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The similarities and differences between Algerian and Tunisian labor union 1884-1956.

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ABSTRACT

Trade unions were one facet of the struggle against French colonialism in North Africa, particularly prominent in Tunisia and Algeria. Led by the working class, they initially fought against racism and demanded equality. However, their struggle quickly transformed from purely labor-oriented to a quest for independence. They actively participated in the liberation trajectory of both countries, alongside political and military struggles.

In this article, the comparison between the Algerian and Tunisian trade unions was addressed within the period from 1884 to 1956.

Keywords: The Waldeck-Rousseau Law, The Tunisian General Labor Union, Mohamed Ali Al-Hammi, Aissat Idir, Farhat Hached.

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INTRODUCTION

The subject of the Algerian and Tunisian struggle against the colonial entity constituted an important field for historical studies that attracted researchers from both countries and overseas researchers, especially the French, who completed various studies that were limited to political and military action, largely neglecting the labor union struggle, which was led by the largest social segment, which was represented by the working class. Even those studies that expressed their interest in the labor movement addressed the problem of union work in each country separately, but in this article I, as a researcher, decided to conduct a comparative study between Tunisian and Algerian union work in the period extending between 1884-1956, focusing on a set of criteria.

Based on this introduction, I had to ask the following two questions:

1- What are the similarities between Tunisian trade union work and its Algerian counterpart?

2- In What were the differences between the Algerian and Tunisian trade union processes?

2. Commonalities Between the Labor Movements in Algeria and Tunisia:

2.1 Emergence of Trade Unions Under the Waldeck- Rousseau Law on March 21, 1884:

This point is one of the most important commonalities between union work in Algeria and Tunisia during the French colonial era, as unions were officially established in the metropolis and both countries after the adoption of a law. Waldeck-Rousseau, dated March 21, 1884, is a law specializing in the establishment of trade unions and associations. It was given this name after its author, Waldeck-Rousseau, the Minister of the Interior in the French government at the time. The law consisted of 10 articles and was published in the French Official Gazette the next day, on March 22, 1884. This law, in its entirety, is as follows: **(Official Journal of the French Republic, 1884, PP01-02)**

The first article of this law stipulates that professional unions or associations can begin their work if the number of their members reaches more than 20 people, and they are practitioners of one profession, or a group of professions similar to each other, and this without referring to the approval

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of the French government. The latter limited in Article 2 the scope of activity of these unions to defending economic, industrial, commercial, and agricultural interests. Conditions were set for establishing unions in Article Three, the most important of which is submitting the basic law, which contains the names of the executive committee of each union. The basic law is deposited by Article Four at the level of the municipality in which the union was established, and the municipal departments are informed of any change that occurred in the administrative committee of the union. In the same article, the French government restricted union leadership to the French, who enjoy full civil rights.

Articles Five and Six dealt with the issue of the financial resources and real estate properties of each union, so the French government authorized the formation of cooperation funds to collect funds in addition to monthly and annual subscriptions. It also prohibited, in the same context, the union's acquisition of real estate properties and limited itself to only necessary facilities such as meeting offices, a lecture hall, and a library. As for Article Seven, the government left the option of withdrawing from the union in the hands of the unionist himself whenever he wanted and with complete freedom. Article 8 of the law stipulates that anyone violating the previous provisions shall be punished by paying a fine estimated at between 16 and 200 French francs, and this fine can be increased to 500 French francs in the event of submitting a forged basic law.

The last article stipulates that the law- Rousseau applied in the French metropolis and colonies. Non-French workers are not allowed to join these trade unions. (**Official Journal of the French Republic, 1884, PP01-02**)

From an analytical view of this law, at the metropolitan level, all difficulties were overcome for workers to establish bodies that defend their interests and curb the capitalist tide that caused their suffering. However, at the level of the French colonies, such as the law of March 21, 1884, was unfair to the workers and contributed in another way to the embodiment of racism, and this is through Article Four, in its second part, restricts the right to join and manage the French element exclusively, thus excluding other races of Europeans as well as the indigenous population. Through this, the French government aimed to give priority to the French minority and maintain superiority and privileges within the colony (**Djeghloul, 1986, pp 94-95**), and we can consider this point as such. A hidden contribution to serving the settlement project in the colonies and calling for opening the door to naturalization and making it a success.

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A law was applied Waldeck-Rousseau in Algeria and Tunisia, and many French trade unions appeared so that a group of French trade unions appeared in Algeria, which are as follows:

Year Founded	Syndicate
1884	Printing Workers Union

Source: (Gallissot,2007, P14)

Year Founded	Syndicate
1886	Kitchen Workers Union
	Confectionery and Pastry Workers Union
1887	Restaurant Waiters Union
1889	Barbers Syndicate
1891	Merchants Syndicate
1892	Bakers Guild
1899	Porters' Guild
1899	Dock Workers Union
1900	Union of Algiers Port Trade Unions

Source: (Benallegue,2004, P71).

In Tunisia, trade union organizations also appeared, including:

Year Founded	Syndicate
1884	Syndicate of French Institutionalists
1885	Mandatory guild of viticulture

Source: (El-Hammami,1988, P09).

Year Founded	Syndicate
1893	Trade Union Chamber of Tunisian Carpenters
1894	French Workers Union
1900	International Union of Tunisian Construction Workers

Source: (Kraiem,1997, P34).

Year Founded	Syndicate
1902	Secular French Association for Education
1906	Dadaism in primary education with a Laic orientation
1919	Railway Workers Union

Source: (Gallissot,2000, P90).

