

Introduction

Parliament in monarchical Egypt began in 1924, a year after a new constitution was promulgated. After three decades of military occupation of Egypt since 1882, the British declared a protectorate over Egypt in 1914, immediately after the Ottoman Empire's entry into the First World War. Facing a large-scale anti-British popular movement in 1919, however, the British declared the independence of Egypt unilaterally in 1922, preserving four points of Britain's critical interest in Egypt. This was followed by the promulgation of the 1923 constitution. Despite the initial objection to the constitution, Egyptian nationalists led by Sa'ad Zaghlul formed a nationalist party called Wafd and achieved a landslide victory over the first parliamentary elections. Zaghlul was nominated the first prime minister under the new constitution.

Egyptian parliamentary life during the monarchical period was never easy. For instance, Zaghlul was forced to submit his resignation from premiership within a year, under the pressure of the British ultimatum, following the assassination in Cairo of Sir Lee Stack, commander in chief of the Egyptian army and governor-general of the Sudan. The Chamber of Deputies was also dissolved at this time. The British intervention into Egypt's internal politics, which prevented Egypt from experiencing a stable operation of government and parliament, continued throughout the Monarchical period. The Egyptian government and parliament were also disrupted frequently by the maneuver of the king, who was granted under the 1923 constitution extensive rights to appoint prime minister, dissolve the cabinet and parliament, and confirm bills in legislature and so on.

Despite obstacles and frequent disruptions, parliament lasted until 1952. Parliamentary records in this period (al-Madabit) were compiled into nearly one-hundred fifty volumes, which included the minutes of the main sessions both in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Supplementary information for each session and

elaborated indexes were also attached to them. Compared to other contemporary parliamentary records in the Middle East, such as those in Syria and Iran, the compilation of parliamentary records in Egypt was far more detailed and sophisticated.

The Previous Consultative Assemblies

One of the reasons for publishing the remarkable parliamentary records during the monarchical period would derive from a century-old experience of consultative bodies in modern Egypt. It started with a council set up during the brief French occupation at the turn of the nineteenth century. This was followed by the Advisory Council (Majlis al-Mashwara, 1829-37) created by Muhammad Ali. His grandson, Ismail, developed a more modernized consultative body, called the Consultative Assembly of Delegates (Majlis Shura al-Nuwwab, 1866-79), and it later became the Assembly of Delegates (Majlis al-Nuwwab, 1879, 1881-82). The Consultative Assembly of Delegates began with seventy-five members chosen by indirect elections, and was conducted in accordance with the rules stipulated in the statutes (*La iha al-Ta sis* and *Hudud wa-Nizamname*) and its proceedings were recorded.¹ Under the British military occupation the British set up the Consultative Assembly of Legislation (Majlis Shura al-Qawanin, 1883-1913), and then a short-lived Legislative Council (al-Jama iyya al-Tashri iyya, 1914). In the former, fourteen members were nominated and sixteen indirectly elected. Although the assemblies in this period were granted less important roles than before, the compilation of the proceedings became much elaborated.² Parliamentary Records (Madabit) in the next era benefited from the skill and knowledge of compiling the proceedings in the previous periods and were developed further.

Parliament in the Monarchical Period

The proceedings of the first *Hay a* (1866-69) and the second *Hay a* (1870-73) with analytical introduction are compiled into the following books. *Mahadir Majlis Shura al-Nuwwab*, 2 vols., Cairo: Matba at Dar al-Kutub wa-l-Watha iq al-Qawmiyya bi-l-Qahira, 2001, 2006.

² The IOC holds the following proceedings. Al-Hukuma al-Misriyya, *Mahadir Ijtima at Majlis Shura al-Qawanin*, Cairo: Matba at Fatah Allah al-Bas Nuri wa-Awladhu, 1883-1908.

Parliament in the monarchical period was bicameral: the Senate (Majlis al-Shuyukh) and the Chamber of Deputies (Majlis al-Nuwwab). The terms of the members were ten years and five years respectively, and two-fifths of the senators were appointed by the king and the rest of them and all deputies were elected in universal manhood suffrage. The Yearly Session of both chambers was called *Dawr*, which consisted of Daily Sessions, *Jalsa*. The Daily Session usually lasted one day, although there were cases where it continued for a few days. In the case of the Chamber of Deputies, it also had the time units of Legislature (Hay a), which was the period of one term of elected deputies.

In the history of parliament in modern Egypt, parliament during this period was granted the most extensive power. It had full legislative power, including the right of the members to submit the bills, and the right to oversee the government. Although the democratic system during the period was far from perfect and the exercise of power of parliament was often disrupted by various political actors, parliament in the monarchical period enjoyed the power that no other legislative bodies in modern Egypt could.

