See Table no. 4 in the Appendixes).

- The ratio of women in the membership of the boards of enterprise-level unions was less than 9% of the total number of members (1495 women out of the 17188 members) (See Table no. 5 in the Appendixes).
- Only 5% (80 women), mostly in the agriculture and irrigation sector, managed to become presidents. In the sector of agriculture and irrigation, 23 unions were headed by women from the total of 153 unions in the sector. In the sector of administrative services, nine unions out of 158 were headed by women. In the finance and taxes sector, eight unions were headed by women out of 65 unions. The rest of women leaders were scattered in the different unions in other sectors. (See Table no. 3 in the Appendixes).
- The role of women in the labour movement developed during the past decade. Their representation increased, as well as their involvement in leadership positions in many

independent unions. Nevertheless, the so-called trade union elections ended with the absence of women from the board of the government-affiliated ETUF, and very limited participation for them in the boards of federations and unions.

- Finally, this farce called “trade union elections” ended with the preservation of the status quo. Leaders of the government-affiliated ETUF remained in their positions. Those who were retired managed to have fake employment contracts in order to prove that they are still working in accordance with the provisions of article 40 of Law no. 213 for 2017.

The situation remained unchanged. The president of the ETUF, its general secretary and all its powerful men kept their seats. The government made promises to conduct free and fair elections, start a new stage of protection of freedom of association and enable Egyptian workers of freely choosing their representatives. However, these promises – that nobody believes – vanished and the “governmental” union structure remain unchanged.

Appendixes

Table No. 4
Women Representation
in the Boards of Sectoral Federations

	Representation of Women in the Boards of Sectoral Federations	Number of Women Members in Board	Number of Men Members in Boards	Total Number of Members in Board
1	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Health Sciences	2	19	21
2	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Spinning and Weaving	1	20	21
3	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Railways	1	20	21
4	The Federation of Unions of Workers in	1	19	20

	Military Production			
5	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Commerce	3	17	20
6	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Printing and Media	1	20	21
7	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Metal and Engineering Industries	0	19	19
8	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Mines and Quarries	0	21	21
9	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Egyptian Postal Services	1	20	21
10	The Federation	0	20	20

	of Unions of Workers in Banks and Insurance			
11	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Education and Scientific Research	1	20	21
12	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Administrative Services	1	20	21
13	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Agriculture and Irrigation	1	15	16
14	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Maritime Transport	0	20	20
15	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Road	1	19	20

	Transport			
16	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Air Transport	1	20	21
17	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Petroleum	1	20	21
18	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Communications	1	20	21
19	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Chemical Industries	1	19	20
20	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Offices of Public Prosecution and Courts	0	21	21
21	The Federation of Unions of	2	19	21

	Workers in Finance, Taxes and Customs			
22	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Public Utilities	1	18	19
23	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Public Transportation	1	15	16
24	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Health Services	2	19	21
25	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Construction and Woods Industries	0	21	21
26	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Tourism and Hotels	2	18	20
27	The Federation	0	21	21

	of Unions of Workers in Food Industries			
	Total	26	520	546

Table No. 5
Representation of Women in the Boards of
Enterprise-level Unions

	Sector/ Category	Total Numbe r of Unions	Number of Women in Unions' Boards	Numbe r of Men in Unions' Boards	Total Numbe r of Membe rs in Unions' Boards
1	Hotels and Touris m	57	36	503	539
2	Militar y Product ion	19	23	181	204
3	Petrole um	76	62	741	803
4	Admini strative Service s	158	192	1365	1557
5	Financ e and Taxes	65	73	530	603
6	Agricul ture	153	299	975	1274

	and Irrigation				
7	Banks and Insurance	43	36	394	430
8	Education and Scientific Research	103	124	964	1088
9	Utilities	102	44	1059	1103
10	Commerce	60	57	498	555
11	Railways	39	4	414	418
12	Road Transports	129	5	1198	1203
13	Engineering Industries	64	35	574	609
14	Communications	36	25	363	388

	ons				
1 5	Chemic als	55	23	540	563
1 6	Press, Printin g and Media	41	48	372	420
1 7	Air Transp ort	21	27	184	211
1 8	Mines and Quarrie s	25	3	239	242
1 9	Post	38	28	388	416
2 0	Prosec ution and Courts	31	26	286	312
2 1	Constr uction and Timber	114	83	999	1082
2 2	Food Industri es	103	59	1000	1059
2	Mariti	34	22	316	338

3	me Transp ort				
2 4	Spinnin g and Weavin g	58	52	666	718
2 5	Health Service s	107	109	944	1053
		1731	1495	15693	17188

