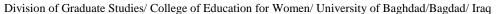


Membership Revocation for Members of the Egyptian People's Assembly According to the 1971 Constitution

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Received: 15/4/2024 Revised: 26/5/2024 Accepted: 9/7/2024 Published online: 1/6/2025

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Citation: Abbas, A. khudair. (2025). Membership Revocation for Members of the Egyptian People's Assembly According to the 1971 Constitution. Dirasat: Human and Social Sciences, 52(6), 7430. https://doi.org/10.35516/hum.v52i6.7 430



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Abstract

Objective: This paper attempts to shed light on the despoilment of membership of Egyptian Parliament members during 1976-1979 and be a run down to how does revocation against them had comprehended provisions of 1971 Egypt constitution.

Method: This is a historical-analytical design to study reasons provided on the Membership Revocation for Members of the Egyptian People's Assembly, which comes because of the loss of credibility, and not performing the obligations of the membership. Study data were sourced from legislative documents and legal documents. This was followed by detailed case studies of Kamal El-Din Hussein, Sheikh Ashour Mohamed Nasr, and Abdel Fattah Hassan.

Results: There was a political motive behind these revocations. Kamal El-Din Hussein was thrown out for publicly denouncing the government as it turned against Egypt's longestablished Israeli peace treaty. Sheikh Ashour Mohamed Nasr had been guilty of fomenting trouble in the Assembly, and Abdel Fattah Hassan was banned — and never allowed to return — under a presidential decree aimed at post-Revolution politicians.

Conclusion: These results highlight the importance of constitutional and legal structures in controlling political processes and ensuring the continued dominance of ruling factions. The research exposes the significance of electoral integrity and strategic use of legislative mechanisms to the affordable to throttle the opposition. When a set of these results is combined with earlier research, it can help in understanding the wider picture of the political and legal dynamics of the period.

Keywords: The 1971 Constitution; Egypt; the Nasserite Era; People's Assembly

إلغاء عضوية أعضاء مجلس الشعب المصري وفقًا لدستور 1971

الهدف: تحاول هذه الورقة تسليط الضوء على إبطال عضوية أعضاء مجلس الشعب المصري خلال الفترة من 1976-1979 وتقديم نظرة شاملة لكيفية تنفيذ الإلغاء بموجب أحكام دستور مصر لعام 1971.

المنهجية: هذه دراسة تارىخية-تحليلية لدراسة الأسباب المقدمة بشأن إلغاء عضوية أعضاء مجلس الشعب المصرى، الذي يأتى نتيجة لفقدان المصداقية ، وعدم أداء التزامات الأعضاء. تم الحصول على بيانات الدراسة من الوثائق التشريعية والوثائق القانونية. وأعقب ذلك دراسات حالة مفصلة عن كمال الدين حسين، والشيخ عاشور محمد نصر، وعبد الفتاح حسن. النتائج: كان هناك دافع سياسي وراء هذه الإلغاءات، تم طرد كمال الدين حسين بسبب إدانته علنًا للحكومة أثناء انقلابها ضد معاهدة السلام الإسرائيلية التي أبرمتها مصر منذ فترة طوبلة؛ كان الشيخ عاشور محمد نصر مذنبًا بإثارة المشاكل في الجمعية، وتم حظر عبد الفتاح حسن - ولم يُسمح له بالعودة - بموجب مرسوم رئاسي يستهدف سياسي ما بعد الثورة. الخاتمة: وتبرز هذه النتائج أهمية الهياكل الدستورية والقانونية في السيطرة على العمليات السياسية، وضمان استمرار هيمنة الفصائل الحاكمة. يكشف البحث عن أهمية النزاهة الانتخابية، والاستخدام الاستراتيجي للآليات التشريعية لمن هم في متناول اليد؛ لخنق المعارضة. عندما يتم دمج مجموعة من هذه النتائج مع الأبحاث السابقة، يمكن أن تساعد في فهم الصورة الأوسع للديناميكيات السياسية والقانونية لهذه الفترة.

الكلمات الدالة: دستور 1971، مصر، عصر الناصرية، مجلس الشعب.

