

ANALYSIS OF FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN LEGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES IN IRAQ

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List of Abbreviations

CoR: Council of Representatives of Iraq

CSO: Provincial and District Councils

PDCs: Provincial and Districts Councils

Note:

The translation of legal text quoted in this paper is unofficial, as it was conducted by Dr. Mohamed Almosly.

1. Introduction:

As a federal state, the Republic of Iraq has established several legislative institutions at the federal, regional, provincial and district (Qadhaa) levels. At the federal level, the legislative authority is supposed to be exercised by the Council of Representatives (CoR) and the Federation Council. While the constitution of Iraq established the CoR, it lacks a detailed framework regulating the Federation Council. In addition to the federal legislative institutions, Provincial and Districts Councils (PDCs) were established in provinces that have not joined a region. The Constitution of Iraq guarantees the rights of citizens to participate in the formation of the CoR and the PDCs, which include the right to elect and to run as a candidate for election. To regulate the exercise of political rights of its citizens, the CoR adopted three laws, namely the 2020 Law on the Election of the CoR that replaced the 2013 Law⁽⁴⁾, the 2015 Political Parties Law⁽⁵⁾ and the 2018 Law on the Election of the Provincial and District Councils (PDCs). Furthermore, the CoR adopted a law in 2008 that regulates many aspects related to the legislative and executive institutions of the provinces that have not joined a region.

This paper aims to analyze whether the Constitution of Iraq and the above-mentioned laws establish a minimum threshold for female representation in the CoR, the PDCs and the political parties of Iraq. Moreover, it scrutinises whether existing laws sufficiently guarantee representation of women from minority groups. Finally, this paper seeks to assess whether women are legally entitled to run for election independently from political parties.

- Article (65) of the Constitution of Iraq, published in the Iraqi Official Gazette (Alwaqayi'i) number 4012 on 28 December 2005. Available in Arabic at https://iraqld.hjc.iq:8080/LoadLawBook.aspx?page=1&SC=&BookID=25626> An English version of the Iraqi Constitution can be found at https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Iraq_2005?lang=en>
- 2 Article (20) of the Constitution of Iraq,
- 3 Law number (9) of 2020 on the Election of the Council of Representatives, adopted by the Council of Representatives of Iraq, published in the Iraqi Official Gazette (Alwaqayi'i) number 4603 on 5 November 2020, p. 1.
- 4 Law number (45) of 2013 on the Election of the Council of Representatives (as amended by Law number (15) of 2018), adopted by the Council of Representatives of Iraq, published in the Iraqi Official Gazette (Alwaqayi'i) number 4300 on 2 December 2013, p. 1.
- 5 Law number (36) of 2015 on Political Parties, adopted by the Council of Representatives of Iraq, published in the Iraqi Official Gazette (Alwaqayi'i) number 4383 on 12 October 2015.
- Law number (12) of 2018 on the Election of the Provincial and Districts Councils (as amended by Law number (27) of 2019), adopted by the Council of Representatives of Iraq, published in the Iraqi Official Gazette (Alwaqayi'i) number 4494 on 4 June 2018, p. 1.
- 7 Law number (21) of 2008 on Provinces that have not Joined a Region (as amended), adopted by the Council of Representatives of Iraq, published in the Iraqi Official Gazette (Alwaqayi'i) number 4070 on 31 March 2008.

2. Women Participation based on the Law of the Election of the Council of Representatives (COR Election Law):

The CoR is composed of 329 seats, 320 of which are distributed among the provinces based on a table annexed to the Law on the Election of the CoR. (8) The additional nine seats are allocated to minority groups as shall be detailed below. The Constitution of Iraq states that "the Electoral Law aims at making women representation in the Council of Representatives equal to at least 25 percent of the total number of members."(9) To regulate the exercise of the right to elect the members of the CoR and the right to run for election in the CoR, the CoR adopted the 2020 Law on the Election of the CoR, which replaced the 2013 Law. The Law on the Election of the CoR aims at achieving equality among citizens in the participation in elections. (10) It guarantees the right to elect for every Iraqi citizen, who qualifies to vote, without discrimination based on sex, race, ethnicity, origin, colour, religion, sector of religion, belief, opinion or economic or social situation. (11) It defines the eligibility criteria to exercise the right to elect by stating that any person is entitled to vote in an election if that person is an Iraqi citizen, has legal capacity, turned eighteen years of age during the year in which the election is conducted and has been registered to vote. (12) In order to exercise the right to run for election in the CoR, a candidate must meet the eligibility criteria of the right to elect in addition to other conditions stipulated in Article (8), such as the condition that the candidate shall be at least twenty eight years of age and shall not be among those that are covered by the Law of the Supreme National Committee for Accountability and Justice. What is important is that neither the eligibility criteria to elect nor those determining the ability to run for election could negatively impact women participation in the exercise of their rights to elect and to be elected for the CoR. In contrast, the eligibility criteria to exercise the right to elect outlawed all forms of discrimination.