Table No. 6
Participation of Women as Presidents of
Enterprise-level Unions

	Sector/ Category	Total Number of Unions	Women Preside nts
1	Hotels and Tourism	57	2
2	Military Production	19	0
3	Petroleum	76	2
4	Administrative Services	158	9
5	Finance and Taxes	65	8
6	Agriculture and Irrigation	153	23
7	Banks and Insurance	43	2
8	Education and Scientific Research	103	4
9	Utilities	102	0
10	Commerce	60	5
11	Railway	39	1
12	Road Transport	129	0
13	Engineering Industries	64	1
14	Communications	36	1
15	Chemicals	55	2
16	Press, Printing and Media	41	2
17	Air Transport	21	0

18	Mines and Quarries	25	0
19	Post	38	3
20	Prosecution and Courts	31	0
21	Construction and Timber	114	6
22	Food Industries	103	1
23	Maritime Transport	34	0
24	Spinning and Weaving	58	2
25	Health Services	107	6
		1731	80

Table No.7
**Union Federations in which Boards and
 Presidents have been elected uncontested or
 contested**

	The Federation	President	Board
1	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Health Sciences	Uncontested	Uncontested
2	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Spinning and Weaving	Uncontested	Uncontested
3	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Railways	Contested	Contested
4	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Military Production	Uncontested	Uncontested
5	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Commerce	Uncontested	Uncontested

6	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Printing and Media	Uncontested	Uncontested
7	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Metal and Engineering Industries	Uncontested	Uncontested
8	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Mines and Quarries	Uncontested	Uncontested
9	The Federation of Unions of Workers in The Federation of Unions of Workers in Egyptian Postal Services	Contested	Contested
10	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Banks and	Uncontested	Uncontested

	Insurance		
11	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Education and Scientific Research	Uncontested	Uncontested
12	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Administrative Services	Uncontested	Uncontested
13	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Agriculture and Irrigation	Uncontested	Uncontested
14	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Maritime Transport	Uncontested	Uncontested
15	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Road Transport	Uncontested	Uncontested
16	The Federation of Unions of	Uncontested	Uncontested

	Workers in Air Transport		
17	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Petroleum	Contested	Contested
18	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Communications	Contested	Contested
19	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Chemical Industries	Uncontested	Contested
20	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Offices of Public Prosecution and Courts	Contested	Contested
21	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Finance, Taxes and Customs	Contested	Contested
22	The Federation of Unions of	Uncontested	Contested

	Workers in Public Utilities		
23	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Public Transportation	Uncontested	Contested
24	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Health Services	Contested	Contested
25	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Construction and Wood Industries	Contested	Uncontested
26	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Tourism and Hotels	Contested	Uncontested
27	The Federation of Unions of Workers in Food Industries	Uncontested	Uncontested

**Center for Trade Unions and Workers Services
Honored the French Republic's Prize for Human
Rights, 1999
& Honored a Special Prize by SOLIDAR, 2000**

WHO ARE WE?

The Center for Trade Unions and Workers Services (CTUWS) is an Egyptian non-governmental organization established on the 16th of March 1990 by a number labour rights defenders and activists who came from the ranks of the Egyptian labour movement which developed in the second half of 1980s outside the “official” trade union structure following the strike of railway workers in 1986 and Iron and steel workers in 1989.

VISION:

Drawing on the historical experience of the Egyptian labour movement since the 1930s and 1940s and actions of contemporary workers’ leaders, the idea of the Center was elaborated based on the increasing need to have an independent workers organization that expresses the ambitions of the movement, and works on reviving the essence of unionism, regaining the confidence of workers therein, and combating bureaucratic notions that dominated unionist work in order to bring the unionist movement back to its democratic essence in its

actions and management independently from the government, political parties and employers.

MISSION:

Since March 1999, CTUWS adopts a democratic approach in its work. It believes in democratic and participatory management and decision making. People don't get enthusiastic about policies that they don't make by themselves. CTUWS is committed to original notions of freedom of association (freedom to establish, join and leave unions – unity - right to join more than one union). CTUWS also adopts the original conception of a union as an organization that works on the improvement of terms and conditions of work for workers men and women.

CTUWS' Objectives:

Since its foundation, CTUWS has worked to achieve the following mission:

1. Improvement of working conditions and making them more human and just.
2. Develop the conditions and capabilities of workers to establish their independent organizations.
3. Contributing the improvement of democratic conditions for all classes and categories in

societies, and working on integrating workers democratic demands in general democratic platforms.

