

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL HISTORY

Inventory of the collection of the
HIZB AL-TAGAMMU^c AL-WATANI AL-TAQADDUMI
AL-WAHDAMI
(HIZB AL-TAGAMMU^c)
(1970-) 1976-1993

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INTRODUCTION

History

The Tagammu^c Party, or Hizb al-Tagammu^c al-Watani al-Taqaaddumi al-Wahdawi (National Progressive Unionist Party) as it is called officially, was founded in April 1976 as one of three 'platforms' or 'tribunes' (*manabir*) within the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), the single party system of the 1960s inherited from Gamal Abd al-Nasser. The two other tribunes represented the conservative Socialist Liberals and the Centre tribune of the government of Anwar al-Sadat. The left platform was presided over by Khalid Muhyi al-Din, a former Free Officer. Although it was originally the intention of the government to restrict the leftist tribune to a purely Marxist one, Khalid Muhyi al-Din prevented this attempt to isolate it by trying to form as broad a coalition (literally: tagammu^c) as possible of oppositional forces. Apart from Arab nationalists, famous independent personalities and enlightened religious representatives, also the group around the Free Officer Kamal Rif^cat joined the leftist platform.

After having been transformed into 'organizations' (*tanzim*), before becoming political parties, the three platforms took part in the elections for parliament in 1976. The Tagammu^c Party came forward with a programme that combatted the basic tenets of the *infitah* policy (the Open-Door policy) and the government's orientation towards the West, especially towards the United States. It defended some of the central tenets of Nasserism: central comprehensive planning of the national economy, a strong public sector, the principle of the alliance of the popular forces, the retention of food subsidies and the maintenance of good relations with the USSR. On the other hand, it spoke out in favour of a multi-party system and democratic reform.

During the general elections of 1976 only three candidates of Tagammu^c Party won seats: Khalid Muhyi al-Din and Abu ^cIzz al-Hariri in Alexandria and Qabari Abdallah in Cairo. That the Tagammu^c Party had only presented 65 candidates for the 350 seats in parliament indicates the difficulties in building a left-wing infrastructure from scratch. The elections had been relatively free and the Tagammu^c Party had even been able to organize mass rallies, distribute leaflets and hang up wall posters.

However, relations with the government deteriorated after demonstrators had adopted the slogans of Tagammu^c Party during the 'food' riots in January 1977. Although these events enhanced the prestige of the Tagammu^c Party as a serious oppositional party, the government started to harass the party in retaliation. For instance, its paper, *al-Ahali*, which was published for the first time in February 1978 and reached a circulation of 50,000 copies, was confiscated several times before it was definitively closed down six months later. The left's opposition against the peace initiative of Sadat towards Israel prompted the government in May 1978 to adopt a law by referendum that branded progressive politicians and activists as 'unbelievers' and 'communists', while the 'Law of Shame' of 1979 gave the government the means to ban the left from taking part in politics altogether. Losing its three seats in parliament during the general elections of 1979, the party continued its activities outside parliament, even succeeding in organizing its first national party congress in April 1980 under virtual siege by the police.

The membership of the Tagammu^c Party grew from 30,000 in July 1976 to 150,000

in 1977, although probably its hard-core membership numbered about 20,000. Its membership was concentrated in Cairo (3000) and Alexandria (1100), while in provinces close to urban centers or small industrial centers such as Qalubiyya (about 400), Gharbiyya (2000) and Buheira (878) the Tagammu^c Party also had a respectable presence. In other agrarian provinces and in Upper Egypt the party had little following. In this period the Tagammu^c Party recruited its members mostly among left-wing intellectuals in Cairo, from the workers and the civil servants in the public sector companies and certain categories of peasants. Many of its candidates were elected to trade union boards in important industrial districts such as Hilwan in the south of Cairo. It was also relatively well represented in the professional organizations, especially the Lawyers' Syndicate and the Press Syndicate.

During the first half of the 1980s the Tagammu^c Party regained its former strength. Mubarak was anxious not to make the same mistakes as his predecessor, and gave more room to the opposition. He also realized that the Islamic movement posed a greater threat to the government than the left. In 1982 *al-Ahali* reappeared with a circulation of between 130-160,000 copies. During the first and relatively free general elections under Mubarak in 1984, the Tagammu^c Party was able to muster a considerable force. It fielded 900 candidates instead of 34 in 1976. For a full month the party was able to wage an election campaign and revitalize its 'sleeping' branches. In 1985 its membership surpassed its 1977 level, reaching 170,000. However, on account of the introduction of nation-wide proportional lists and a electoral threshold of eight percent the Tagammu^c Party did not win a single seat in parliament. Only in Cairo, Alexandria and the rural areas where it was traditionally strong did the party exceed the limit of eight percent.

During the second half of the 1980s the Tagammu^c Party declined together with the diminishing prospects for democratization under Mubarak. Although it won several seats during the elections of 1987, 1990 and 1995, its influence remained largely confined to its previous constituency.

The collection

The collection of the Tagammu^c Party was given to the IISH in 1997 by Bertus Hendriks, a Dutch scholar who did research on the Tagammu^c Party from 1977 to 1990. Except for the large collection of party papers (*al-Ahali*, *al-Sha'b*, *al-Wafd* and *al-Ahrar*) which run from 1977 until the present, it consists mainly of published material which Bertus Hendriks collected for his research in the period 1977-1984. The first part of the collection covers basic documents of the founding of the Tagammu^c Party; resolutions adopted during its congresses; party programmes in draft and final form; communiques and pamphlets issued by the Central Committee; statutes and pamphlets issued by party branches; documents issued by different committees of the party; different publications for cadre training; leaflets and pamphlets issued in reaction to governmental repression of the left during the end of the Sadat era; critique by the Tagammu^c Party of the Camp David Accords. The collection also contains material concerning the general election campaigns of 1984, 1987 and 1990. The second part of the collection contains the research notes of Bertus Hendriks and the material he

collected for his research.

The documents have been arranged by subject or, as far as possible, by structure of the Tagammu^c Party's organization (Central Committee, congresses and branches). The research notes and other research material of Bertus Hendriks have been described separately. Finally, lists have been added of copies of party papers, which have been transferred to the library of the IISH.

The size of the collection is 1.9 m.

