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The development of the trade union struggle in Tunisia between 1924-1956

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Abstract:

During the second decade of the twentieth century, the Kingdom of Tunisia witnessed the development of the political and social struggle, the political struggle was embodied in the activity of the Constitutional Free Party, which coincided with the struggle of the trade union movements embodied in All Tunisian Currency University and the Tunisian General Labour Union (UG TT).

The Tunisian trade union movement was relied upon by the working class to defend their legitimate rights and demands, which were undermined by the owners of productive institutions. This legitimate means was adopted by Tunisian workers during the colonial period by joining the French unions, but with the passage of time, a group of Tunisians realised the need to form independent Tunisian unions concerned with their core issues. In this work, I will try to focus on the UGTT as an example of independent national unions that dealt with Tunisian labour and national issues.

Keywords: Tunisian trade union movement; UGTT; Ali Hami; Farhat Hachad, New Constitutional Free Party.

1. Introduction:

Trade union movements are the social platforms on which the working classes rely to defend their legitimate rights and demands, which are undermined by the owners of labour institutions. This legitimate means was adopted by Tunisian workers during the colonial period by joining the French unions, but with the passage of time, a group of Tunisians realised the need to form independent Tunisian unions that are concerned with their core issues.

In this work, I will try to focus on the Tunisian General Labour Union (UGTT) as a model for independent national unions that dealt with Tunisian labour and national issues. Since French laws allowed Tunisian workers to establish trade union movements, since the law of 21 June 1865, and the

decree amending and supplementing it on 22 December 1888. And the supplementary decree of 9 March 1894, which provided for the organisation and practice of trade union work . (I.H.S.M.N.T , 22-12-1888 :35-41)

However, the French authorities were reticent about such matters, linking them to political and security aspects, and considered the purpose of establishing trade unions to be political activity. In this regard, M. In this regard, M. Piou issued a regulation threatening anyone who took the liberty of establishing associations and unions in Tunisia. (Sandali, 1909:1)

The Bey's decree of 16 November 1932 also stipulates in its first chapter the freedom of trade unionism: ' Trade unions or professional associations may be formed freely and without favour of the government by persons who have been working in Tunisian territory for at least one year and have the same profession or similar or related professions.' The decree also permits the freedom to unite among trade unions in the Kingdom of Tunisia.

This university was founded in the midst of strikes by the Tunisian labour movement, including the dockworkers' strikes in Tunis on 14 August 1924 under the auspices of a committee of strikers that gave birth to an independent union on 17 August 1924. [i]

On the same day, several strikes appeared in the cities of Bizerte and northern Tunisia. In September 1924, the labour movement in Bizerte lost a group of workers due to a strike, through which the labour movement was able to achieve part of its demands, which led to the establishment of a group of unions in October 1924. (Ben Hamida, 1984: 61)

The Pan-Tunisian University was founded on 19 January 1925, and its most famous leaders included Mohamed Ali Hammi, Mokhtar Ayari, Bachir Boudamgha and the Frenchman Vinidori (.C.D.N. s.d. : 8)

For the first time in Tunisian history, the workers rallied around a national leadership loyal to them, after they had been dispersed. They emerged from their isolation and sent their representatives to the capital to consult with Muhammad Ali Hami, despite the opposition of the socialists and the French authorities against the emerging trade union institution project, where Muhammad Ali Hami and his companions met in Nahj of Jazeera with The workers to consider establishing their trade union university, and they elected to chair this session a body that included Muhammad Ali Hami, Taher Haddad, Ahmed Tawfik Madani, and Mukhtar

Ayashi Which resulted in the establishment of the trade union movement, which was launched on December 3, 1924 AD in the name of the Pan-Tunisian Currency League . (khalid,1985 187)

Ahmed Tawfiq Madani contributed to the establishment of the Pan-Tunisian Currency University with some friends such as Taher Safar, Taher Haddad, Ahmed Dari, and Muhammad Ali Hami. (Hami, 1985:73)

He also worked to bring the labor movement closer to the Free Constitutional Party by collecting money for the movement, including an amount of 5,000 francs from the party's fund, as he said: "Sheikh Monastir extended his hand to his wallet and paid five thousand francs, so I took it with gratitude, and quickly went out riding the iron column to Bab Souika, and entered." The meeting place was crowded with huge crowds from various classes of workers, so I paid in front of them to Brother Muhammad Ali the five thousand, and the people cheered for the Constitutional Party. (Al-madani,1973: 286,287)