Introduction

The democratic governance system is predicated on the principle of power alternation among parties, with the government assuming its constitutional role in realizing the populace's interests and providing complete freedom in electing their representatives to the parliament. Constitutions and the internal regulations of parliamentary systems delineate essential conditions for candidates to represent their electorate in legislative assemblies. These frameworks clearly define the qualifications required for candidacy and establish prohibitions along with the penalties for members who breach these regulations. Importantly, they grant legislative assemblies the authority to hold members accountable and, with majority approval, revoke their membership if necessary. This process is fundamental in ensuring the integrity and effectiveness of parliamentary functions, as it provides a mechanism to maintain ethical governance and uphold the standards expected of elected officials. Such mechanisms are crucial for the democratic process, ensuring that representatives maintain the trust and esteem required to fulfil their duties, as analysed in the critical review of Jordanian constitutional reforms (Salameh & Ananzah, 2015). The Egyptian People's Assembly during the research period of 1976-1979 witnessed a significant shift from complete government dominance over the assembly to a multi-party system after President Sadat announced the transformation of platforms representing the right, centre, and left into parties that contested the first parliamentary elections in 1976. The voice of the opposition was amplified during this legislative term, and a group of independent and opposition deputies emerged, allowed by the assembly's president to express their opinions despite merely facilitating Sadat's plan for implementing democracy after outlining its broad strokes (Borg, 1993).

The penalty of membership revocation was excessively utilized during this legislative term, which necessitated the loss of candidacy conditions such as the removal of the candidate's name from the electoral roll due to a judicial ruling, or the loss of the status upon which they were elected, being stripped of their farmer or worker status, or due to loss of trust and esteem or failure to fulfil membership duties through committing any act that could demean the deputy's stature, even if it were minor prohibited actions. The importance of this research lies in understanding the concept of membership revocation, differentiating it from membership invalidation and resignation, highlighting the necessary conditions for every parliamentary election candidate, and specifying the requirements for parliamentary membership as the foundation for its continuity.

Study Problem:

The research problem involves examining the use of penalties and punishments, specifically the penalty of membership revocation within the People's Assembly during the transition to a multi-party system.

Study Question:

This research paper seeks to answer whether the People's Assembly was independent in its decisions regarding the revocation of membership for four deputies over three years, or not

Study Objectives:

The research aims to explore the candidacy conditions and causes for membership revocation of People's Assembly deputies according to the permanent Constitution of Egypt of 1971, identifying the cases that led to membership revocation during the period 1976-1979, which ended with the dissolution of the People's Assembly in April 1979.

Methodology:

Study Design

The present study, designed based on the analytical-historical approach, seeks to analyse the reasons of revocation of membership of the Egyptian People's Assembly MPs during the period 1976-1979.

The study discussed the subject of the constitutional texts of the 1971 Constitution of Egypt, as well the elimination of the immunity of some members. this study is tried to analyse the practical events accompanying membership deletion to reveal the reasons that led to their removal, and a look at the legal and constitutional side. This make-up allows for a detailed analysis of legislative texts, constitutional provisions and other related legal infrastructure to better understand the political proclivity and legal framework of the time.

Data Collection:

To achieve the purpose of this study, the data were collected through the following sources and methods:

Primary Sources: Original documents that were examined include session logs of the Egyptian People's Assembly and other laws and parliament session records in the period 1976-1979. Emphasizing the detailed investigation of specific cases of membership revocation, and regarding the deliberations and decisions to drop them.

Secondary Sources: Secondary sources to which researcher turned into included academic books, scientific articles, and historical analyses that refer to the Egyptian politics, the 1971 Constitution, and the precise duration below examination.

Legal Documents: In addition to the study used the legal documents, the Egyptian Constitution of 1971, and Law No. 38 1972 on people's assembly, and successive modifications. These documents were pivotal for understanding the legal technicalities concerning membership deactivation.

Data Analysis

The data analysis process consisted of the following steps:

Content Analysis: The study conducted a comprehensive literature review of legislative records, parliamentary transcripts, legal documents, etc., investigating the purposes and mechanisms of membership revocation. This entailed an examination of the articles of the 1971 Constitution and the internal regulations of the People's Assembly that were used in the decisions.

Case Study Analysis: Kamal El-Din Hussein, Sheikh Ashour Mohamed Nasr and Abdel Fattah Hassan had their individual cases researched and documented in detail. Information comprised a narrative summary of events in chronological order, key legislative and procedural events, and political context for each example case study.

Comparative Analysis: Results We conducted a comparative analysis to identify common themes and variations between cases. This review followed the political context around each deputy, the major steps in their dismissal process, the main charges, procedural matters, assembly rulings, and the defence presented.

Thematic Analysis: Major themes of the role of the majority party, procedural disputes, and the political logic of membership revocations were illuminated and analysed. This thematic analysis provided broader political and legislative insights on the revocations.

