

## The labor union movement in colonial Algeria during the Vichy regime (1940-1943)

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### Abstract:

This study examined the state of the trade union movement in colonial Algeria during the Vichy regime period (1940-1944 CE/1359-1363 AH), a critical phase that witnessed radical transformations in the trade union and labor structure. The study aimed to analyze Vichy regime policies toward the working class in France and its Algerian colony, and to examine the extent to which the pre-World War II trade union structure was maintained. The study employed a descriptive-analytical historical methodology, drawing upon archival documents, official reports, and newspapers from that period. The findings revealed that the Vichy regime dismantled trade union representation mechanisms, as membership in the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) in Algeria declined from 40,000 members in 1937 CE/1356 AH to 4,000 members in early 1941 CE/1360 AH. The regime issued legislation that increased working hours to 60-70 hours per week while reducing wages by 25%. This was accompanied by systematic exclusion of communists, who constituted 55% of the trade union base, the abrogation of the Crémieux Decree in October 1940 CE/Shawwal 1359 AH, and the implementation of a rationing system that limited bread allocation to 250 grams per person per day. Despite repression, labor strikes and protests with socio-economic and nationalist dimensions persisted, such as the 1942 CE/1361 AH dockworkers' strike in Skikda and strikes in the Mitidja and Annaba regions. The study concluded that trade union repression did not eliminate labor activism; rather, it propelled it toward more politicized forms that linked social demands with anti-colonial struggle, paving the way for the emergence of a more autonomous Algerian trade union consciousness following the March 1944 CE/Rabi' al-Awwal 1363 AH reforms, which restored trade union membership to rise to 50,000 members in Constantine, 55,000 in Oran, and 92,000 in Algiers by 1945 CE/1364 AH.

**Keywords:** Trade union movement, colonial Algeria, Vichy regime, Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), working class, World War II, labor strikes.

### **Introduction:**

The period of French colonialism constitutes one of the most significant epochs in Algerian history, distinguished as a phase replete with events and developments, during which the Algerian people conducted a protracted struggle against the French administration and its institutions.

This struggle oscillated between armed and peaceful resistance; the armed struggle manifested itself in popular resistance movements and the War of Liberation, whereas the peaceful struggle was itself bifurcated into political and labor union activism. While political action has received adequate historical coverage, labor union activities remain, to the present day, raw material requiring scholarly investigation.

Algerian workers waged a fierce struggle against the French administration and employers, attempting since 1884 to liberate themselves from French hegemony and achieve autonomy for the labor movement—this representing a form of demand for independence. Given that this struggle was equally fraught with developments, we deemed it appropriate to examine the state of trade unionism in Algeria during the Second World War (1939-1945), specifically during the period of Vichy military rule.

Proceeding from this introduction, we pose the following research questions:

- 1- How did the Vichy regime deal with the working class in France and its Algerian colony?
- 2- Did the French administration preserve the trade union structure that existed prior to the Second World War in both the metropole and Algeria?

### **Algeria under the Vichy Regime:**

Before continuing the chronological presentation of the workers and trade union movement during the Second World War, we must refer to the variables that appeared in this period and that controlled trade union life, among these variables is the entry of France into a new system at the beginning of the Second World War in 1940, represented by the Vichy system, defined by the French writer **Marc Olivier Baruch** so that he said, "Many questions were raised and many debates took place about whether this new system stemmed from fascism and whether it existed. The author puts forward his point of view, saying that it is not correct to call it a system in the first place because a political party did not inspire it, and then answers all these questions by saying, "The Vichy regime is a form of dictatorship, which often comes from a military man", <sup>1</sup> and perhaps what confirms this proposition

is the political scientist **Stanley Hoffman**<sup>2</sup> that they are heterogeneous. He means that political power is incompatible with the military man.

Lawyers and politicians in the fifties and sixties tried to summarize the situation, by defining the Vichy regime as a legal system, but it is illegal from the beginning<sup>1</sup>, and here we conclude that this system was already legal because no decrees and legislation prevent and prevent the rise of the military man to power, but on the one hand illegitimate that this system appeared in a difficult stage, which is a period of war against the Nazi invasion, in which the military institution controlled the civil institution and took legitimacy from it.