He became an active member of All Tunisian Workers University, constantly visiting their meetings and addressing them. Therefore, the Executive Committee of the Free Constitutional Party was accused of supporting the trade union movement by the French Protectorate Administration, which on January 5, 1925, AD ordered a search of Ahmed Tawfik's civil house and the residence of Muhammad Ali Hami. (khalid, 1985: 193)

The continuation of strikes in the country prompted the French authorities to arrest their leaders on February 5, 1925 AD, and one of its most prominent leaders was Muhammad Ali Hami, as the latter relied on the idea of dealing in the Arabic language and using Qur'anic verses to address workers.The membership card was designed with a worker breaking the chains while wearing a robe.As an affirmation of national identity, however, the French authorities launched a campaign against union members on charges of conspiring against state security They were tried in November 1925. (C.D.N, s.d: 2,3)

The Pan-Tunisian Currency League met with opposition from the S Syndicate.C. At its head was the trade unionist Joho, who on October 24, 1924 sent a secret message to both the Resident General in Tunisia and French President Edouard Herriot inciting them against the Muhammad Ali Hami union and paralyzing its activity. The university also received great

prejudice from socialists, members of the Tunisian Free Constitutional Party, and reformists. Wallace.CT (General Confederation of Tunisian Workers), (Ben Hamida, 1984: 61, 62)

the end of which was the arrest of the leader of the Pan-Tunisian Currency League on March 25, 1926[ii]. He was exiled outside the country for a full ten years. (C.D.N ; 26-06-1936:1-8 :2) After he was convicted by the Crimes Court of conspiring against state security, along with five other activists, namely the French socialist VIndouri, Mokhtar Ayari, Muhammad Kabadi, Muhammad Shamousi, and Ali Karawi (C.D.N ; 26-06-1936: P.2.)

After a period of time, and in accordance with the French decree authorizing the establishment of trade union movements, the Pan-Tunisian Currency League was established. By Belkacem El-Genawy, one of Muhammad Ali El-Hami's companionsas not , the latter of whom w[iii]* accepted by the new Tunisian Free Constitutional Party, because he tried to impose the activist Hedi Nouira in the party and the employees' university that the party founded in 1936, but to no avail due to the tendency of the workers' activists to favor Trade unionist Belkacem El-genawy. (C.D.N, s.d:1;2)

In fact, Hedi Nouira and his companions were able to break up the Pan-Tunisian Currency University from Gnawi and his companions, and thus it became the Pan-Tunisian Currency University, which runs under the direction of the new Tunisian Constitutional Party led by Habib Bourguiba. This was during the conference held on January 29, 1938, on Bab Souika Street, under the chairmanship of Ahmed Qarin, and unanimously the General Office of the Tunisian All-Tunisian Currency University was formed from the following elements: Hadi Nouira: Secretary-General, Muftah Farhat: Assistant Clerk, Muhammad Said: in charge of Finance, Muhammad Maktouf: Financial Assistant, Bash Tabji: Observer Member. (C.D.N ;s.d:4)

That university did not last long, and was dissolved after the famous events of April 9, 1938, in Tunisia. Third: The Tunisian General Labor Union: This independent trade union, known as the Tunisian General Labor Union, was founded on January 20, 1946, under the leadership of freedom fighter Farhat Hached.With the joining of the party's Employees' University, which [iv] included the postal justice and education trade unions. The union was the

heir to the Tunisian Pan-Tenisian Currency League‹(hashad; 1946:2) The union adopted the concerns and concerns of Tunisian workers by carrying out a group of strikes in order to demand improved wages and conditions for workers, as happened on August 4, 1947, in which many Tunisian workers were killed, 150 workers were injured, and about 500 workers were suspended from work. The northern farmers' strikes on October 21, 1951, and the union strike on November 29, 1951. (C.D.N, 1946: 4)

The union included workers from various sectors.During the second legal conference supervised by the Regional Union of Tunis between December 19 and 21, 1947, sixty-eight different unions belonging to the union were counted, affiliated with the sectors of agriculture, trade, industry, and public and free jobs. Which was established between 1946/ 1947. (C.D.N, 1946: 4)