The 2020 Law on the Election of the CoR divided Iraq into 83 electoral constituencies, in which candidates individually run for election. This new election system has repealed the system that was used pursuant to the previous Law number (45) of 2013 on the Election of the CoR, namely the Sainte-Laguë method. The adoption of a new election system was one of the measures adopted by the CoR to satisfy the demonstrators in Iraq who argued that the Sainte-Laguë method used under the 2013 Law was beneficial only for big political parties and made it difficult for independent candidates to compete against major political parties. Hence, the 2020 Law on the Election of the CoR changed the election system and defined 83 electoral constituencies in tables annexed to the Law in question.

⁸ Article 13(First) of the Law on the Election of the Council of Representatives.

⁹ Article 49(Fourth) of the Constitution of Iraq.

¹⁰ Article 2(Second) of that Law on Election of the Council of Representatives, op. cit.

¹¹ Ibid., Article 4(First).

¹² Ibid., Article (5).

Another question that needs to be answered here is whether the 2020 Law on the Election of the CoR allows women representation in the CoR to exceed 25% of the total membership of the CoR. Article (16) of the Law on the Election of the CoR sets a minimum threshold for women representation. Paragraph (1) of that article provides that "the percentage of women representation shall not be less than 25% of the number of members of the Council of Representatives." To achieve that percentage, the Law on the Election of the CoR stipulates that at least one woman shall be elected from each electoral constituency in Iraq.(13) Hence, as 83 electoral constituencies were created by the 2020 Law on the Election of the CoR, at least 83 out of the 329 seats of the CoR shall be filled by women. Therefore, as the Law on the Election of the CoR only sets the minimum threshold for women representation in the CoR, women candidates can achieve more than 25% representation in the CoR if voters are willing to vote for more women candidates.

The gap that can be identified in the Law on the Election of the CoR is that it does not guarantee a minimum representation of women belonging to minority groups. Although it gives Christians five seats in five provinces (Baghdad, Ninawa, Kirkuk, Duhok and Erbil),(14) the Law on the Election of the CoR did not clarify how at least 25% of the five seats will be allocated to female Christian candidates. Likewise, each of the following ethinic groups were awarded only one seat, Yezidis, Sabian Mandaeism, Shabaks and Faili Kurds. If the one seat allocated to these entities is given to a male candidate, women belonging to these groups will not be represented and vice versa. However, it shall be mentioned that candidates from minority groups are legally entitled to run for election within their electoral constituency irrespective of the above-mentioned seats. In other words, as an Iraqi citizen who fulfils the eligibility criteria to vote and to be elected, a Yezidi candidate may individually run for election. The success of that person would then depend on the voters.

The other issue that can be noted is that Article 16(Ninth) of the Law on the Election of the CoR states that if a seat becomes vacant and that seat belongs to a woman, such seat shall not necessarily be filled by a woman, unless this will affect the 25% of women representation in the CoR. While this can be considered to be fair as seats vacated by a male member shall not necessarily be filled by another male member, it could also be argued that it is better to install a condition stipulating that a seat held and vacated by a female member is filled with a female candidate to increase the representation of women in the CoR.

¹³ Ibid., Article (16).

¹⁴ Ibid., Article 13 (Second).