This is in terms of conceptual field, but in terms of the reason for its emergence and the way it took power, the writer and historian Henri Michel says, "The Vichy regime was born to coincide with the largest defeat suffered by France in its history against Nazism." Perhaps the good reason for this setback is the entry of France into World War II without military preparation, which made it accessible to the Nazis, on May 10, 1940, German forces marched westward under Adolf Hitler, so that the latter overthrew Poland, Romania, and Belgium. He continued his march towards the French capital, Paris, which he managed on June 14, 1940<sup>3</sup>, and which announced its surrender through Marshal Pétain<sup>4</sup>, who signed an armistice treaty with the Nazis, then imprisoned one and a half million French soldiers, and millions of civilians were displaced.

During these events, a new government emerged, led by Marshal Pétain, called the Vichy Government, which ordained itself the sole negotiator with the Nazis, agreed to the Germans' terms, and divided France into two regions:

- 1- **Northern region:** under the direct domination of Nazi Germany.
- 2- **Southern region:** Its affairs are administered by the Vichy government headed by Pétain indirectly controlled by the Nazi Germans.<sup>5</sup>

In the colony of Algeria, the Colón welcomed the Vichy regime, joined it by 80 percent, and became its advocates, because their only concern was to maintain their privileges and maintain their superiority over Arab Muslims<sup>6</sup>. Between 1940 and 1942, newspapers blessed the Vichy regime and Nazism and adopted Nazi ideology, and criticized earlier French thought based on capitalist democracy, among them: **Depeche Algerien, la Voix des colons**.<sup>7</sup>

The first measure of the Vichy government in the colony was the repeal of the Crémieux Edict by the decree of October 11, 1940, which revoked the citizenship of Israelis from which they had

benefited since 1870, **the first article** of which states: The repeal of the Crémieux Law, which regulated the political rights of indigenous Jews in the three provinces.

**Article II:** Israelis under this decree are French nationals like or inferior Muslim nationals, and an Israeli can maintain his French citizenship under the conditions of belonging to a combat unit in the years of the First World War 1914-1918 or 1939-1940 and receiving choir-type decorations or a military medal, and to present this evidence to the court within 20 days.

In the province of Constantine, 180 Jews were able to retain French citizenship, under this decree, the Israelis lost many privileges, possessions, and sensitive positions, and the Vichy government followed the Nazi approach of placing Jews at the bottom of the social pyramid.<sup>8</sup>

By 1942, the balance of World War II changed with the entry of new parties that inflicted successive defeats on the Germans<sup>9</sup>, and the alliance of the French, led by Charles de Gaulle (who transferred the government from Paris in 1940 to London and formed a Free France wing that fought for independence from the Germans and the loyal Vichy government) with the British and United States to tighten the noose on the Nazis and cleanse the North African region of Germans and the Vichy regime. The American landings took place in Tunisia, Oran, Algeria, and Casablanca, Morocco, says Marshal Pétain. In a statement to *Liberté*, "The landing of the Americans in the North African region was prepared several months ago, as well as facilitated by the Algerian people, who were cooperative with the Americans, because they saw them as liberators and not invaders, and even the Germans were surprised by the speed with which the Americans settled in Algeria."<sup>10</sup>

### **Trade union status under the Vichy government 1940-1944:**

#### **1- At the Metropole level:**

The situation of workers worsened with the beginning of World War II in 1939, as this global war revolved around two main chords, namely weapons, and workers, they served as fuel for it, France at the time exploited its colonies materially and humanly, so that it took about a million tons of coal and one million tons of metals, not to mention millions of labor to work either as workers in military factories or combat soldiers on the war fronts.<sup>11</sup>

After the severe defeat at the hands of the Nazi Germans, and the rise of a new military government led by Marshal Pétain, several decisions were enacted that led to a significant deterioration of working conditions, among these laws and decrees: The law of September 1, 1939, which leads to a system of work of an exploitative and authoritarian nature against the category of workers, stipulates that the weekly hourly volume of work is equal to or greater than 60 hours, and the number of additional hours reaches 45 hours per week, and wages under This law does not receive the worker his full wage as signed in the employment contract, but only 75%, while the remaining 25% is paid to the National