Our study of the methodology employed in this research design firstly allows for detailed analysis over the constitutional and legal mechanisms surrounding the process of membership revocation in the Egyptian People's Assembly and hence has theoretical utility in examining the legislative mechanisms and political practices of the era.

\$ Firstly: The Concept of Deputy Membership Revocation

The democratic system of governance in Egypt, as stipulated in the 1971 Constitution, focuses on the principle of power rotation between the different political entities, with the government implements a constitutional role in satisfying the needs of the people. This is the only means to select one's representatives to the Parliament, something no other system offers — full freedom. Constitutions and internal regulations of parliamentary systems provide the needed premises for each representative candidate to be present in legislative assembly by criminalizing forbidden activities and punishing associated members. People's Assembly in Egypt for an era that extends from 1976–1979 became a paradigmatic case study and he documented significant changes from dominance by the incumbent from power-in-presence to party pluralism after President Sadat converted fronts to parties, campaigning for the first multi-party parliamentary elections in 1976. During this time, opposition voices were enhanced and independent deputies, as well as deputies from the opposition, were allowed to speak by the assembly's president according to Sadat's wider blueprint for implementing democracy (Borg,1993).

Concept of Deputy Membership Revocation

In Arabic, revocation means to fall from the hand, which is also the word of council and besides its tsunami and mistake or stumble. In legal terms, membership revocation is one of the punishments that the People's Assembly can decide to be taken against a deputy who falls short of the requirements of membership or violates trust and esteem after the approval of most of its members. Article 96 of the Egyptian Constitution of 1971 states that members cannot be dismissed except if the member has lost trust and respect, or one of the membership requirements, either his worker or his farmer quality which

made him elected levelled it down, and fails to fulfil his membership responsibilities, which obliges two-thirds of the votes for revoking it (Al-Harazin, 2015).

Reasons for Membership Revocation

The reasons for membership revocation include:

- 1. Loss of Trust and Respect: Those acts by which the crook's stature in the general public eye wanes. That holding a good name is as much beneficial in candidacy as it is in joining and staying in office (Lassal, 2016)
- 2. Loss of One of the Membership Conditions: In the same "vein, revoking membership on the basis of the loss of a membership condition is a natural consequence, given that a deputy is required to maintain these conditions release-first-forever-always (Al-Jawadi, 2006)
- 3. Loss of the basis for which they were elected: If a deputy loses the status of a worker or a farmer, this means losing the membership automatically... (Abdel Fattah, 2010).
- **4. Failure to Perform Duties:** The internal regulations of the People's Assembly have penalties for deputies who fail to perform their duties, ranging from a reprimand, to preventing the deputy from participating in the activities of the assembly and ultimately withdraw the membership (Al-Harazin (2015).

Membership Revocation Cases (1976-1979)

Over the legislature of 1976-1979, four opposition and independent MPs were expelled from parliament. It also revokes membership in various other forms, mostly for not fulfilling duties of membership before the dissolution of the People's Assembly before the expiry of his term. The period was associated with profound degree of political turmoil, this was underpinned by the governance and control dynamics like what has been observed across like political landscapes during the timeframe) Bani Salameh et al., 2020)

Revocation of Kamal El-Din Hussein's Membership

Kamal El-Din Hussein was a prominent politician and military figure who was a member of the Revolutionary Command Council and joined the People's Assembly in the 1976 elections. The demonstrations on January 17 and 18, 1977, triggered by the removal of subsidies on basic goods, were pivotal events that led to a series of governmental decisions and laws aimed at political isolation and constriction of opposition figures (Abdel Razzaq, 1979; Abdel Fattah, 2010).

Key Events:

- Telegram to the President: On February 12, 1977, Hussein sent a telegram to President Sadat and various newspapers, criticizing a government decision and invoking Article 74 of the Constitution. He argued that the decision was constitutionally invalid and attributed the January incidents to governmental short-sightedness.
- Assembly Response: President Sadat sent the telegram to the Speaker of the People's Assembly, Sayed Marei, who presented it to the Assembly. A written request signed by 252 deputies proposed Hussein's membership revocation for defamation against the Assembly, the President, and constitutional institutions, and for issuing derogatory statements.
- Legislative Committee's Report: On March 13, 1977, the legislative committee's report was presented, condemning Hussein's message for attacking the Constitution and insulting the head of state. The Assembly members voted with a majority of 281 in favor of revocation (Shalby, 1990; Al-Jumhuriya, 1977).