Farhat Hached remained at the head of the union[v], accompanied by a group of activists representing various branches and labor activities[vi] The administrative committee was elected by 590 trade unionists, and led to the following results: Farhat Hached as chairman, assisted in the administrative committee by Nouri Boudali, Habib Bin Ashour, Bashir Ben Ibrahim, Abdel Wahed Dakhil, Saleh Boulakbash, Taher Borsali, Taher Amira, Mahmoud Khiari, Sadik Shaibi, Bashir Balashi, Taher bin Said, Salem Shafi, Tlili, Habib bin Ghazia, Omar Riahi, Ismail bin Zarif, Ahmed Aamara, Al KhIder, Ahmed bin Allouna. (C.D.N, 1946: 246)

Attracting the Tunisian General Labor Union: The Union was an independent trade union institution for Tunisians only, compared to its contemporary trade unions at the end of the forties of the last century. According to official statistics, the Union included in its ranks 74,000 Tunisian activists out of a total of 96,000 Tunisians involved in various other unions, which is equivalent to 77.08%. That is, 3/4 of Tunisian employees, represented by the Union, E.S.T.T (Tunisian Workers' Trade Union Federation), which included about 17,000 Tunisian workers, while the CGTFO union included 5,000 Tunisian workers, while the last three unions included 20,500 European members, without any European belonging to the Tunisian General Labor Union.

The Tunisian General Labor Union has acquired a large percentage of employees involved in unions active in Tunisia, with 74,000 members out of a total of 116,000 European and Tunisian members involved in unions. At a

rate of 63.79% of the total workers involved in all unions in Tunisia. (I.S.H.M.N.T , s.d : 111)

Tunisian workers realized the importance of engaging in union institutions to defend their social rights, including wages, working conditions, and effective union organizations that are in line with the real interest of Tunisian workers. Therefore, they preferred to join the Tunisian General Labor Union, and to a lesser extent the USTT (Union Trade Union of the Tunisian Country Currency) and the CGTFO, while Tunisians did not join the French Confederation of Christian Workers (CFTC), as shown in the following table: (I.S.H.M.N.T , s.d : 111)

European and Tunisian members of trade unions

Guild/Number	Tunisians	Europeans	Number
U.S.T.T***	17000	9000	26000
U.G.T.T	74000	-	74000
C.G.T.F.O	5000	8800	13800
C.F.T.C	-	2700	2700
Total	96000	20500	116500

(I.S.H.M.N.T , s.d : 123)

The union struggle has spread widely in the Kingdom of Tunisia, affecting various labor forces, from public employees in administration and assistants to self-employment, where union awareness among workers is on the one hand, and on the other hand we notice the dominance of the Tunisian General Labor Union over Tunisian workers in various sectors, as shown in the following table:

Sectoral workers involved in various Tunisian trade unions:

Guild/Workers	Agriculture Sector	Management employees and agents	Daily and private sector
UGTT	11400	14600	48000
USTT	1500	4500	11000
CGT-FO	-	500	4500
Total	12900	19600	63500

(I.S.H.M.N.T , s.d : 113)

Trade union activity extended to various coastal and southern Tunisian cities, in Tunis, the capital, Kef, Gafsa, Sousse, and others.The following table shows the distribution of the list of participants in the Tunisian states:

List of union participants in the Tunisian states:

Region/Guild Name	CGT-FO	UGTT	USTT	Total
Tunisia and its suburbs	600	13800	4200	18600

Bizerte and Fairyville	4000	3200	4000	11200
Sousse	-	15600	4300	19900
Sfax	100	8800	700	9500
Gafsa	-	8500	3000	11900
Gabes	-	20300	600	20900
The Kaff	-	3800	200	4000
Total	5000	74000	17000	96000

(I.S.H.M.N.T , s.d : 113)

From the table, we notice that union involvement among Tunisian workers in various unions was greater in the states of Gabès, Sousse, Gafsa, and Tunisia, where port and administration workers are numerous in coastal cities, while Gafsa has many miners. The process of engagement was limited, in particular, to the union in the various Tunisian states. French security reports indicate that the Tunisian General Labor Union gathered about 1,000 Tunisian activists at the meeting held on October 5, 1947, at a time when the first telegram of 1909 mentioned 5,000 activists in the Tunisian capital. (I.S.H.M.N.T , s.d : 88)

2. The political struggle of the Tunisian General Labor Union:

The Union found itself forced to ally with the Tunisian bourgeoisie, which raised the slogan of independence, with one of its members saying: "Relations with a political party are natural, given that it represents a mass called to resist colonialism (36 :1984،بن حميدة) The interests of the activists of the Tunisian General Labor Union did not stop at social issues, but rather touched on the political aspects and exposed French politics, [vii] as the activist Farhat Hached took advantage of the Henchir Enfidha [viii] massacre committed against the striking peasants on November 21, 1950, through the article he wrote in Hurriya newspaper on November 26, 1950.Under the title: Right is taken and no expression is given on the necessity of unity and union among Tunisians (khaled; 2007: 137, 138)

