

UNR's opportunity to consolidate its political base:
The case study of the 1963 Franco-Tunisian Labour convention

Romain Alexandre Lepla

Supervisor: Prof.Dr. M.L.J.C. (Marlou) Schrover

Second Reader: Dr. M.P. (Marion) Pluskota

Master thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities
to obtain the degree of Governance of Migration and Diversity (MA History)
Academic years 2020–2021



Sadok Mokeddem and François Leduc in Paris; 10 of August 1963 after the signing of the labour convention

Wordcount: 17,161 excluding references

Leiden University (Department of History) – Master Thesis

Romain Alexandre Lepla, s1823620

June 2021

Abstract:

Seasonal migration between France and Tunisia was established in 1963 and continues to expand to this day. It has found a resurgence in the European Union funded schemes in the last few years, the political appetite for cyclical, seasonal migration increasing. This thesis delves into the reasons that led France and Tunisia to establish, through a bilateral labour convention, one of the longest running seasonal migration schemes. It argues that this was rendered possible through the convergence of multiple socio-political factors thus creating what Kingdon, a political scientist, called a policy window. This policy window was correctly utilised by UNR government decision-makers for their political gain. The factors that led up to this policy window are a mixture of internal and external issues. At home, the newly founded UNR party needed stability after the Algerian incident, it looked to Tunisia to bring unanimity and silence opposition within its party. This can be demonstrated by the renewed summit and diplomatic efforts between France and Tunisia after the 1961 Bizerte Crisis. In addition, within the political arena, it continued to need more political support for its ambitious modernisation strategies. It thus catered to the CNIP, another prominent right-wing agricultural party within the national assembly. In 1962, with an increased problematisation of agricultural harvests, labour shortages and labour migration, the UNR cunningly merged both issues, thus bringing forward a succession of bilateral labour deals between France and Tunisia resulting in the 1963 labour convention, the cornerstone of all current OFII seasonal schemes. This ensured that France reinforced its international stance in Europe and with its Mediterranean neighbours while simultaneously catering to its agricultural voter base, thus perfectly balancing its internal voter base while expanding externally.

Abbreviations:

ANAEM : The National Agency for the Reception of Foreigners and Migration/L'Agence nationale de l'accueil des étrangers et des migrations

BAC : Common agricultural Office

CAP : Common Agricultural Policy/Politique agricole commune

CGB : General Confederation of Sugar Beet Growers/Confédération générale des producteurs de betteraves sucrières

CNIP : National Centre of Independents and Peasants/Centre National des Indépendants Paysans

CODETRAS : Defence Collective of seasonal agricultural workers/Défense collective des travailleurs agricoles saisonniers

FMO : Professional Agricultural Federation for Seasonal Workforce/Fédération professionnelle agricole pour la main-d'œuvre saisonnière

FNSEA : National Federation of Farmers' Unions/Fédération nationale des syndicats d'exploitants agricoles

NATO : North Atlantic Treaty Organisation/Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique Nord

OFFI : French Office for Immigration and Integration/Office français de l'immigration et de l'intégration

OMI : Office of International migrations/Office des Migrations internationales

ONI : National Office of Migrations/Office Nationaux des Migrations

SFIO : French Section of the Workers/Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière

UNR : Union for the New Republic/Union pour la Nouvelle République

1- Introduction	5
1.1 Reasons for investigating Franco-Tunisian seasonal labour schemes in the Fields of Agriculture:	5
Relevance and research question:	5
1.2 Theory	6
Hypothesising influential factors leading to the drafting of the labour convention	6
Theoretical approach:	7
Background Information to This Case Study	9
Applying the Theory to This Case Study	9
1.3 Historiography	12
1.4 Material and Method	15
2- Context precluding to the OFII Franco-Tunisian seasonal Migration schemes	17
Acceleration in evolving patterns of Migration during the first half of the 20th century	17
3. The various factors leading to the 1963 seasonal migration scheme	19
A/ Problem stream:	20
1/ Foreign workers	20
2/ Hardships in the agricultural sector	23
3) Tensions with Tunisia	26
B/ Policy Stream	28
The Ministry of the Army's refusal to use troops to help with labour shortages	28
A/ The Common Agricultural policy, the cornerstone to reforming agriculture and its incorporation into the Social Security System	30
B/ Push from the policy-makers to find new seasonal labour recruitment basins	34
Selective immigration, A preference for Tunisian and Moroccan workers	35
C/ Political stream	39
A/ UNR looks to consolidate its internal base after the Algerian back stack: looks to Tunisia to restore relations, opportunity for talks are perfect	41
Tunisia Trying to Assert Its Position on the Geopolitical Arena	41
Opportunity for Talks	43
B/ Keep Coalition by supporting Agriculture	45
4.Conclusion	49

1- Introduction

1.1 Reasons for investigating Franco-Tunisian seasonal labour schemes in the Fields of Agriculture:

Using the case study of the Franco Tunisian seasonal labour scheme put in place since the 1960s by the French Office on Immigration and Integration, this thesis strives to better understand and comprehend the underlying factors, be it socio-economic, political or economic that led to the elaboration of the 1963 Labour Convention Scheme.

Relevance and research question:

This thesis delves into the often overlooked history of Tunisian seasonal migration in the field of agriculture in France. Coordinated by the French Office on Immigration and Integration (OFII), these circular migration modules historically known as ONI contracts (ONI was the predecessor of OFII) were established with Tunisia in the early 1960s. To this day, it is one of the longest running seasonal labour schemes, along with those established by Canadian and United States government. They are a leftover of the guest worker programmes in many Western countries dating from the post-war. If many of these guest worker programmes disappeared in the 1980s after the first oil crisis in the 1970s, the OFII seasonal migration scheme persisted since its creation in 1963. In the 2000s, aligning with the new objectives of the European Union, these schemes were progressively reinstated, portrayed as a new innovative approach bringing forward a triple win scenario, for the country of destination, origin and the migrant. The focus of this thesis will revolve around the political climate that enabled the introduction of the workforce agreement between France and Tunisia established on the 9th of August 1963.

The goal of this paper is to analyse how these various legislative improvements were made possible against increasing polarising opinions regarding labour migration in France in the 1960s and a decolonisation period. This thesis will mostly draw on National Assembly papers, the press, legal texts and political party campaign leaflets. These demonstrate the discourse and ideological stances of political parties in the 1960s, specifically from the most prominent ones: the UNR and CNIP. The time frame will be set from 1958, coinciding with the start of the French Fifth Republic to 1967, the end of the 2nd legislature. This will enable us to analyse the introduction of the 1963 workforce agreement and the internal, external political events that led to these various decisions. This research aims to respond to the following thesis question:

Why did socio-economic and political factors play an influential role in enabling French decision makers to push for legislative improvements, specifically in the series of labour migration bilateral conventions deals between France and Tunisia in the summer of 1963?

1.2 Theory

Hypothesising influential factors leading to the drafting of the labour convention

This thesis aims to comprehend the actors and reasons behind the legislative developments pertaining to the Franco-Tunisian scheme in 1963. In addition, I have hypothesised that there are several factors that may have had a significant impact on the timing and drafting of this labour convention.

The first two factors relate to the economic supply and demand imperatives. After the Second World War, heavy economic reconstruction and industrialisation in France and other western countries gave rise to the need for exponential labour from abroad as French workers did not suffice. This was a recurring rhetoric amongst employers where extra indispensable foreign workers were needed. Otherwise, they argued they would have to be reallocated to other countries. In correlation to this, since the standard of living gradually increased through the glorious thirties¹, the willingness of French youth to work in the fields in summer disappeared. The youth began to increasingly attend higher education in turn enjoying higher salaries along with more paid holidays. This facet is mentioned in a 2001 report entitled: “Immigration, Employment and unemployment; an empirical and theoretical review”².

The next two factors I believe could have an impact on the labour convention are, firstly the ethnographic mindset that many policy makers still possessed when introducing this scheme. This means that they maintained outdated or incorrect preconceptions on Tunisian workers. For instance, erroneous ideas such as the belief that Tunisian workers were particularly skilled in the handling of strawberries or olive oil and were therefore recruited on this basis. These ethnic preconceptions can then lead to the creation of ethnic and gender niches and thus segregation in the labour force market, as documented in 2007 by Schrover, Van der Leun, Quispel in their article: Niches, Labour Market Segregation, Ethnicity and Gender.³ This fits into the second factor: the post-colonial geopolitical context. The three newly independent North African countries: Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco were looking to form new alliances and carve themselves a space on the world stage. This could have influenced French and Tunisians decision makers to come together and sign a multitude of bilateral conventions with labour being a major part of it.

Connected to the geopolitical context, is the situation of the newly formed UNR party, the Union for the New Republic which I believe is a crucial factor. The party finds itself in an unstable situation due to its internal party disputes regarding the independence of Algeria that was announced by French President de Gaulle in 1962. The instability of the party was discussed in detail by Collovald in 1990 in her article: “Politics of loyalty. The

¹ Trentes glorieuses

² C. Borrel, *Immigration, Emploi et Chômage, Un état des lieux empirique et théorique* (CERC-association 1999)

³ Schrover, Prof. Marlou., Leun, P. Joanne. van der, & Quispel, P. Chris. ‘Niches, Labour Market Segregation, Ethnicity and Gender’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(4), 529–540. (2007)

construction of the UNR parliamentary group⁴.” Indeed, many within De Gaulle’s party considered his decision to give Algeria its independence, a backstab to the Pied Noir⁵, those who believed Algeria should remain French. Beyond this domestic debate, on the international stage, de Gaulle’s UNR party desperately needed to rebuild relations with its Mediterranean neighbouring countries. In addition, these were also the years in which France decided to leave the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. As a result of this decision, the nation found itself weakened without forming necessary alliances with its European neighbours. Thus, France looked to strengthen the position of Europe and hoped to lead the European Community, through bolstered Franco-German relations. This was visibly made clear through the launching of the common agricultural policy in 1962, an effort to work towards deeper intra-European cooperation while also bolstering agricultural electoral support which would reveal itself to be instrumental for the UNR’s right-wing coalition stability. This was discussed by Thirion in 1987, in an article entitled: “General de Gaulle's decision to temporarily suspend French participation in the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community”⁶.

Theoretical approach:

John W. Kingdon’s political science theory will provide the theoretical framework for analysing and explaining these changes. His model for agenda setting utilises three distinct streams: the problem stream, the policy stream and the political stream⁷. He argues that when these three streams properly overlap, this creates a policy window to push forward one’s agenda. He demonstrates his theory using the quote from a lobbyist he interviewed that says:

‘As I see it, people who are trying to advocate change are like surfers waiting for the big wave. You go out there, you have to be ready to go, you have to be ready to paddle. If you are not ready to paddle when the big wave comes along, you are not going to ride it in.’⁸

Kingdon argues that policy-makers do not draft a solution in response to a problem but instead, come up with their own solution. Once an issue that matches their solution arises, they push for their solution. This is when the problem stream and policy stream align. Furthermore, these changes can be made easier or harder by

⁴ A. Collovald, *Une politique de la fidélité. La construction du groupe parlementaire UNR* (Politix 1990)

⁵ Historically, these were the descendants of Colonisers who believed Algeria should remain a French *Departement*

⁶ I. Thirion, *La décision du général de Gaulle de suspendre provisoirement la participation française au Conseil des ministres de la Communauté économique européenne (1^{er} juillet 1965)*; (*Relations Internationales*, 49, 1987) 95–113

⁷ Kingdon, John W, ‘A Model of Agenda-Setting, with Applications’. *Law Review of Michigan State University Detroit College of Law*, vol. 2001, no. 2, (2001), p. 331

⁸ Ibid p 337

the political stream, especially when there is a change of administration or in the country's national assembly for instance.⁹ Nonetheless, if these three streams interact and find themselves to correlate, they remain distinct and are subject to their own rules.¹⁰

Furthermore, this theory gives credit to the social constructivist school of thought by paying attention to the importance of narratives.¹¹ Scholars explain that there are no objective conditions to an issue, it is always through the framing of the issue that the problem will be given a greater or lesser weight. It is thus up to the various stakeholders in the political arena (lobbyist, policy-makers, political parties, unions, etc.) to frame the problems in order to fit to their political agenda: *'The framing of the issue makes all the difference'*¹² *'So framing an issue is really critical'*.¹³

This theoretical lens particularly fits this thesis's aim as it also recognises the limitations of this theory over practice in some fields: *'the importance of picking the right target, and not picking it on theoretical grounds, but on political grounds'*.¹⁴ In his article, Kingdon goes on to apply his model to the deregulation of the aviation and trucking industry in the United States. He explains that although it made more sense to simplify the entry into markets of a semi cabin truck than a 727 aeroplane, the latter was the first one tackled as actors from the aviation industry were already more open to deregulation as opposed to the formidable opposition that the truck unions posed to the policy-makers¹⁵. Once the aviation industry had been deregulated, it became increasingly easier to then deregulate the truck industry before moving on to other domains. This is referred to by Kingdon as the spillover effect. Here, the spillover effect links the three streams and builds on to the successful political window: the problem stream for deregulation entered in the mainstream field, the policy problem stream saw that similar techniques could be used to deregulate other sectors and from the political problem perspective, politicians saw that there were clear political gains from applying this method.¹⁶

Lastly, the scholar defends that there is no incremental change. He explains that there is a lot of inertia when it comes to policy making. Yet, once the three streams correlate, they can overcome this inertia to leave space for sweeping historical changes that come in a sudden wave until the effect loses its momentum. With the theoretical lens of the thesis explained, it is now essential to apply Kingdon's theory to the thesis. Yet, prior to this, some preliminary information regarding France's political system is necessary to better understand decision-making dynamics.