The process of establishing a trade union continued in both countries and although we are discussing the commonalities between the two trade union activities, at this point there is a paradox between them. In Algeria, there was French control over trade union activity, while in Tunisia, on the contrary, the trade union scene witnessed intense competition between the French and the

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Italians, and this is due to **(Bessis, 1974, P88)**. The Italian labor force was greater than the number of French people in the Protectorate.

2.2 Trade union activity under the banner of French trade union centers:

Years after the law was passed by Waldeck-Luche- Rousseau dated March 21, 1884, several amendments were made to it, where non-French people had the right to join and lead the trade union, and it did not become exclusive to the French only. Based on this, Algerians and Tunisians became involved in unions within each sector and were largely present in the Railway Workers Union. Which came under the banner of the General Confederation of Labor in 1919.

Tunisians joined the French Trade Union Federation in 1919 to benefit from this workers' platform, but they faced a bitter reality based on marginalization and racism **(Bessis, 1985, P08)**. Tunisians continued their struggle to find a place for themselves within French trade unions. On April 22, 1920, the Gafsa Mine Workers' Union was founded. Its office consists of four Tunisian members: Haj Murabit, Ismail bin Muhammad, Ali bin Ammar, and Hamidat bin Othman. **(El-Tababi, 2015, P98)**

Tunisians also fought in the United General Labor Confederation, which was established in 1922 inside Tunisia, specifically in trade unions Ferryville.

The Tunisian trade union struggle under the French unions was represented by joint strikes between them and the French. The first early Tunisian participation took place in May 1905, when a Tunisian worker led the labor march, raising the flag of the Communist International (the red flag). **(Gallissot, 2000, P 89)** In 1919, he led the tram workers under the supervision of the General Confederation of Labor. A labor strike lasted for four months, during which the Tunisians demanded equality in wages and working hours. The strike movement in which the Tunisians participated with the French continued in the period extending between 1920-1924 under the supervision of the reformist and revolutionary confederations, in which the Tunisians searched for one goal, which is to gain union awareness in preparation for union independence. **(El-Hammami, 1988, PP 14-15)**

Despite the establishment of the First and Second Tunisian General Confederations of Labor, there were periods of vacuum that followed the dissolution of these two groups, during which Tunisians returned to the struggle within the bands of the French General Confederation of Labor. We give an example of this: the period that followed the Bourguiba-Al-Gnaoui conflict in 1938. After the latter's dismissal, he joined the CGT and the struggle

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under its banner continued until the year 1944 (El-Tababi, 2015, P181). Some Tunisian sources indicate that the leader of the Tunisian General Labor Union struggled for a long time in the French Trade Union Federation inside the protectorate, and he had a French union formation. He separated from the French General Labor Confederation until 1944 after the Communists took control of it. (Achour, 1989, P12)

This is at the protectorate level, but at the level of the Algerian colony, the union struggle of the Algerian workers appeared in the French trade unions through the joint strike between them and the French in August 1910, in which the Algerian workers carried the national flag and gave this strike a political character, and perhaps this also indicates the participation of the Algerians. Regarding trade union work and labor struggle (Benallegue Chaouia, 2004, P 82), this is a statement by the head of the newspaper "l'évolution" colonial Mr. Charles La Colomb, who said, "**Allowing the Arabs to participate is an insult to the Europeans because in one way or another, they are recognized.**" (Meynier, 2010, PP 693-694) The participation of Algerians in trade union activity appeared in the period between the two world wars 1919-1939 in strikes and protests, especially agricultural ones, among the examples. This is what happened in the Oran sector, such as the Zahana farmers' strike, the Aghlal farmers' strike, the Ain Kihal strike, and other areas. (Abid, 1987, PP 202-203).

Algerian trade union work continued under the French Confederations after World War II when Aissat Idir asked the Algerian trade unionists to join the coordination committee between the Algerian trade unions (which is an extension of the General Confederation of Labor in the colony) and work to obtain leadership positions in it. Indeed (Bourouiba, 2009, P87), this body was infiltrated in 1950. Under its banner, the Algerians participated in many international forums, such as the International Trade Union Forum organized in China in 1953 in honor of leader "**Mao Zedong**", where the delegation consisted of two French communists and four Algerians (Ibrahim Moussa, Boualem Bourouiba, Abdelkader Babou, and Dridi Abdelkader). (Jurques, 2010, P411). The coordination committee between Algerian trade unions was transformed into the General Federation of Algerian Trade Unions, in which the presence of Algerians became high, at 60% at the level of the Executive Committee (34 out of 54 members). (Tegui, 2009, PP 144-145).

2.3 The position of the leader in the Algerian and Tunisian union experiences:

The point of the leader in the Algerian and Tunisian union experiences during the colonial era is among the commonalities, as the leader occupied a

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very important position within the union organizations in general. This is what we noticed through our study of union work in Tunisia and Algeria. Tunisia, as a pioneer in independent union work, witnessed in its various experiences The term "leader" refers to all three. In the beginning and during the first union experience in 1924, he was led by Mohamed Ali Al-Hammi, a Tunisian trade union figure, who was born in 1894 in the Hamma region of Gabes. He gave up his studies at the age of ten and worked in a commercial center in the center of the Tunisian capital. After months of work, he met the wife of the Austrian consul in Tunisia, who provided him with evening lessons to complete his studies. He studied and was able to master two languages, French and German. He became a driver for the Austrian consul inside the protectorate. He left Tunisia in 1912 for Turkey and then to Egypt. After the end of World War I in 1918, he moved to Germany and registered at a university in the capital, Berlin, specializing in economics. He worked in parallel in one of the city's factories. Completed Al-Hammi His studies and He obtained a doctorate in 1923, in the same year he entered Tunisia carrying socialist economic thought, and tried to implement it by establishing the first independent trade unions. Tunisians hoped that he was their loyal leader against French colonial domination because he carried an independent, separatist thought, and this was what was desired. among the colonized peoples at that time. **(Haddad, 1997, P62)**