Solidarity Fund, and 15% is also imposed as a national tax on workers between the ages of 18 and 49.<sup>12</sup>

The war affected all sectors, including the trade unionists, so that the throne of the General Confederation of Labor was shaken, with a significant decrease in the number of members compared to 1939, when the number of workers involved in the Confederation exceeded 4 million members, to decrease with the outbreak of the war and become 500 thousand members.<sup>13</sup> The reason for this is due to the exclusion of the communists after the Soviet-German alliance in World War II, and the communists represented 50% of the total population, according to the General Confederation of Labor administration, the reason for the exclusion is that the communists did not condemn the charter of the Soviet-German alliance, especially since Germany and the Soviet Union became enemies of France and united to overthrow it.<sup>14</sup>

On the part of the trade unions, which are the mirror of the General Confederation of Labour, they suffered from a lack of membership, and the following table shows this:

| <b>1940</b>                 | <b>1937-1939</b>           | <b>guilds</b>                 |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>120,000 participants</b> | <b>268.500 Engaged</b>     | <b>Mines Syndicate</b>        |
| <b>30,000 participants</b>  | <b>50,000 participants</b> | <b>Paper Makers Syndicate</b> |
| <b>2000 Participants</b>    | <b>10,000 participants</b> | <b>Goldsmiths Guild</b>       |
| <b>30,000 participants</b>  | <b>800.000 Subscribers</b> | <b>Metalworkers' Union</b>    |

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The German-Soviet alliance treaty precipitated the emergence of a conflict on the horizon between two parties, the first representing the anti-communist orientation and the second participating in the Vichy regime and subject to Nazi Germany, this led to a split in the General Confederation of Labor, the first anti-communist current led by Juhu formed a committee consisting of 3 members of the French Union of Christian Workers and 9 elements of the General Confederation of Labour, so that this committee published the statement of November 15, 1940, which was called In Manifesto 12, in which they opposed the surrender of the union and called for respect for the principle of association, the legitimacy of anti-capitalism and the denunciation of the Nazis' crimes against the French people, from this committee will emerge the resistance group, whose priorities are to fight the Vichy regime and the Nazi occupation, and the latter called on workers to join the unions en masse because it is the means of their salvation from tyranny.<sup>16</sup>

The Vichy regime continued to enact decrees that destroyed the labor sector and serve its interests, of course, so that the Minister of Industry and Labor in the government of Pétain, Mr. Belin, signed a decision stipulating the dissolution of all trade union organizations and employers' unions, which

were: **C.G.T-C.F.T.C-C.S.P.F**<sup>17</sup>, this decision represents a blatant infringement on the working class, as the union is the only platform responsible for defending their interests by dissolving them, the worker becomes exposed to various types of exploitation and tyranny, This is what the worker has seen in terms of change, as the working hours increased to reach a ceiling of 70 hours for men and 60 hours for women per week, an increase of up to 20 hours and a decrease in wages.<sup>18</sup>

In the face of this catastrophic situation, the workers resorted to strikes and protests, which were very few and almost non-existent, with the beginning of World War II, statistics indicated that in 1941 a strike was recorded in the mines of "Badou Calais", the number of participants in the strike reached 65 thousand workers and the strike lasted for 12 days, the demands of the demonstrators revolved around raising wages and reducing daily working hours, another strike was recorded in October 1942 characterized by solidarity in the Lyon region, in which the strikers denounced Against the forced deportation of 37 workers from the railway to Germany the strike lasted 4 days, and in December 1942 the wave of strikes increased, especially after the adoption of the compulsory labor law, this law was not accepted by the workers and promised in their view repression and restriction of their freedoms, the French authorities and the German forces faced the wave of strikes with repression and deportation.<sup>19</sup>

The French workers' struggle in this period was characterized by a dual goal between improving the situation of the workers and confronting Nazi colonialism and its French agents represented in the Vichy regime so that the workers refused to submit to the orders of General Pétain and move to Germany to work in Nazi war factories and preferred to stay and participated heavily in the underground resistance, the spring of 1943 witnessed the peasant uprising against the observers, which led to the death of many of them.