Implications: Hussein's revocation underscored the political climate of repression and the strategic use of legislative mechanisms to suppress dissent. His case highlighted the Assembly's susceptibility to executive influence and the broader political strategy of supporting control by targeting vocal opposition figures.

Revocation of Sheikh Ashour Mohamed Nasr's Membership

Sheikh Ashour Mohamed Nasr, an Azharite deputy and religious rites officiant, represented the El-Gomrok district in Alexandria. Known for his confrontational stance, Nasr's actions during Assembly sessions led to significant controversy (Al-Akeeli, 2021).

Key Events:

Assembly Session Incident: On March 21, 1978, during a session discussing the supply policy, Nasr engaged in a disruptive confrontation, chanting "Down with Anwar Sadat" after being asked to take his seat. This led to chaos and

immediate referral of his behaviour to the relevant committee (Farag, 2007; Al-Ray Al-Amm, 1978).

Revocation Process: The Assembly's majority party condemned Nasr's actions as an insult to the President and the Assembly. Despite attempts to mediate, the legislative committee's report recommended revocation, which was approved by a majority vote of 279 members (Giar, 2002; El-Sayed, Sami, 1984).

Implications:

Nasr's revocation illustrated the tensions within the Assembly and the broader political strategy to stifle opposition voices. His case emphasized the use of procedural mechanisms to maintain order and suppress dissent, reflecting the political dynamics of the time.

Revocation of Abdel Fattah Hassan's Membership

Abdel Fattah Hassan, a former minister during the monarchy era, served in the last Waved government. His membership was revoked under the "Principles of Protecting the Internal Front and Social Peace" law, targeting pre-revolution politicians (Khalifa).

Key Events:

- Presidential Decree No. 214 of 1978: This decree called for a referendum on the law, resulting in the overwhelming approval to deprive political rights of those involved in pre-revolution politics. Hassan was named in the Socialist Public Prosecutor's letter and the Assembly's legislative committee's report (Al-Taweel, 1985).
- Assembly's Decision: Despite objections to the constitutionality and procedural validity, the Assembly's majority voted to revoke Hassan's membership with 273 approvals (Al-Shanawi, 1980).

Implications: Hassan's revocation highlighted the broader political strategies of cutting opposition and combining control. His case proved the use of legal frameworks to target and suppress political adversaries, reflecting the intersection of legislative actions and political strategy during the period.

❖ Secondly: Cases of Membership Revocation

The Egyptian legislator established reasons and conditions under which the penalty of membership revocation is imposed on deputies of the People's Assembly, as they occupy seats in one of the most important constitutional legislative institutions. This necessitated the organization of their candidacy conditions and the clarification of reasons for their membership revocation. The current study will explore the most relevant constitutional articles related to membership revocation and the cases that led to membership revocation during the legislative term of the People's Assembly in Egypt, spanning from November 11, 1976, to April 11, 1979, where it explores the constitutional articles pertinent to membership revocation and the instances leading to such revocations during the legislative term of the People's Assembly in Egypt from November 11, 1976, to April 11, 1979. This examination draws on the constitutional frameworks discussed in 'Human Rights in the Jordanian Constitution' by Mohammed Torki Bani Salameh and Samid A. Darawsheh, which highlights the role of constitutions in delineating the rights and duties of parliamentary members and the mechanisms for their enforcement (Bani Salameh & Darawsheh, 2018)."

Before delving into the reasons for membership revocation, it is essential to understand the conditions required for anyone seeking to fill a seat in Egypt's People's Assembly. In accordance with Article 88 of the 1971 Constitution, which states, "The law shall determine the conditions required in members of the People's Assembly" (Al-Hiti, 2007). Article 5 of Law No. 38 of 1972 outlines the conditions for candidacy for the People's Assembly membership as follows (Hamad, 2019):

- 1. Must be of Egyptian nationality, born to an Egyptian father.
- 2. Must be listed in one of the electoral rolls, without any occurrence warranting the cancellation of their registration according to the relevant law.
 - 3. Must be at least thirty years of age on election day.
 - 4. Must be literate.
- 5. At the time of the electoral call, must have been an active member of the Arab Socialist Union for at least one year. This condition was later abolished according to Law No. 109 of 1976, amending some provisions of Law No. 38 of

1971 regarding the People's Assembly (Shoukry, 1987), aiming to diminish the Socialist Union and the security apparatus's influence over the electoral process (Mohammed, Mehdi, 2023).