3. Women Participation in the Federation Council

Pursuant to the Constitution of Iraq, the federal legislative authority shall comprise two institutions, namely the CoR and the Federation Council. (15) While the Constitution of Iraq establishes a legal framework defining many aspects related to the CoR, it lacks details regarding the Federation Council. It simply mentions that "[a] legislative council shall be established under the name the Federation Council, which comprises representatives of regions and provinces that have not joined a region." (16)

The Constitution of Iraq does not require the Federation Council to be composed of a specific number of women members. In other words, it does not establish minimum representation for women in the Federation Council, unlike its approach regarding the CoR, whose members shall comprise at least 25% of female members. In contrast to many Constitutions of Federal States detailing the mandate of the Houses of the Federal Parliament, the Constitution of Iraq defines some necessary aspects related to the CoR only. The Constitution of Iraq states that "[t]he Council of Representatives shall enact a law by a two-thirds majority of its members defining the formation and competencies of the Federation Council, the eligibility criteria to become a member in the Federation Council and all other aspects related to it." (17) As such law has not yet been enacted by the CoR, it is not yet known whether the Federation Council shall comprise minimum representation for women.

¹⁵ Article (48) of the Constitution of Iraq.

¹⁶ Article (65) of the Constitution of Iraq.

¹⁷ Article (65) of the Constitution of Iraq. See also Article (137) of the Constitution of Iraq.

4. Women Participation in the Provincial and Districts Councils in the Provinces that have not Joined a Region

The Constitution of Iraq states that the Provinces shall be composed of districts (Qadhaa), sub-districts (Nahiyas) and villages (Qaryas). It does not require membership of the PDCs to comprise a minimum representation for women. It simply mentions that the election of the Provincial Councils and the competencies of such Councils shall be regulated by law. In other words, while there is a constitutional guarantee for a minimum representation for women in the CoR, such obligation was not stipulated by the Constitution with respect to the PDCs. Hence, it is necessary to assess whether existing laws stipulate a minimum threshold for women representation in the legislative and executive organs of Provinces, Districts and Nahiyas, i.e. the PDCs, the Governor, Deputies Governor, District Managers (Qaem Maqam) and Nahiyas Managers. For that purpose, it is essential to examine at least two laws, namely law number (21) of 2008 on the Provinces that have not Joined a Region⁽²⁰⁾ and law number (12) of 2018 on the Election of the PDCs. Before answering the main question, it is crucial to clarify that only Provinces and Districts have their own Councils, unlike Nahiyas (Sub-Districts) the Councils of which were demolished in 2018, as will be detailed below.

4.1 Women Participation based on Law number (21) of 2008 on the Provinces that have not Joined a Region

Similar to the Constitution of Iraq, the Law number (21) of 2008 on the Provinces that have not Joined in a Region does not set a minimum threshold for women representation in the PDCs as well as in the executive positions at Provinces, Districts and Nahiyas (Sub-Districts) levels. For instance, while Article 33(First) of that Law states that the Governor shall have a maximum of five deputies, it does not stipulate that women shall be represented in these five positions.

4.2 Women Representation based on Law number (12) of 2018 on the Election of Provincial and Districts Councils in Provinces that have not Joined a Region

To regulate the election of the PDCs in the Provinces that have not joined a region, Law number (12) of 2018 was enacted. However, the CoR enacted Law number (27) which amended Law number (12) and "stopped the work" of the PDCs (hereafter referred to as the 2nd Amendment Law). The 2nd Amendment Law lays down that the Governor and the Managers of Administrative Units shall continue exercising their competencies

¹⁸ Article 122(First) of the Constitution of Iraq.

¹⁹ Article 122(Fourth) of the Constitution of Iraq.

²⁰ Law number (21) of 2008 on Provinces that have not Joined a Region, op. cit.

²¹ Law number (27) of 2019 on the Second Amendment to the Law number (12) of 2018 on the Election of the Provincials and Districts Councils, adopted by the Council of Representatives of Iraq, published in the Iraqi Official Gazette (Alwaqayi'i) number 4566 on 9 December 2019, p. 7.

and fulfilling their duties as stipulated by Law number (21) of 2008 on the Provinces that have not joined a Region. (22) It further states that the members of the CoR, each with respect to his own Province, shall supervise the work of the Governor and Deputy Governors. (23) The 2nd Amendment Law was adopted by the CoR in an attempt by the latter to accommodate the demands of the demonstrations started in October 2019 in many Iraqi Provinces, who accused the Provincial Councils of being ineffective Councils. The demonstrators believe that the salary of the members of the PDCs forms a heavy burden on the general budget.