Tunisian trade union work witnessed another leader. He led the trade union organizations in their struggle against the colonial administration as well as the French trade union centers. He embodied his project of the Tunisian General Labor Union on the ground in 1946 and made it the largest anti-colonial pole within the protectorate. This personality was represented by Farhet Hachad He was born on February 2, 1914, in the Abbasiya region, north of the Karkennah region. He graduated from the Abbasiya School in 1930 and joined as a clerk in the Coastal Transport Company in the same year.

He was trained in union work through the portal of the Transport Company Union in 1936, which he was credited with founding and which fell under the banner of the General Confederation of Labor. Farhat Hachad rose in 1939 as a writer He continued his struggle within the CGT during the years of World War II, and announced his withdrawal from it in 1944 **(Bessis, 1985, P84)**, after the victory of the Communists in the Eighteenth Congress by obtaining 17 seats out of 21 seats. He then founded the Tunisian General Labor Union in 1946, through which he fought for the independence of Tunisia to the degree The first is to defend the interests of workers to a lower degree,

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and he represented this body in many international forums organized by the FSM and CISL, and he was known for the Tunisian issue and exposed colonial policy to global international opinion (**Khaled, 2007, PP100-101**). This is what made the French administration plan to assassinate him, and they were able to do so on December 5, 1952. (**Belahouene, (S.D), P279**).

This is at the level of Tunisia, but at the level of Algeria, trade union work also witnessed the leadership trade union charisma that was represented by the personality Aissat Idir, who supervised the Trade Union and Social Affairs Committee in 1947 and the Workers Committee in 1952. This personality was born on June 11, 1915, in a towing collection area in the quarry municipality of the state of Tizi Ouzou. He studied primary school in his hometown, then moved to Tunisia, where he continued his studies and attended classes in legal and economic sciences to obtain a university degree, he returned to Algeria and worked as an accountant in the aviation industry workshops in Casablanca in 1939., He continued his work until 1949. He joined the secret Algerian People's Party in 1939 and was active through the Belouizdad Youth Committees that were planning revolutionary work. He continued his political struggle after World War II in the ranks of the Movement for the Victory of Democratic Liberties, and he was entrusted with the task of supervising and framing the Algerian labor movement. He founded the Committee for Trade Union and Social Affairs in 1947, through which he aimed to form Algerian trade unionists capable of assuming responsibility in the future. He sought to have them assume leadership positions within the General Confederation of Labor to achieve the ultimate goal, which was to break up the trade unions within Algeria and form an independent Algerian trade union. (**Fares, 2009, PP10-42**).

In light of the above, we can say that both the Algerian and Tunisian trade union experiences had the leader occupying a great position and acting as their ideologue. Had it not been for these leaders and leaders, the two trade union movements would not have succeeded in confronting the policy of the imperial French administration.

3. The differences between the two union activities in Algeria and Tunisia:

3.1 The nature of colonialism:

Algeria was the first Maghreb country to be colonized in the first third of the nineteenth century (**Bendjara, 2022, P145**), compared to Tunisia, which maintained its independence until 1881, only to fall under the influence and control of French colonialism under the so-called protectorate system. Based

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on this, the nature of colonialism in both countries varies and contrasts with it. French colonial policy, and we can explain this as follows:

A- French colonialism in Algeria:

The occupation of Algeria on July 5, 1830, was preceded by many early French plans, including:

1- The Dekercys Project in 1791: The Dekercys Project, according to French sources, is one of the most important projects developed to occupy Algeria at that time. It was prepared by its owner over a period of nine years (1782-1791), in which he detailed all the methods available to occupy Algeria, and determined the landing area, which was the coast of Sidi. Faraj, but the social and political conditions that France witnessed in that period and the famine that struck the country prevented this from being achieved. Algeria provided material assistance to the French government and helped it get out of its economic crisis, but that did not help in improving the relations that had become strained and hostility emerged between the two parties, and perhaps the strongest reason. This antagonism is Algeria's control of the Mediterranean and the strength of its navy.

2Jean Bon Saint-André project in 1799: Napoleon Bonaparte asked everyone who visited Algeria to prepare a report describing the economic, social, and political situation in the country, including a vision and proposal on how to invade Algeria. Accordingly, Consul Jean Bon Saint-André presented a detailed project for the French invasion of Algeria. In it, he relies on confrontation with the enemy and defeats him, and he stresses in another place that his project enables France to subjugate Algeria within 8 days.

3- Tedina1802 Project: This project is one of the projects presented to Napoleon Bonaparte. Its idea revolves around the French landing in the port of Tennis and the march to Algeria, passing through the Miliana Heights.(Hallel,2016, PP 37-39).

