INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL HISTORY

Inventory of the collection of the

HIZB AL-TAGAMMU C AL-WATANI AL-TAQADDUMI AL-WAHDAWI

(HIZB AL-TAGAMMU C)


Roel Meijer

Amsterdam
1998
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**ANNEX** 18
INTRODUCTION

History

The Tagammu Party, or Hizb al-Tagammu al-Watani al-Taqaddumi 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) as possible of oppositional forces. Apart from Arab nationalists, famous independent personalities and enlightened religious representatives, also the group around the Free Officer Kamal Rifat 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 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 Party won seats: Khalid Muhyi al-Din and Abu ‘Izz al-Hariri in Alexandria and Qabari Abdallah in Cairo. That the Tagammu 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 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 Party during the ‘food’ riots in January 1977. Although these events enhanced the prestige of the Tagammu 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 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 Party also had a respectable presence. In other agrarian provinces and in Upper Egypt the party had little following. In this period the Tagammu 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 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 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 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 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 Party was given to the IISH in 1997 by Bertus Hendriks, a Dutch scholar who did research on the Tagammu 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 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 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 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 Party is free. For consultation of the documents of Bertus Hendriks his permission is required.
TAGAMMU\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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 'amal hawl mawdū' al-manabir muqaddama min Imana al-Amm ila Lajna al-Markaziyya. 1976. 4 pages.

2. Proposal for the party programme of Tanzim al-Tagammu\textsuperscript{c}: Mashru‘ barnamij al-Tagammu\textsuperscript{c}. al-Ittihad al-Ishtiraki al-\textsuperscript{c}Arabi, Tanzim al-Tagammu\textsuperscript{c}. [1977].

3. Proposal for the party programme of the Tagammu\textsuperscript{c} Party: Mashru‘ barnamij al-\textsuperscript{c}am. June/July 1977. 82 pages.


5. Proposal for the party programme of the Tagammu\textsuperscript{c} Party: Mashru‘ al-barnamij al-\textsuperscript{c}amm. June/July 1977. 82 pages.


10. Outline of the programme of the Progressive Platform, the predecessor of the Tagammu\textsuperscript{c} Party. 1978. 18 pages.
Central Committee

11 covers, 2 folders.
11. Communiqué of the Central Committee of the Tagammu’ 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’ al-taqrir al-siyasi al-‘amm ila mu’tamar
13. Proposal for the resolution of the Central Committee: Mashru’ al-taqrir
al-siyasi. 25-26 December 1980.
14. Documents of the sessions of the Central Committee: Watha’iq dawra
15. Political resolution taken by the Central Committee during its meeting of
16. Pamphlet issued by the Central Committee during its meeting of 19
17. Proposal of the Central Committee to the extraordinary general
party congress of 25 March 1983: Mashru’ taqrir al-Lajna
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’ taqrir muqaddam min al-Imana al-‘Amma ila al-Lajna
19. Documents of the General Secretariat for the Central
Committee meeting: Taqrir al-Imana al-‘Amma ila al-Lajna
al-Markaziyya. 18-19 October 1983.
20. Documents of the sessions of the Central Committee: Watha’iq ijtima‘at
21. Documents of the meeting of the Central Committee on 23-24
January 1986, including the draft resolution: Mashru’ al-taqrir
al-siyasi (25 pages); Proposal for a party line in 1986: Mashru’
al-itar al-‘amm li-khitta al-‘amal al-hizbi li-‘amm 1986 (8 pages);
Proposal for a statute of the party newspaper: Mashru’ la’ihat
al-nizam al-asasi li-sihafa al-hizb (8 pages); Proposal for a statute
of the internal organization of Central Committee: Mashru’
la’ihat al-nizam al-dakhili li-Lajna al-Markaziyya (2 pages); Proposal
for party work: Mashru’ khitta al-‘amal al-jamahiri (48 pages);
Publication of the documents of the 13th meeting of the Central
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