In the period of World War II, the Popular Front focused on young people and tried to organize their ranks, resulting in a body called the Popular Youth Front that gathered young workers, intellectuals, and others, to which many workers joined and took upon themselves the struggle against the Nazi invasion. This initiative made the workers unite against one enemy, forgetting most of the differences that existed between them previously, this is what put forward the idea of reuniting the General Confederation of Labor and uniting the ranks between the socialists and communists again<sup>20</sup>. On April 17, 1943<sup>21</sup>, the two conflicting parties met and concluded a treaty called the **Treaty of Perreux**, which was not written but oral, in which the attendees agreed to unite the union and resist the Nazi occupation.<sup>22</sup>

Statistics indicated that many labor strikes occurred in 1944, characterized by the nature of rebellion and conflict and reflected negatively on companies so that they incurred material losses, these strikes were led by workers in the mining and railway sectors as the largest in terms of the mass

base, these strikes turned in some areas into guerrilla warfare and were useful in many times some cities were liberated from the Nazi presence, and this is what happened, for example, in the city of **Limoges** These armed uprisings caused human and military casualties at the level of the Nazi war machine.

The communists under the banner of the General Confederation of Labor attended an open-ended general strike and sought to make it a success using all means, whether legal or illegal and used the media platforms of the Communist Party to promote the idea of the strike, such as several newspapers, including: *L'humanité*, *Le cahiers bolshevism*.<sup>23</sup>

## **2- At the colony level:**

After the fall of the Popular Front in late 1938 and beginning in 1939, communist militants were excluded from the various trade union organizations and trade unions in the three prefectures: in Constantine, one of the most active communists in the region, Paul Strong (teacher), was suspended and his salary was frozen and left unpaid, other communist militants were arrested and imprisoned, and on December 10, 1939, trade unions were reorganized without the communist element, which represented 55% of the total population.

In Skikda, several leaflets were published denouncing the German-Soviet agreement, and in the face of communist silence regarding their opinion of the agreement, the provincial council of Constantine announced on February 27, 1940, the termination of the functions of two elected communists.<sup>24</sup>

In the region of Oran, on September 2, 1939, the communist element was excluded from both the unions and the union, revolutionary militants were arrested, and trade unions such as the Employees' Union of the current marched the new Vichy regime and blessed it and supported its plan to revive the country's economy. Mr. Bertend was appointed Secretary General along with eight former Confederates in the CGT and remained in office until the demise of the Vichy regime in 1942. The Communists led by **Manicucci** opposed the German-Soviet agreement They demanded that the unions, which are still under the banner of the General Confederation of Labour, take a decision and decide on the matter.

At the Algeria District level, on 3 October 1939, at the meeting of the Bureau of the Trade Union Confederation and in the face of the Unionist rejection and approval of the German-Soviet agreement, they were excluded from attending meetings within the Confederation as well as at the Labour Exchange altogether. This was an attempt to get rid of the revolutionary communist element, and a new organ of the trade unions was added, a liaison committee between the trade unions, to cleanse them of the communist presence and the communist tide in and to them.<sup>25</sup>

The exclusion of communists from trade union organizations reflected negatively on the trade union organization in the colony, as the number of those involved in trade unions decreased significantly, and the number of trade union organizations decreased to no more than 20 trade unions, while the employers' unions increased their index to 60 unions, and this illustrates the Vichy action plan based on targeting the working class and predominating the employer class.<sup>26</sup>

The French administration issued an amendment to the statutes of the trade unions by the decree of September 26, 1939, in which Article No. 15 states: **"The members of the Council of the Bar must be French and enjoy their political and civil rights, not have been convicted, not be Jewish, and must declare in their honor that they do not belong to any dissolved group"** This article of the decree prevents any citizen or Frenchman with a revolutionary orientation from holding a position in the administrative board of the union, whatever it may be. Inside the colony.