⁹ Kingdon, John W, 'A Model of Agenda-Setting, with Applications'. *Law Review of Michigan State University Detroit College of Law*, vol. 2001, no. 2, (2001), Ibid p 332

¹⁰ Ibid p 332

¹¹ Ibid p332-333

¹² Ibid p 333

¹³ Ibid p 333

¹⁴ Ibid p 336

¹⁵ Ibid p 334

¹⁶ Ibid p 335

Background Information to This Case Study

To comprehend the actors or events that enabled policy-makers to pass the 1963 France – Tunisia seasonal migration agreement, it is essential to identify the three streams that led to a policy window for the legislation. As a prerequisite to understanding the socio-economic landscape and political environment, a handful of key stakeholders need to be identified.

France, as a unitary state, has a clear chain of command, linking different levels of government. There is a clear distinction between the national, Paris-based policy-making level and the delegation of these tasks to the regional, lower-level bodies. Furthermore, since all policy changes will take place after the 4th of October 1958, this thesis will be an analysis of the decision-making process leading up to the presidential system under the Fifth Republic. This has clear repercussions when applied to the Kingdon's stream model, as this gives a much stronger weight to the political stream. An administration change that follows a political election often leads to a policy window if combined properly with the problem and policy stream. Nonetheless, the presidential system in France does not need the majority support of the legislative to rule. Furthermore, contrary to a parliamentary system, the ruling party does not need to maintain a coalition with other ruling parties, thus removing the threat from one of its multiple voter bases.

Applying the Theory to This Case Study

In his work, the scholar Howlett identifies the relevant stakeholders into separate groups. The following is my application of his actors in the 1960 French context:

A. Elected Politicians

This is the strongest of all domestic policy actors due to its extensive access to information sources. Moreover, it has the possibility of shaping the narrative over information in order to make it fit its own agenda while deliberately bolstering information that can weaken its opponent.¹⁷ Divided into the executive and legislative branches, the former has access to bureaucratic means in order to carry out its objectives. Through the resources they exert, they can easily influence mass media, businesses, non-governmental organisations and interest groups.¹⁸ Lastly, since their position allows them to set the agenda, they are able to: '*Control the timing of the introduction and passage of laws in the legislature.*'.¹⁹ Nonetheless, if Bakvis and Howlett provide a relevant

¹⁷ Michael Howlett, 'Policy Design: What, Who, How and Why?'. *Simon Fraser University* (2014)p 69

¹⁸ (Ibid)

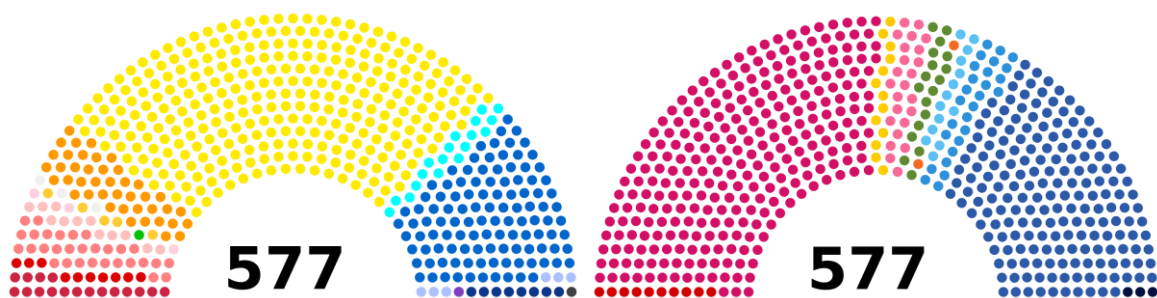
¹⁹ S. Schneider, 'Parliamentary Government in Canada: Institutional Stability and Constitutional Reform in the Legislative and Executive Branches'. In R.-O. Schultze & R. Sturm (Eds.), *The Politics of Constitutional Reform in North America: Coping with New Challenges (2000)* (pp. 83–116). retrieved from Michael Howlett, 'Policy Design: What, Who, How and Why?'. *Simon Fraser University* (2014)

framework for determining stakeholders, Kingdon's stream is more relevant to uncovering the dynamics of how certain policy decisions come into place through his three streams.

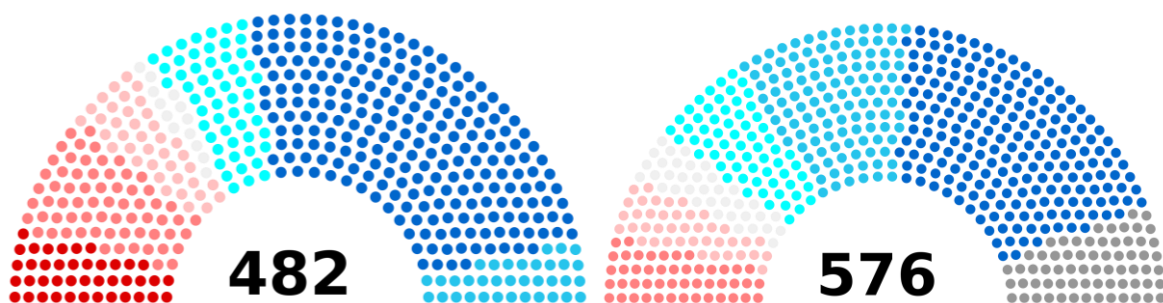
However, in the French political system, the executive branch of this domestic policy actor is often torn between needing to maintain their electoral base's support or pushing forward their political agenda according to Kingdon. Following both imperatives is often impossible.

On the legislative side, their role is to publicise government actions, holding them accountable to their constituents.²⁰ Since they are the main body in charge of prioritising which societal problems gain the most attention, they have the power of framing the problem stream, giving them an influential role in determining the implementation of the next policy. France is a parliamentary dualist regime: *'Most laws are proposed by the executive and more often than not subsequently adopted by the legislature'*.²¹ If Kingdon's stream framework is applied, it will mean that the elected politicians will be the most influential actors. This is especially true as they control the political and policy stream and to a certain extent, the problem stream.

To better visualise the executive strength of the French government and to illustrate the power they exert, I chose the previous two elections of 2017 and 2012 as well as the 1958 and 1962 elections that relate to my thesis time frame. The election results clearly show that the elected politicians from the ruling party have complete control over the legislative and executive branch through their majorities.



27/06/ 2017 Results, la République en Marche (In yellow has 308 seats win 53.38%)/17 /06/ 2012 Results, Socialist Party (In light red has 280 seats win 48.53%), graphs retrieved from Wikipedia



²⁰ Michael Howlett, 'Policy Design: What, Who, How and Why?'. *Simon Fraser University* (2014)p70

²¹ Ibid

25/11/1962, Union for the New Republic (in Blue has 233 seats win 40.36%)/ 30/11/1958, Union for the New republic (in Blue won 189 seats so26.4%)

B. Political parties

Although the extent of their influence is debated by scholars: The impact of Political parties on policy outcomes has been the subject of much empirical research and commentary's.²² However, they remain influential as they make up the bulk of the executive and legislative branches of government. They are able to influence the public opinion but they are also compelled to evolve around societal problems brought upon by this same actor, the public opinion and the media. As explained by Howlett: *'When parties do manage to raise an issue and move it from the public to the official agenda, they cannot control its evolution past that point.'*²³ With the evolution of migration as a subject from low to high politics since the 1990s, the securitising trends exerted in the migration field hindered the leeway on the migration discourse. This has obvious ramifications on the decision maker's policy agenda as they are afraid of losing political votes. I am curious to see if these dynamics have already impacted the UNR's decision-making process in the 1960s.

C. Mass media and the Public

This actor is made up of two separate, domestic policy actors that are merged into one for the sake of simplicity. The justification is that since the public does not have a direct input in the decision-making processes, they have to go through elected representatives. However, the public has a direct say during the elections when they vote for an election package.²⁴ In addition, their legislative representatives have little power in influencing the political agenda which is monopolised by the executive as expressed in the section above. On the other hand, mass media can speak to the public and utilise it for its own gain. It has a crucial role in shaping the narrative, thus making it out to be one of the most indirect policy actors.²⁵ They are able to change the tide regarding what a society considers as an important problem which in turn could result in a shift in the political landscape and help close or open policy windows: *'News organisations are gatekeepers in the sense that they define what is worthy of reporting [...].'*²⁶

²² Michael Howlett, 'Policy Design: What, Who, How and Why?'. *Simon Fraser University* (2014)p76

²³ Ibid p76

²⁴ Ibid p72

²⁵ Ibid p83

²⁶ Ibid

D. Interest Groups

A loose definition of an interest group is an organised group that advocates for economic interests or social values.²⁷ If their impact and influence vary in correlation to their size and financial availability, all interest groups exert a strong expertise in their specific field. Decision makers are constantly jumping back and forth on various topics indicating that they are not well versed on the topic. This works to the advantage of the interest groups as they can influence and shape the policy to match their goal by tailoring the information handed out to the policy-makers. This thesis looks primarily at the actions of the biggest agricultural unions, the FNSEA (National Federation of Farmers' Unions). Although it is true that there are multiple agricultural interests groups such as the General Confederation of Sugar Beet Growers (CGB), the Professional Agricultural Federation for Seasonal Workforce (FMO) as well as worker unions like CODETRAS (Defense Collective of seasonal agricultural workers), the FNSEA has historically represented the largest, united voice for farmers. They have interacted directly with the government, thus demonstrating the strongest lobbying power for the agricultural interest groups. These have an important role in changing the narrative and influencing the decision makers towards a political spectrum that works in their favour.

1.3 Historiography

The widespread historiographical debate relies upon two relevant fields: research in the field of seasonal migration regarding agriculture and the efficiency of the triple-win scenario.

Studies in seasonal migration pertaining to the field of agriculture have long represented a paradox. As identified by Alain Morice and Bénédicte Michalon²⁸, there is a clear gap between interest in the rural world, demonstrated by an abundance of literature and the lack of studies regarding the rural worker.²⁹ This was worsened by the gradual replacement of French agricultural employees with migrants coming from increasingly distant locations. They argued that the migrant is often sidelined from the social science field in the late 20th century as they are seen to be a temporary actor.³⁰

Here we find an interesting overlap between two historically ostracised fields from academia. Combine these two together and you will find an often overlooked field.

²⁷ Walker J. Lawrence, & Taylor H. John, 'Family interactions and the development of moral reasoning', *Child Development, Volume 62, issue 2* (1991) 264-283 retrieved from Michael Howlett, 'Policy Design: What, Who, How and Why?'. *Simon Fraser University* (2014) p 78

²⁸ Morice Alain & Bénédicte Michalon, ' Les Migrants dans L'agriculture : Vers Une Crise de main-d'œuvre?', *Etudes Rurales n182* (2008)

²⁹ Morice Alain & Bénédicte Michalon, ' Les Migrants dans L'agriculture : Vers Une Crise de main-d'œuvre?', *Etudes Rurales n182* (2008) p9

³⁰ Ibid

Around the 1960s, we see an emergence of scholars on the subject of seasonal migration. Although by then, there were already multiple foreign migrants in France, these studies seem to focus on intra-regional migration by nationals such as the work by Le Bihan³¹ (1963) which focuses on the case of *Breton* seasonal migrants. These studies are influenced by similar works in the United States, such as articles by Shultis³² (1961) and Metzler and Sargent³³ (1961) on seasonal farm labour in California. It is interesting to note that these three investigations do not represent subsequent reports but instead, consisted of short notes: *'It is therefore simply a small piece of exploratory work that could facilitate the implementation of a more ambitious research programme'*.³⁴ We have to wait for more than a decade to see the first extensive compilation of social science studies in the field of seasonal migrations in France in 1978, edited by Fauvel³⁵. In an extensive 1213 pages, they retrace the seasonal migration in France from 1800 to 1914. Nonetheless, here again, these studies mostly draw upon the experiences of seasonal migration from within France or neighbouring countries such as Italy, Spain and Belgium.