4-The Boutin Project in 1808: It is a project submitted by the French officer "Boutin", who was sent on a spy mission to Algeria in the year 1808. He stayed there for 68 days collecting information. The French consul in Algeria helped him in that. He traveled all the coastal regions from east to west and discovered his affairs. When he was inspecting the Sidi Faraj area, where the guard of the shrine the area informed the Algerian authorities who arrested him, and had he not claimed insanity, he would have been executed and ended up in Algeria. Officer Boutin returned to France and submitted a detailed report to the higher authorities, headed by "Dekercy." This report contains very important information. About the Sidi Faraj landing area and

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maps of the Algerian coast, including the occupation plan in which he mentioned the landing season for the French army and chose the summer season. Boutin's report is the applicable report for the invasion of Algeria because the French army landed in the Sidi Faraj region on July 5, 1830. **(Hassad, 2021, PP184-185).**

5- Project Mohamed Ali in 1826: It is a project submitted by the French Consul in Egypt, Mr. Drovetti, which stipulates that Muhammad Ali be used to occupy Algeria on behalf of France, which bears the expenses and burdens of the military campaign. Muhammad Ali agreed to this in exchange for being reinforced with four warships supported by eighty cannons and twenty million French francs. This project was not accepted by Polignac and his government ministers, who argued that this process would harm France's name on the international scene and would make it lose its value and prestige, especially among the colonial countries. **(Hallel, 2016, P 41)**

After the defeat of the Algerian fleet in the famous Battle of Navarine and its destruction, along with the destruction of the legend of the undefeated naval fleet that had dominated the Mediterranean for many years, France carried out its military campaign and imposed a naval blockade that lasted three full years (1827-1830) and took the propeller incident that occurred. Between Dey Hussein and the French consul as a pretext for this, this siege ended with a clash between the French and Algerian army on June 19, 1830, in which the Algerian army suffered a terrible defeat that claimed the lives of 4,000 soldiers and several material losses. **(Sidi M'hamed, 2017, P220)**

Following this defeat, Dey Hussein signed a treaty of surrender and occupation and handed over the keys of the city of Algiers to the French forces in exchange for leaving him the freedom to dispose of his property and the freedom to leave the country. **(Desprez, 1831, PP 184-185)**

Punitive colonialism turned into settler colonialism in 1834, so the period extending between 1830-1834 is called the period of hesitation. The French administration was hesitant about the issue of remaining in Algeria out of nowhere.

But after the dispatch of the African Commission, which conducted research on Algeria at all economic, social, and political levels, the eternal colonization of this country was confirmed and the door to immigration was opened to Algeria and Europeans flocked to settle and obtained many privileges, including loans and agricultural property. The French presence in Algeria was divided into two distinct periods, the period The first was the period of military rule between 1834 1870, during which the French administration

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sought to establish its presence in the region and control all Algerian regions militarily, and submit them to French rule. The second period was called the period of civil rule from 1870-1962, which was characterized by the creation of French civil bodies and the establishment of settlement centers (mixed cities). And cities have full powers. In addition, many laws were enacted, such as the Citizens Law in 1870, the Crémieux Law in 1871, and the Forest Law, and Warni Law in 1873. These laws were distinguished by their targeting of the Algerian population group, as they worked to limit their freedom, as a result of which they became second-class citizens and lost all of their property. They were transformed from masters of their lands into slaves.

B- French protectorate over Tunisia:

French ambitions for the Tunisian region emerged after the Tunisian issue was discussed at the Berlin Conference in 1878, whereby the German Chancellor supported Bismarck: French intervention in Tunisia in exchange for giving up the German-French border areas of Alsace-Lorraine, and the same thing happened by Britain, which left the matter to France in this issue and promised not to interfere. **(Beaulieu, 1887, PP 313-314)**

The French administration tried to impose its hegemony on Tunisia without any efforts by directing a protection treaty to the Bey of Tunisia in 1879 to sign, but the Bey of Tunisia, Muhammad al-Sadiq, refused to do so, which forced the intervention of the French army and sending some of its naval fleets as a military expedition, and the French administration sparked unrest on the Algerian border. On April 16, 1881, the French soldiers crossed the Tunisian border and were able to occupy the Kef and Tabarka regions, which did not show any resistance. **(Sarzeau, 1887, P370).**

The French army marched to the capital and they were able to arrive on May 12 and besieged the Bardo Palace. The French Consul, "Rostan," presented a protection treaty that was immediately signed by the Tunisian Bey, after threatening to depose him from the throne if he did not sign. As a result, Tunisia fell into the hands of the French administration by two treaties. "Treaty Bardo" in 1881 **(Serige, 2023, P665)** and "the Al-Marsa Treaty" in 1883.

Based on this, we can say that both countries were subject to French control, but the colonial situation differed and differed. In Algeria, it was primarily settler colonialism, starting in the year 1834. France considered Algeria an integral part of French territory, and the French administration worked to marginalize the people and make them French subjects. The second degree and their direct isolation from managing their affairs on their own, by many arbitrary laws, most notably the Native Law, which remained in effect until the

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year 1944. In all honesty, the French administration tried hard to erase all features of Algerian society and dissolve it in the French entity, unlike Tunisia, which had a French presence. It was a form of protection, and the Tunisian political system remained in place under the leadership of the Tunisian Bey, "Mohamed Al-Sadiq," and French intervention was limited only to economic matters related to the French community in the region.