Trade union activist Farhat Hached touched on the necessity of resistance through what he published in Hurriya newspaper, entitled: "Resistance" dated March 6, 1950, in which he repeated the phrases of resistance: We resist, the Tunisian people resist. This is done by resisting the French political systems controlling the Tunisian nation. Hashad famous the Resistance Brigade, saying: We resist the colonial movement that wants to seize what remains in our hands so that we can all live in a state of misery.

We resist the colonial idea that today makes us a retreating people.". We resist the idea of racial superiority. And we resist the thought of being lethargic and giving up. We resist anyone who wants to attack our rights and rob our nation..." (khaled; 2007: 141, 142) The activist Farhat wrote a yearbook entitled "Social Problems in Tunisia," (khaled, 2007: 141, 142) which was distributed to trade unions, especially the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in which he strongly exposes the French political and administrative reality in Tunisia .(Farhat Hached Foundation, 23-04-1952:1)

Due to Farhat Hached's strong belief in national independence, he resigned* from the International Trade Union Confederation (FSM), [ix] which supported the colonial movement, to join the World Confederation of Free Trade Unions (SISL), with the intention of submitting the Tunisian case to the United Nations to demand Tunisian independence. From the first moment of its founding, the Union aspired to join the International Trade Union. (Al-Bazzaz, 2013: 20)

The French security authorities were afraid of this measure, fearing that Farhat Hached would launch a shameful campaign against French policy in Tunisia in front of world opinion. (Hached Foundation, 23-04-1952:4)

The period between July and December 1951 was marked by political activities carried out by Farhat Hached on behalf of the Union in Milan, San Francisco, and Brussels on the one hand, which coincided with the activity carried out by Habib Bourguiba on behalf of the Free Constitutional Party in America, and the Tunisian Ministry in the French capital, Paris, with the aim of drawing international opinion.For the Tunisian issue. (C.D.N ;s.d : 4)

*The struggle of the elements of the Union was not only concerned with Tunisian social demands, as much as it demanded liberation and struggle, which leader Farhat Hached kept repeating not only in Tunisia, but even in the Maghreb countries, as stated in the third conference of the Union in 1949: "The success of our movement cannot end unless the brotherly working class obtains its rights, and these facts make us care about all the obstacles and injustices that our fellow workers in Morocco and Algeria face, in addition to the fraternal relations and solidarity that bind us to them in work and struggle, thanks to which we want freedom from all types of

slavery. Tyranny and colonialism.(Al-Bazzaz, 2013: 23) French security documents showed the intense political activity of the Union and its leader, Farhat Hached, to the point of rejecting to grant a visa to travel outside Tunisia territory, to attend the SISL conference scheduled to be held in June 1952 in Berlin, Germany, and the B.IT House meeting in the Swiss city of Geneva, under the pretext of Farhat Hached's practice of political inspiration. Related to the Tunisian national issue. It is not trade union, especially after the political talks that linked him to the S.I.S.L office in the capital, Brussels, which led to the circumstantial situation after Farhat Hached's return from the United States of America in early May 1952.(Hached Foundation, 19-05-1952 : 6-38)

After his return from the United States of America in May 1952, Farhat Hached assured the Tunisian Bey of the continuation of acts of violence and disobedience in Tunisia, which broke out in response to Habib Bourguiba's call in mid-January 1952, in order to achieve its goals in the United Nations.Some political reports also indicated the cohesion that [x] occurred between the Tunisian General Labor Union and the New Constitutional Free Party in early 1952, through the report submitted by the French Resident General in Tunisia to ROBERT SHUMAN, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. Referring to the activity carried out by the Secretary-General of the Union at the internal and external levels Some political reports also indicated the cohesion that occurred between the Tunisian General Labor Union and the New Constitutional Free Party in early 1952, through the report submitted by the French Resident General in Tunisia to ROBERT SHUMAN, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. Referring to the activity carried out by the Secretary-General of the Union at the internal and external levels (Hached Foundation, 23-04-1952 :1). And its role in attracting USTT members, and that union gatherings are nothing but a cover for political activities, and Tunisian political strikes were often instigated by the Tunisian General Labor Union. The Union strengthened its relationship with the New Constitutional Free Party.