Towards the early 1980s, we see the emergence of Jean-Pierre Berlan, who through his works, demonstrates a heightened interest in European and international migration studies (*Agriculture and Migrations*, 1986), rural economy (*Problems of French 'Mediterranean Agriculture': A Specific Labour Market*, 1983), rural studies (*Dynamic Integration in provençal Agriculture*, 1994). Nonetheless, his most significant contribution is when he coined the term 'Californisation of agriculture'.³⁶ This refers to the Californisation of French agriculture since the turn of this century. By this, he means that a region can either specialise in one or two crops. During the harvesting season, they need to be able to gather enormous quantities of crops within a very short period of time but the local population is by definition 'not enough'.³⁷ Employers are thus inclined to import huge volumes of foreign labour in a short period of time. In doing so, it operates a local alternative to the offshoring process, by bringing cheap labour to the country instead of the opposite. Since the production unit cannot be moved abroad for cheaper labour costs, cheaper manpower is sent to French exploitations.³⁸

³¹ Le Bihan Joseph, 'Notes sur les migrations saisonnières de travail en provenance de Bretagne.' *Économie rurale*, 57(1), (1963) 41–60

³² Shultis, Arthur 'The seasonal farm labor situation in Santa Clara county in 1959 and 1960', University of California, *The foundation: Station* (1961)

³³ Sargent, Frederic, O., Metzler, William H. 'Incomes of Migratory Agricultural Workers.', *Texas Agricultural Experiment Station*, (1960)

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Fauvel, Daniel 'Abel Châtelain, Les migrants temporaires en France de 1800 à 1914', *Annales de démographie Historique, Volume 1978* (1978) 449-454

³⁶ Berlan Jean Pierre, 'Agriculture et migrations'. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 2(3), (1986) 9–32.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Décosse Frédéric, 'Migrations sous contrôle. Agriculture intensive et saisonniers Marocains sous contrat OMI', *Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales* (2011)p 127

To address Tunisian or North African seasonal migration to France explicitly, we need to wait for the end of the 20th century to see a regained interest in the subject with a correlation drawn between the global market and Southern French seasonal migration. Messina, in her multiple works (2005,2006,2008 and 2011), specifically focuses on the OFII contracts, referred to as OMI contracts. Most of her works delved around the connections between North African seasonal migration through OFII in Southern Europe and their fragmentations. This is similar to the work of Morice who delved into OFII contracts³⁹ and illegal migrations (Morice,2008;2006).

In the last two decades, the work of Frédéric Décosse has proven particularly insightful as he has published an extensive amount of work on the French OFII seasonal schemes. Concerns on this matter were attributed to the militant activities exerted by CODETRAS (Defense Collective of seasonal agricultural workers). Their actions in the Bouches-du-Rhône had led to research funding by the National Agency for Research in France. To this day, Décosse has published 11 papers on this matter. This includes the subject of labour migrant mobility control (Décosse, 2011, 2020), externalisation (Décosse, 2013,2020), seasonal workers' struggles and agency (Décosse 2013) and their health (2008). If his work alongside other scholars have significantly reduced the historical gap in literature on the subject of seasonal migration in France, the institutionalist perspective remains absent from the conversation. The scholars do not examine in depth the reasons that led an administration to start or end a migration policy. The aim of this thesis is to have a new angle on migration studies in relation to seasonal migration in France in the field of agriculture. The objective is to contribute to the current academic debate by providing valuable insights on how the political and policy space interact on this highly politicised subject. By choosing a historic example (1963) over more recent examples (2007 and 2008), I hope to better comprehend the various socio-political factors that lead to policy windows and legislative changes.

Thus, as discussed above, many studies on this topic focus on the different historic groups of migrants who came to France to work in the fields. They often studied the working conditions on which these seasonal workers were subjected to as well as providing us with a detailed account of how the immigration office procedure worked from the initial selection process in the home country to the migrant's arrival in the destination/host country. In this thesis, I believe that by including a more explicit governance angle, as well as demonstrating the role of policy-makers in parliament and the media, I can help paint a more wholesome picture of the complex inner national dynamics so as to better understand the choices made by the coherence policy-makers. By doing so, I hope to gain a better insight on the dynamics and pressures governing policy making, enabling us to better control them in the future.

³⁹ Morice Alain & Bénédicte Michalon, ' Les Migrants dans L'agriculture : Vers Une Crise de main-d'œuvre?', *Etudes Rurales n182* (2008)

1.4 Material and Method

To unravel how the 1963 workforce agreement came about, I decided to bring together primary and secondary literature by dividing them into three separate streams: problem, policy and political. I thought it would be beneficial for the sake of clarity to divide my Thesis along these three political streams along primary and secondary sources as both help to uncover vital information about the various stakeholders and their actions. Separating them would lead to lacking information or gaps while drafting the thesis.

The primary source for the problem stream comes predominantly from influential newspapers and focuses foremost on mass media and public stakeholder issues. This includes the French newspaper, *Le Monde* and *Le Monde Diplomatique*. Although their similar names may be misleading, both these newspapers are separate entities and have different journalistic points of view. In terms of political neutrality, *Le Monde Diplomatique* can be seen as striving to be neutral as it prides itself in providing information and to always work as a counterweight to the government in office. Many state officials often chose this newspaper to address a desired audience, this being the case with Tunisian ambassadors in France in the 1960s. As a result, this newspaper was picked for directly lending its voice to the relevant policy-makers.

Le Monde is a more centrist, daily newspaper. In total, I looked through 300 *Le Monde* newspaper articles ranging from 1960 to 1967 and 84 *Le Monde Diplomatique* articles that are published on a monthly basis. As I wanted to cover the two national assembly legislatures, the Michel Debré government and the first Pompidou government, the time span covered for this thesis takes into account seven years of French policy making. Even if the Labour Convention agreement was passed in 1963, it might be interesting to see the previous reasons that led to this environmental change. This is especially true since the convention was halted in 1964 due to diplomatic complications between France and Tunisia. To determine if the articles were relevant to this research, I combined the use of certain keywords such as “Tunisia”, “labour”, “foreign workers”, “immigration”, “discrimination” in French as well as skimming through titles and subjects to determine other extra, relevant sources. Certain influential names were also found in the newspapers or events, and I thus then used these terms or events to further sharpen my research. Through a snowball effect method, I concluded that the expected terminology used to find seasonal Tunisian workers was different than first thought as Tunisians were often referred to as North Africans and were put in the same box as Moroccans. In total, Tunisians were referred to by their nationality in six *Le Monde* articles and eight *Le Monde Diplomatique* articles when the subject was explicitly on Tunisia such as government summits between France and Tunisia. Algerians were also often integrated into this term although due to their particular history with France and the tumultuous events in 1962 leading up to their independence, were also put aside from other North Africans in their depiction.

The policy stream revealed itself to be the most primary resource-rich field, with an extensive amount of digitalised accounts from the French National Assembly and Senate. Beyond the legislation, amendments and voting records, these primary sources are increasingly insightful because they record the questions to the government from members of parliament as well as from heated exchanges. This helps to understand how the political as well as legislative landscape and environment’s decision makers evolved. The relevant national assembly papers were selected through the use of keywords. In French, these words included immigration,

immigrants, Tunisia, Tunisians, assimilation, labour, workforce, OFII, ONI, OMI, ANAEM (these are all distinct names for the Immigration Department in France), agriculture, agricultural, seasonal. Then using a snowball method here too, I determined which leads were worth pursuing to hopefully uncover the motives of various stakeholders. In total, this thesis delved into around 350 National assembly transcripts as well as the legal documents such as Franco-Tunisian treaties in order to see how they were drafted. These ranged from the 1960 to 1966, although again due to the length of each report, I mainly focused on the years 1961, 1962, 1963 and occasionally 1964. Sometimes, my research led me to look at isolated national assembly reports from 1959 or after 1964 when they referred to the convention or themes relating to this subject. During this research process, the Table of Context from each legislature (1962-1967) proved essential in narrowing down on the “when” and “where” on migration or agricultural debates taking place in the assembly. I applied the snowball method to certain parliamentarians or prominent political figures in order to determine their positions on relevant matters relating to immigration and agriculture. Thus if a newspaper or parliamentarian was distinguished for this pronounced engagement or expertise in a certain field, I thus proceeded to delve into their multiple interventions.

The political landscape was determined through a diverse range of primary and secondary sources ranging from the already mentioned newspaper primary sources, political election posters, secondary sources discussing the goals of the government elect and speeches in parliament, senate and public events. Here it was a lot harder to find primary sources due to the confidential nature of party objectives, although secondary literature addressing the legacy of the UNR party helped to verify certain hypotheses.

Limitations:

The current ongoing COVID-19 restrictions have been limiting in determining to what extent I could use subject matter from the archives. First, with regards to the newspapers, the François Mitterand Library that houses an enormous amount of press archives, has undergone a digitalisation of hundreds of different newspaper editions. Nonetheless, these only range from 1847 to 1950. The years that come after are only stored in physical shape within the library. With the ongoing covid restrictions, it was not possible for me to access these. The Le Monde and Le Monde Diplomatique archives were only accessed through a paid subscription from my account. I would have similarly been interested in delving into the French Ministry of Foreign affairs’ archives. Again they would only be available on site which is rendered impossible by the pandemic.

Furthermore, I am conscious that this thesis maintains a French centric approach regarding an agreement that was struck between France and Tunisia. However, I cannot speak Arabic which hinders my ability to understand Tunisian primary sources. I did, however, find some Tunisian primary sources from 1962, 1963 in French, such as the Tunisian Official Journal which illustrates which laws are passed on a weekly basis. Secondary sources and French primary sources that gave interviews to Tunisian government officials, allowed me to get a glimpse from the Tunisian perspective on the labour deal. Nonetheless, I am conscious that the Tunisian perspective will remain underdeveloped in this thesis.

Lastly, women often tend to remain marginalised in the seasonal migration schemes. As Décosse points out, the arrival of seasonal migration contracts coordinated by Government agencies coincides with the

disappearance of women from the labour force.⁴⁰ The appearance of women on a larger scale comes later, once guest worker migration ends officially in July 1974 but family reunification becomes increasingly mediated. As this lies beyond the scope of this thesis, the gender perspective will not be covered in this thesis.

2- Context precluding to the OFII Franco-Tunisian seasonal Migration schemes

Acceleration in evolving patterns of Migration during the first half of the 20th century

The field of Agriculture has historically always relied on immigrant labour. Over the 20th century, the origins of migrants changed drastically. Although initially in the 19th century, many seasonal migrants originated from neighbouring regions in France, the appearance of foreign labour already found its roots in 1876 with the arrival of a mass of Spanish workers⁴¹. As the number of migrants and duration of stay varied each year, French farmers became increasingly reliant on this foreign labour. Thus, French government authorities began to further regulate their entry on French soil to respond to availability and labour costs imperatives across the 19th and 20th centuries.⁴² Their prevalence exponentially increased with resistance from national agricultural workers who were in direct competition with them with detrimental effects on their labour conditions. This period in the first decades of the 20th century led to a steep increase in racism and violence as seasonal workers were often brought in to break French agricultural worker strikes. These patterns were in no way particular to the agricultural sector. As a matter of fact, this phenomenon was so widespread in France that it made its place into French core literature classics such as *Germinal*, by Emile Zola, which depicts the arrival of Belgian workers to break the French worker strike.⁴³ The first half of the 20th century saw the rise in the usage of neighbouring seasonal workers from Belgium, specifically Flanders in Northern France, as well as Italian, Spanish and Portuguese labour for the South of France. This was illustrated in the role of the National Organisation on immigration (ONI), the predecessor of the French Office on Immigration and Integration (OFII). The ONI actively began to broaden geographical recruitment locations to Poland and Czechoslovakia during the interwar period, before moving on to Italy in 1947, Spain in 1953 and Portugal in 1959.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the increasing geographical

⁴⁰ Décosse Frédéric, 'Migrations sous contrôle. Agriculture intensive et saisonniers Marocains sous contrat OMI', *Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales* (2011)p. 108

⁴¹ Décosse Frédéric, 'Migrations sous contrôle. Agriculture intensive et saisonniers Marocains sous contrat OMI', *Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales* (2011) p70

⁴² Ibid p70

⁴³ Zola, Emile 'Germinal', *Penguin Classics* (2004)

⁴⁴ Lenoble Raymond, 'La main-d'œuvre saisonnière betteravière en France. Historique des migrations, des origines à 1984', *Fédération Professionnelle Agricole pour la Main-d'œuvre saisonnière*(1984) p49 retrieved from

distance between the recruitment country of the seasonal worker and the country of destination led to an extension of the employment period. Originally, many of these seasonal workers were in close geographical proximity to their employers. They were largely self-organised and this extra activity generated additional income during periods of slow activity in their vocational work. However, the increasing distance between the country of origin of the worker and the country of destination for work meant that the migrants' stay had to be extended. In the 1950s, due to the heavy import of geographically distant foreign workers, the cost of work steeply tripled between the 1955 and 1967.⁴⁵

In a sector where labour costs can make up to half of production costs, agricultural employers rapidly turned to the mechanisation of their exploitations, hence cutting back on labour costs and increasing reliance on pesticides and chemical agents. This led to the drastic reduction of seasonal workers in many regions of France. For example, the North-Pas-de-Calais heavily relied on Flemish seasonal workers from across the border for the harvesting of beetroot. As employees' salary increased, cheaper Portuguese and Spanish workers were employed before switching to mechanisation in the 1960s.⁴⁶ This led to the progressive disappearance of seasonal migrants from the French northern landscape. However, French southern exploitations that were predominantly *Maraicher* productions, could not be extensively mechanised. Other ways were required to cut down on their labour costs. *Maraicher* productions are defined by their small-scale fragile fruits and vegetables such as tomatoes and strawberries that are needed to be manually harvested. Thus through professional organisations such as the General Confederation of Sugar Beet Growers (CGB) and the Professional Agricultural Federation for Seasonal Workforce (FMO), actors who had previously pressured national authorities for an increase in seasonal labour in the post-war period, now looked towards new cheaper recruitment basins such as Morocco and Tunisia.⁴⁷

The aim of the thesis is to understand the various socio-political factors that pushed the ruling UNR party to conclude a labour convention deal with Tunisia in 1963, thus kickstarting Franco-Tunisian seasonal migration to France.