3.2 The extent to which union independence is achieved:

The point of union independence is the most prominent aspect of the differences between union work in Tunisia and Algeria. Tunisia witnessed union work independent of the French confederations at an early date, and this matter specifically has a direct relationship to the nature of colonialism, as the Tunisian protectorate witnessed the emergence of independent unions immediately after World War I. This coincided with the global winds of change and the wave of liberation that prevailed in many regions of the world, similar to the Turkish model led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the Soviet Union model that accompanied the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, and the emergence of the International Communist International, which called for the liberation of workers in the first place (**Zaghloul, 1980, P229**), and as we noted previously, many unions appeared. The most important of which was the independent Tunisian Association of Tobacco Workers in 1919, which is a trade union concerned with defending the interests of Tunisian workers and seeking to improve their financial and working conditions. It was preceded in this field by the Al-Ittifaq Al-Widadiyya Association for railway workers, which was founded amid World War I. Arabic language teachers also founded the year 1919 Widadiyya for Arab Education. The developments taking place in Tunisian trade union affairs indicate one thing, which is workers' awareness of the importance of the union as a body in the comprehensive liberalization project (**Khaled, 1985, PP 177-178**).

With the emergence of the communist tide in the early 1920s in Tunisian territory, trade union activity developed significantly, as the Tunisian Communist Cell opened its doors to Tunisian trade unionists to make their voice and the voice of workers in general heard, by granting them newspaper columns in the newspapers *The Social Struggle* and *The Proletarian Revolution*, which was supervised by the Communist of origin. Italian "Finidori" (**Youssfi, 1983, P32**), independent Tunisian trade union work became more mature after the arrival of Muhammad Ali al-Hami from Germany carrying Western thought and a socialist economic project, which represented

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the establishment of a trade union independent of the French colonial trade unions that primarily served the interests of the French administration, but the ground was not well prepared and there was opposition from The Constitutional Party, which was not convinced by the ideas of Muhammad Ali al-Hami, contented himself with establishing the Economic Cooperation Association, which was directly concerned with raising the Tunisian economy and establishing companies run by Tunisians independent of European capital. This association represented the ground paving the way for the emergence of the first independent trade unions represented in the General Confederation of Labor The first Tunisian union in 1924, led by Muhammad Ali Al-Hami, represented the first official union organization like the Tunisians, through which the unionists challenged the French administration and the law. Waldeck-Rousseau in 1884, limited the management of the union to the European element only in order for the balance of power to remain in the hands of the European minority within the protectorate, it did not last General Confederation of Labor The first Tunisian union took a long time due to the harassment of the French administration and the accusations against its leaders, most notably the promotion of the separatist struggle hostile to French sovereignty in the region. Based on this, the Tunisian trade union was dissolved in 1925 and its leader, Muhammad Ali Al-Hami, was exiled outside the country. **(Khaled, 1985, PP 177-178).**

Union work did not stop there but rather continued in secret until the issuance of Decree Baylik in 1932, which gave the green light for the revival of independent Tunisian trade union work. Based on this, a large group of unions was established that included most sectors, the most important of which was: the Tunisian Peasants' Union, which was directly concerned with the Tunisian farmer, defended him, and tried to protect him from the agricultural colonial tide based on seizing Tunisian agricultural properties. The process of establishing trade unions continued in 1936 with the establishment of the **Krartia** Union, which most Tunisian researchers consider to be the first nucleus. The General Confederation of Labor the Second Tunisian League, which was founded in 1937 and led by Belkacem Al-Gnawi, **(Anonyme, 2004, P33)** was not reconstructed for a long time due to the policy of the colonial administration, and the policy of the New Constitutional Party, which wanted to contain it starting in 1938 by creating a movement led by Al-Hadi Nour, a rival to the Belkacem Al-Gnawi movement, which refused to enter. General Confederation of Labor the Tunisian Party, under the banner of the New Constitutional Party, considered this an exploitation of the labor movement

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that was fighting for independence, not for living in dependence.

The Tunisian labor union was paralyzed during World War II, but after the expulsion of the Germans from Tunisian territory in 1943, a kind of détente prevailed in the protectorate, which was reflected positively in trade union and political work, so that Tunisian trade unions emerged independent of French trade union work and were characterized by comprehensiveness. On January 16, 1944, a trade union was founded. Employees and workers of the Tunisian Sfax and Gafsa Company. Two months later, the Federation of Independent Trade Unions in the South was founded. This development continued in the following year, in 1945, with the establishment of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions in North Tunisia. These trade unions were established through a tremendous effort made by Farhet Hached and his companions in the struggle, this activity culminated in the establishment of the Tunisian General Labor Union, which gathered under its banner all the independent Tunisian unions on January 20, 1946 (**Ben Hamida, 1995, PP48-49**), which represented the strongest union experience in the history of Tunisia, which in turn worried the French administration, especially with its continued activity and supervision of the political arena. Between 1946 and 1949, he is credited with introducing the Tunisian issue at the level of international trade union forums organized by the International Trade Union Federation and the International Federation of Free Trade Unions and at the level of American trade unions. The federation continued its work independently until the date of Tunisia's liberation from the French presence in 1956.

As for Algerian trade unionism, trade union work appeared late after World War II in 1947, when many unions appeared under the aegis of the Movement for the Victory of Democratic Freedoms, the most important of which were: the Federation of Bakery and Restaurant Owners, led by Sadiq Rihani, and the Federation of Grocers, headed by Ammar Masoudi, to be established after that (**Merani, 2019, P203**). The Central Committee for Trade Union and Social Affairs in 1947, which is the workers' branch of the party MTLD, this experience was followed by the establishment of the Workers' Committee in 1952, which is also a branch of the Istiqlal Party, which was headed by Aissat Idir. These experiences were not destined to last long due to the crises that the party witnessed starting from 1949-1953. (**Ait Medouar, 2015, P224**).