Several provinces considered the 2nd Amendment Law to be unconstitutional, as the Constitution of Iraq explicitly mentions that the Governor shall be elected by the Provincial Council and that a law shall be enacted to regulate the election of Provincial Councils and to define their competencies. (24) It further stipulates that the Provincial Council has an independent budget and shall not be subjected to the control or supervision of any Ministry or an institution not affiliated to a Ministry. (25) However, the Constitution of Iraq does not explicitly mention that there shall be elected Districts and Sub-District Councils. Some Provinces filed a case before the Federal Supreme Court, in which the former requested the latter to declare the 2nd Amendment Law as unconstitutional on the aforementioned grounds. (26) The Federal Supreme Court has not yet issued a judgment on the request of the Provinces, due to the political sensitivity of the case. Any ruling declaring the 2nd Amendment unconstitutional will maintain the Provincial Councils thus causing more demonstrations.

However, because the Federal Supreme Court may rule in favour of maintaining the existence of the PDCs, further examination of whether a minimum female representation in these Councils is guaranteed remains relevant. At the outset, the 2018 Law on the Election of the PDCs seeks to "achieve equality in the electoral participation." (27) It states that the PDCs shall be elected for a 4-year term starting from the day on which the first session of these Councils is held. (28) The Law also takes into consideration the special situation of Ninawa and Kirkuk. It requires the Independent High Electoral Commission to take appropriate measures enabling the persons internally displaced within Ninawa and Kirkuk to vote. (29) The number of members represented in the PDCs is determined based on the population of that Province and District. The minimum number of members for the Provincial Councils is 10, whereas for the District Councils that number is 7. (30) It is necessary to mention that Sub-Districts (Nahiyas) used to have their own Councils

²² Article (2) of Law number (27) of 2019 on the Second Amendment to the Law number (12) of 2018, op. cit.

²³ Article (3) Law number (27) of 2019 on the Second Amendment to the Law number (12) of 2018, op. cit.

²⁴ Article 122 (Third and Fourth) of the Constitution of Iraq.

²⁵ Article 12 2(Fifth) of the Constitution of Iraq.

²⁶ See the Arabic website of the Federal Supreme Court https://www.iraqfsc.iq/news.4551/

²⁷ Article 3 (Second) of Law number (12) of 2018 on the Election of Provincial and Districts Councils, op. cit.

²⁸ Article (49) of Law number (12) of 2018 on the Election of Provincial and Districts Councils, op. cit.

²⁹ Article (47) of Law number (12) of 2018 on the Election of Provincial and Districts Councils, op. cit.

³⁰ Article (3) of Law number (21) of 2008 on Provinces that have not Joined a Region, op. cit.

based on the first version of Law number (21) of 2008 on Provinces that have not Joined a Region. In 2018, the CoR amended Law number (21) and abolished the Nahiyas (Sub-Districts) Councils. (31)

The Law on the Election of the PDCs guarantees the right to elect any Iraqi citizen who has legal capacity and is at least 18 years old during the year in which the election is organised. It prohibits discrimination based on sex, race, ethnicity, origin, colour, religion, sector of religion, belief, opinion, or economic or social situation. (32) Moreover, Article (7) of the Law in question stipulated the eligibility criteria to exercise the right to run for election in the PDCs. These criteria do not affect female representation in the PDCs. However, the Law on the Election of PDCs does not explicitly establish a threshold for minimum representation for women in the PDCs, compared to the Law on the Election of the CoR providing that "the percentage of women representation shall not be less than 25% of the number of members of the Council of Representatives." (33) But the Law on the Election of the PDCs seems to imply that the minimum representation of women shall be 25% of the total membership of the PDCs. Article (12) of that Law described the methods based on which the votes and seats shall be distributed among the candidates. Paragraph (2) of Article (12) of the Law on the Election of the PDCs states that

[t]he seats are distributed on the candidates within a list, and the candidates will be reranked based on the number of votes they receive in the election. The first winner is the candidate who receives the greatest number of votes in the open list, and so is the case for the rest of the candidates, providing that a female candidate shall be placed after each three winner candidates, irrespective of the male winner candidates.