Décosse Frédéric, 'Migrations sous contrôle. Agriculture intensive et saisonniers Marocains sous contrat OMI', *Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales* (2011)

⁴⁵ Guigou Jean-Louis, 'Les salariés étrangers dans l'agriculture française, Montpellier', *École Nationale Supérieure Agronomique* (1969) p. 72–73 retrieved from Décosse Frédéric, 'Migrations sous contrôle. Agriculture intensive et saisonniers Marocains sous contrat OMI', *Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales* (2011)

⁴⁶ Allart Marie-Christine, 'Les Fransmans au XXe siècle : du travail à la mémoire', *Revue du Nord* n432 (2019) p795-814

⁴⁷ Décosse Frédéric, 'Migrations sous contrôle. Agriculture intensive et saisonniers Marocains sous contrat OMI', *Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales* (2011) p110

3. The various factors leading to the 1963 seasonal migration scheme

To understand the various factors that made this deal possible, we must first understand the political, social and geopolitical landscape prior to this agreement. The beginning of the 1960s was a crucial time in French politics. In 1958, France decided to change to the Fifth republic, switching from a parliamentary political system under the Fourth Republic to a Fifth republic system where the President now became the main figure, leading to the executive branch. Furthermore, after the humiliating defeat of Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and the 1965 canal de Suez crisis, de Gaulle's 'I have understood you' that led to the recognition of Algerian's independence in 1962, was a further blow to many French citizens. In addition, it also profoundly hampered de Gaulle's UNR party internal stability. On the international stage, de Gaulle decided to leave the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). The country was now further inclined to pursue a rapprochement with Germany and bolster the European Union through the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).

Across the Mediterranean, the three North African countries, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria had recently broken away from their former colonisers. This meant that they were looking to make new cooperation agreements and alliances with other neighbouring countries.

In order to identify and explain the 1963 Labour Convention agreement between France and Tunisia, it is necessary to separate the various actors, events and factors leading up to this agreement into three separate streams: problem, policy and political. Furthermore, throughout this research, it will become increasingly clear which of the six factors introduced in the theory truly had an impact on the labour convention. Through a discourse analysis from the primary sources, it becomes increasingly clear to fathom the perceptions and misconceptions of policy-makers and French society on the Tunisians seasonal workers. As Kingdon offers a loose definition of which actors are responsible for which stream, I chose to implicate various stakeholders through the three streams as they often overlap with each other. Some events like the 1961 Bizerte Crisis came up in various streams showing the evolution of the issue from their problematisation to the policy solution and political leverage that is presented.

A/ Problem stream:

1/ Foreign workers

L'IMMIGRATION NÉCESSAIRE

DEPUIS deux ans, la question de l'introduction en France de travailleurs étrangers a fait l'objet de nombreux échanges de vues dans les milieux gouvernementaux aussi bien que dans les syndicats patronaux et ouvriers. L'écho s'en est peu à peu prolongé dans l'opinion publique et des discussions passionnées s'élèvent bien souvent à ce sujet. Il est bon que pour les éclairer chacun prenne aujourd'hui conscience de notre situation difficile en matière de main-d'œuvre et de la nécessité pour la France de faire appel à l'étranger pour couvrir nos besoins. Ceci d'autant plus que deux faits récents viennent de mettre une fois de plus ce problème à l'ordre du jour : la signature d'un accord franco-italien en vue de l'entrée dans notre pays de 200.000 ouvriers en 1947 et la publication du plan Monnet qui envisage, avant la fin de cette année, l'appoint de 250.000 travailleurs étrangers, en plus du remplacement des prisonniers allemands libérés.

Notons tout de suite que les prisonniers de guerre actuellement employés en France ne constituent qu'une main-d'œuvre de remplacement et essentiellement temporaire. Au 1^{er} octobre 1946 ils étaient 450.000 répartis dans les diverses branches de l'activité nationale et spécialement dans l'agriculture (212.000) et dans les houillères (54.000). Leur départ doit laisser un vide qu'il sera difficile de combler, comme l'a écrit récemment M. Sauvy.

Cinq années de guerre et d'occupation ont coûté à notre pays près d'un million et demi d'habitants, chiffre comprenant à la fois les décès de militaires et de civils par faits de guerre, de captivité ou de déportation et les pertes indirectes dues à la guerre, en particulier la mortalité plus grande résultant des difficiles conditions d'existence, l'excédent des décès « normaux » sur les naissances et le départ de 300.000 étrangers. Ces pertes énormes et plus élevées qu'on ne le suppose généralement ont bien entendu contribué pour une large part à la diminution du chiffre de la population active, diminution estimée à près de 650.000 personnes entre 1938 et aujourd'hui. Dans le même temps, le nombre des travailleurs directement productifs dans l'agriculture, l'industrie et les transports (P.T.T. compris), passait de 14.740.000 à 13.240.000, soit une diminution de 1.500.000, qui se réduit à 1.050.000 si l'on tient compte des prisonniers allemands. Les travailleurs ne concourant pas directement à la production, y compris les commerçants, voyaient leur nombre augmenter de 800.000 unités (6.450.000 en 1946).

Or cette main-d'œuvre dangereusement appauvrie doit faire face à des tâches plus importantes et qui dépassent largement ses possibilités actuelles. Au lendemain de la guerre, les tâches de la reconstruction sont immenses. Par ailleurs, un effort de production sans précédent est indispensable pour rééquiper le pays, satisfaire les besoins d'une population appauvrie et qui a consenti dans son ensemble à de lourds sacrifices, alimenter l'exportation inévitable si nous voulons acheter à l'étranger.

Il nous faut donc trouver une solution immédiate et celle-ci ne peut être cherchée que dans l'immigration d'ouvriers étrangers.

Robert COLIN.



Plan MONNET
250.000



P.C libérés
450.000



500.000
TRAVAILLEURS
à trouver

italiens
200.000



Il nous faut 700.000 travailleurs étrangers : 250.000 pour la réalisation du plan Monnet ; 450.000 pour remplacer la main-d'œuvre prisonniers.

Nous ne pouvons encore compter que sur 200.000 : les Italiens prévus par l'accord du 30 novembre 1946. Où trouverons-nous les 500.000 manquants ?

1

(Source : "Necessary Immigration" L'Aube, 20th of March 1947, retrieved from "Reconstruction et Modernisation", Musée National de l'histoire de l'immigration, n.d.)

After the Second World War, the French economy was booming and entered three decades of economic prosperity called the Trentes Glorieuses, the Glorious Thirties. In this period of high growth and low unemployment, foreign workers from neighbouring countries as well as across the Mediterranean were required to fill labour market shortages. Initially, there was a national consensus for the need for extra national workers but by the 1960s, the first cracks in this consensus started to appear. The problem was intensified by the period of decolonisation that preceded the 1960s. With the ongoing civil war with Algeria, tensions towards North Africans were at a height, specifically towards Algerians.

Using the mass media/public stakeholder to delve further into this situation, it becomes obvious that there were a lot of complaints both ways about the effects of decolonisation but more importantly, of foreign workers.

Le Monde Diplomatique in an article entitled: 'France: A Period Marked Mainly by the Aftermath of Decolonisation'⁴⁸ published in January 1963, discussed the growing racism towards foreigners and particularly

⁴⁸ J. Nantet, 'France : une période surtout marquée par les séquelles de la décolonisation', *Le monde*

North Africans: ‘[...] the racist tendency, in its permanent form, finds its new outlet against blacks, and especially Arabs’⁴⁹. There is a harsh and often violent racism towards these workers, specifically in working classes as they are often seen as strike-breakers: ‘To the Disappointment of Seeing the Emancipation of Both the Colonies and Their Inhabitants was Added the Irritation Caused by the Presence in Metropolitan France of 300,000 to 400,000 Algerian Workers, Not to Mention the Italians, Poles, Spaniards, and in General All the “Foreigners.”’⁵⁰

Furthermore, there is an overlap with far right racist ideologies: ‘One notices the indifference to the torture inflicted on Algerians, and in Marseille five young fascists torment an Arab in the street with a knife’⁵¹. More telling examples are the one such as the Alliance Française director, March Blancpain’s call to initiate a ‘Sanitation procedure’⁵² against Algerians in one of the most read French Newspapers of the time: Le Libéré Parisien. This demonstrates an institutionalised discrimination of North Africans by the state where they see their social security and family allowances denied. This state discrimination is also visible by police forces who systematically arrest hundreds of North Africans:

- ‘1953 – In Nîmes, a café owner shot an Algerian who asked for a drink. Reason: “I don’t like Arabs. “On the 1st of May in Valenciennes, more violence against Algerians. On 14 July in Paris, six Algerians and one Frenchman were killed on the Place de la Nation. [...] 1956 – Particularly on April, thousands of Algerians were arrested during ‘face-to-face’ raids. [...] 1960 – A trade unionist was stabbed in Pantin for interfering on behalf of an Algerian. 1961 – ‘Ratonnades’ in Metz: four dead, 28 injured. – Black students were attacked in Dijon during a ball. – During the introduction of a curfew, large demonstration of Algerians in Paris on 17 October. Violent repression.’⁵³

diplomatie (1963) p12

⁴⁹ ‘il semble que la tendance raciste, dans ce qu’elle a de permanent, trouve à l’encontre des Noirs, et surtout des Arabes, son nouvel exutoire’, Ibid

⁵⁰ ‘À la déception de voir s’émanciper, à la fois, les colonies et leurs habitants, est venue s’ajouter l’irritation que provoque la présence en métropole de 300 000 à 400 000 travailleurs algériens, sans compter les Italiens, les Polonais, les Espagnols, d’une façon générale tous les « étrangers ».’ Ibid

⁵¹ ‘On remarque l’indifférence aux tortures infligées aux Algériens, et à Marseille cinq jeunes fascistes tourmentent au couteau un Arabe dans la rue’ Ibid

⁵² ‘Marc Blancpain réclame dans le Parisien libéré une « procédure d’assainissement » à l’égard des Algériens.’ Ibid

⁵³ “1953 — À Nîmes, un cafetier tire sur un Algérien qui demandait à boire. Motif : « Je n’aime pas les Arabes. » – Le 1er mai à Valenciennes, violences contre des Algériens. Le 14 juillet à Paris, six Algériens et un Français sont tués place de la Nation. [...] 1956 — Notamment en avril, des milliers d’Algériens sont arrêtés au cours de rafles « au faciès ». [...] 1960, un syndicaliste est poignardé à Pantin pour s’être interposé en faveur d’un Algérien. 1961 — « Ratonnades » à Metz : quatre morts, vingt-huit blessés. — Des étudiants noirs sont attaqués à Dijon au cours d’un bal. — Lors de l’instauration d’un couvre-feu, grande manifestation d’Algériens à Paris le 17 octobre. Répression violente.” J. Nantet, France : ‘une période surtout marquée par les séquelles de la

Algerians and other North Africans are often regarded as one and the same ethnic group in the public's eyes. Tunisians and Moroccans suffer equally from this discrimination. Illustrated On the 7th of September 1965 when French police arrested 700 North Africans in order to catch the individual responsible for the death of an English woman: Alix Mitchel. In an attempt to lessen racial violence towards North Africans as well as Blacks and Roma, The French Bishop Commission called upon the fraternity among all humans: *'They must be for us very dear brothers, because all are sons of the same father: God'; 'We ask the French people to overcome their anguish and resentment and to refrain from any gesture of despair by a racism that has spilled too much blood and of which the Gospel contains the strongest condemnation.'*⁵⁴.

In the midst of this hostile climate, articles start to emerge questioning France's legitimacy in having too many foreign workers, as shown in their 10th of December 1962 article entitled 'Too many workers?'⁵⁵ Here, journalists predict that half a million workers are on their way and question if, in the future, the employment office will be able to handle that influx of foreigners.⁵⁶ This was preceded by a similar article on August 14, 1962, entitled 'The seasonal departure of Algerian workers from metropolitan France is more important this year'⁵⁷. Furthermore, labour unions perceive the arrival of foreign workers as means for employers to exert pressure on salaries.⁵⁸ Moreover, they accuse employers of using importation of foreign labour to their advantage: *'The trade unionists also criticise employers for being reluctant to give precise indications of their needs for professional workers. They have sometimes inflated their demands in order to ease the market,' say the trade unionists.*⁵⁹ This issue is also reflected in the statements of communist members of parliament, M. Odru who calls for a stronger enforcement and legal backing to the arrival of foreign workers, applauding the ministry of interior's work on ratifying labour conventions with African countries. An important detail to note is the emphasis on the arriving foreign worker's need for a labour contract prior to their entry on French soil: *'These agreements stipulate that the entry of Black African workers into France is subject to the possession of an employment contract.'*⁶⁰

décolonisation', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (1963)

⁵⁴ "Nous demandons aux Français de dominer leur angoisse et leurs ressentiments et de s'interdire tout geste désespéré par un racisme qui a fait couler trop de sang et dont l'Évangile contient la condamnation la plus éclatante.", En France, la commission épiscopale de l'émigration demande aux Français de surmonter toute tentation raciste, *Le Monde* (1961)

⁵⁵ 'Trop de travailleurs', *Le Monde*, (10th of December 1962)

⁵⁶ (Le Monde, 'Too many workers', the 10th of December 1962).