The new trade union movement that emerged in the three prefectures strengthened its relationship with the colonial power and the employers.<sup>27</sup>

It became the mirror of management within the workplace, and it is no longer the body that serves workers in the first place, so workers found themselves in front of a dead end between low wages, which are as shown in the following table:<sup>28</sup>

| Constantine Prefecture |         | Prefecture of Oran |         | Algeria labor |         | Labor |
|------------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|---------------|---------|-------|
| Wages                  | Areas   | Wages              | Areas   | Wages         | Areas   |       |
| 10-11.6                | Zone 01 | 11.8-12.2          | Zone 01 | 11.8-12.9     | Zone 01 |       |
| 9.3-10.3               | Zone 02 | 9.9-10.9           | Zone 02 | 10.4-11.5     | Zone 02 |       |
| 8.5-9.3                | Zone 03 | 9-9.8              | Zone 03 | 9.5-10.3      | Zone 03 |       |
| 6.7-8.1                | Zone 04 | 7.1-8.1            | Zone 04 | 7.5-09        | Zone 04 |       |
| 5.85-6.3               | Zone 05 | 6.2-6.6            | Zone 05 | 6.5-07        | Zone 05 |       |
| 4.9-5.4                | Zone 06 | 5.2-5.7            | Zone 06 | 5.5-06        | Zone 06 |       |
| 4 -4.5                 | Zone 07 | 4.3-4.8            | Zone 07 | 4.5-05        | Zone 07 |       |

The following table shows that there is a clear disparity in wages between the three workers and even within each employment there is a difference in wages, as employment is divided into 07 regions, and the difference in wages within each employment is due to the distance, whether it is far from the labor capital or close if the area is close to the labor capital, it inevitably contains factories and the movement of labor is fast, unlike remote areas, they are few factories and depend primarily

on agricultural work, and the union coverage is weak, so it can This point is exploited by employers in the process of reducing wages.

As we explained earlier, the Algerian worker found himself facing a dead end between low wages compared to working hours and a terrible rise in the prices of goods and foodstuffs.

The Communists exploited this point in their struggle outside the walls of the General Confederation of Labour, demanding an improvement in the standard of living of the most disadvantaged masses, as well as demanding the confiscation of the lands and property of the large investors who collaborated with the Vichy regime.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to the high cost of living, the local production of wheat was destined for the Axis countries Germany-France-Italy due to the requirements of World War II, and the French administration forced the Algerian farmers to deliver the annual crop completely.<sup>30</sup>

This led to the rationing of consumption, and the method of distribution by quotas included rare materials such as coffee, oil, and soap that were not distributed regularly, and Algerian cafes monitored a percentage of this substance by 750 grams for 120 cups.<sup>31</sup>

It also legalized the most important material, which is flour or bread, so that every Algerian was entitled to 250 grams of bread per day, but the distribution was obstructed, after the price of wheat became 10,000 francs per train instead of 04,000 francs, and the price of barley doubled to 5,000 francs per quintal instead of 2.5,000, this was reflected in the Algerian share of barley, which in turn decreased to 4,500 grams after it was 7,500 grams per month, and this article is not always distributed.<sup>32</sup>The following table shows food prices for this period:<sup>33</sup>

| Pricing  | Materials         |
|--|-------------------|
| (official price <b>26.25</b> francs) sold between <b>150-175</b> francs. | 1-liter oil       |
| Between <b>150</b> to <b>300</b> French francs.                          | 1 kg of red meat  |
| <b>80</b> French francs.   | 1 kg of potatoes; |
| <b>15</b> French francs.   | Eggs (one bean)   |

This policy led to the spread of famine between 1942 and 1943, and Abu Qasim Saad Allah described the French Dr. J. Thomas, who dealt with the situation of Algerians during the Second World War: " **I have lived in a city Algeria for a long time, and I have seen teams of children in worn-out hills, reaping their daily living from the age of five, selling newspapers, wiping shoes, and I have seen tin nests in the neighborhoods Arabic places that are considered a shame for civilization, and while harvesting I met farm workers walking hundreds of miles in search of work, sleeping at night in the pits and feeding a few dates or grapes.**"<sup>34</sup>

As an analysis of this statement, the situation reached by the Algerians was caused by the policy of the French administration, which was not enough by the exceptional laws<sup>35</sup> of the law of the people and compulsory conscription and other injunctive laws, followed other ways to impoverish the Algerian people, which is the confiscation of the lands of the Algerians and their forced displacement, as well as the use of foreign labor (Moroccan labor) in the harvest seasons and the harvest of grapes and pushing the people to unemployment, and even small farmers the French administration seized their crops in a way, this is what reflected negatively on society, and the people could not resist, and here I mean resisting hunger so that the situation reached them to eat unfit plants, which led to the emergence of diseases and complications at the level of the digestive system, respiratory and skin.