Consultation

Access to the documents relating to the Tagammu^c Party is free. For consultation of the documents of Bertus Hendriks his permission is required.

INVENTORY

TAGAMMU^c PARTY

Foundation and party programme

- 1-10. Proceedings of meetings, proposals for a party programme and other documents concerning the foundation of the Tagammu^c Party. 1976-1978. 10 covers.
1. Proceedings of the joint meeting of the Central Committee and the Parliamentary Committee of the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) concerning the division of the ASU into three platforms. 29 March 1976. 80 pages. With a working paper drawn up by the Central Secretariat of the ASU concerning the issue of the platforms: *Warqa ʿamal hawl mawduʿ al-manabir muqaddama min Imana al-ʿAmma ila Lajna al-Markaziyya*. 1976. 4 pages.
 2. Proposal for the party programme of Tanzim al-Tagammu^c: *Mashruʿ barnamij al-Tagammu^c. al-Ittihad al-Ishtiraki al-ʿArabi, Tanzim al-Tagammu^c*. [1977].
NB. With notes of Bertus Hendriks.
 3. Reaction of Tanzim al-Tagammu^c to a communiqué of the prime minister: *Mulahazat nuwwab al-Tagammu^c ʿala bayan raʿis al-wuzaraʾ wa tasawwuratuhum li-l-mashakil*. January 1977.
 4. Party programme written by Ismaʿil Sabri Abdallah after the third meeting of the Founding Committee of the Tagammu^c Party: *Baʿd ijtimāʿ al-Haiʾa al-Taʾsisiyya al-thalith. Daʿm wa tatwir al-ʿamal ʿala al-mustawa al-markazi*. 4 January 1977. 6 pages.
 5. Proposal for the party programme of the Tagammu^c Party: *Mashruʿ al-barnamij al-ʿamm*. June/July 1977. 82 pages.
 6. Proceedings of the extraordinary meeting of the Founding Committee of the Tagammu^c Party: *Wathaʾiq al-ijtimāʿ al-tariʾ li-l-Haiʾa al-Taʾsisiyya*. 11 June 1978. 23 pages.
 7. Document entitled *Comments of Our Party on Social Democracy. Mulahazat hizbuna ʿala nazariyya al-ishtirakiyya al-dimuqratiyya*. With notes and comments. July 1978. 31 pages.
 8. Working paper entitled *On the Future of Democracy in Egypt. Hawl mustaqbal al-dimuqratiyya fi Misr*. July 1978. 12 pages.
 9. French publication of Tagammu^c, Parti du Rassemblement National Progressiste Unioniste (PRNPU) *Bulletin d'information*. December, 1978, No. 1. 4 pages.
 10. Outline of the programme of the Progressive Platform, the predecessor of the Tagammu^c Party. 1978. 18 pages.

Central Committee

- 11-24. Documents relating to sessions of the Central Committee. 1979-1991. 11 covers, 2 folders.
11. Communiqué of the Central Committee of the Tagammu^c Party of its 17th meeting held on 12 and 13 January. January 1979. 3 pages.
 12. Proposal for a resolution on the political situation before the first general party congress: *Mashru^c al-taqrir al-siyasi al-^camm ila mu'tamar al-qawmi al-awwal li-Hizb al-Tagammu^c*. December 1979. 49 pages.
 13. Proposal for the resolution of the Central Committee: *Mashru^c al-taqrir al-siyasi*. 25-26 December 1980.
 14. Documents of the sessions of the Central Committee: *Watha'iq dawra ijtima^cat al-Lajna al-Markaziyya*. 19 November 1981. 23 pages.
 15. Political resolution taken by the Central Committee during its meeting of 19 November 1981: *al-Taqrir al-siyasi al-sadir ^can ijtima^c al-Lajna al-Markaziyya fi 19 nuvimbir 1981*. 19 November 1981. 13 pages.
 16. Pamphlet issued by the Central Committee during its meeting of 19 November 1981. 19 November 1981.
 17. Proposal of the Central Committee to the extraordinary general party congress of 25 March 1983: *Mashru^c taqrir al-Lajna al-Markaziyya ila al-mu'tamar al-^camm al-tari'*. October 1982.
 18. Draft resolution of the the Secretary General to the Central Committee concerning the preparation of the second general congress of 19 April 1983: *Mashru^c taqrir muqaddam min al-Imana al-^cAmma ila al-Lajna al-Markaziyya hawl i'dad li-l-mu'tamar al-^camm al-thani*. April 1983.
 19. Documents of the General Secretariat for the Central Committeemeeting: *Taqrir al-Imana al-^cAmma ila al-Lajna al-Markaziyya*. 18-19 October 1983.
 20. Documents of the sessions of the Central Committee: *Watha'iq ijtima^cat al-Lajna al-Markaziyya, 18-19 uktubir 1984*. 18-19 October 1984.
 21. Documents of the meeting of the Central Committee on 23-24 January 1986, including the draft resolution: *Mashru^c al-taqrir al-siyasi* (25 pages); Proposal for a party line in 1986: *Mashru^c al-itar al-^camm li-khitta al-^camal al-hizbi li-^camm 1986* (8 pages); Proposal for a statute of the party newspaper: *Mashru^c la'ihat al-nizam al-asasi li-sihafa al-hizb* (8 pages); Proposal for a statute of the internal organization of Central Committee: *Mashru^c la'ihat al-nizam al-dakhili li-Lajna al-Markaziyya* (2 pages); Proposal for party work: *Mashru^c khitta al-^camal al-jamahiri* (48 pages); Publication of the documents of the 13th meeting of the Central Committee (63 pages). 30-31 October 1986. (folder).
 22. Documents of the 14th meeting of the Central Committee, held on 25-26 June 1987, concerning the general elections of 1987, the party line and organization, with a resolution on cadre training. June 1987. (folder).

23. Proceedings of the 20th meeting of the Central Committee. 28-29 June 1990.
24. Proceedings of the 23rd meeting of the Central Committee and other documents. 21 November 1991.