⁵⁷ 'Le Départ saisonnier des travailleurs algériens de métropole est plus important cette année' *Le Monde*, (14th of August 1962)

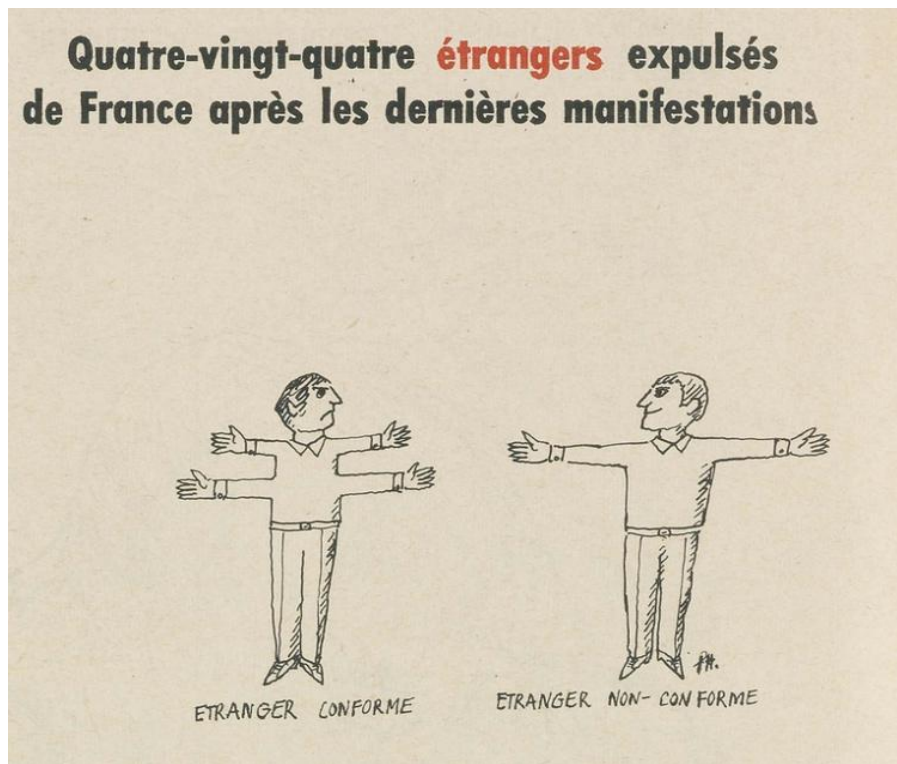
⁵⁸ J. Roy, 'III. - La voix des syndicats', *Le Monde*, (19th of October 1963)

⁵⁹ 'Les syndicalistes reprochent aussi aux employeurs de ne fournir qu'avec réticence des indications précises sur leurs besoins en ouvriers professionnels. ' Ils ont parfois gonflé leurs demandes pour provoquer ensuite une détente sur le marché, disent les syndicalistes.' Ibid

⁶⁰ 'Ces accords prévoient que l'entrée en France des travailleurs d'Afrique noire est subordonnée à la possession

2/ Hardships in the agricultural sector

Eighty-four foreigners deported from France after latest protests



Bottom left reads: 'Compliant Foreigner' and right side 'Non-Compliant Foreigner'

(Source: "Eighty-four foreigners deported from France after latest protests", *l'Enragé*, 8th of July 1968, retrieved from the National Museum of immigration history and culture, n.d.)

Throughout the Trentes Glorieuses, France's agricultural sector believed that its growth was not as important as experienced by other sectors. This was voiced multiple times by the FNSEA (The National Federation of Farmers' Unions). In September 1963, they argued that the individual revenue of farmers in France grew only twice as fast as other sectors in France 'The individual income of farmers is growing at half the rate of other categories, according to the F.N.S.E.A.⁶¹, 1963'. They thus began exerting pressure on the government, specifically the Prime Minister, to raise prices on food as they were not able to keep their heads above water. This is in part due to the constant harsh labour conditions they experienced in the last few years, including droughts and particularly cold winters. The 1964 summer drought raised particular attention to the

d'un contrat de travail.", *La situation des Travailleurs Africains en France...*, *Le Monde* (4th of September 1963)

⁶¹ 'Le revenu individuel des agriculteurs augmente deux fois moins vite que celui des autres catégories, estime la F.N.S.E.A.', *Le Monde* (1963)

environmental conditions they were exposed to: 'Satisfactory situation on 1 July ... but Drought Could Disrupt Several Markets'⁶², 1964'; 'Creuse farmers concerned about drought damage'⁶³, 1964). Nonetheless, these had been seriously hampering agricultural revenue and productivity for years.

In the face of growing hardships, the five biggest Farmer organisations decided to come together in the BAC (Common agricultural Office) to contest the Government numbers on agricultural productivity for the years 1962, 1963 and 1964. In other words, the first three years of the IV plan set up by the new Government. In it, they explained that the Government cherry-picked the statistics, as they did not reflect the diversity of cases, specifically the same exploitations that suffered the most from droughts and argued that they should receive fairer compensation.⁶⁴

One debate in Parliament that particularly illustrates agricultural hardships of the time is one that took place in October 1963. In the second round of this debate, member of parliament Jules Fil depicts an accurate representation of the state of French agriculture: *'Nothing was spared to our unfortunate populations during the years 1962–1963; they had to suffer the impact on marketing and prices of an overproduction, aggravated by abusive imports against which we will not cease to speak out. As if that were not enough, the elements were unleashed: drought, deep frosts in the winter of 1962–1963, strikes, a rotten summer, torrential rains, floods, all came to destroy the harvest and often even the vineyard itself, this precious capital that takes so long to reconstitute'*⁶⁵. This subject seems to bring forward a passionate debate from all political sides of the spectrum, to which the Minister of Agriculture struggles to give clarifications on the announced support measures.

Perhaps one of the most telling examples of the precarious labour shortages the sector faces is from the socialist member of parliament Raoul Bayou, known for his strong stance on viticulture. He directly asks the Ministers of Agriculture and the army, if it is possible to use the conscript army to help with the harvesting: *'I therefore hope that the question will be studied and that, next year, the soldiers, instead of remaining in barracks to do I don't know what, will be able to go and harvest grapes, thus combining the useful with the pleasant'*⁶⁶.

⁶² 'Situation satisfaisante au 1er juillet ... mais la sécheresse pourrait perturber plusieurs marchés', *Le Monde* (22nd of July 1964)

⁶³ 'Les Agriculteurs de la Creuse sont inquiets des dégâts de la sécheresse' (*Le Monde* 8th of August 1964)

⁶⁴ 'La disparité des revenus qui pénalise les agriculteurs s'est aggravée depuis trois ans contrairement aux promesses de "parité" inscrites dans la législation', *Le Monde* (1964)

⁶⁵ "Rien n'a été épargné à nos malheureuses populations au cours des années 1962-1963 ; elles ont dû subir l'incidence sur la commercialisation et sur les prix d'une surproduction, aggravée par des importations abusives contre lesquelles nous ne cesserons de nous élever. Comme si cela ne suffisait pas, les éléments déchaînés se sont mis de la partie : sécheresse, gelées profondes de l'hiver 1962-1963, grèves, été pourri, pluies diluviennes, inondations, sont venus anéantir la récolte et souvent même détruire le vignoble lui-même, ce capital précieux si long à reconstituer", National Assembly, 18th of October 1963, Jules Fil, p5274

⁶⁶ "Je souhaite donc que la question soit étudiée et que, l'an prochain, les soldats, au lieu de demeurer en casernes pour faire je ne sais trop quoi, puissent aller vendanger, joignant ainsi l'utile à l'agréable", *National Assembly*, 18th October 1963, Raoul Bayou, p5276

His speech brings support to the importance of one of the factors: supply. Indeed, as hypothesised in the theoretical section, the steady increase in living standards as well as higher education leads to supply shortages from students who historically always helped out in the fields: *'[...] delay of the grape harvest in his region and on the fact that the start of the school year had prevented young boys and girls from taking part in the harvest. Our colleague asked that the troops be allowed to help the winegrowers⁶⁷'*. Many of the youth from rural backgrounds leave their homes in hopes of securing a financially stable future with better living standards. With constant droughts and annual new financial burdens due to insufficient harvests, they see no other opportunities in the countryside: *'It is really a disaster which will create a new departure of young people towards the city. Then there will only be old people left to rebuild a vineyard that has been almost completely destroyed, with no hope of seeing the good times return to our city.⁶⁸'* As further evidence to this catastrophic situation, Jules Fil argues that in 1962, the harvest amount was estimated at around 197 000 hectolitres in opposition to barely 31 920 hectolitres.⁶⁹ If the 1962 harvest had already revealed itself to be quite dry and pushed farmers to take on loans, the 1963 harvest led many of them into impossible financial situations. Beyond the infertile harvest, the lack of labour was therefore the main issue here.

It becomes clear that additional foreign labour is needed through the Minister of Agriculture's comments, as he presents this as the only solution: *'In addition, in the Midi, we put at the disposal of the wine industry 1,300 Harkis⁷⁰ who worked on our sites and who were still at work at the harvest a few days ago.⁷¹'* Nonetheless, it is clear that the Tunis-born minister is vouching for the newly passed labour conventions with neighbouring countries: *'I believe that the problem of the harvesting workforce will become more and more difficult as the years go by and that we have a duty to analyse it not only through a conjunction or a meteorological accident, but through structural and permanent statistics⁷²'*. The two previous quotes also demonstrated the need to recruit new, seasonal labour in new geographical areas since the labour costs of

⁶⁷ *"le retard des vendanges dans sa région et sur le fait que la rentrée scolaire avait empêché les jeunes gens et les jeunes filles de participer à la cueillette. Notre collègue demande que l'on permette à la troupe d'aider les vignerons," National Assembly, 18th October 1963, Raoul Bayou, p5276*

⁶⁸ *"C'est vraiment un désastre qui va créer un nouveau départ de jeunes vers la ville. Alors, il ne restera plus que des vieux pour reconstruire un vignoble presque entièrement détruit, sans espoir de voir les beaux jours revenir dans notre cité. ", National Assembly, Jules Fil, 18th of October 1963, p 5274*

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰ Harkis is the name given to Algerians who thought on the French side during the French Algerian war.

⁷¹ *"En outre, dans le Midi, nous avons mis à la disposition de la viticulture 1 .300 harkis qui travaillaient dans nos chantiers et qui étaient encore au travail aux vendanges il y 'a quelques jours.", National Assembly, Edgard Pisani, 18 oct 1963, 5277*

⁷² *"Je crois que le problème de la main-d'œuvre de vendange deviendra de plus en plus difficile à mesure que les années passeront et que nous avons le devoir de l'analyser au travers non seulement d'une conjoncture ou d'un accident météorologique, mais de données structurelles et permanentes." National Assembly, Edgard Pisani, 18 oct 1963, 5277*

Spanish and other historically default workers were rising too high. This would explain the simultaneous passing on labour conventions with Morocco and Tunisia in the summer of 1963. The parliamentarian and special rapporteur to the overseas department, Pierre Bas, noted on his rapport that *'No harvesting has been done yet, but the labour cost of gatherers is very high.'*⁷³

Lastly, the Minister gives his position on a possible solution to labour shortages: the mechanisation of labour but argues against this as he believes that this will not be applicable to the harvesting season: *'We have seen the technological evolution of beet or potato harvesting, we do not see the evolution of harvesting techniques and we do not see how a labour-saving harvesting system could be achieved at an imaginable date'*⁷⁴. In other words, the problems the agricultural sector is facing has clearly given the space for decision makers to problematise this issue towards their own goals. Moreover, it enables them to push their political agenda. The Minister of Agriculture from the UNR party shows through his interventions that he is clearly in favour of new labour conventions with countries as opposed to pushing forward the mechanisation of agriculture.

3) Tensions with Tunisia

Beyond the current crisis in which the UNR coalition government had to reconcile internally, they were also faced with a series of incidents with Tunisia that hindered diplomatic relations between the two countries. Although Tunisia's independence was not as problematic as the situation in 1962 between France and Algeria, de Gaulle's Prime Minister, Michel Debré soon faced the 1961 Bizerte Crisis.

After Tunisia's independence in 1956, the country's first president, Habib Bourguiba met with the French president, Charles de Gaulle in Rambouillet on the 27th of February 1961. There, they exchanged on the geostrategic importance of the Bizert military base, overlooking the Sicilian strait. Both agree that France will leave this base before the end of that year. However, Ridha Kéfi, Tunisian minister of foreign affairs at that time believed that the two national leaders had not formally agreed on a date. A few months later, on the 4th of May 1961, preparations were made to enlarge the French military base, encroaching on Tunisian territory. Rapidly, the armed situation escalated on both sides from the 19th to the 23rd of July 1961. With thousands dead by the end of the military exchange, the diplomatic relations between both countries were ruptured. The French Prime Minister, Michel Debré had in part escalated the situation when he was quoted saying that France need to: *'respond with force to any operation of force'*.⁷⁵ This event was particularly influential in pitting Michel Debré

⁷³ 'Aucune récolte n'a encore été faite, mais le coût de la main-d'œuvre de cueillette est très élevé.' National Assembly, the 8th of November 1963; Pierre Bas p. 7034).