After Farhat Hached returned from France in December 1951, he visited leader Bourguiba in the Tunisian city of Tabarka, which coincided with Farhat Hached sending leaflets to the regional unions to carry out strikes and protest demonstrations. Let us not forget the role played by Mahmoud Masadi, Deputy Secretary-General of the Free Constitutional

Party, (Hached Foundation, 23-04-1952 :1)with members of the French Sissel in order to establish relations with the United Nations for the Tunisian cause in 1952. Masadi also sent a telegram to Mr. Daoud Rossi (DAVID ROUSSET), Chairman of the International Committee Against the Concentration Camp System (CICR.C) In order to defend before the United Nations the constitutional revolutionaries who were suffering from class actions against them in detention centers. Security reports have shown the involvement of union activists and leaders in acts of violence and sabotage against French interests in the regions of Sfax, Zaghouan, Gafsa and southwestern Tunisia.

Among them are the sabotage cells in Sfax, the resistance group in the Zaghouan regions, which showed its feelings of guilt towards Habib Ashour, who is responsible for the events of 1947, and Ahmed Tlili, who is suspected of forming a fighting group (Falaga) in the southwest of the country. (Hached Foundation, 23-04-1952 :2,3)

However, the union was controlled by elements of the Tunisian Free Constitutional Party and elements of the Employees' League, including the new general secretary, Ahmed Ben Saleh[xi]، During the Fifth Conference of the Union between July 2/4, 1954. And his assistants, Abdullah bin Farhat, Ahmed Talili, and Mustafa Filali. The Union approved the Declaration of Autonomy on June 3, 1955, considering that its new tasks were limited to economic development, according to Ahmed bin Saleh: "For us, the Union, the issue is clear within the framework of national unity, writing programs." Unity and work, and we work for a national economy." (C.D.N, s.d ;D : 5)

3. The Maghreb dimension of the Tunisian General Labor Union:

Union leader Farhat Hached, head of the Tunisian General Labor Union, sought to establish relations with his Moroccan brothers, out of belief in Maghreb unity, saying: "This project is dear to us as long as we dreamed of it.". He stressed the desire and feeling of Magribans workers to form a Magribine unit by saying: ". The formation of the Maghreb Association of North Africa has become the aspiration of every worker in the three countries who feels that they must unite their duties towards their homelands. During the lecture that Farhat Hached gave at the headquarters of the North African Muslim Students Association in the French capital, Paris, on December 20, 1946, he emphasized the common ties and interests

between Magribans workers with the aim of uniting in a North African trade union association, the Magribans Workers' Association, and this idea that continued to haunt him in 1947 . (Bazzaz, 2013: 21).

In his speech in March 1947, directed to Moroccan workers, Farhat Hached stated that they should follow the example of the Tunisians, by forming the first free national union, calling on workers and craftsmen in the Algerian and Moroccan countries to form independent unions, as is the case with the Tunisian General Labor Union, which includes various branches of jobs and industries.And crafts, to defend the labor force in North African countries, by saying: '... The luck of the workers of North Africa is polytheistic.They comply of the same pain and resist the same envies... Therefore, the Tunisian General Labor Union is the first independent trade union organization in North Africa to address its call to all North African workers, regardless of their status, to organize within independent unions throughout Algeria and Morocco... These unions consist of regional and central unions, so that the day will quickly come when the Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian unions will establish the North African Trade Union League lasting a historic conference and taking into their own hands the fortunes of the workers of our three countries (Algeria - Morocco -Tunisia). (Bazzaz, 2013: 21).

December 8 is a day of mourning in the Kingdom of Morocco, and the strike movement of Moroccan railway workers has expanded, especially in Casablanca. The inevitable result is the death of 500 Moroccans, hundreds of injuries, and the arrest of some Moroccan trade union leaders, including Tayeb Bouazza, Mohamed Tibari, and Belaid Ben Abdullah. To this day, a street in Casablanca still preserves the name of the freedom fighter Farhat Hached, not far from the statue of the Governor-General, General Lyautey. Vindouri, the companion of Muhammad Ali Hami at the Pan-Tunisian Currency University, praising the role of Farhat Hached after his assassination, stated that it was a loss for the African labor movement and that his goal was not only Tunisia but North Africa. (C.D.N :4 ;5)

Conclusion:

The Tunisian All-Tunisian Currency League and the Tunisian General Labor Union are independent trade union institutions that express the

concerns and concerns of Tunisian workers. They came as a reaction to the French unions that did not fulfill the hopes of the Tunisian working class.