Congresses

- 25-36. Resolutions, working papers and other documents relating to general congresses of the Tagammu^c Party. 1979-1992. 9 covers, 2 folders.
25. Communiqué containing the synopsis of the meeting of the preparatory committee for the general congress of the Tagammu^c Party. [1979].
26. Pamphlet of the first congress held in the governorate of Giza. 4 February 1979. 39 pages.
27. Resolutions of the first general party congress: *Qararat al-mu'tamar al-^camm al-awwal*. 10-11 April 1980. 43 pages.
28. Programme of the Tagammu^c Party adopted during the first general congress: *al-Barnamij al-siyasi al-^camm*. 10-11 April 1980. 38 pages.
29. Leaflet against the banning of a party congress commemorating the death of Nasser. 27 September 1980.
30. Pamphlet entitled *Concerning the Structure of the party: Qadaya al-bina' al-hizb*. Resolutions on the structure of the Tagammu^c Party during the First Political Meeting. April 1981.
31. Documents of the First Political Meeting: *al-Mu'tamar al-^camm al-awwal. Watha'iq al-Dawra al-Siyasiyya al-Awla*. April 1981. 28 pages.
32. Final communiqué of the general party congress of the First Political Session: *al-Bayan al-khitami*. 9-10 April 1981. 6 pages.
33. Documents of the Second Political Session of the general party congress: *al-Mu'tamar al-^camm al-awwal. Watha'iq al-dawra al-siyasiya al-thaniyya*. 7 May 1982.
34. Draft resolution for the Second Political Session of the general party congress of May 1982: *Mashru^c al-taqrir al-siyasi li- al-Dawra al-Siyasiyya al-Thaniyya li-l-mu'tamar al-^camm al-awwal*. May 1982.
35. Collection of documents concerning resolutions adopted during the 2nd general party congress. 27-28 June 1985.
NB. envelope with notes of Bertus Hendriks.
- Draft proposal for party programme for the second general party congress June 1985: *Mashru^c al-taqrir al-siyasi*. 27-28 June 1985.
- Documents of the second general party congress and a meeting of the Central Committee: *Mashru^c taqrir hawl jarida al-Ahali*. 20-21 February 1985. (folder).
36. Documents concerning the 3rd general party congress held between

26-28 February 1992: *Watha'iq al-mu'tamar al-^camm al-thalith*.
February 1992. (folder).

Statutes

- 37-39. Draft statutes and statutes of the Tagammu^c Party. With documents concerning the internal organization. 1979-1982. 3 folders.
37. Statute: *Tawjihāt tanzimiyya*. 26 December 1979 (2 pages); Draft proposal for statute: *Mashru^c la'iha al-nizam al-dakhili li-l-hizb*. 25 pages, [1979]; Draft resolution on the internal organization: *Mashru^c al-taqir al-tanzimi*, May 1982 (13 pages); Internal document on party work: *Tabi^ca wa asalib al-^camal al-jamahiri*, N.d. (7 pages); List of names of members of the General Secretariat. N.d.
38. Statute of meetings: *Idarat al-ijtima^cat wa qiyadat al-munaqashat*. August 1980. *La'ihat al-nizam al-dakhili*. N.d. Document written by Rif^cat al-Sa'id on party work: *Da^cwa li- l-tafkir hawl asalib al-^camal*. N.d. Statute drawn up for the first party congress, 10-11 April 1980: *Taqir al-tanzim*. April 1980.
39. Statute of the Tagammu^c Party as drawn up during the first party congress: *La'iha al-nizam al-dakhili*. April 1980. 12 pages.

Branches

- 40-42. Pamphlets and congresses of foundation meetings and other documents relating to local branches of the Tagammu^c Party. 1978-1981. 3 covers.
40. Pamphlet of the founding congress of the Tagammu^c Party section in Cairo. 24 February 1978.
Pamphlet of the Second party congress in District of Kafr al-Dawwar. 12 October 1980.
Pamphlet of the party branch in al-Fayyum. 17 Nov. 1978.
Pamphlet of the founding congress in Giza. 4 February 1979.
NB. See also inv.no. 26.
Pamphlet of the founding congress in Asyut. 8 December 1978.
Pamphlet of Tanzim al-Tagammu^c in commemoration of the sixth anniversary of Nasser's death. 29 September 1976.
Pamphlet of the founding congress in Gena. 21 April 1978.
Pamphlet of the party congress in the governorate of al-Sharqiyya. 1 November 1978.
41. Pamphlet of the founding congress in Suez. November 1978.
Pamphlet of the founding congress in Alexandria. 12 October 1978.
Pamphlet of the founding congress in al-Qalyubiyya. 29 September 1978.
Pamphlet of the founding congress in al-Buhaira. 7 April 1978.

- Pamphlet of the founding congress in al-Gharbiyya. 21 April 1978.
42. Leaflets, communiqués, congress resolutions and other documents of local branches of Tanzim al-Tagammu^c and the Tagammu^c Party. 1976, 1978, 1979, 1981.

General elections

- 43-51. Documents concerning the general election campaigns of the Tagammu^c Party. 1976-1987. 3 folders, 5 covers.
43. Documents concerning the general election campaign of 1976 and 1979.
44. Flyers, leaflets, pamphlets and other documents of the Tagammu^c Party concerning the election campaign of 1984.
45. Copies of the elections laws and results of the 1984 elections published in newspapers. 1984
- 46-47. Leaflets, party programmes and other documents concerning the general election campaign of 1984. 1984. (2 folders).
- 48-49. Leaflets, pamphlets and other documents concerning the general election campaign of 1987. 1987. (folder and cover).
50. Proceedings of the meetings of the Central Committee concerning the general election of 1990. 20 October 1990.
51. Leaflets of candidates of the Tagammu^c Party for the general elections campaign of 1990.

Egyptian internal policy

- 52-91. Pamphlets, leaflets and other statements of the Tagammu^c Party on internal Egyptian political affairs. 1977-1981 and n.d. 48 covers.
52. Collection of republished leaflets, pamphlets and declarations of the Tagammu^c Party concerning the 'food' riots of 18 and 19 January 1977. January/February 1977. 19 pages.
53. Leaflet announcing the boycott of parliamentary elections of 1977: *Kana al-insihab darura wa la tahammalna mas'uliyya tarikhiyya*. 5 June 1977.
54. Leaflet denouncing state repression and deterioration of the political situation. 3 July 1977.
55. Leaflet issued by the secretariat of the Tagammu^c Party in Zayyida Zainab concerning the withdrawal of food subsidies. 15 April 1978.
56. Statement by the General Secretariat: *Bayan min al-sikritariyya al-amma*. 14 May 1978. 6 pages.
57. Communiqué of the General Secretariat concerning the defence of democracy. 21 May 1978.
58. Communiqué of the General Secretariat concerning the results of the referendum. 21 May 1978. 3 pages.