In addition, it can also be argued that a minimum representation is required in the PDCs based on Article 14(Third) of the Law on the Election of the PDCs, which states that "[i] f a seat filled by a female member becomes vacant, such a seat shall not be necessarily filled by a female candidate, unless the replacement with a male candidate affects the percentage of women representation." Despite this implied requirement for a minimum representation of women in the PDCs, the Law on the Election of the PDCs still needs to explicitly mention the exact percentage below which women representation in these Councils may not drop. In addition, Article 14(Third) could be amended in a manner requiring the replacement of a female member with another female to increase women representation as much as possible.

Similar to the problem identified regarding the Law on the Election of the CoR, the Law on the Election of the PDCs does not guarantee female representation for minority groups. Article 15(First) allocates a certain number of seats in the Provincial Councils to

³¹ Law number (10) of 2018 on the Third Amendment to Law number (21) of 2008, adopted by the Council of Representatives of Iraq, published in the Iraqi Official Gazette (Alwaqayi'i) number 4487 on 16 April 2018.

³² Articles (4) and (5) of Law number (12) of 2018 on the Election of Provincial and Districts Councils, op. cit.

³³ Article 16 (First) of the Law on the Election of the CoR.

some social entities in the Provinces that have not joined a region, as follows: 1 seat each to Christians, Faili Kurds and Sabian Mandaeans in Baghdad; 1 seat each to Christians, Yezidis and Shabaks in Ninawa; 1 seat to Christians in Basra; 1 seat to Faili Kurds in Waset; and 1 seat to Sabian Mandaeans in Missan. Article 35(5) of the Law on the Election of the PDCs provides 1 seat to Christians in the Provincial Council of Kirkuk. As each of the above-mentioned groups were given only one seat, representation of women belonging to these groups is thus not guaranteed. In this respect, Article 15(Second) states that the seats allocated to the above-mentioned groups shall be given to the electoral list receiving the greatest number of votes and then to the candidate within that list that secured the greatest number of votes. Hence, if a male received the highest number of seats, women belonging to the group of that candidate will not be represented in the Provincial Council of the concerned Province.

Another question that needs to be addressed is whether the Law on the Election of the PDCs guarantees women the right to run for election independently of a political party. In addition to the possibility to run for election in an open list alongside several candidates, the Law on the Election of the PDCs allows any candidate irrespective of the candidate's gender to run for election in a "single list," (34) which is defined as "a list containing one candidate based on which that candidate can run for election providing that the candidate is registered with the Independent High Electoral Commission."(35) It bears reiterating here that although a (female) candidate is legally entitled to run for election to the PDCs independently from a political party, such candidates may not be reasonably expected to achieve any substantive result. The methods used by the Law on the Election of the PDCs to distribute seats among the electoral lists favours the large electoral lists. It states that "the correct votes for each list shall be divided by the following numerals (9, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 ... etc.) and based on the seats allocated to each electoral constituency. Then, the highest results shall be chosen until all the seats allocated to the electoral constituency have been awarded."(36) This means that seats will be distributed based on the overall results each electoral lists achieve, i.e. the lists are first ranked based on the number of votes they achieve in the election and then the seats will be divided among the lists based on their rank. It has been advocated in demonstrations that started in Iraq in October 2019 that the methods used by the Law on the Election of the PDCs to distribute seats among the electoral lists only favours large political parties as the system enables them to remain in power. This has made it difficult, if not impossible, for independent candidates or technocrats, to get elected.

³⁴ Article (9) of Law number (12) of 2018 on the Election of Provincial and Districts Councils, op. cit.

³⁵ Article 1 (Seventh) of Law number (12) of 2018 on the Election of Provincial and Districts Councils, op. cit.

³⁶ Article 12 (First) of Law number (12) of 2018 on the Election of Provincial and Districts Councils, op. cit.