- 6. Must have completed or been exempted from compulsory military service according to the law.
- 7. Membership must not have been previously revoked by a decision of the People's Assembly due to loss of trust and esteem or due to failure in fulfilling membership duties according to Article 96 of the Constitution. However, candidacy is permissible in the following cases (the legislative term during which the membership revocation decision was issued has ended, the candidacy is for the legislative term following the one during which the membership revocation decision was issued, a decision by the People's Assembly to cancel the effect preventing candidacy due to membership revocation, issued by a majority of its members based on a proposal submitted by thirty members after the end of the session in which the revocation decision was issued). This condition was added in accordance with Law No. 14 of 1977 regarding the People's Assembly (Mohammed, 2014). These conditions are general and apply to all candidates, although the farmer and worker categories must be represented by a candidate possessing the farmer or worker status.

Regarding the reasons justifying membership revocation of deputies, Article 96 of the permanent Constitution of Egypt of 1971 specified four reasons (Abdullah, Khalil, 2014):

- 1. **Loss of Trust and Esteem:** This includes any disgraceful act that diminishes the perpetrator's status in society. The Egyptian legislator placed loss of trust and esteem at the forefront of reasons justifying the penalty of membership revocation in Article 96 of the Constitution, indicating that maintaining a good reputation is not only a condition for candidacy but also for the continuity of enjoying membership. A member is obliged to uphold principles of integrity and rectitude, staying clear of any suspicions, and adhering to all social behavioural norms (Lassal, 2016).
- 2. **Loss of One of the Membership Conditions:** Revoking membership due to the loss of one of the membership conditions is natural, as a candidate for the council's membership must meet a set of conditions previously mentioned in accordance with Law No. 38 of 1972. To retain membership, a deputy must continuously fulfil these conditions. Thus, revoking membership due to the loss of one of its conditions is not considered a punishment imposed on the deputy. For example, a deputy's disenfranchisement from exercising their political rights due to a felony conviction leads to the cancellation of their electoral roll registration, thus losing one of the candidacy conditions.
- 3. Loss of the Status on Which They Were Elected as a Farmer or Worker: Article 2 of Law No. 38 of 1972 regarding the People's Assembly provides a comprehensive definition of the farmer or worker status based on which candidacy is made. Losing this status necessitates the revocation of membership, as specified in (Abdel Fattah, 2010). The moment they lose the worker or farmer status, their membership must be revoked.
- 4. **Failure to Fulfil Duties**: The People's Assembly's internal regulations organized the penalties imposed on any deputy who fails to fulfil their parliamentary duties or commits any prohibited acts. These penalties are as follows (Al-Harazin, previous source):
 - **First:** Reprimand.
 - Second: Prohibition from participating in the assembly's delegations throughout the session.
- Third: Prohibition from participating in the assembly's activities for a period of no less than two sessions and no more than ten sessions.
- **Fourth:** Prohibition from participating in the assembly's activities for a period exceeding ten sessions but not the entire session.
- **Fifth:** Membership revocation. Membership revocation in this case is considered a disciplinary measure resulting in a final judgment against the member, depriving them of their right to exercise political tasks, thus losing one of the membership conditions. Members of the People's Assembly are prohibited according to the Constitution and the assembly's internal regulations from engaging in certain activities, such as purchasing or leasing state-owned properties, or conducting business with the state as contractors or suppliers (Hamood,2023). This prohibition aims to ensure members' independence and prevent their influence by powerful entities or individuals. Additionally, deputies are forbidden from disclosing any information they acquire during their duties, especially if it is confidential. They are also prohibited from violating the

Constitution's provisions, both inside and outside the assembly, as deputies' actions are governed by laws and regulations that must not be breached to avoid accountability and penalties (Khalifa, 2021).

The causes for membership revocation outlined above necessitate mentioning that the penalty does not apply directly. The revocation procedures are organized according to Article 309 of the People's Assembly's internal regulation issued in 1972, stating, "In the cases provided for in Article 96 of the Constitution, a proposal for membership revocation must be submitted in writing to the president, who shall notify the member and present it to the assembly in the first session," allowing the deputy an opportunity to defend themselves before the assembly members. The assembly may then decide to refer the matter to one of the competent parliamentary committees for further proceedings or to reject the request (Mohammed, 1995).