59. Leaflet with republication of the editorial by Khalid Muhyi al-Din in *al-Ahali* which was confiscated: *Quyud jadida ʿala al-dimuqratiyya*. 16 May 1978.
60. Leaflet issued by the General Secretariat denouncing anti-democratic laws adopted by parliament at the beginning of June. 4 June 1978.
61. Leaflet issued by the General Secretariat. 11 June 1978.
62. Agenda of the Tagammu^c Party for the next month: *Mashru^c khitta ʿamal hatta 23 Yulyu 1978*. 25 June 1978. 2 pages.
63. Leaflet issued by the General Secretariat in defence of Tagammu^c member of parliament Abu al-ʿIzz al-Harari. 27 June 1978.
64. Leaflet concerning the trial of Lutfi Wakid and the confiscation of *al-Ahali*. 2 July 1978.
65. Pamphlet protesting the confiscation of *al-Ahali* newspaper. 26 October 1978. 3 pages.
66. Leaflet denouncing the police raid on the Tagammu^c party building on 19 January: *Bayan ila al-Sha^b*. 19 January 1979.
67. Leaflet denouncing the police raid on the party building of the Tagammu^c Party and the confiscation of its printing press: *Hatta la naqul kalimatana*. 17 April 1979.
68. Collection of leaflets and pamphlets concerning the parliamentary elections of June 1979. June 1979.
69. Pamphlet against the general prosecutor: *al-Haqiqa hawl bayan al-naʿib al-ʿamm*. 6 June 1979. 4 pages.
70. Leaflet in protest against the raid of the security police of the party building of Tagammu^c: *Intihak jadid li-qanun al-ahzab*. 13 October 1979.
71. Published minutes of the meeting of the General Secretariat: *Waqiʿi ʿijtima^c al-sikritariyya al-ʿamma*. 12 November 1979. 10 pages.
72. Leaflet denouncing the confiscation of the means of expression: *Bayan hawl ikhfaʿ ajhiza al-ʿilam li-l-haqiʿiq*. 3 December 1979.
73. Leaflet issued by the General Secretariat denouncing the involvement of the army in politics: *Yajibu an tabqi al-quwwat al-musallaha baʿidan ʿan al-sira^c al-hizbi*. 9 December 1979.
74. Leaflet announcing the death of Zaki Murad. 18 Dec. 1979.
75. Resolution concerning the convening of the general party congress: *Taqrir ʿan al-mawʿid al-munasib wa kayfiyya al-ʿdad li al-muʿtamar al-ʿamm li-Hizb al-Tagammu^c*. 1979.
76. Pamphlet of the General Secretariat denouncing the ‘Law of Shame’: *Difa^can ʿan al-dustur, wa al-dimuqratiyya wa hurriyya*. 1979.
77. Pamphlet concerning the present political situation: *Taqrir ʿan al-mawqif al-siyasi al-rahin*. 1979. 6 pages.
78. Pamphlets concerning the relation between Islam and politics written by Rifʿat al-Saʿid, Milad Hanna and sheikh Mustafa Muhammad ʿAsi. 1977-1979.
79. Leaflets, pamphlets and communiqués concerning press laws and the

- confiscation of *al-Ahali* in 1978. 1977-1979.
80. Collection of leaflets concerning elections and other manifestations between 1977 and 1980.
 81. Proceedings of economic conferences. 1979-1981.
 82. Collection of pamphlets and leaflets denouncing the 'Law of Shame'. January 1980.
 83. Communiqué of Khalid Muhyi al-Din during press conference. 25 February 1980.
 84. Press release of a speech held by Khalid Muhyi al-Din in parliament concerning the trials of January 1977. 26 April 1980.
NB. In Arabic with English translation.
 85. Pamphlet concerning the appointment of the prime minister Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din. 25 June 1980.
 86. Collection of leaflets, pamphlets, brochures and congress resolutions issued by the Tagammu^c Party on the National Front. 1980-1981.
 87. Collection of leaflets, pamphlets and resolutions of the General Secretariat, regional congresses and other documents concerning the crisis after the assassination of Sadat. October-December 1981.
 88. Pamphlet concerning parliamentary elections: *'An... li-intikhabat al-barlamaniyya*. 30 December 1981.
 89. Statement on the parliamentary elections: *Bayan hawl intikhabat majlis al-sha^cb*. [1981]. 3 pages.
 90. Leaflet denouncing religious conflict (*al-fitna al-ta'ifiyya*). N.d.
 91. Discussion paper: *Qadaya li-l-munaqasha*. N.d. 4 pages.

Parliamentary affairs

- 92-98. Official replies to governmental policy by the Tagammu^c Party in parliament. 1977-1992. 6 covers.
92. Analysis of the governmental proposal to end subsidies. [1977].
93. Anthology containing speeches and statements explaining the oppositional policy of the Tagammu^c Party, published on the 7th anniversary of the death of Nasser: *Limadha in^caradu al-hukuma?* 1977.
94. Pamphlets containing speeches of Tagammu^c Party members in parliament to government policy in the period 1977-1978 entitled *Our Answer to the declaration of the government: Radduna ^cala bayan al-hukuma* 1978. With an introduction by Khalid Muhyi al-Din. January 1978.
95. Communiqués issued by the parliamentary section of the Tagammu^c Party. 1977, 1978.