5. Women Participation in Political Parties Law

Article 4(First) of Law number (36) of 2015 on Political Parties states that all citizens have the right to establish and join political parties or withdraw from such parties. The Political Parties Law details the eligibility criteria to establish and to join a political party. What is important is that none of these criteria appear to affect female participation in political parties. To be entitled to establish a political party, a person shall simply be 25 years of age; have completed a bachelor degree; hold Iraqi citizenship; have legal capacity; not be convicted of committing certain crimes; must not hold the membership of other political parties at the time of establishing a political party and must not be employed by certain authorities such as the judiciary and military institutions. (37) As for the right to join a political party, a person may exercise such a right if that person has Iraqi citizenship and legal capacity, is 18 years of age and is not employed by certain authorities. (38)

The Political Parties Law also requires political parties to "take into account female representation" in political parties. It provides that a person willing to establish a political party shall submit a request to that effect and with that request enclose two lists: one comprising the names of the members of the "founding committee" of the political party that shall be composed of at least 7 members and a list containing the names of the members of the party in question from different provinces, who shall be at least 2000 members providing that female representation is taken into account. (39) The rest of the provisions of the Political Parties Law does not establish a precise threshold for minimum representation for women in the membership of political parties as well as in the "founding committees" of political parties. In other words, the Law lacks precise guidelines on how the requirement to "take into account female representation" can be fulfilled at membership and leadership levels. Furthermore, the Political Parties Law does not require female participation in the drafting of the program and the rules of procedure of political parties. (40) Therefore, the Political Parties Law could be amended to define a clear percentage for the required minimum representation for women in the leading committee of a political party and in its membership.

³⁷ Article (9) of Law number (36) of 2015 on Political Parties, op. cit.

³⁸ Article (10) of Law number (36) of 2015 on Political Parties, op. cit.

³⁹ Article 11 (First) of Law number (36) of 2015 on Political Parties, op. cit.

⁴⁰ Article (28) of Law number (36) of 2015 on Political Parties, op. cit.

6. Concluding Remarks

The current study aimed at assessing whether female representation is guaranteed at the federal and provincial legislative authorities as well as in political parties. It also analyzed whether women can run for federal and provincial elections independently from political parties. For that purpose, this paper scrutinized the Constitution of Iraq, the 2020 Law on the Election of the Council of Representatives, the 2018 Law on the Election of the Provincial and Districts Councils and the 2015 Political Parties Law. It also took into consideration the 2008 Law on Provinces that have not Joined a Region. The complexity of the analyzed legal framework covering several legislative and executive institutions at many levels makes reaching a general conclusion difficult. Nevertheless, it can be noted that, with the notable exception of the Council of Representatives, the analyzed legal instruments do not explicitly define a precise percentage for the required minimum threshold for female representation in other legislative institutions.

Several conclusions can be drawn based on the current study. First, at a federal level, where the Constitution of Iraq states that at least 25% of the members of the Council of Representatives shall be women, it does not require minimum representation for women in the Federation Council. As the Council of Representatives is required by the Constitution of Iraq to enact a law defining the membership of the Federation Council, the former could use this opportunity to encourage women representation in the latter. Second, similar to its approach regarding the Federation Council, the Constitution of Iraq lacks an obligation pertaining to minimum representation for women in Provincial and District Councils. Third, the 2018 Law on the Election of the Provincial and Districts Councils does not explicitly define a minimum threshold for female representation but does requires the electoral lists running for election to place a female candidate after each three candidates that win an election.

Thus, the Law on the Election of Provincial and Districts Council implies that the minimum representation of women shall be 25%. However, this would still need to be explicitly defined in the law in question. Fourth, neither the Law on the Election of the Council of Representatives nor the Law on the Election of the Provincial and Districts Councils guarantee the minimum representation of women belonging to minority groups. Both Laws simply grant one seat to certain groups in Iraqi society thus representation of women belonging to those groups is not guaranteed. Fifth, although women are legally entitled to run for election independently from political parties based on the Law on the Election of Provincial and Districts Councils, the method followed to distribute seats among electoral lists based on that law favours large political parties over independent candidates. This would make it incredibly difficult for women and independent candidates in general to compete in elections, which was one of the grievances that triggered social demonstrations in Iraq and leading the Council of Representatives to adopt a law that "stopped the work" of Provincial and Districts Councils in November 2019.

This law was appealed before the Federal Supreme Court by several Provinces but the former has not yet issued its judgment in this respect. <u>Finally</u>, although the Political Parties Law stipulates that, as a requirement to establish a new political party, the new party shall "take into account female representation" for its membership, it does not state how this condition is to be respected. In other words, the Political Parties Law lacks a precise definition on the required percentage of women representation in a political party. Furthermore, it does not stipulate that women shall participate in the drafting of the program and rules of procedure of political parties.

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