It becomes evident that Article 96 of the Constitution grants the People's Assembly a wide scope of authority to impose the penalty of membership revocation, especially regarding the loss of trust and esteem, which could be used to threaten and pressure opposition deputies over mere differences of opinion. The cause of failure to fulfil duties is a broadly defined term that could be expansively interpreted under the influence of partisan and political considerations. The People's Assembly has witnessed cases of membership revocation for reasons that cannot be considered actual failures to fulfil duties, as detailed in the following section.

Thirdly: - The Revocation of Membership of Deputies from the Legislative Term 1976-1979

In the late 1970s, Egypt was a nation at a crossroads, navigating through an intricate political landscape marked by the historic Camp David Accords and internal legislative reforms. The period from 1976 to 1979, under President Anwar Sadat, was particularly tumultuous, as reflected in the activities within the Egyptian People's Assembly. This era witnessed significant constitutional and political shifts, including the contentious revocation of membership for certain deputies within the Assembly. The revocations were primarily justified by failures to fulfil membership duties or the loss of status conditions, underpinned by the provisions of the permanent Constitution of Egypt of 1971, As will be explained with the three cases of membership revocation, Kamal El-Din Hussein, Sheikh Ashour Mohamed Nasr, and Abdel Fattah Hassan. These actions coincided with Egypt's strategic realignments on the international stage, most notably through the Camp David Accords, which aimed to establish peace with Israel but also ignited considerable domestic debate and dissent (Bani Salamah, et al,2012). The Accords influenced Egyptian politics profoundly, creating a backdrop of heightened political sensitivity that affected governance and legislative processes. The intersection of these international and domestic developments during this pivotal period highlighted the complexities of maintaining legislative integrity and democratic processes in a rapidly evolving political environment.

Aspect	Kamal El-Din Hussein	Sheikh Ashour Mohamed Nasr	Abdel Fattah Hassan
Political Background	Politician and military figure, member of the Revolutionary Command Council	Azharite deputy, religious rites officiant, member of the Arab Socialist Union	Former minister during the monarchy era, served in the last Wafd government
Key Event Leading to Revocation	Telegram criticizing government policies and constitutional validity	Disruptive behavior in the Assembly, chanting "Down with Anwar Sadat"	Presidential Decree No. 214 of 1978, depriving political rights of pre-revolution politicians
Date of Key Event	February 12, 1977	March 21, 1978	June 13, 1978
Main Accusation	Defamation against the Assembly, presidents, and constitutional institutions	Insulting the Assembly and the President, causing disruption	Loss of political rights due to prior ministerial position and affiliation with Wafd party
Procedural Issues	Criticized hastiness and lack of procedural norms	Repeated conduct violations, procedural discrepancies in signature lists	Objections to the constitutionality and procedural validity of the revocation process
Assembly's Decision	Majority vote of 281 in favor of revocation	Majority vote of 279 in favor of revocation	Majority vote of 273 in favor of revocation

Aspect	Kamal El-Din Hussein	Sheikh Ashour Mohamed Nasr	Abdel Fattah Hassan
Defensive Arguments	Criticized legislative committee's disregard for procedural norms, defended freedom of expression	Argued severe discomfiture due to living conditions, justified outburst as expression of opinion	Challenged the Socialist Public Prosecutor's decision, highlighted legal grievances and tenure actions
Outcome	Revocation, failed re-nomination attempt, filed lawsuit	Revocation, attributed exclusion to positive opposition role	Revocation, judicial challenge led to favorable ruling, but Assembly dissolved before completion
Shared Factors	Criticism of government policies, perceived threat to ruling regime, majority party using constitutional provisions for revocation	Disruptive actions perceived as threat to regime, majority party using constitutional provisions for revocation	Perceived threat to ruling regime, majority party using constitutional provisions for revocation

Shared Factors and Elements

Criticism of Government Policies: All three deputies faced revocation primarily due to actions or statements perceived as threats to the ruling regime or its policies.

Procedural Controversies: Each case involved significant procedural controversies, with deputies raising objections to the legitimacy and fairness of the revocation process.

Majority Party Influence: The majority party in the Assembly leveraged constitutional provisions and internal regulations to justify and execute the revocations.

Political Isolation: The revocations were part of broader political strategies to suppress opposition and consolidate control, reflecting the political climate of the period.

Defensive Arguments: All three deputies presented defensive arguments emphasizing procedural flaws, their right to express opinions, and challenging the basis for revocation.

Outcome of Revocations: Despite different contexts and accusations, the outcome in all cases was the successful revocation of membership, with varying subsequent legal and political repercussions.