96. Pamphlets containing speeches of members of the Tagammu^c Party in parliament in response to the annual declaration of the policy of the government in 1980, entitled *Our Response to declaration of the government in 1980: Radduna ^cala bayan al-hukuma 1980*. January 1980.
97. Copy of presidential decree 260 of 1979 concerning the law of organization of the universities, and a comment of the Tagammu^c Party on the proposal of the special committee concerning the reform of parliament. 1979 and 1981.
98. Comment on the annual budget of the government: *Radduna ^cala bayan al-hukuma, fabrayir - maris 1992*. 1992

Egyptian foreign policy

- 99-110. Leaflets and statements of the Tagammu^c Party concerning Egypt's foreign policy. 1977-1980, 1990-1991 and n.d. 12 covers.
99. Pamphlet containing a general statement on foreign policy. 23 October 1977.
100. Leaflet against president Sadat's trip to Israel. 16 November 1977. With a pamphlet announcing the establishment of the Independent Parliamentary Front against Sadat's trip to Israel and a leaflet of the Independent Parliamentary Front against the peace initiative of Sadat. 27 November 1977.
101. Communiqué of the General Secretariat concerning Camp David: *Bayan hawl mu'tamar Camp David wa-l-masar al-rahin li-l-qadiya al-wataniyya*, 28 August 1978; Statement by General Secretariat containing first impressions of the Camp David Accords: *Mulahazat awliyya hawl ittifaq Camp David*, 20 September 1978 (3 pages); Statement of the General Secretariat concerning the Camp David Accords: *Bayan bi-mawqif Hizb al-Tagammu^c min Ittifaqiyyat Camp David*, 25 September 1978; Leaflet protesting Camp David Accords, and calls for an international congress, 4 October 1978; Speech by Khalid Muhyi al-Din in parliament concerning the Camp David Accords, 11 October 1978; Text of the Camp David Accords in Arabic.
102. Pamphlets and leaflets concerning the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, among which the pamphlet: *No .. to the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty: La ..li-l-ma'ahad al-Misriyya-al-Isra'iliyya*. 1979-1980. 16 pages.
103. Pamphlet against normalization of Egyptian-Israeli relations: *Taqrir hawl mawqif Hizb al-Tagammu^c min tatbi'a al-^calaqat*. With a leaflet calling for the boycott of Israel. 1980. 7 pages.
104. Leaflets and pamphlets against the neutron bomb. 1981.
105. Leaflets and pamphlets concerning other Arab countries. Pamphlet

- containing an interpretation of Arab history. 1977-1979. 3 pages.
106. Leaflets and pamphlets concerning the Palestinian struggle for liberation. 1979-1981.
 107. Leaflets concerning the revolution in Iran. 1979-1980.
 108. Leaflets concerning Europe and the United States. 1979-1980
 109. Leaflets and pamphlets concerning (other countries): Vietnam and Afghanistan. N.d.
 110. Leaflets of the Tagammu^c Party and other political parties and organizations concerning the Gulf War. August 1990 - January 1991.

Central Workers' Bureau

- 111-115. Documents of the Central Workers' Bureau (Maktab al-^cUmmal al-Markazi) of the Tagammu^c Party. 1977-1982. 4 covers.
 111. Leaflets concerning workers' affairs. 1977-1980.
 112. Pamphlet containing laws concerning workers and trade unions. 1987.
 113. Regular publications of the Central Bureau of the Workers', *al-Suwa'id*, September 1979, No. 1; Special Issue, May 1982.
 114. Resolutions of the first congress of Workers' of the Tagammu^c Party, other documents and notes of Bertus Hendriks. 1981.
 115. Other documents issued by Central bureau of Workers of the Tagammu^c Party. 1979-1982.

Federation of Egyptian Peasants

- 116-118. Documents concerning the Federation of Egyptian Peasants (Ittihad al-Fallahin al-Misriyyin) of the Tagammu^c Party. 1978-1983. 3 covers.
 116. Programme and resolutions of the first peasant congress. 1980 and 1982.
 117. Documents concerning peasant policy and the commemoration of Kamshish. 1978-1983.
 118. Different issues of *al-Fallahin* and *Ittihad al-Fallahin* published by the Tagammu^c Party. 1982-1985 and 1991.

Progressive Youth Federation

- 119-123. Documents concerning the Progressive Youth Federation (Ittihad al-Shabab al-Taquddumi) of the Tagammu^c party. 1977-1980. 5 covers.
 119. Documents on youth policy by the Youth Federation of Tanzim al-Tagammu^c. 1976 and 1978.

- 120. Publications of the Youth Federation on youth problems and political matters. 1976-1980.
- 121. *Dirasat al-Tariq*, January 1978, No. 1; September 1978, No. 2; November 1978, No. 3; n.d. No. 4.
- 122. *al-Tariq*, January 1978, No. 4; March 1978, No. 5; August 1978, No. 6.
- 123. *al-Hiwar*, July 1977, No. 2.

Progressive Federation for Women

- 124-126. Documents concerning the Progressive Federation for Women (Ittihad al-Nisa' al-Taqaaddumi) of the Tagammu^c Party. 1979-1986. 3 covers.
- 124. Documents concerning the first congress of the Progressive Women's Federation. January 1982.
- 125. Copies of the organ of the Progressive Women's Federation, *Mar'a al-Munadila*, 1982: January, No. 1; April, No. 6; May, No. 7; August, No. 10; September, No. 11; 1983: January, Special No. 15; January, No. 16; March, No. 17; April, No. 18; 1985: April, No. 39; 1986: January, No. 43; June, Special; December, No. [?].
- 126. Irregular publications of the Women's Bureau (al-Maktab al-Nisa'i) of the Tagammu^c Party. 1979.

Committee for the Defence of Civil Rights

- 127-128. Documents concerning the Committee for the Defence of Civil Rights (*Lajna al-Difa^c an al-Hurriyat*). 1977-1982. 2 covers.
- 127. *Hurriyyat*, 1980: October, No. 1; November, No. 2; 1981: January, No. 3; May, No. 4; 1982: February, No. 5.
- 128. Leaflets, pamphlets and lists of names of arrested intellectuals after the January riots, and other documents concerning political repression during the last Sadat years, issued by the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights. 1977-1981.

Committee for the Defence of National Culture

- 129-132. Pamphlets and publications by the Committee for the Defense of National Culture, established to survey the cultural boycott of Israel, and publications of the culture section of the Tagammu^c Party. 1976, 1979-1983 and n.d. 4 covers.
- 129. Series of publications entitled *In Defence of National Culture: Difa^c an al-thaqafa al-qawmiyya*. 1979-1980.
- 130. Copies of *al-Muwajaha*, organ of the Committee for the Defense of

- National Culture, published first as irregular publication, July, 1981, No. 1; January 1982, No. 2; June 1982, No. 5; then as monthly, June 1983, No. 1.
131. Documents relating to cultural rallies, poetry evenings and the bookclub of the Tagammu^c party. 1976 and n.d.
132. Leaflets and pamphlets concerning cultural evenings organized by the Tagammu^c Party, including poetry by Fu'ad Nigm. N.d.