Based on this, trade union independence varies between the two

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countries. Tunisia, as we mentioned, witnessed independent trade union work early, unlike Algeria, and this can be attributed to several factors, the most important of which are: the nature of colonialism that ruled the countries, the tightening of pressure on Algerians, through a group of exceptional laws, the first of which is the law The people in 1871, who continued to walk until 1944, are in contrast to the Tunisian people, who lived a kind of freedom and remained far from these exceptional measures. The weakness of the working class in factories and the Algerian workers' contentment with agricultural work as a sole activity can be classified as a paradox between Tunisian and Algerian trade union work. In addition to this point, Abdul mentioned in all his writings dealing with trade union affairs, Kader Djeghloul stated that the Algerians did not have the passion to discover trade union work.

All of these factors prevented the emergence of independent Algerian trade union work at an early date. In another point we raise in this regard, some Algerian and French sources consider the North African Star to be a trade union body before it was political, because it was the product of the Maghreb labor movement in the Metropolis in 1926. However, this cannot be considered independent trade union work because it took on a political character from its beginnings. Therefore, we can be certain that trade union work in Algeria in the colonial era did not have the characteristic of independence, as it remained a branch of the Istiqlal Party. Even the General Union of Algerian Workers during the liberation revolution remained a branch of the Front. National liberation.

3.3 A network of relationships for independent trade unions in both countries at the internal and external levels:

The point of independent union relations is one of the paradoxes between union work in Algeria and Tunisia, and it has a direct relationship to the previous point of union independence, as we can detail this point as follows:

At the level of the Tunisian Protectorate, its independent trade unions linked broad relations at the internal and external levels, and this was due to their independence early in the year 1924. At the internal level, relations were divided into two parts: relations with political organizations and relations with French trade union organizations. In the first part, the independent trade unions linked relations With Tunisian political organizations, for example, the General Confederation of Labor The first Tunisian led Mohamed Ali Al-Hammi, although it did not last long, it had ties with the political trends active in that period, led by the Constitutional Party, with which the relationship was

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characterized between support and opposition so that the party split into two trends, a radical trend that supported the emergence of the university, and another trend that opposed its emergence out of fear. From its control over the mass movement, especially since the first Tunisian National League carried an independent ideology (Khaled, 1985, P191), the Constitutional Party contributed to eliminating it in collusion with the French authorities in 1925 (El-Monser, 1992, PP15-16). As for its relations with the Tunisian Communist Cell, it was characterized as a relationship of struggle and joint work, as the Tunisian communists supported the trade unionists with all available capabilities and allowed, they were allowed to publish in their newspapers (The Social Struggle Newspaper - The Workers' Proletariat Newspaper), and this is what made the French administration suppress the Communist Party and the Workers' League together (Al-Arkech, 1988, P28). As for the trade union experience represented by the General Confederation of Labor, The second Tunisian led by Belkacem Al-Gnawi in 1936, and its relations with the Constitutional Party were very tense, so that a conflict loomed between Belkacem Al-Gnawi and Habib Bourguiba, supported the latter's appearance General Confederation of Labor Tunisian and supported the movements of Tunisian trade unionists in revival Syndicalism. Once again, he tried to unite the political struggle and the trade union struggle together, but... Belkacem Al-Gnawi rejected this and confirmed that the Tunisian General Labor Confederation was Independent of any political organization, and historians attribute that the latter based its vision on previous experience and the reason for its failure, which included the Constitutional Party. The conflict became clear and went out of scope over a point of support. Tunisian General Labor Confederation the Constitutional Party organized a strike in support of Algerian and Moroccan activists in 1937. This is what it rejected. Belkacem Al-Gnawi once again confirmed the independence of the Tunisian trade union, and as a reaction from the leaders of the Constitutional Party, they tried to create a competing trend within the CGTT led by Hadi Nouria and isolate Belkacem Al-Gnawi. They had that starting in 1938.

The Tunisian General Labor Union linked broad relations with Tunisian political organizations, as it had good relations with the New Constitutional Party, and this is due to the compatibility of goals, as they both called for independence and freedom. On the one hand, on the other hand, Tunisian historical sources confirmed that most of the fighters within the union were activists in the party. The new constitutional system, that is, they had a dual struggle (political and trade union), and perhaps the most prominent models

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are Taher bin Ashour and Farhat Hached, joint work between the two organizations appeared on many occasions: such as the establishment of regional unions (the Regional Union of Labor in Gafsa), and the Constitutional Party, thanks to its mass class, contributed to establishing union structures in the areas controlled by French trade unions (**Ben Hamida, 1984, P93**). The Tunisian General Union of Labor linked relations with the Communist Party. Tunisian, which was divided into two different periods. The first period was characterized by good relations, and this was after the union joined the International Trade Union Organization and participated in many of its conferences. The union led a joint struggle with the Communist Party by organizing the strike of dock workers in 1950, who refused to unload shipments of incoming weapons. From the United States of America for the benefit of the French army (**Ben Hamida, 1984, PP29-30**). However, this relationship did not last long and turned into a hostile relationship after the Federation withdrew from the International Trade Union Organization and joined the International Free Trade Union Organization. Farhat Hached attacked the communist ideology at the San Francisco Conference, describing it as a narrow ideology that does not serve the liberation project.