The functions of the parliament were not confined to the discussion and vote of bills and the national budget. The members had the right to not only ask questions about policies and acts of the government (As ila), but also demand responsibility for them (Istijwab). Other functions were to receive and discuss proposals to the government from the members (Iqtarahat bi-Raghba) and petitions from the citizens (Ara id). In order to facilitate these functions, parliamentary committees were set up, which examined agenda, prepared reports and led discussions in the main session.

The Outline of Parliamentary Records (al-Madabit)

Records of each Daily Session in both chambers were published in the weekly Egyptian Official Gazette (al-Waqa i al-Misriyya), and at the end of each parliamentary year, they were compiled into several volumes. Today, Parliamentary Records are comprised of approximately sixty volumes of the Senate and eighty-five volumes of the Chamber of Deputies. Each volume contains several hundred pages on average, but

some have exceeded a thousand pages, and in both chambers Extraordinary Sessions were compiled separately.

There are two distinct differences in compilation between the two chambers. In the volumes of the Senate, supplementary information (Malahiqa) containing committee reports was put together yearly and compiled into a separate volume, except for that of the extraordinary sessions and of the ordinary sessions during the 1950s, which is attached to the main volumes. In the case of the Chamber of Deputies, supplementary information is put at the end of the proceedings of each Daily Session.

The second difference lies in the method of compiling the indexes. Whereas the index of the Chamber of Deputies was unified into the alphabetized index, the Senate has several different indexes. The details will be explained below. It also should be noted that the method of compiling indexes had changed over the period of time in minor points. For example, for some years the indexes appeared only in the last volume of Yearly Sessions, but for the other years it was repeated in each volume of Yearly Sessions.

The Yearly Session, which usually began in November and lasted for at least six months, began with a Speech from the Throne (Khitab al-Ursh) read by the prime minister in the joint session of both chambers. In the following separate sessions, the president, vice-presidents and other executive members were elected and various committees were formed. Meanwhile, the Committee of Reply to the Speech from the Throne prepared its response and presented it in the main session.

At the beginning of each Daily Session in the volume, there is the summary of the contents of the session. Along with the indexes, the daily summaries are a useful tool for researchers. The summary is followed by information on attendance of the members, the approval of the minutes of the previous session and then the session moves onto the discussion of the agenda of the day. All discussions are cited word for word with the names of speakers.

One of the most prominent features in Parliamentary Records is the elaborated compilation of the indexes. As mentioned earlier, the compilation of the index is different between the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate has six different

indexes: the Alphabetical Index (al-Fihris al-Hija i), the Index to Parliamentary Functions (Fihris al-Mawadd), the Index to Petitions (Fihris al- Ara id), the Index to Questions (Fihris al-As ila), the Index to Demands (Fihris al-Raghat), and finally the Index to Supplementary Information (Fihris al-Malahiq). The method of compiling the indexes in the Senate varied each year. In fact there are no volumes that included all kinds of indexes, but all volumes with indexes contain at least an Alphabetical Index. While the Senate had a variety of indexes, the Chamber of Deputies adopted only an Alphabetical Index throughout the years.

In the Alphabetical Index (al-Fihris al-Hija i), a whole range of subject matters that were discussed in the Senate are arranged alphabetically. For example, the index for the Senate's fifth Yearly Session contains about three hundred subjects, starting from archaeological sites (al-athar) to ministry (al-wizara), many of which have second and third headings. The main subjects include road, bridge, mosque, cotton, canal, and school. This index would be the most useful tool to start with for those who are researching a specific subject.

As for the Index to Parliamentary Functions (Fihris al-Mawadd), the main functions in parliament, such as bills, questions, interpellations, proposals, impeachment and the budget, are alphabetically arranged as first headings. Some of the first headings have second headings. For example, the heading of questions is classified into ministries to which questions are directed. Since only a few volumes have this index, the index of parliamentary functions is usually incorporated into the alphabetical index.

The third index, the Index to Petitions (Fihris al- Ara id), is a list of petitions submitted from the Egyptian citizens to parliament. This index has two different formats depending on the year. One kind of index, called the Alphabetical Index to Petitions (al-Fihris al-Hija i lil- Ara id), is arranged alphabetically by the subjects of petitions, such as village head, tax, and *waqf*. This index, for example in the volume of the Senate's fifth Yearly Session, has about one hundred-forty entries. The other kind of format, called the Index to Petition (Fihris al- Ara id), is divided into three sub-indexes: the Index to Responses of Ministries to Petitions, the Index to Petitions Submitted in the Last Session, and the Index to Petitions Submitted in This Session. These three

indexes are arranged by the number assigned to each petition.

The Index to Questions (Fihris al-As ila) and the Index to Demands (Fihris al-Raghat) are arranged by the number assigned to each question and demand with a brief description of the content. The former index is found only in the volume of 1930.