The French administration intervened and made some reforms that are considered ashes in the eyes as a whole, and set the prices of foodstuffs, where the materials of semolina and flour do not exceed 307 French francs and 296.5 francs per quintal, and fought random traders, and issued a decision in 1940 that no one may engage in the craft of selling vegetables in the streets without a license, and allocated a committee to control prices, but this same committee needed to monitor so that it became the double standards of Muslim merchants and tighten the noose on them and turn a blind eye to the centenarians.<sup>36</sup>

As a legitimate reaction, many protests and labor strikes appeared, but this time it was not framed by a union led by agricultural workers and construction workers, and tobacco workers dominated the protest movement in the area of Mitija, Annaba, Chlef and Wadi al-Fadda, workers' demands revolved around the point of raising wages and preventing the flow of foreign labor, and slogans calling for freedom were raised in the Azafoun strikes in October 1940, and the French administration faced these movements with repression, for example, the dockers' strike in the Skikda region in 1942, the strikers were dismissed and replaced by workers Renew and arrest the leaders.<sup>37</sup>

Regarding trade union activity, after the dissolution of the unions in 1942, the General Confederation of Labor lost its mass class in Algeria and also lost its importance, so that membership fell sharply and some unions became a structure only (such as the Union of metals, construction, tobacco, and port workers), in addition to the fact that most Algerian workers no longer show interest in work and union organization, and this is shown by the Trade Union Federation of the Province of Algeria after its human population was 40,000 in 1937, it now includes only 4,000 members at the beginning of 1941.

As for the Union of Constantine, it had only hundreds of members during the Vichy rule, but after the demise of the regime, this number rose to 50,000 in early 1945.

In the prefecture of Oran, it was similar, with the number of members dropping from 25,000 to 1,500 in 1942.<sup>38</sup>

The year 1944 carried many developments, including the orders of March 07, 1944, signed by Charles de Gaulle, which were reforms regarding the Muslim people, under this order the Algerians finally got rid of the restrictions of the law of the people and they enjoy the same rights as the French, the first and second articles of the law summarize this:

**Article 01:** French Muslims in Algeria enjoy all rights and are subject to all the duties of French non-Muslims. All civil and military functions are at their disposal.

**Article 02:** The law shall apply without discrimination to French Muslims and French non-Muslims. All exceptional provisions applicable to Muslims of France are hereby repealed.<sup>39</sup>

Perhaps the downside of the order is that it did not grant citizenship to all Algerians, but only to a certain category (former officers, holders of primary-secondary-higher education degrees, civil servants, members of chambers of commerce, Aghawat and Pasha Ga, holders of the Legion of Honor or the Order of Resistance, holders of the Labour Medal). But the positive thing is getting rid of the restriction of the parents' law, which prevented Algerians from holding political and union positions, as by embodying this matter, Muslim families who have the right to French citizenship have the right to establish and join trade unions without any hindrance, perhaps this point gave a strong motivation and a future vision for an independent Algerian trade union.

Under the Treaty of Perroux, which revived the trade union movement in the Metropole and the colony and ordered it on March 7, 1944, which authorized the Algerian Muslims to engage, manage, and establish unions, the number of members in the province of Oran increased from 16 thousand in 1943 to 55 thousand members in 1945, and the agricultural unions that provided the General Confederation of Labor with 25 thousand members were resurrected, but at the level of the province of Constantine, the number of members rose to 50 thousand members, and statistics confirmed that the majority of Those who belong to the CNT are Algerians (railway workers, cork workers and port workers).<sup>40</sup>

The province of Algeria was not isolated from this development in trade union affairs, with the number of members in 1945 reaching 92,000 members.<sup>41</sup>

### **Conclusion:**

The rule of the Vichy regime (1940–1944) in colonial Algeria constituted a decisive turning point that reshaped the labour and trade union sphere within an authoritarian framework that prioritized political security over social rights, through the dismantling of mechanisms of trade union representation, the weakening of the General Confederation of Labour (CGT), and the exclusion of revolutionary currents, especially the communists. This was accompanied by legislation that intensified exploitation, extended working hours, and reduced workers' bargaining power, amid a

broad deterioration in living conditions caused by the war economy, rationing, rising prices, and the resulting famines and social vulnerability.