⁷⁴ 'Nous avons pu assister à l'évolution technologique de la rentrée des betteraves ou des pommes de terre, nous ne voyons pas évoluer les techniques concernant la vendange et nous ne distinguons pas comment on pourrait parvenir, à une date imaginable, à un système de vendange économisant de la main-d'œuvre.' National Assembly, Edgard Pisani, 18 oct 1963, p5277

⁷⁵ "[...] répondre par la force à toute opération de force," Samya El Mechat, 'Les relations franco-tunisiennes. Histoire d'une souveraineté arrachée 1955-1964' (*Histoires et Perspective Méditerranéennes 2005*) p 211

against Tunisians. The 1963 labour convention was only rendered possible due to a change in the French Prime Minister. The 1962 elections enabled George Pompidou, a pro-Tunisian Prime Minister to push such bilateral deals with Tunisia.

The Press described it as the event that split Franco - Tunisians relations: from the diplomats to the French teachers living in Tunis: *'For months, it was seen as a symbol. What had happened in Bizerte was too painful not to justify the absence and the silence. But the rhythm of life, the weight of things [...] the French educational establishments reopened. The teachers were coming back, and a few hundred repatriate from August were getting back their flats in Tunis'*⁷⁶. In the policy-making realm, this incident has obvious ramifications on various stages. Across many political parties, the reaction was a defensive one. Some go as far as to believe that Tunisians would now encroach on French soil, such as the CNIP member of parliament, Guy Jarrosson who declared, during a parliamentary debate: *'Are we not in danger of being robbed even on our national territory?'*⁷⁷. This also led to many complications for French residents in Tunisia, to which members of Parliament required a defensive response, such as with immigration documents: *'Mr André Armengaud Explained to the Minister of Foreign Affairs that the Draconian Conditions Imposed on French Industrialists and Traders Residing in Tunisia to Obtain Their Professional Card Since the Bizerte incidents'*⁷⁸. Regarding the conventions, it became clear that the context for decision makers was hostile to signing any bilateral treaties or conventions with Tunisia as all legal texts between the two countries will be rendered useless unless both countries decide to apply them: *'This guarantee can only be provided by France, as all general conventions will only be effective for as long as the two contracting parties have the common will to apply them.'*⁷⁹. On the Tunisian side, the President of Tunisia, Mr. Bourguiba refused to continue diplomatic talks with France until it was willing to recognise its fault in the Bizerte incident, leading to a diplomatic stalemate between both countries in 1961.

⁷⁶ "Des mois durant, on y vit un symbole. Ce qui s'était passé à Bizerte était trop douloureux pour ne pas justifier l'absence, et le mutisme. Mais le rythme de la vie, le poids des choses [...] Les établissements d'enseignement français rouvraient. Les professeurs revenaient, et quelques centaines de rapatriés du mois d'août récupéraient leur appartement de Tunis." National Assembly, Jean Lacouture, 20 June 1962 p1837

⁷⁷ "Ne risquons-nous pas d'être spoliés jusque sur le territoire national ?" National Assembly, Jarrosson, the 22nd of November 1961, p. 4961

⁷⁸ "M. André Armengaud expose à M. le ministre des affaires étrangères que les conditions draconiennes imposées aux industriels et commerçants français résidant en Tunisie pour obtenir leur carte professionnelle depuis les incidents de Bizerte.", National Assembly, Armengaud, the 22nd of November 1961, p. 4963

⁷⁹ "Cette garantie ne peut être assurée que par la France, car toutes les conventions générales ne seront efficaces que pour le temps où les deux parties contractantes auront la volonté commune de les appliquer.", National Assembly, Pierre Battesti, 23 of November 1961 p4965

B/ Policy Stream

Within the policy stream, Parliamentarians as well as other elected decision makers have taken into consideration three main issues. They represent a continuity on the issues discussed in the problem stream. In many ways, it is clear that these problems are interlinked and the ruling UNR party wishes to solve this through a combination of solutions that found its way in a labour convention deal with Tunisia. This in turn fixes the agriculture, labour shortage and diplomatic relations with Tunisia. A part of this thesis is aimed towards pinpointing the mechanisms that Kingdon demonstrated in his work, namely *'People interpret conditions as problems [...] so framing an issue is really critical'*.⁸⁰ Beyond framing and prioritising problems, the media and decision makers also have the responsibility and the power to bring forward their solutions as demonstrated below.

The Ministry of the Army's refusal to use troops to help with labour shortages

It is also clear that some members of parliament are bent on the idea of using military personnel to fix labour shortages. If this proposition was exposed in the problem stream, we continue to see this idea emerging on the 7th of September 1963, where Paul Bécharde member of the SFIO⁸¹ requested to grant conscripted youth from an agricultural background to right to work in the fields and to be able to leave their military service earlier: *'In view of the fact that farm labour is scarce and that the harvest is seriously compromised by three months of rain, he asked whether it would not be possible for young farmers who can be released in three months to benefit from the agricultural permission'*.⁸² This measure is also supported by the SFIO's member of parliament colleague, Michel Chérasse: *'the granting of additional agricultural leave to qualified young men who are in the armed forces, to compensate for the increase in labour required for the simultaneous work of harvesting, ploughing and autumn sowing'*.⁸³ This problematisation has direct results, a few months later. On the 3rd of October of the same year, the government grants a decree extension⁸⁴ to prevent conscripted young man from

⁸⁰ Kingdon, John W, 'A Model of Agenda-Setting, with Applications'. *Law Review of Michigan State University Detroit College of Law*, vol. 2001, no. 2, (2001)p333

⁸¹ French section of Workers' International

⁸² "Compte tenu du fait que la main-d'œuvre agricole est rare et que la récolte est très compromise par trois mois pluvieux, il lui demande s'il ne serait pas possible de faire bénéficier les jeunes agriculteurs libérables dans trois mois. de la permission agricole.", National Assembly, Bécharde, 3 October 1963, p5025

⁸³ "l'octroi de permissions agricoles supplémentaires aux jeunes gens qualifiés qui sont sous les drapeaux, pour pallier l'augmentation de main-d'œuvre nécessitée par les travaux simultanés afférents aux moissons, aux labours et aux ensemencements d'automne", National Assembly, Chérasse, 14 of september 1963

⁸⁴ Loi n°66-415 du 18 juin 1966 Autorisant l'approbation de la convention générale de sécurité social et des trois protocoles annexes, signés le 17 décembre 1965, Entre le gouvernement de la République de Française et le

being sent to serve in North Africa 3 months before the end of their military service, thus allowing them to contribute to the harvesting if needed be.⁸⁵

This cumulates into a series of Parliamentarians from the coalition government party CNIP, as well as the left-wing Socialist SFIO party, into urging the Minister of Agriculture and the Army to use military personnel for the harvest: *'He asked whether he would not consider it desirable for the Minister of the Armed Forces to provide a military workforce for This harvest.'*⁸⁶. Unfortunately, the Minister responded negatively to this approach, explaining that he has difficulty communicating with some branches of the agricultural sector, namely the *viticulteurs*.⁸⁷ He also explains the difficulties in which the government is facing when trying to push for a social insurance scheme for farmers, illustrated through the constant interruptions from furious parliamentarians as well as this quote: *'It has been thirty years [...] since the problem arose. The state is facing real difficulties; [...] difficulties in setting up, difficulties in financing [...]. Is it certain that entire and very important regions are not unwilling to participate in a disaster control or insurance system that is of particular interest to certain regions?'*⁸⁸. If by the 1960s this system had proven its worth for the last few decades in employee dominated sectors, farmer exploitations in France during this period remained family owned. To many farmers, they continuously voted against this, illustrated by the FNSEA when they negotiated to reduce the amount of contributions necessary to this collective insurance: *'including the allocation of funds for special loans to farmers in affected areas and the reduction of health insurance contributions'*⁸⁹.

Nonetheless, with such pressing issues at hand, it becomes increasingly hard not to bring forward a solution. This government believed that social security for farmers through thus socialising risk, would help enormously. In addition, ratifying new labour conventions to recruit new, cheaper labour in the new recruitment could be the solution to the recruitment issue. Interestingly, if the debate relating to using military labour for the harvest was absent from the press outlets, as this did not show up in any of the Le Monde newspapers and on the Le Monde Diplomatique; the evolution of the social security debate was talked about extensively. Fundamentally, it is through discussing a social security scheme for farmers that the government had to discuss the issue of foreign seasonal workers. This is clearly outlined in an article from Le Monde published in February 1964. Here , it was explained that beyond the radically different structure of agricultural exploitations from most

gouvernement de la République Tunisienne – *Légifrance* (20th of July 1963)

⁸⁵ National Assembly , 3 October 1963, p. 5025

⁸⁶ "Il lui demande s'il n'estimerait pas souhaitable que M. le ministre des armées fournisse une main-d'œuvre militaire pour cette vendange.", National Assembly, Jules Fil, the 18th of October 1963, p. 5262

⁸⁷ Edgard Pisani, 18 October 1963

⁸⁸ "Voici trente ans [...] qu'il s'est posé. [...] L'état se heurte à de réelles difficultés ; [...] difficultés de mise en place, difficultés de financement. [...] Est-on certain que des régions entières et fort importantes ne se refusent pas à participer à un système de lutte ou d'assurance contre des calamités, qui intéresse particulièrement certaines régions ?" , National Assembly, Edgard Pisani, the 18th of October 1963, p. 5278

⁸⁹ "notamment l'attribution de crédits pour l'octroi de prêts spéciaux aux agriculteurs des zones sinistrées et la diminution des cotisations de l'assurance maladie", 'La F.N.S.E.A. choisit la négociation', (*Le Monde* 1963)

other sectors, namely the family structure, most of them do not have many employees and even less fixed time employees: *'Three quarters of the 2 million French farm managers do not employ any permanent workforce and only 6,000 of them use the services of more than ten employees.'*⁹⁰. Apart from contributing to the bickering amongst French decision makers, 1962 is also the year where the common agricultural policy was passed in Brussels, enhancing further regulation and competition between various European farmers.

On the European stage, especially on a CAP level, this desperate need for labour shortage was crystallised when it became clear that France was the most welcoming country for foreign workers in the field of agriculture: *'France is the only one of the six countries that, because of its low population density, offers opportunities for settlement in agriculture'*⁹¹.

A/ The Common Agricultural policy, the cornerstone to reforming agriculture and its incorporation into the Social Security System

In a particularly harsh context, combining bleak environmental conditions and labour shortages, many individuals began to leave their farms in the hope of finding better opportunities in cities, creating a renewed rural exodus, as mentioned above regarding the problem stream. To this cyclical issue which seemed to only worsen from 1961 onwards, reaching a peak in 1962 and 1963, policy-makers from the ruling coalition parties began to advocate for two sets of measures to help lessen the financial burden. Firstly, it became of the utmost importance for the government to speak to the various national farmer unions in order to understand their grievances. The political clientelism dimension of this move will be discussed later in the political stream. Through negotiations that took place between the FNSEA (National Federation of Farmers' Unions) and the Government, it became clear that the government wanted to encourage an increase in health insurance contributions from the agricultural social security as they believed that this was the only way to prevent upcoming climate issues and labour market shortages. Nonetheless, these negotiations will prove unsuccessful as described by the FNSEA communiqué for being *'manifestly and seriously inadequate'*⁹² with regards to the measures that were being taken.

Nonetheless, the UNR party knew that it was crucial for the agricultural sector in France to accept the upcoming CAP as this would prove to be an example from which other European farmers can follow.