4. Helping create bases for the labour movement in new industrialized zones.
5. Paying special attention to the issues of women workers at work and in the labour movement.
6. Supporting and empowering women to obtain tools of unionist work and developing their qualifications in order to assume leadership positions in their unions.
7. Developing the skills and tools of CTUWS to work with the labour movement.
8. Developing services and different means of support for workers.
9. Observing and studying changes in the conditions of labour force and industrial relations in Egypt, and making information available about them in order to take this into consideration when developing the role and activities of CTUWS.
10. Reviving, preserving and disseminating the history of struggle of the working class and making the whole society aware of it.
11. Develop sound unionist ideas based on critical understanding of the current situation of the unionist movement; make community

- dialogue about its issues, ideas, practices; and exchange of points of view regarding problematic issues raised therein.
12. Expanding the scope of interest in unionist work and combating its monopolization by small groups of experts and practitioners.
 13. Raising scientific, practical and legal awareness of workers leaders and exchanging experiences among different unions and different locations regarding conditions and advantages for workers in each location.
 14. Developing legal awareness among workers regarding labour relations, freedoms of associations, workers' rights and providing legal assistance for workers in cases related to freedom of association and labour relations.

CTUWS' Programs:

1- Campaigns Program

The Program aims at improving working conditions and putting into effect labour standards through the following:

1. Working on changing the legislative structure in order to enhance legal protection of workers.

2. Working on abolishing legal and executive restrictions imposed on the rights of workers to establish their independent and free unions.
3. Abolishing restrictions on the right to strike.
4. Working on the development of salary scale in Egypt and approval of a just minimum wage.
5. Working on the development of community inspection mechanisms for the application of labour standards.

CTUWS organizes advocacy and support campaigns for workers actions in different locations in order to strengthen and defend these actions.

2- Labour School Program

This Program aims at providing workers – especially leaders - with knowledge, skills, and ideas necessary for the development of their roles and capabilities to undertake the following tasks:

- To develop workers' capacities and their abilities to know their economic and social rights, express them and develop the necessary tools to defend them.
- To clarify and support the sound conception of trade unions and their role as independent organizations that represent workers and help them defend their rights.

- To develop workers capabilities and abilities to raise the awareness of other workers and to encourage them to defend their rights.
- To develop the skills and abilities of workers to use different means to defend their economic and social rights, and to exert collective pressure or create collective bargaining team.
- To encourage workers' participation and raising their awareness of the notion of united labour movement and its role in the creation of a more equitable society.

3- Support and Assistance Program

This program works on the provision of legal assistance that includes:

- Providing direct legal advice related to the rights of workers and the trade union rights on daily basis;
- Providing urgent legal services to help workers resort to competent administrative bodies when necessary; *and*
- Helping workers file individual or collective lawsuits before courts. Most of these cases relate to arbitrary dismissal, working conditions like hours, arbitrary penalties, insurance rights, and compensation for work injuries.

4- Monitoring and Documentation Program

Through this Program, CTUWS conducts operations of field monitoring, and writes monthly and annual reports regarding violations of freedoms of association in Egypt. It also works on the dissemination of these reports via different media as they constitute important and documented material that economic analysts and various concerned parties may use.

5 - Permanent Conference for Working Women

This program works to create links between the promising and emerging women labour movement and all women's rights activists for the common aspiration towards society governed by justice and equality in rights and duties. In this context, the program adopts an approach based on the social, economic and political empowerment of women workers by organizing them to defend their rights and interests. It rejects methods based on substitution and appropriation. It also aims at abolishing the culture of discrimination in favour of achievement of justice and equality in society. This entails working on the change of policies and

legislations that allows women to express their interests and practice their rights.

The executive body of the Conference is made up of women unionists from different governorates of Egypt working for the abolition of all forms of discrimination against women via a clear strategy that effecting social, legislative and political changes in the lives of women workers. It also works on the formulation of necessary legislative amendments from a gender perspective. The Conference also aims at confronting attempts to marginalize women from their role in society, and negative attitudes that hinder their participation in decision making positions. Its work is based on the implementation of a set of objectives that the participants in the Program formulated as follows:

- Enhancing social, economic and political conditions of women in general and working women in particular via supporting and empowering women in all sectors.
- Confronting beliefs, fed by reactionary forces, which consider that women should stay at home via continuous awareness raising campaigns.
- Working on the empowerment of women in order to achieve equality in rights at work in particular pay and decent work.

- Working on the change of legislative structure that makes it difficult for women to play their roles.
- Putting into effect existing laws. Legal equality is merely a first step towards solving the problems of Egyptian working women.
- Empowering working women to master tools and skills of unionist work and to become capable of holding leadership positions in their unions.
- Denouncing and combating all forms of discrimination against women.
- The Permanent Conference also seeks to work regularly and continuously on all feminist and human rights issues. It endeavors to interact with them and organize for them in order to create community awareness on women's rights by critical understanding of the conditions of working women in society.