This is about the relations of independent Tunisian trade union organizations with political parties. As for their relationship with French trade union organizations, most of them were characterized by hostility. During the period of the first two trade union experiments

Secondly, the French Federation of Trade Unions opposed the emergence of CGTT and spreading its separatist ideas, and this is due to the French trade union's fear of losing its control over the labor movement. As for the second experience, the same thing happened, as Mr. **Bouzanquet** opposed the Secretary General of the French Trade Union Confederation. The second CGTT considered this a division that would weaken the trade union movement within the protectorate, then it developed into accusing it of collusion with the Constitutional Party and of undertaking political actions hostile to France's presence in the region. He later accused her of loyalty to fascism. (**Anonymous, 1925, P02**)

The Tunisian General Labor Union linked relations with various French trade unions, starting with the General Confederation of Labor, with which the relationship was characterized as a competitive relationship within the protectorate, interspersed with periods of conflict and periods of truce. The C.G.T. Union tried to reach an agreement regarding unifying the struggle and drew up the first attempt called the "Labor Union." "But this project was not

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successful after the discovery of the hidden goals of French trade unionism, which aim to contain the labor movement and eliminate independent trade union work. The same matter was raised with a union USTT which represents an extension of the CGT and re-introduced the file of union unity, but this time it was the union that thwarted this project with its demands aimed at dissolving French unionism into the union entity **(Ben Hamida, 1984, P93)**.

The union linked relations with the rest of the French confederations and did not exclude any of them. For example, it had relations with the Christian Confederation, which did not oppose it because it believed in union pluralism. This relationship culminated in joint actions such as organizing strikes with purely labor demands. This period witnessed the union getting closer to the union organization. CGT-FO, this relationship was characterized as primarily a relationship of convenience **(Zarrouk, 2020,P228)**.

This was on the internal level, but on the external level, the Tunisian General Union linked relations with the International Trade Union Organization and the International Free Trade Union Organization. The Union's goal, through this relationship, was to introduce the Tunisian issue at the level of international forums and to convey the true picture of what is happening inside Tunisia to the workers and the people as a whole. In general, which the French bodies had long been hiding and spreading fallacies to camouflage international public opinion, the Union was active in both trade unions, as it participated in several conferences: the Budapest and Prague Conference in 1949, Milan in 1950 under the cover of the International Trade Union Organization, and the San Francisco Conference under the cover of the International Free Trade Union Organization and held the position The Secretary-General of the Federation holds a position in its executive office**(Khaled,2007, PP89-113)**.

This is at the level of Tunisia. As for Algeria, we will study the relations of the Trade Union and Social Affairs Committee and the Workers' Committee, both of which are branches of the Istiqlal Party. In terms of their relations with the political organizations, they did not have any relationship since they are only two branches and their fate is related to the fate of the Movement for the Victory of Democratic Freedoms party. As for their trade union relations, we find in some sources that Aissat Idir, who is in charge of running them, issued a call to Algerian trade unionists to join the General Confederation of Labor and work to obtain leadership positions in it to fragment the unions at their level. This does not mean that Aissat Idir was completely convinced of the work of the Confederation. He criticized it on many occasions for not raising the issue

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of trade union independence for Algerian workers (**Ageron, 2005, PP 494-495**). He accused it of being a submissive body in the hands of French colonialism and questioned its integrity.

Externally, the committee established relations with the Tunisian General Labor Union, following the appeal it made Hached for the Algerian trade unionists to establish a trade union similar to the Tunisian General Labor Union (**Taleb Ibrahim, 1989, P80**), and he sent representatives of the committee to the capital to attend the union's meetings in 1947. The activity continued after the establishment of the Workers' Committee in 1952, so representatives of the Workers' Committee attended the FSM conference, and the trade unionists met with the Soviet leader Stalin.

In summary, we can say in this regard that Tunisian trade unionists have formed a wide network of relationships at the internal and external levels, and this is due to their long struggle since 1924, and their distinction by trade union independence. Despite the opposition of the French authorities to them, they imposed themselves on the level of the struggle arena, and perhaps the most prominent stage of the stage. The Tunisian General Labor Union, which had great influence and influence on the political and trade union levels, was the opposite in Algeria, where relations were very limited. This is because trade unions were an integral part of MTLD and did not have complete independence, as they remained tied to the party's fate and directions.

3.4 Trade union influence on political life in Tunisia and Algeria:

Among the differences between Tunisian and Algerian trade union work is the extent of the effectiveness of independent trade unionism in political life, as it differed clearly between the two countries. In Tunisia, the issue of national independence has occupied a very important place on the agenda of the Tunisian General Labor Union since its founding in 1946. The leader of this body Farhat Hachad was one of the most prominent supporters of the idea of linking trade union work with political work for the sake of a comprehensive liberation project. This approach appeared through his confirmation in a speech at the level of the North African Conference in 1946, where he expressed the importance of joint work between trade unionists and politicians and emphasized the necessity of a dual struggle for Tunisian trade unionists (the struggle between political and trade union).

The Tunisian General Labor Union took upon itself the responsibility of forming Tunisian trade unionists politically, developing their patriotic sense,

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and removing them from the circle of workers' demands to the comprehensive struggle that benefits the workers in particular and the Tunisian people in general. The General Union participated in the Laylat al-Qadr meeting organized by the New Constitutional Party on 23 August 1946, during which those present demanded the complete independence of Tunisia and raised the slogan of freedom. Based on this, the Tunisian General Labor Union merged political demands with trade union demands, and all its demands became political in nature, serving primarily the national interest. He Farhat Hached stated this in one of his publications issued in 1949 in Le Mission newspaper, which stated that the social struggle for workers' independence is an integral part of the comprehensive liberation process, and the trade union struggle must be mixed with the political struggle (Ben Hamida, 1986, P46).