⁹⁰ "les trois quarts des 2 millions de chefs d'exploitation français n'emploient aucune main-d'œuvre permanente et 6 000 d'entre eux seulement utilisent les services de plus de dix salariés." F- H De Virieu, 'En s'inspirant de l'exemple français les Six s'efforcent d'harmoniser leurs régimes de protection sociale agricole', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (February 1964)

⁹¹ "La France est le seul des six pays à offrir, à cause de sa faible densité de peuplement, des possibilités d'installation dans l'agriculture.", Virieu, *Ibid*

⁹² "manifestement et gravement insuffisantes", 'La F.N.S.E.A. choisit la négociation', (*Le Monde* 1963)

Furthermore, as will be explained in the last stream, the political stream, the UNR could not afford to lose the electoral support of farmers, as this would dangerously weaken their voter base and undermine their party stability. On the geopolitical stage, the withdrawal of France from NATO meant that it needed a stronger European community: *'France remains in favour of the Common Market because it serves its interests. In other words, France would be "European" out of "nationalism" ... detailed the advantages that France had gained from its participation in the Common Market: increased market outlets, aid to the overseas countries of its former Empire, advantages for its agriculture, etc.*⁹³'. This common agricultural policy illustrates its strength perfectly by linking agricultural products and subsidies to a common market. Nonetheless, its success was not assured: *'If it is true that the common agricultural policy has become the cornerstone of European construction, it is immediately clear how serious the consequences of a failure or significant delay in this sector would be. In the long term, it would lead to the Common Market itself being called into question.*⁹⁴

Still, the CAP provided the government with a legitimate argument to continue their push to incorporate farmers to the social security scheme especially since it is now regarded as being part of a bigger European imperative of harmonisation. These objectives that were laid out by the Rome treaty, were now finally implemented, advocating for an equal advancement on economic and social progress: *'At the same time, specific and systematic action is needed to ensure, among other things, a fair distribution of the benefits of expansion and to guarantee a harmonious coordination between economic and social progress*⁹⁵*' workers*'. In order to harmonise the social security schemes to include the farmers in France, it was observed that this had an impact on the status of the foreign workers as this brings them a step closer to an access to national social security schemes: *'the free movement of employed workers and the right of establishment of self-employed workers in order to give workers in the six countries the same legal status in the exercise of their profession, the first step towards a common citizenship*⁹⁶*'*. It is clear that the legal texts of the treaty targeted specifically the agricultural

⁹³ "la France reste favorable au Marché commun, parce que celui-ci sert ses intérêts. Autrement dit, la France serait « européenne » par « nationalisme »[...] détaillait les avantages que la France avait recueillis de sa participation au Marché commun : accroissement de ses débouchés, aide aux pays d'outre-mer de son ancien Empire, avantages pour son agriculture, etc.", Jean Boissonnat, 'France un facteur d'expansion', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (June 1963)

⁹⁴ "S'il est vrai que la politique agricole commune est devenue la pierre d'angle de la construction européenne, on aperçoit aussitôt combien un échec ou un retard sensible dans ce secteur serait gros de conséquences redoutables. Il aboutirait, à terme, à remettre en cause le Marché commun lui-même." Jacques Mallet, 'L'avenir du marché commun', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (March 1963)

⁹⁵ "Il est indispensable d'entreprendre en même temps une action spécifique et systématique pour assurer notamment une répartition équitable des bénéfices de l'expansion et garantir une coordination harmonieuse entre le progrès économique et le progrès social", Lionello Levi Sandri, 'La communauté d'intérêts des travailleurs', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (February 1964)

⁹⁶ "la libre circulation des travailleurs salariés et le droit d'établissement des travailleurs non salariés afin de donner aux travailleurs des six pays un même statut juridique dans l'exercice de leur profession, premier pas

sector: *'Finally, the texts give special importance to the social aspects of certain common policies, particularly in the agricultural field⁹⁷*. Yet, as will be further explained in the next paragraph, this CAP proved to be a double-edged sword as it enabled them to push for an agricultural social security yet forced all European foreign workers to be legally paid the same amount as the French workers. In addition, it enforced the entry of many of these seasonal workers into the social security scheme. With farmers heavily relying on cheap Spanish seasonal workers and a possible entry of Spain into the CAP, this proved highly problematic for French farmers as this decision would leave them deprived of their main labour supply .

In addition, domestically in the National Assembly, the UNR seemed to struggle with the funding of this social security scheme. Jacques Hébert, a U.N.R. parliamentarian raised a question to the government, asking where they would find the funds for this scheme as he did not believe it was the employers nor the state's financial responsibility to pay for this . This raises the controversial questions of who should pay for it: *'But in the present situation – that of the anti-growth plan and the Common Market – it is unthinkable to ask industry and commerce for Higher Health insurance contributions, it is impossible to increase the State's contribution to its civil servants, it is Unimaginable to Take From the Income of the Agricultural Profession the Resources Indispensable to Ensure that This category of citizens is on an equal footing with other workers.⁹⁸* This example illustrates how disputed this issue was, even for parliamentarians within the same party as the government and with a supposed enforced party discipline. In the press, this was a highly mediatised moment, Le Monde Diplomatique choosing to contribute the entirety of its June 1963's edition of the CAP. This represented a historic moment for Europe as it pushed forward certain focal points of consolidation of the European Community.

1964 Evolution of the Social Security Scheme on Agriculture

The push from the ruling coalition of parliamentarians in joining the common agricultural policy led to many complications and pushbacks. From the policy-makers' perspective, agricultural social security secured many of its political agenda objectives. Firstly, it assured additional funds for the government who in turn, did not have to spend as much money helping farmers in the case of extreme droughts and other environmental conditions. The farmers would now be collectively funding and receiving financial help from the social security scheme while keeping the farmer support base for the CNIP party. If they struggled to push this agenda for

vers une citoyenneté commune.”, Lionello Levi Sandri, Ibid

⁹⁷ “Enfin les textes accordent une importance spéciale aux aspects sociaux de certaines politiques communes, notamment dans le domaine agricole”, Lionello Levi Sandri, Ibid

⁹⁸ “Mais, dans la conjoncture actuelle — celle du plan anti hausse et du Marché commun -- il est impensable de réclamer à l'industrie et au commerce des cotisations d'assurance maladie plus importantes, il est impossible d'augmenter la participation de l'Etat en faveur de ses fonctionnaires, il est inimaginable de prélever sur les revenus de la profession agricole les ressources indispensables pour assurer à cette catégorie de citoyens la parité avec les autres travailleurs.”, National Assembly, Jacques Hébert, 9th of November 1963, p. 7103

several more years, the entry of the CAP enabled them to coerce farmers into the social security system on the basis of a European legal streamlining.

Yet, as the debates went on, it became clear that some political parties of the opposition continued to pinpoint the disparities in labour costs between national, European and foreign workers which further emphasised the problematising issues on foreign labour. This was the case of the Communist parliamentarian, Arthur Musmeaux in his question to the Minister of Labour on the 14th of November 1963. He asked whether the Minister was aware of the situation facing the foreign workers and that *'our country has more than 2 million immigrants. There are 800,000 Italians, more than 400,000 Spaniards, 300,000 Algerians, 275,000 Poles, 80,000 Portuguese, Moroccans, etc., to which must be added more than 100,000 seasonal and border workers. The Government considers that these numbers of labourers are insufficient and it has planned in the IV Plan to bring 300,000 new immigrants to France. The massive employment of this labour force is particularly favourable to the employers, because the new immigrant workers do not benefit from the same social advantages as French workers in terms of family allowances and medical assistance for the families remaining in their country of origin. In this area, discrimination is made not only between French and immigrant workers, but between immigrant workers according to their country of origin.'*⁹⁹ It is interesting to note that the Tunisians were not mentioned in his speech. The reasons for this could be linked to their small presence at that time and that the labour convention has not yet been properly set up. This is especially true considering that these talks only took place less than a month after the Franco-Tunisian labour convention had been ratified by the Prime Minister and President in October 1963. Beyond the ratification of this treaty, the prevalence of Tunisians as labour migrants in France only appears much later. Unfortunately, the labour convention was discontinued in 1964 as the Tunisian government decided to nationalise soil belonging to French settlers. Consequently, the Franco Tunisian-Scheme took many years to truly be implemented and to function properly.

⁹⁹ '[...] notre pays compte plus de 2 millions d ' immigrés. On dénombre 800 .000 Italiens, plus de 400 .000 Espagnols, 300 .000 Algériens, 275.000 Polonais, 80.000 Portugais, Marocains, etc., auxquels il faut ajouter plus de 100.000 saisonniers et frontaliers. Le Gouvernement considère que ces effectifs de main-d'œuvre sont insuffisants et il a prévu dans le IV' Plan la venue en France de 300.000 immigrés nouveaux. L'emploi massif de cette main-d'œuvre est particulièrement favorable au patronat, car les nouveaux travailleurs immigrés ne bénéficient pas des mêmes avantages sociaux que les travailleurs français en matière d'allocations familiales et d'assistance médicale pour les familles demeurées dans leur pays d'origine. Dans ce domaine, les discriminations sont opérées non seulement entre travailleurs français et immigrés, mais entre travailleurs immigrés selon leur pays d'origine'', National Assembly, Musmeaux, the 13th of November 1963, p 7209

B/ Push from the policy-makers to find new seasonal labour recruitment basins

'immigration is a way to create some relief in the labour market and to resist social pressure

¹⁰⁰ (3 september 1963)' — George Pompidou, Prime Minister of the French government¹⁰¹

As talks continue amongst the 6 European countries to find a common ground concerning the agricultural policy it becomes clear that the social security issue should be discussed. The French have been spearheading this common policy, specifically the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Pisani: *'Not only did France not stop the Common Market, but it can be said that it contributed to its progress, particularly in Agriculture [...] France has not stopped progressing, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Pisani'*¹⁰². Nonetheless, if the French are happy to push for further cooperation in the field of agriculture, they are less optimistic about the prospects of streamlining the social security schemes of workers in this field.: *'Since expansion is responsible for equalising and harmonising, agricultural social policy itself appears above all as a "drop of oil intended to facilitate transitions"*¹⁰³. In 1964, the Spanish made up three quarters of the foreign labour in France in agricultural exploitations. Although there were talks of Spain and Portugal joining the CAP in 1963 as published by an article from *Le Monde Diplomatique*, entitled *'Spain wants to join the Common Market'*¹⁰⁴, the reality is that Spain only joined the PAC and European Union in 1986. French farmers felt threatened by the competitive and lower wages practised by Spanish workers as already explained before. A particularly telling example of this preference for Spanish workers can be illustrated through the creation in 1960 of a special regime for Spanish grape pickers by the French immigration office.¹⁰⁵ This proved to be another factor pushing the government to recruit new labour conventions with Morocco and Tunisia.

¹⁰⁰ "l'immigration est un moyen de créer une certaine détente sur le marché du travail et de résister à la pression sociale", Danièle Lochak, 'L'intégration comme injonction. Enjeux idéologiques et politiques liés à l'immigration', (*Cultures & Conflicts* 2006)

¹⁰¹ Ibid

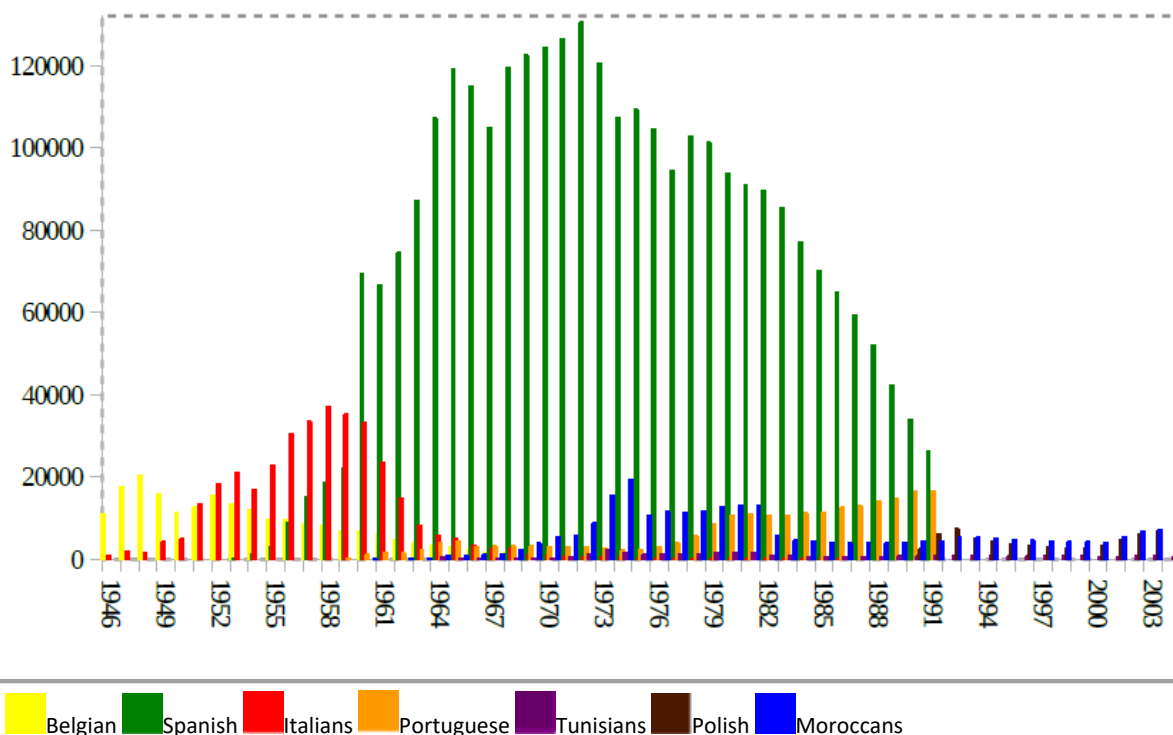
¹⁰² "Non seulement la France n'a pas arrêté le Marché commun, mais on peut dire qu'elle a contribué à le faire progresser, notamment en matière agricole [...] la France n'a pas cessé de progresser, grâce aux efforts de M. Pisani," Jacques Baumel, 'La Politique européenne de la France', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (January 1964)

¹⁰³ "L'expansion étant chargée d'égaliser et d'harmoniser, la politique sociale agricole proprement dite apparaît surtout comme une « goutte d'huile destinée à faciliter les transitions »", F- H De Virieu, 'En s'inspirant de l'exemple français les Six s'efforcent d'harmoniser leurs régimes de protection sociale agricole', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (February 1964)

¹⁰⁴ (Areilza, March 1963)

¹⁰⁵ Décosse Frédéric, 'Migrations sous contrôle. Agriculture intensive et saisonniers Marocains sous contrat OMI', *Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales* (2011) p. 110

Introduction of OMI seasonal workers on French Soil by Nationality (1946-2004)



4 (National Office on Immigration, Rapid informations Notes 42, Paris, 1975 retrieved from – Décosse, 'Migrations under Control', p. 104 2013)

Selective immigration, A preference for Tunisian and Moroccan workers

This cherry-picking between various nationalities of foreign migrants already occurred during the interwar period: '[...] at the end of the war according to two criteria: the need for labour and the preference for Europeans¹⁰⁶. It closely reaffirmed colonial attitudes such as the fact that France should privilege immigrants of Nordic descent and to avoid a too big influx of Mediterraneans and Orientals.¹⁰⁷ They were seen as harder to assimilate to the French cultures and values. It also made more sense to privilege workers for a primary sector labour such as agriculture rather than for intellectual professions. Thus, the choice to employ cheaper North Africans as opposed to Spanish labour is clearly the succession of a previous tactic used against Algerians during the Franco-Algerian war.