Discussion:

This section provides a detailed discussion of the results for each member whose membership was revoked, supported by the Egyptian constitutional legislation of 1971. The discussion then links these findings to the theoretical framework and integrates them with previous studies to provide a comprehensive understanding of the political and legal dynamics of the period.

1) Revocation of Kamal El-Din Hussein's Membership

Aspect	Details	
	On 12 February 1977, the membership Kamal El-Din Hussein was cancelled because of its critical	
Results and	telegram to President Sadat, as well various newspapers. the first aim of this telegram is to	
Constitutional	criticize the government decisions, his argues based on the 74 of the Constitution was also	
Support	invoked, declaring the decisions as constitutionally unlawful and blamed the public outrage on	
	the poor handling of the government. which allows for the revocation of membership if a member	
	loses trust and esteem or does not fulfill membership duties (Al-Harazin, 2015)	
	In this case, embodies of legislative mechanisms. This is in line of the theoretical framework, that	
Link to	there are legal and constitutional tools that can be employed to buttress the power of the ruling	
Theoretical	regime, a claim made by (Salameh & Ananzah, 2015).	
Framework		
	This finding is consistent with earlier reports (Bani Salameh et al. Another example is a political	
Integration with	scientist, Franklin (2020), who has talked about political elites in gatekeeping legislative	
Previous Studies	processes for their own power preservation own_version too (Franklin, 2020). Hussein's (2022)	
	proves it, as the legislative majority abused the constitutional tools, to go after and cut opponents.	

Sheikh Ashour Mohamed Nasr's Membership Revocation

Aspect	Details	
Results and	Sheikh Ashour Mohamed Nasr's membership was revoked following his disruptive behavior in	
Constitutional	the Assembly on March 21, 1978, where he chanted "Down with Anwar Sadat." The Assembly's	
Support	decision was based on perceived insults to the President and the institution, justified under Article	
	96 of the Constitution, which emphasizes keeping trust and esteem (Farag, 2007; Al-Ray Al-	
	Amm, 1978).	
Link to	Nasr's case illustrates the enforcement of political conformity through legislative actions. The	
Theoretical	theoretical framework suggests that legislative bodies can serve as tools for political elites to	
Framework	enforce order and suppress disruptive elements (Bani Salameh & Darawsheh, 2018).	
Integration with	Studies on parliamentary behavior have written down that disruptive actions are often met with	
Previous Studies	severe punitive measures to support the status quo (Borg, 1993). Nasr's revocation supports this	
	view, highlighting the Assembly's role in keeping political stability by penalizing dissenting	
	voices.	

Abdel Fattah Hassan's Membership Revocation

Aspect	Details
	Abdel Fattah Hassan was stripped of his membership for such a violation based on Presidential
Results and	Decree No. 214 of 1978, which removed political rights of pre-revolution politicians. This
Constitutional	followed a ruling in accordance with the provisions of Law No. 38 of 1972 concerning the People's
Support	Assembly as amended, and regarding membership dismissal in case of failure of one candidacy
	conditions, Khalifa said.
	The case of Hassan is a perfect example of the instrumentalization of legal frameworks to discredit
Link to	political opponents. According to the theoretical frame that has been addressed in this study, the
Theoretical	constitutional regulations should be abused under the regime's interests as a tool of political
Framework	demobilization (Salameh & Ananzah, 2015).
	Al-Jawadi (2006) and other research have reported the resort of moody laws to pressure on
Integration with	political isolation. The annulment of Hassan's nationality is one example, which consisted of using
Previous Studies	constitutional articles to rid the state of political heavyweights from the era preceding the
	revolution, in a way that solidified the provisions of the reigning power.

Linking Results to Theoretical Framework and Integrating Findings with Previous Studies