The university failed to maintain its existence in the early twenties when it was dissolved, and its leader, Muhammad Ali Hami, was exiled to Hijaz. Despite its resumption of activity and formation, it was dissolved again after the events of April 1938.

Unlike the Tunisian General Labor Union, which continued to struggle, even after the end of the French occupation of Tunisia. This was governed by the general circumstances that accompanied the two trade union movements on the one hand, and on the other hand by the impulsiveness of the Tunisian Pan-Labour League, and on the other hand by Farhat Hached's skill on the one hand and his reliance on the international trade union movement.

The Tunisian General Labor Union has been able to prove its existence from its founding in 1946 to the present day, by attracting the Tunisian labor movement, built on the basis of union independence, serving the Tunisian workforce, and supporting the Tunisian political cause during the colonial period. The Tunisian New Constitutional Free Party was able to control the Second Pan-Tunisian Currency League in the mid-thirties and the Tunisian General Labor Union and infiltrate it after the death of trade unionist Farhat Hached.

The activity of the Tunisian General Labor Union was not limited to the social struggle, but rather it was interested in political work, and this is what put it at the political test, during the era of the trade union activist Farhat Hached, which made it subject to physical liquidation on December 5, 1952. After that, the new Tunisian Free Constitutional Party was able to seize it. Despite the disputes that occurred between him and the Tunisian authority on the eve of Tunisian independence.

[i] * Al-Hamami mentions that the trade union movement was established in December 1924.See: Himself, p.48. And Charles Andre Julien, dated October 12, 1924, on behalf of the General University of Labor (CGT). Look:(97 :د ت ،**جوليان**)

[ii] تم محاكمته في قضية فيندوري، بالنفي مدة 10 سنوات من طرف محكمة الجرائم التونسية.أنظر:
(C.D.N ; 26-06-1936:1-8)

[iii] *Muhammad Ali Al-Hami (1896-1928): Muhammad Ali bin Mukhtar was born in Hamma Gabès, Tunisia, to a farmer father who moved to Libya, where he worked as a driver for Anwar Pasha.He also traveled to the Middle East.Muhammad Ali moved to

Germany in 1621 and studied economics at one of its universities.After his return to Tunisia, he founded the Pan-Tunisian Currency University.On the subject, look : (ابن حميدة، 1984 : 62) ; and :(C.D.N, s.d:8)

[iv] Farhat Hached was born on February 2, 1914 AD in the village of Abbasiya, Kerkennah, Sfaxia. His father was a fisherman in a poor family. Farhat attended primary school and obtained his primary certificate, after which he moved to the field of work in the city of Sousse, where he completed his cognitive, cultural and political training through reading, reading and trade union work.After the death of his father, he was forced to leave school and work for a maritime transport company in the Tunisian city of Sousse. From the beginning, he began to form the nucleus of the Labor Union.He was forced to leave his job because of this activity in 1939 AD. He founded the Tunisian General Labor Union in 1946, and continued to struggle in it until his assassination on December 5, 1952.For more about his life. look : (بن حميدة،1984 : 8، 19)

[v] He remained until December 5, 1952, on the eve of his assassination by the Red Hand Gang.

[vi] During the annual national conference of the Union in 1947, which lasted three days and whose honorary presidency was supervised by Sheikh Al-Fadil bin Ashour. Look: (I.S.H.M.N.T , ,30-12-1947: 264)

[vii] Although its founding law stipulates not to delve into political and social issues.On the topic . look: (I.H.S.M.N.T ;s.d ;108)

[viii] Some writings indicate that the ASC Union is responsible for this strike. Look: (C.D.N ;s.d : 4)

[ix] Hashad stated that the purpose of his joining the international trade union movement was to build a future of peace and justice in a country struggling for freedom within the Great International of the Workers' Organization.look : (C.D.N ;s.d : 3)

[x] Habib Bourguiba sent an appeal to Tunisians after January 15, 1952, following his return from traveling to Europe and the United States of America, for the purpose of supporting the Tunisian cause or the United Nations Assembly. Look :(Hached Foundation, 09-05-1952 :1).

[xi] Professor at the University of Sousse, Head of Division and General Secretary of the Union of Secondary Teachers, Secretary General of the University of Employees, Member of the Free Trade Unions in Brussels. Look: (C.D.N ;D : 4)

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