Periodicals and regular publications of the Tagammu^c Party

- 133-149. Periodicals, newsletters and other regular publications of the Tagammu^c Party for its cadres. 1976-1993. 17 folders, 12 covers.
133. *al-Ahali*, 15 February 1978 to 29 March 1978, No. 3-9. NB. Rare copies. (folder).
134. *al-Risala al-Tanzimiyya*, 21 May 1978 (two copies) NB. First internal cadre publication of al-Tagammu^c.
al-Nashra al-Tanzimiyya, 15 November 1977, No. 6; 6 December 1977, No. 7; 12 July 1981, No. 1.
135. *Awraq al-Ummaliyya*, regular publication of the Central Bureau of the Workers', 1985: February, No. 1; April, No. 2; September, No. 3; December, No. 4; 1986: January, No. 5; April, No. 6; June, No. 7; 1987: June, No. 9; July, No. 10; 1988: November, No. 5; 1989: No. 7; 1990: April, No. 21; May, No. 22; July, No. 24; 1991: May, No. 34.
136. *al-Hiwar al-Shababi*, al-Tagammu^c's Journal for Youth, September 1988, No. 8, No. 9 and No. 10. (folder).
137. *Da'irat al-Hiwar*, publication for members of al-Tagammu^c. 1980: January, No. 1; November, No. 4; 1981: March-April, No. 5; 1985: March, No. 9 and No. 10; April, Nos. 11-13; May, No. 14 and No. 15; June, Nos. 16-19. (folder).
138. *Da'irat al-Hiwar*, 1987: 15 May, No. 22; 15 and 23 July, Nos. 22-23; 10 and 16 August, Nos. 24 and 25; 1, 5, 13 and 28 September, Nos. 26-29; 12 October, No. 30; 1988: 4 January, No. 31; 2 March, No. 32. (folder)
139. *Da'irat al-Hiwar*, 1988: 21 March, No. 33; 6 April, No. 34; 26 April, No. 35; 1990: 1 July, No. 38; 15 July, No. 39; 15 August, No. 40; 1991: 15 May, No. 42; 15 July, No. 43; 15 August, No. 44; 15 October, No. 45; November, No. 46. 1996: 10 July, No. 58; August 7, No. 59; September 11, No. 60. (folder).
140. *al-Taqaddum*, publication for cadre members of al-Tagammu^c. 1976: No. 1.; 17 July, No. 2; 24 July, Special issue; 7 August, No. 4; 2 October, No. 5; 27 October, special issue elections. (folder).
141. *al-Taqaddum*, 1978: 12 July, No. 1; 6 September, No. 3; 20 and 27 September, Nos. 5-6; 4, 11 and 18 October, Nos. 7-9; 8, 15 and 22

- November, Nos. 10-12; 6, 13, 20 and 27 December, Nos. 14-17. (folder).
142. *al-Taqaddum*, 1979: 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31 January, Nos. 18-22; 28 February, No. 26; 21 and 28 March, Nos. 29-30; 4, 8, 16 and 21 April, Nos. 31-34; 2 July, No. 35; 15 and 24 December, Nos. 45-46. (folder).
143. *al-Taqaddum*, 16 and 30 July, Nos. 36-37; 13 August, No. 38; 5 and September, Nos. 39-40; 27 October, No. 41; 24 November, No. 43; November, No. 44; 15 and 24 December, Nos. 45-46. (folder).
144. *al-Taqaddum*, 1980: 5, 15 and 28 January, Nos. 47-49; 11 February, No. 50; 5, 12 and 30 March, Nos. 51-53; 17 April, No. 54; 15 May, No. 56; 8 and 21 June, Nos. 57-58; 1, 16 July, Nos. 59-60; 15 September, No. 64; 5 and 16 October, Nos. 65-66; 1 and 14 December, Nos. 69-70. (folder).
145. *al-Taqaddum*, 1981: 19 January, No. 72; 1 and 17 February, Nos. 73-74; 10 April, No. 76; 21 May, No. 78; 25 June, No. 79; 22 July, No. 80; 19 August, No. 81; 23 December, No. 84. (folder).
146. *al-Taqaddum*, 1982: 4 March, No. 85; 1988: July, No. 2; September, No. 3; October, No. 4; November, No. 5.
147. *al-Taqaddum*, 1989: January, No. 7; May, No. 11; June, No. 12; September, No. 13; November, No. 15; December, No. 16. 1990: January, No. 7; February/March, No. 18; June No. 19; August, No. []; November, No. 20. 1992: 15 May, No. 21; 15 June, No. 22; 15 July, No. 23; 1993: 15 Febr., No. 29.
148. *Barnamij Tathqif al-^cAdwiyya*, September 1988, No. 1-10. With different contributions written by Muhammad Faraj, Fu'ad Mursi, ^cAbd al-Ghaffar Shukr, Sharif Hetata, Farida al-Naqqash and others.
149. *Barnamij Tathqif al-^cAdwiyya*, series of books written for cadre training: *al-Thawra al-Misriyya fi Ma'iyā ^cAm* by Rif'at al-Sa'id; *Nisha'at wa Tatawwur al-Tabaqa al-^cAmila al-Misriyya* by Amina Shafiq and *Sira^c al-Takhalluf wa Tanmiyya* by Fu'ad Mursi.
- 150-151. Publications by local branches of the Tagammu^c Party. 1978-1983. 2 folders.
150. *al-Ahali* and other regular publications by local branches of the Tagammu^c Party. With notes of and comments by Bertus Hendriks. 1978-1980.
Sawt al-Jamahir Shubra al-Khayma, December 1978, No. 1; January 1980, No. 2; January 1980 (special issue); July 1980, No. 7; August 1978.
Ahali Shamal Sina^ci, July 1978, No. 28; August 1978, No. 30.
Ahali al-Mahalla, 22 August 1978; April 1981, No. 2; June 1981, No. 3; August 1981, No. 4; January 1982, No. 5; March 1983, No. 10.
Ahali al-Minufiyya, n.d., No. 1.
Abu Hammad, February 1981, No. 4.