Aspect	Details
Revocations	The decisions to revoke the nationalities of Kamal El-Din Hussein, Sheikh Ashour Mohamed Nasr,
Overview	and Abdel Fattah Hassan underscore the intended use of certain constitutional articles to bite
	everything on preserving the status quo at the expense of political liberties and human rights. This
	is in keeping with the theoretical background of an emphasis on the legal and constitutional
	mechanisms reinforcing ruling regime's superiority reign (Bani Salameh et al., 2020; Salameh &
	Ananzah, 2015).
Theoretical	Legislative Control: This proves the legislative control of the majority party for these cases using
Implications	Article 96 of the 1971 Constitution to stifle expression and to expect ensuring the political
	existence. ·
	Political Manipulation: Cancelling memberships using the legal provisions is a matter of political
	use, just in hard way following the overall strategy of the political of the ruling regime to cut the
	opposing representations and make the legislative body serve the aims of the regime.
Empirical	Case Studies: The detailed examination of each case provides empirical validation of the
Validation	theoretical framework and illustrates how constitutional provisions can be used to enforce political
	conformity.
	Earlier Research: The results are congruent with studies finding the employment of legislative
	coercion to repress dissent (Buhaug and Duero 2001; Haukkala 2000; Suny 2018). The application
	of theoretical concepts to real case practices is demonstrated, showing that the practices of
	controversy creation apparently uncover no specific referential basis for these highly sophisticated
	and socially constructed scholarly practices, in line with Borg (1993) and Al-Jawadi (2006)
	historical studies on these kinds of practices in similar political environments.

Conclusion

In the legislative term from 1976 to 1979, the Egyptian People's Assembly encountered significant political turbulence, which culminated in several instances of membership revocation. This period, marked by a complex interplay of political manoeuvring and legislative reforms, reflects a broader narrative of governance and control reminiscent of trends observed across similar political landscapes. The revocation of parliamentary membership during this era was not merely a procedural action but a reflection of deeper political dynamics where actions or statements diminishing a member's stature could lead to revocation.

Key Findings

1) Kamal El-Din Hussein's Membership Revocation:

Hussein's dismissal, after his telegraphed censure of President Sadat, provided a template for how the Assembly could continue to control politics even using Article 96 of the 1971 Constitution. His composition shows how legislative devices were used to silence discord and put down adversary, in accordance with academic theories showing the part of legitimate foundations in fortifying the strength of the autocracy (Salameh & Ananzah, 2015; Bani Salameh et al., 2020). Sheikh Ashour Mohamed Nasr's Membership Revocation:

Nasr was then expelled from the Assembly based on the same constitutional article referring his violations behaviour. This was an example of when legislative bodies work against the will of the people, where instead they were working in Favor of the local government who was struggling to re-alter the existing system native Arabs had intrinsically penetrated over time, serving as a reminder of the theory that legislative bodies can become the tools in the pockets of the elite to crush disruptive elements and bring about some semblance of order (Bani Salameh & Darawsheh, 2018).

2) Abdel Fattah Hassan's Membership Revocation:

With this legal revisionism, membership was terminated in other political alternatives to the ruling coalition, and Hassan was no exception to that presidential decree, his read: Delegation to Gordon Hassan, but not under Hassan, targeting pre-revolution politicians for delegitimization. Root, less open version of that was also employed as a tool of exclusion for ages. This demonstrates the manipulation of constitutional articles to be in line with the political buttress of the raiding regime and this rule means the other viewer to the political majority (Salameh & Ananzah, 2015; Al-Jawadi, 2006).

Theoretical Implications

The results of the study highlight the quality of the mechanisms of integrity in the electoral process, and the role of the Court of Cassation in preserving the democratic process in Bahrain. The revocations showed legislative mechanisms can be used for political gain and illustrated the complexity of political elite behaviour in such regimes. This theoretical framework allows us to illustrate that constitutional and legal redlines are frequently instrumentalized by political elites to remain in power and to crush dissent, as is the case with the examples under discussion.

Empirical Validation

By conducting a case-by-case analysis, support for the theoretical framework is empirically confirmed, as it shows how constitutional clauses can be used to ensure political loyalty. The results are in line with earlier findings that lawmaking extremes can be mobilized to put down opposition and centralize authority. The procedures suggested here have a historical base in practices that are frequently performed in similar political environments (Borg 1993; Al-Jawadi 2006).

Broader Implications

An example of this is the period from 1976 to 1979 in the Egyptian People's Assembly when legislative mechanisms were manipulated in a way that revealed fundamental weaknesses inherent to the constitutional system. The use of the highly strategic Article 96 of the 1971 Constitution and other legal provisions to revoke membership also resounds with broader political strategies to maintain control and dissuade opposition. In examining this aspect of historical precedent, not only does this underscore the procedural conventions around revoking membership, but it also sets this process within the wider debate of political violence and mechanisms of political control surrounding legislative functions in politically unstable countries.

Conclusions The study demonstrates how constitutional and legal frameworks can interplay with political dynamics to facilitate the maintenance of power by ruling regimes. Perceiving these dynamics is crucial for an evaluation of the possible role that legislative practices can play in upholding democratic integrity and political stability in such environments.

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