Congresses

25. Communiqué containing the synopsis of the meeting of the preparatory committee for the general congress of the Tagammu Party. [1979].
29. Leaflet against the banning of a party congress commemorating the death of Nasser. 27 September 1980.
32. Final communiqué of the general party congress of the First Political Session: al-Bayan al-khitami. 9-10 April 1981. 6 pages.
NB. envelope with notes of Bertus Hendriks.
- Documents of the second general party congress and a meeting of the Central Committee: Mashru’ taqrir hawl jarida al-Ahali. 20-21 February 1985. (folder).
36. Documents concerning the 3rd general party congress held between

**Statutes**


**Branches**

40-42. Pamphlets and congresses of foundation meetings and other documents relating to local branches of the Tagammu’ Party. 1978-1981. 3 covers.
   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’ 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.
   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.


**General elections**

44. Flyers, leaflets, pamphlets and other documents of the Tagammu Party concerning the election campaign of 1984.
45. Copies of the elections laws and results of the 1984 elections published in newspapers. 1984

**Egyptian internal policy**

54. Leaflet denouncing state repression and deterioration of the political situation. 3 July 1977.
55. Leaflet issued by the secretariat of the Tagammu Party in Zayyida Zainab concerning the withdrawal of food subsidies. 15 April 1978.
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 `ala al-dimuqrattyya*. 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.


63. Leaflet issued by the General Secretariat in defence of Tagammu member of parliament Abu al-`Izz 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.


79. Leaflets, pamphlets and communiqués concerning press laws and the
NB. In Arabic with English translation.
85. Pamphlet concerning the appointment of the prime minister Fu’ad Muhyi al-Din. 25 June 1980.

Parliamentary affairs

92. Analysis of the governmental proposal to end subsidies. [1977].

97. Copy of presidential decree 260 of 1979 concerning the law of organization of the universities, and a comment of the Tagammu Party on the proposal of the special committee concerning the reform of parliament. 1979 and 1981.


Egyptian foreign policy


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.


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.


Central Workers’ Bureau


Federation of Egyptian Peasants


Progressive Youth Federation


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


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. [?].


Committee for the Defence of Civil Rights


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’ Party. 1976, 1979-1983 and n.d. 4 covers.


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' party. 1976 and n.d.

132. Leaflets and pamphlets concerning cultural evenings organized by the Tagammu' Party, including poetry by Fu’ad Nigm. N.d.

Periodicals and regular publications of the Tagammu’ Party


134. *al-Risala al-Tanzimiyya*, 21 May 1978 (two copies) NB. First internal cadre publication of al-Tagammu’.

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.


137. *Da’irat al-Hiwar*, publication for members of al-Tagammu’. 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).


140. *al-Taqaddum*, publication for cadre members of al-Tagammu’. 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. 20. 1992: 15 May, No. 21; 15 June, No. 22; 15 July, No. 23; 1993: 15 Febr., No. 29.


*Ahlia Shamal Sina`i*, July 1978, No. 28; August 1978, No. 30.


*Abu Hammad*, February 1981, No. 4.
13


154. Kirasat al-siyasiyya, n.d., No. 2
DOCUMENTS OF BERTUS HENDRIKS
NB. For consultation permission of the donor is required.

Notebooks


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)
169. Notes and collected material for chapter three of Ph.D. (folder)
170. Notes for research. 1982. (folder)
171. Notes for research. 1984. (folder)
173. Bibliographical notes concerning the Tagammu 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 Party and photographs of Khalid Muhyi al-Din and others. N.d.
177. Collected pamphlets of the lawyers’ syndicate. N.d.
Other source material


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 strive. 1978-1984. (cover)


190. Leaflets and notes of independent MP’s against the Israeli peace treaty, with notes. 1978. (folder).


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 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' Party:

1986: 1 January - 31 December, Nos. 221 - 273.

*al-Sha'ib*, organ of the Labour Party

1979: 1 May - 11 December, Nos. 1 - 33.
1980: 8 January - 30 December, Nos. 34 - 88.
183, 688-691.

_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

_al-Axhrar_, organ of the Liberal party.


1977: June, No. 2 - September, No. 4.
1982: January, No. 39 - December, No. 49.
1983: January, No. 50 - December, No. 60.
1986: September, No. 78.