The final index is the Index to Supplementary Information (Fihris al-Malahiq), which is composed of committee reports. As mentioned earlier, supplementary information of the Senate is compiled in the separate volumes, each of which includes the index. The index is arranged by the chronological order of supplementary information with the assigned number, along with the date of the submission of a committee report, the name of the committee, and a brief description of the report.

In the case of the Chamber of Deputies, all kinds of indexes in the Senate, except for the index to supplementary information,³ were combined into one index in alphabetical order (al-Fihris al-Hija i). That is, parliamentary functions, general subjects, petitions, questions and demands are put together into an alphabetical index. The size of this index tends to be so large that some volumes have a summary of the index.

The Guide to Parliamentary Records in Monarchical Egypt

The following is a brief description of the contents of *The Guide*. It was created based on the holdings of Parliamentary Records in the Monarchical Egypt at the Institute of Oriental Culture (IOC), the University of Tokyo. The IOC currently holds approximately eighty percent of the entire collection of Parliamentary Records. Since its first purchase of Parliamentary Records in 1995, the IOC has been making great efforts to fill the missing volumes and has attained the level of the current collection. As seen in the databases, missing volumes are indicated and information on these is left blank. We hope to fill these blanks as new volumes are collected. The nearly complete collection of Parliamentary Records is housed in the Parliamentary Library (Maktabat Majlis al-Sha b) in Cairo. Partial collections are held in the National Archives (Dar

³ There is no index to supplementary information in the volumes of the Chamber of Deputies, because the supplementary information is attached to each Daily Session. We, therefore, created the database of the Chronological Index to Supplementary Information for the Chamber of Deputies.

al-Watha iq al-Qawmiyya), the library at the American University in Cairo and the Egyptian Association for Historical Studies (al-Jama iyya al-Misriyya lil-Dirasat al-Ta rikhiyya) in Nasir City, a suburb of Cairo. In other parts of the world, we have located a limited holding at the Widener Library, Harvard University.

The first item (1) in *The Guide* is *the Timeline of the Sessions in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies* (table). The Yearly Session began in November and ended usually in June or July of the following year. As indicated in the table, parliament held the sessions often irregularly up to 1936, due to the frequent changes of government and the suspension of parliament. Parliament from 1930 to 1934 operated under the new constitution of 1930, and then the constitution of 1923 was restored in late 1935. Parliament in the second half of the period was held regularly compared to the earlier period, despite occasional disruptions in the government.

The second item (2) is *Information on the Volumes* (database). In the case of the volumes of the Senate, information includes the first date and the last date in the volume, the kind of volume (main volume or supplementary volume), the total amount of Daily Sessions, the total number of supplementary information, the total pages, the index pages, the status of holding in the IOC, and the IOC s registration and call numbers. The information on the volumes of the Chamber of Deputies contains the same entries similar to those of the Senate, except that supplementary information is not included.

The third item (3), *The Daily Sessions* (database), is the list of all Daily Sessions in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The list includes the number and date of the Daily Session, weekday and the pages of each session.

The next item (4) is the Indexes. *Indexes in the Volumes of the Senate* (4-I, database) shows six different types of indexes with corresponding pages in each volume of the Senate. The index list for the Chamber of Deputies is not included in this database, because there is only one type of index in the volumes of the Chamber of Deputies. The pages of the index for the Chamber of Deputies are found in *Information on the Volumes* (2). Following this list are the samples of indexes of both chambers (4-ii, photographs). Here, a sample of the summary of a Daily Session is also included. *The Whole Text of Indexes* (4-iii) is the photographs of the whole text of the indexes of

both chambers. The last item of (4) is *The Chronological Index to Supplementary Information for the Chamber of Deputies* (4-iv) that we have created. As indicated in Note 3, the index of supplementary information for the Chamber of Deputies was not compiled in the original volumes.

The fifth item (5) is examples of *Supplementary Information* (photographs). Supplementary Information is comprised of the reports prepared by various parliamentary committees which studied the subjects assigned to them, formed their views, prepared and presented reports, finally lead the discussion in the main sessions. The Supplementary Information provides a great deal of useful information that could not be found in the main volumes (sections). A large part of Supplementary Information contains matters related to legislature and the national budget, but it also includes subjects such as petitions (ara id), suggestions (iqtirahat), government statements, and the investigation of parliamentary members credentials. Here we show examples related to the bills, petitions, suggestions and government statements, as well as the names of parliamentary members and of committee members.

The last item (6), *The Process of Making a Law* (table), is a chart of the legislating process of the law of industrial statistics of 1944. It shows from the first stage of the Ministry of Trade and Industry s presentation of the bill to the Council of Ministries to the final stage of the announcement of the law in the Official Gazette.

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