Despite repression and its corollaries—dismissals and the forced replacement of workers—protests and strikes with both socio-economic and national dimensions continued, while dynamics of resistance and the reconstitution of trade union unity in the metropole kept the "trade union idea" alive and opened new horizons as the balance of the war shifted. Post-1944 reforms signalled a relative opening for the participation of indigenous Algerians in trade union activity, confirming that the repression of unions did not put an end to labour activism but rather pushed it towards more politicized forms that linked the demand for a decent standard of living with the struggle against colonialism, and paved the way for the emergence of a more autonomous Algerian trade union consciousness in the final years of the war and beyond.

### Endnotes:

<sup>1</sup> Marc Olivier Baruch, *The Vichy Regime 1940–1944*, Tallandier Publishers, Paris, 2017, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *He is a university professor at Harvard University, born in 1928 in Vienna. He studied at the Institute of Political Studies (Sciences Po) in Paris and graduated from it. He has taught at Harvard University since 1955, and became director of the Harvard Center for European Studies upon its creation in 1969. He is the author of many works, including: American Foreign Policy Since the Cold War (1978), Duties Beyond Borders (1981), and The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention: The Troublesome World (1998). See: Center for European Studies Communications, "Stanley Hoffmann, Harvard Professor and Scholar," no. 86, 05/09/2021, 20:14. [www.scholar.harvard.edu/St StanleyHoffmann/biocv](http://www.scholar.harvard.edu/St StanleyHoffmann/biocv).*

<sup>3</sup> Henri Michel, *Vichy, the Year 1940*, Robert Laffont, Place Saint-Sulpice, Paris, 1966, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Philippe Pétain was born on 24 April 1856 into a farming family in northern France. After obtaining his secondary school diploma, he entered the Saint-Cyr Military Academy and graduated in 1878 with the rank of second lieutenant. He rose through the ranks until he reached the rank of general on the eve of the First World War. His reputation spread after his victory in the Battle of Verdun in 1916. In 1931 he was appointed Inspector General of the Army, then Inspector of Air Defence in 1934, and he later assumed the leadership of France from 1940, heading the Vichy regime. See:*

Charles Williams, *Pétain*, Little, Brown and Company, United States, 2005, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Ammar Rakhila, *8 May 1945: The Decisive Turning Point in the Course of the National Movement*, University Publications Office, Algiers, 1945, pp. 17–18.

- <sup>6</sup> Ferhat Abbas, *The Night of Colonialism*, trans. Abu Bakr Rahhal, Dar al-Qasbah for Publishing and Distribution, Algiers, 2005, p. 103.
- <sup>7</sup> Abu al-Qasim Saadallah, *The Algerian National Movement 1930–1945*, vol. 3, previously cited work, p. 178.
- <sup>8</sup> Florence Renucci, “The Debate on the Political Status of Israelites in Algeria and Its Actors, 1870–1943,” seminar contribution on colonial administrations, 2009–2010, Paris, France, pp. 11–12.
- <sup>9</sup> Yves Aouat, “The Place of Algeria in Vichy’s Anti-Jewish Project (October 1940–November 1942),” *French Review of Overseas History*, vol. 80, no. 301, 1993, p. 601.
- <sup>10</sup> (*Liberty*), 15/11/1942, p. 1.
- <sup>11</sup> Abd al-Hafid Qenan, *The Emergence and Development of the Labour Movement in Algeria 1914–1962*, doctoral thesis in the Social History of Algeria, Sétif, Algeria, 2020–2021, p. 194.
- <sup>12</sup> Nora Benallegue, *Algeria: Labour Movement and the National Question 1919–1954*, op. cit., p. 232.
- <sup>13</sup> Jean-Louis Robert, “The Transformation of French Trade Unionism in the Crucible of War,” *Social Movement*, no. 158, 1992, p. 5.
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