In the same context, the incidents of August 5, 1947, were followed by a meeting on November 15, 1947, in which it was confirmed Farhat Hached said that his organization is not only a trade union organization, but also a national struggle organization, and that its first demand is to achieve the right to self-determination and get rid of colonial control.

Historical sources indicate that the Tunisian General Labor Union led the political arena in two periods: the first period between 1946-1949, and this was due to the weakness of the political movement. The New Destourian Party was suffering from the harassment of the French administration, especially after it declared the principle of independence, which was rejected in colonial circles, and its leader who was present in Cairo to promote the Tunisian cause in the League of Arab States, in addition to the loyalty of the Communist Party to the French administration in that period, as evidenced by the meeting held by the Tunisian Union of Merchants and Craftsmen on September 20, 1948, according to which its body decided to send a correspondence to the French government informing it of its involvement in political work to On the side of the Tunisian General Labor Union, and this is evidence that the union was the only one on the political scene that needed representatives of the Tunisian people..

In 1949, the Tunisian General Labor Union submitted to the French administration a set of political demands, but workers' demands were not included among them.:

1- Abolishing all martial law in the country.

2- Dissolving the Grand Council and replacing it with the National Assembly.

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3- Establishing a Tunisian democratic ministry.

4- Abolition of the military regime.

5- Expanding the circle of democratic freedoms(**Al-Arkech,1988, P89**).

The Tunisian General Union, along with the New Constitutional Party, organized many strikes of a political nature, such as the strike of November 29, 1950, and the strike of January 19, 1952, to denounce the colonial policy within the protectorate based on oppression.

The Tunisian General Labor Union held a meeting following the reforms of February 8, 1951, on February 13, in which it discussed these reforms and considered that they were not at the level of the aspirations of the Tunisian people. The leader of the union confirmed Farhat Hached: These changes are not considered a serious step towards satisfying the interests of Tunisian nationalism unless they are followed by reforms in national representation at the level of the higher and municipal councils, as well as if the Tunisian government is liberated from all restrictions that prevent it from running the country's affairs.

The Tunisian General Labor Union, along with the Tunisian political parties, contributed to the establishment of the forty-member committee on August 1, 1952, which was approved by the Tunisian Bey as a Shura Council to discuss all the reforms proposed by the French administration to His Highness, and which included many trade unionists such as Farhat Hached, who was a difficult number in it.

The influence of the Tunisian General Labor Union on the national movement became apparent after the exile of the leader of the New Destourian Party Habib Bourguiba was out of the country, and the administration accused him of being loyal to the communists in 1952. Based on this, the union appeared in the guise of controlling the political situation, and this was due to it being the largest national organization that possessed legitimacy and the spokesman for the national movement. Farhat Hached became the first man on the trade union and political scene and an interlocutor for the French administration. What worried the colonial authorities was that it was difficult for them to negotiate with him due to his separatist ideas, and they chose to plot a plot against him that ended with his death on December 5, 1952.

This is at the level of Tunisia, but at the level of Algeria, independent trade unions tried under MTLD gave it demands a political dimension, as Algerian trade unionists focused on achieving workers' demands, such as raising wages, insurance, retirement, and implementing the labor law, so that

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they considered the dignity of the Algerian worker to be an integral part of national sovereignty. Trade unionists continued their activity and used party political platforms between 1948 and 1950 to raise labor problems and convey their issues to take actual positions and find solutions.

The number of people involved in the party increased Independent the Algerian Between 1950-1953, there were 2,200-2,300 workers. This gave a new breath to the party, and the unionists led activities of a political nature, as they led many strikes, the most important of which were: the repeated strikes of port workers that worried the French administration after they refused to ship weapons intended for the war in Indochina in the year 1953, this strike between workers' support for the principle of complete independence in all countries and the liquidation of colonialism(**Anonymous, 1950, P02**).

The influence of trade unions in political life varied clearly between the two countries. In Tunisia, it appeared clearly under the leadership of the Tunisian General Labor Union since 1946. With its complete independence from the French trade union confederations and Tunisian political organizations, its role appeared greatly in the trade union arena and extended to the political arena, and this is due to its possession of a large public class. He was given leadership, especially in the period that witnessed the absence and decline of the national movement, where he declared himself as an interlocutor for the colonial authorities, and as a result, all of his demands became primarily political and liberal. This is what worried the people. The French administration and its confusion at the internal and external levels, and as we previously noted, the Tunisian General Union took advantage of trade union platforms. FMS and CISL to introduce the Tunisian cause. This is what gained them global support and shook the image of France globally, in contrast to the Algerian trade unionists who fell under the banner of the MTLD, which also fought for complete independence, but within the limits of the party framework, and in most cases were content with pumping new blood into the party to continue the struggle and defense. About the workers, and this is due, as we mentioned previously, to its being a branch of the MTLD.

4. CONCLUSION

Through what was presented in the text of the article, it became clear that both Algerian and Tunisian trade union work were distinguished by a set of advantages and contributed significantly to the liberal path of the two countries and the elimination of French colonial control. Since the article is a

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comparative study, we can favor Tunisian trade union work over Algerian trade union work. Because it was more independent, more effective in the path of liberation, and threatened the French presence in the region.

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