- al-Nidal* (Suez), 1978, Nos. 1 and 13; December 1979, No. 14; January 1980, No. 15.
- Ahali bi-al-Suways*, May 1981, no number.
- Shibin al-Qanatir*, January 1980, No. 1.
- Ahali Shibin al-Qanatir*, n.d., no number.
- al-Haqiqa*, (Tuh), January 1980, No. 1.
- Ahali Benha*, April 1981.
- Ahali Kafr al-Shukr*, n.d., No. 21.
- Ahali Iskandiriya*, July 1981 No. 1.
151. *Ahali al-Daqahliyya*, 1980: January, August, November and No. 6; 1982: January, No. 11; February, No. 17, March, No. 18.
- Kirasat al-Nidal*, December 1979, No. 14; January 1980, No. 15.
- Humum al-Mu'allimin bi al-Suways*, n.d., no number.
- al-Mas'uliyya*, August 1979, No. 9; 1980: July, September, No.13; June 1981, No. 22; March 1983.
- Ahali al-Minya*, n.d., no number.
- Ahali Aswan*, March 1982, No. 3.
- Ahali al-Fayyum*, n.d.
- Ahali Isma'iliyya*, April 1983, No. 1.
- Ahali al-Saff*, February 1983, No. 13.
- Ahali Tabin*, n.d., no number.
- 152-158. Publications of the Tagammu^c Party for cadre training. 1977 and n.d. 7 folders.
152. Translations from the international press: *Hawl al-^calam, Min al-jara'id al-^calamiyya*, 1977.
153. *Kirasat ^cArabiyya*, n.d., No. 1 and No. 2.
154. *Kirasat al-siyasiyya*, n.d., No. 2
155. Miscellaneous publications of the Tagammu^c Party concerning Yusuf al-Muddarik, Mamduh al-Gindi, Kamal Rif^cat, Mahmud al-Qadi and others. N.d.
156. Pamphlets concerning different topics issued by the Committee for Cadre Training (Lajna al-Tathqif Barnamij al-Tathqif al-Markazi). 1979.
157. Pamphlets concerning different topics issued by the Committee for Cadre Training (Lajna al-Tathqif Barnamij al-Tathqif al-Markazi). 1980.
158. Pamphlets concerning different topics issued by the Committee for Cadre Training (Lajna al-Tathqif Barnamij al-Tathqif al-Markazi). 1981.

DOCUMENTS OF BERTUS HENDRIKS

NB. For consultation permission of the donor is required.

Notebooks

- 159-164. Notebooks of Bertus Hendriks. 1980-1987. 6 volumes.
- 159. Notebook January 1980.
 - 160. Notebook January 1986.
 - 161. Notebook January 1986.
 - 162. Notebook No. 1. April 1987.
 - 163. Notebook No. 2. April 1987.
 - 164. Notebook No. 3. April 1987.

Research material, drafts and notes

- 165-178. Research notes, articles and chapters of Ph.D. written by Bertus Hendriks. 1976-1985. 8 covers, 6 folders.
- 165. Envelopes containing interviews with politicians and Egyptian left-wing intellectuals, plus Sayyida Zeinab material. 1976, 1979, 1980. (folder)
 - 166. Notes on the confiscation of *al-Ahali*. 1978.
 - 167. Newspaper clippings on student protest. 1979.
 - 168. Copies of articles and chapters of Ph.D., written by Bertus Hendriks. 1980 and n.d. (folder)
 - 169. Notes and collected material for chapter three of Ph.D. (folder)
 - 170. Notes for research. 1982. (folder)
 - 171. Notes for research. 1984. (folder)
 - 172. Notes on the structure of the Tagammu^c Party. N.d.
 - 173. Bibliographical notes concerning the Tagammu^c Party and Egypt. N.d.
 - 174. Case studies of research project of Bertus Hendriks. N.d.
 - 175. Copy of an article of Bertus Hendriks in *MERIP* in 1985 on the general elections of 1984, personal notes concerning the elections and copies of academic articles in English and French concerning Egypt, politics and the Islamic movement. 1984-1985. (folder)
 - 176. Notes on sections of the Tagammu^c Party and photographs of Khalid Muhyi al-Din and others. N.d.
 - 177. Collected pamphlets of the lawyers' syndicate. N.d.
 - 178. Collection of writings of Ahmed Abdalla. With documentation of the Tagammu^c Party in ^cAyn al-Sira and copies of *al-Ahali* of ^cAyn al-Sira. 1985.

Other source material

- 179-199. Photocopies of articles, clippings, leaflets and other secondary sources for research of Bertus Hendriks concerning the Tagammu^c Party and Egyptian politics in general. With notes by Bertus Hendriks. 1971-1988. 14 folders, 4 covers.
179. Photocopies of academic articles on Egypt and newspaper clippings. 1970-1979.
180. Photocopies of academic articles on Egypt. 1971-1982.
181. Photocopies of academic articles on Egypt, 1960-1986.
182. Photocopies of academic articles on Egypt. 1984-1988.
183. Leaflets distributed by the Islamic movement and the left-wing opposition. 1976, 1978 and 1987. (cover)
184. Academic articles and pamphlets concerning the legal system in Egypt and the repression of the left. 1978-1980 and 1985. (cover)
185. Academic articles in English concerning the general elections of 1984 and the translation of Bertus Hendriks article in *MERIP* in Arabic. 1978 and 1984. (cover)
186. Newspaper clippings, clippings from periodicals, academic articles and personal notes of Bertus Hendriks concerning the Islamic movement and confessional strife. 1978-1984. (cover)
187. Newspaper clippings, mainly from *Le Monde* concerning politics under Sadat. 1978-1982.
188. Newspaper clippings in French, English and German newspapers concerning politics under Sadat and Mubarak. 1978-1982 and 1988.
189. Articles in Arabic weeklies, English articles and notes by Bertus Hendriks. 1978 and 1980.
190. Leaflets and notes of independent MP's against the Israeli peace treaty, with notes. 1978. (folder).
191. Copies of academic articles in English and French concerning the political and economical situation of Egypt under Sadat. 1979-1982.
192. Publications mainly published by the Centre d'Etudes sur les Droits de l'Homme en Egypte concerning the human rights situation in Egypt under Sadat, with Arabic publications on the same subject. 1980-1981.
193. Further documentation concerning the human rights situation in Egypt under Sadat. 1977-1981.
194. Copies of Arabic magazines, used for research. 1981 and 1982.
195. Academic articles in French and newspaper clippings in Arabic concerning trade unions.
196. Documentation concerning the Neo-Wafd Party and personal notes of Bertus Hendriks.
197. Documentation in Arabic, English and French concerning the Tagammu^c Party, with academic articles concerning the same

- subject and personal notes of Bertus Hendriks.
198. Photocopies of academic articles concerning Nasserists, the left and Egypt under Sadat. N.d.
 199. Index to articles in *al-Ahram* used for research on general situation in Egypt. 1974-1978. 1 cover.

ANNEX

List of Egyptian party organs and other periodicals, which have been transferred to the library of the IISH.

al-Ahali, organ of the Tagammu^c Party:

- 1982: 26 May - 29 December, Nos. 33 - 64. Missing Nos. 40-41.
1983: 5 January - 28 December, Nos. 65 - 116. Missing Nos. 73
1984: 4 January - 26 December, Nos. 117 - 168. Missing: 144.
1985: 2 January - 25 December, Nos. 169 - 220.
1986: 1 January - 31 December, Nos. 221 - 273.
1987: 7 January - 30 December, Nos. 274 - 325. Missing: 313
1988: 6 January - 28 December, Nos. 326 - 377. Missing: 338, 371
1989: 4 January - 27 December, Nos. 378 - 429. Missing: 402, 404-406, 408-409.
1990: 3 January - 26 December, Nos. 430 - 481. Missing: 431-432, 455, 461.
1991: 2 January - 28 December, Nos. 482 - 533. Missing: 500, 509.
1992: 1 January - 30 December, Nos. 534 - 586. Missing: 564-566, 569-571, 574, 576, 579-580.
1993: 6 January - 29 December, Nos. 587 - 638. Missing: 593, 604, 612.
1994: 5 January - 2 November, Nos. 639 - 682. Missing: 640, 654, 668, 683-691.
1995: 1 February - 27 December, Nos. 695 - 745. Missing: 692-694, 696-704, 712-713, 724, 737, 739, 741.
1996: 10 January - 25 December, Nos. 747 - 797. Missing: 746, 755-756, 764, 795-796.
1997: 1 January - 4 June, Nos. 798 - 820. Missing: 800, 805, 811, 814-815.

al-Sha^b, organ of the Labour Party

- 1979: 1 May - 11 December, Nos. 1 - 33.
1980: 8 January - 30 December, Nos. 34 - 88.
1981: 6 January - 1 September, Nos. 89 - 122. Missing: 97
1982: 4 May - 28 December, Nos. 124 - 159. Missing: 123, 132.
1983: 4 January - 27 December, Nos. 160 - 211. Missing: 184.
1984: 3 January - 25 December, Nos. 212 - 264. Missing: 217.
1985: 1 January - 31 December, Nos. 265 - 317. Missing: 275, 281, 283, 313.
1986: 7 January - 30 December, Nos. 317 - 369.
1987: 6 January - 29 December, Nos. 370 - 423. Missing: 411.
1988: 5 January - 27 December, Nos. 424 - 474.
1989: 3 January - 26 December, Nos. 475 - 526. Missing: 491, 499, 501-503, 505-506, 521.
1990: 2 January - 25 December, Nos. 527 - 578. Missing: 528, 552, 558.
1991: 1 January - 31 December, Nos. 579 - 630. Missing: 594-595, 605, 624.
1992: 7 January - 4 August, Nos. 631 - 661. Missing: 657-664, 666, 668-675, 682-

- 683, 688-691.
- 1993: 1 January - 28 December, Nos. 704 - 805. Missing: 716-717, 727, 737-738, 752-753, 769, 806.
- 1994: 4 January - 30 December, Nos. 807 - 904. Missing: 808-809, 826, 835-836, 861-863, 894 - 895.
- 1995: 3 January - 29 December, Nos. 909 - 1020. Missing: 913, 958-976, 984, 990, 993, 996, 999, 1002, 1005, 1008, 1011, 1014.
- 1996: 2 January - 31 December, Nos. 1021 - 1124. Missing: 1067-1068, 1071-78.
- 1997: 3 January - 10 June, Nos. 1125 - 1168. Missing: 1148-56.

al-Wafd, organ of the Wafd party

- 1984: 22 March - 10 May, Nos. 1 - 8, and 20 July No. 20.
- 1986: 2 October - 25 December, Nos. 134 - 146
- 1988: 3 March - 29 December, Nos. 209 - 252. Missing: From January to March and Nos. 219, 226, 231-32, 240.
- 1989: 5 January - 28 December, Nos. 253 - 304. Missing: 261, 265, 274-285, 293.
- 1990: 4 January - 20 December, Nos. 305 - 355. Missing: 345-351.
- 1991: 3 January nr. 357 tot 26 December, Nos. 357 - 400. Missing: 360, 370-77, 385.
- 1992: 2 January - 23 July, Nos. 401 - 430. Missing: 430 to the end of the year.

al-Ahrar, organ of the Liberal party.

- 1980: Nos. 98, 157, 198, 218.
- 1983: Nos. 232.
- 1984: Nos. 290, 297, 299, 301, 305, 343.
- 1988: 4 July - 26 December, Nos. 552 - 577.
- 1989: 2 January - 18 September, Nos. 578 - 615. Missing: 578-598 and 615.
- 1990: 2 July - 31 December, Nos. 656 - 682. Missing: 670-676.
- 1991: 7 January - 30 December, Nos. 683 - 734. Missing: 614-711, 716-720, 732.
- 1992: 6 January - 6 July, Nos. 735 - 761.

al-Yassar al-Arabi, La Gauche Arabe, monthly left-wing magazine published in Paris.

- 1977: June, No. 2 - September, No. 4.
- 1979: February, No. 5 - December, No. 14. Missing Nos. 9-11.
- 1980: January, No. 15 - December, No. 26. Missing No. 19.
- 1981: January, No. 27 - December, No. 38. Missing No. 31.
- 1982: January, No. 39 - December, No. 49.
- 1983: January, No. 50 - December, No. 60.
- 1984: January, No. 61 - December, No. 71. Missing Nos. 66, 68, 70-71.
- 1985: February, No. 72 - December, No. 79. Missing Nos. 71, 73-74.

1986: September, No. 78.