¹⁰⁶ "à la fin de la guerre en fonction de deux critères : les besoins de main-d'œuvre et la préférence pour les Européens", Danièle Lochak, 'L'intégration comme injonction. Enjeux idéologiques et politiques liés à l'immigration', (Cultures & Conflicts 2006)

¹⁰⁷ ibid

In 1961, a parliamentarian from Alger, Ahmed Djebbour complained about the indifference and current discrimination facing Algerians in France. More importantly, he clearly pinpoints Tunisians and Moroccans being used to replace less desirable Algerians. Beyond the discrimination and violent acts faced by North Africans since the post-war period, as described by the press, the constituent from Alger confirms this trend. It will be interesting to note that Algerians, Moroccans and Tunisians are often referred to as North Africans or Muslims: *'The present has not yet been even by those who claim to defend workers, but who exclude Muslim workers but who exclude Muslim workers, I name the communist speakers.'*¹⁰⁸. Djebbour goes on to demonstrate the removal of Algerians in all job sectors: *'the "clearing out" that is being carried out in all professions, even among the catering industry, while reserving for Muslim workers the tasks that even foreign workers do not accept.'*¹⁰⁹ and repeating twice that Algerians are being replaced by Tunisians and Moroccans: *'the demands of the national labour market are currently met by an influx of Tunisian and Moroccan workers. [...] industrialists are laying off Algerian workers: they are calling on Tunisian and Moroccan workers.'*¹¹⁰.

If Moroccan and Tunisian workers were already being brought into France in 1961 to solve labour supply shortages well before the existence of labour conventions between France and both these countries, it is highly likely that for a majority of these workers, their entry or status was irregular or even illegal. This hypothesis is further confirmed beyond the economic scope when the Minister of Labour; Jean-Marcel Jeanneney declared in 1966: *'illegal immigration itself is not useless, because if we were to stick to the strict application of international regulations and agreements, we might not have enough manpower'*¹¹¹. Thus, it is clear that the decision makers do not seem to be heavily burdened by the use of illegal migrants as a source of labour. If the debate remains that France always needs more labour to face labour shortages, in reality, the Government's objective is to enable farmers to continue maintaining cheap labourers as it was vital to keep these future voters happy. In the meantime, the policy-makers continue to work towards a common agricultural policy.

The response of the minister of labour, Paul Bacon to the Alger's constituent, Ahmed Djebbour as a perfect example of the government's willingness to find cheaper labour. His response can be broken down into

¹⁰⁸ "présent n'a pas encore été évoqué, même par ceux qui prétendent défendre les travailleurs, mais qui en excluent les travailleurs musulmans, j'ai nommé les orateurs communistes.", National Assembly, Ahmed Djebbour, 10 Nov 1961, p. 4319

¹⁰⁹ "dégagement" qu'on est en train d'opérer dans toutes les professions, jusque chez les terrassiers, alors que pourtant en réserve aux travailleurs musulmans les tâches que même les ouvriers étrangers n'acceptent pas.", National Assembly, Ahmed Djebbour, 10 Nov 1961, p4319

¹¹⁰ "les demandes du marché national du travail sont actuellement satisfaites par un apport d'ouvriers tunisiens et marocains. [...] industriels licencient des ouvriers algériens: ils font appel à des ouvriers tunisiens et marocains.", National Assembly, Ahmed Djebbour, 10 Nov 1961, p4319)

¹¹¹ 'l'immigration clandestine elle-même n'est pas inutile, car si on s'en tenait à l'application stricte des règlements et accords internationaux, nous manquerions peut-être de main-d'œuvre,' (*Les Échos*, 28 mars 1966) retrieved from Danièle Lochak, 'L'intégration comme injonction. Enjeux idéologiques et politiques liés à l'immigration', (*Cultures & Conflicts* 2006)

three separate parts, each more telling of the UNR's mindset. Firstly, he blankly denies the accusations of racism, explaining that the agents working in his Ministry are not guilty of discrimination. He justifies this by explaining that he has recently visited the Labour inspector in Paris: *'I would like to say to Mr. Djebbour that no discrimination is made and will never be made by the services of the Ministry of Labour. [...] Our North African labour inspectors [...] are concerned about the distress experienced by [...] North African workers. [...] They help them, and Mr Djebbour knows it. So there can be no question of talking about racism here, we all agree on that point.'*¹¹². Secondly, he acknowledges the positions from both sides of the political spectrum on immigration: from those afraid of the repercussions of foreign workers on French salaries as well as from those desiring more immigration to continue the pursuit of economic purposes.¹¹³ After having done so, he clearly backs up the employer perspective by omitting the fears of reducing French salaries on the basis that his ministry's objective is full employment in France: *'First of All, to ensure the full employment of the Workers on our territory, whether they are, I repeat, metropolitan workers or North African workers.'*¹¹⁴. If these two subjects are related, it will not mean that foreign workers in the country will not have an effect on the wages of French workers. This is stated as a concern by the communist parliamentarian, Adolphe Dutoit: *'I would add that the Government, which fears the influx of labour on the labour market, is authorising the massive arrival of foreign labour... There are more than 15,000 Moroccan workers [...] The government thus intends to create an industrial army intended to influence wages. A recent industrial newspaper writes bluntly: "The logical and hoped-for consequence of the government is the pressure that must now be felt more strongly on the wage sector'*¹¹⁵.

In addition to upkeep a pro-employer rhetoric, the minister reasserts that they are in need of an ever more labour force *'to provide our country's businesses with the necessary to meet the quantitative and qualitative needs'*.¹¹⁶ He then proceeds to explain that due to the Rome statute, it is highly unlikely that this

¹¹² "Je tiens à dire à M. Djebbour qu'aucune discrimination n'est faite et ne sera jamais faite, par les services du ministère du travail. [...] Nos contrôleurs de la main-d'œuvre nord-africaine [...] se penchent sur la détresse que connaissent [...] les travailleurs nord-africains. [...] Ils les aident, et M. Djebbour le sait. Donc, il ne peut être question de parler à ce propos de racisme, nous sommes tous d'accord sur ce point.", National Assembly, Paul Bacon, 10 November 1961, p. 4323

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ "Tout d'abord, assurer le plein emploi des travailleurs se trouvant sur notre territoire, qu'il s'agisse, je le répète, des travailleurs métropolitains ou des travailleurs nord-africains.", National Assembly, Paul Bacon, 10 November 1961, p. 4323

¹¹⁵ "J'ajoute que le Gouvernement qui redoute l'afflux de la main-d'œuvre sur le marché du travail autorise l'arrivée massive de la main-d'œuvre étrangère. [...] On compte plus de 15.000 ouvriers marocain. [...] Le Gouvernement entend ainsi créer une armée industrielle destinée à peser sur les salaires. Un journal industriel récent l'écrit crûment : « La conséquence logique et espérée par le Gouvernement, c'est la pression qui doit se faire maintenant plus sentir sur le secteur des salaires", French Senate, Adolphe Dutoit, 10th of December 1963, p 3110

¹¹⁶ "fournir aux entreprises de notre pays la main-d'œuvre qui leur est nécessaire pour faire face aux besoins

large influx of foreign workers will have an impact on French labour wages: “He then goes on to explain that it is possible and likely that France will have to employ labour outside of the European Zone if these needs are not met: *‘it may be necessary, in order to meet the real needs of our economy, to call on workers from countries outside the Community.*”¹¹⁷ . If these two comments seem unrelated at first, implicitly it can be understood that France will recruit beyond European basins to find workers that are not bound to the Rome statute and thus provide a cheaper labour force. This dynamic is exemplified with the French Office of Immigration working to recruit new seasonal workers in neighbouring countries especially when the minister says that *‘Instructions have been given by the Government and the Ministry of Labour to the Immigration Office to develop propaganda and information in neighbouring countries*”¹¹⁸. In his speech, the Minister of Labour has been clear that the subjects or the neighbouring countries involved are specifically not from the European Community. They are described as neighbouring France and that they must be able to provide cheap, unskilled labour which points directly to Tunisia and Morocco. Of course, the Minister prefers not to name these countries verbally. Lastly, the quote from Michel Massenet, Director of Population and Migration at the Ministry of Social Affairs leaves no doubt in the manner in which the administration considers North Africans in general: *‘ (they) have the merit of being mobile and of being able to be placed where the use of national labour would risk creating rigidities*”¹¹⁹.

The ethnographic factor here does not seem to play a strong role in the policymaker’s mind or of the press. Initially, due to secondary literature from researcher Frédéric Décosse, who in his doctoral thesis, explained how the structure of OFII contracts regarding seasonal labour with Moroccans found its roots during the colonial era. I believe that this factor would play a crucial role here. Yet, this issue proved to not be as prevalent in the 1960s as hypothesised. If Tunisians are often referred to as North Africans and confused with Moroccans, this is as far as the generalisation goes. Of course, in the context of 1962, Algerians are often referred to as such and thus not mixed in the terminology with Moroccans and Tunisians. An exception to this is when they are referred to as Muslim workers. Beyond this, the discrimination mentioned above regarding Algerians is due to the civil war context. The Algerian independence context also proved highly cleaving in the Government’s party, strongly influencing the political stream.

tant quantitatifs que qualitatifs.”, National Assembly, Paul Bacon, 10 November 1961, p. 4323

¹¹⁷ “il pourrait se révéler nécessaire, pour satisfaire les besoins réels de notre économie, de faire appel à des travailleurs provenant de pays autres que ceux de la Communauté.”, National Assembly, Paul Bacon, Ibid

¹¹⁸ “Des instructions ont été données par le Gouvernement et le ministère du travail à l’office d’immigration pour qu’il développe la propagande et l’information dans les pays voisins.”, National Assembly, Paul Bacon, Ibid

¹¹⁹ “ont le mérite d’être mobiles et de pouvoir être placés là où l’utilisation de la main-d’œuvre nationale risquerait de créer des rigidités”, Danièle Lochak, ‘L’intégration comme injonction. Enjeux idéologiques et politiques liés à l’immigration’, (*Cultures & Conflicts 2006*)

C/ Political stream

In order to understand the political motives that pushed the UNR party to behave in the way it did during the 1st (1958–1962) and 2nd legislature (1962 -1967) of the Fifth Republic, it is crucial to understand the internal political context in France of the time.

In 1958, France was stuck in the middle of a brutal civil war in Algeria. Compared to Tunisia that was always considered a protectorate, Algeria was part of France with its three *départments*, Alger, Oran and Constantine. With a significant European population referred to as Pied Noir¹²⁰, successors of the first colonialist that set foot in Algeria more than a 100 years ago, the independence of Algeria became a lot more convoluted. After a poor track record, the SFIO Socialist government coalition fell in 1958. Taking advantage of the political vacuum, French General Massu and other military personnel and Pied Noir decided to stage a coup, taking control of the general government in Algeria on the 13th of May 1958. Soon, these forces were staging a coup operation on Paris from a base in Corsica to remove the government. This tense situation led to the end of the Fourth Republic and General de Gaulle was called back to restore order. Fifteen days later, on the 4th of June 1958, he addressed the crowd in Alger, declaring that ‘he *had understood them*¹²¹’, which led to a general confusion on both sides, ranging from the Putschist military/Pied noir to the Algerian National Liberation Front who believed that de Gaulle was on their side. In 1962, when it became clear that de Gaulle was giving Algeria its independence, many who had cheered him on from the right political spectrum felt betrayed. A clear demonstration of this resentment was illustrated on the 22nd of August 1962 when a member of the Secret Armed Organisation (OAS) attempted to assassinate de Gaulle by opening fire on his car, the General closely evading the assassination attempt.

¹²⁰ Black Feet in english

¹²¹ “Je vous ai compris !”, Denis Leroux, ‘Les Limites d’une tragédie française’ (*Science Po University Press* 2013) 137-139

De Gaulle's presidential car in which an OAS supporter fired upon with a weapon in an attempt to end the President's life



(Source: Image retrieved from the Charles de Gaulle Foundation – '22/08/1962' –

This soon weakened the new political party, The Union for the New Republic (UNR). Many of its electorate did not believe in its cohesion and longevity, specifically on the Algerian question where UNR members incorporated both leaders of the coup, such as Jacques Soustelle and Léon Delbecque and leaders against the coup.¹²² The party found itself so uneasy about their cohesion that the day after winning the 1958 elections, they began to discuss the ways on which they could solidify their party. Jacques Chaban-Delmas, prominent UNR figure stated that *'they hope we will explode like a grenade'*¹²³ referring to the political opposition.¹²⁴ Thus from 1961, he and his party worked towards bringing back unity within the party as well as consolidating their coalition base with the right-wing majority parties. From the results of the 1962 election, the

¹²² Charlot, Jean 'L'Union pour la nouvelle République: Un bilan', *Revue française de science politique*, 17(1), (1967) p78

¹²³ " Ils » espèrent que nous allons éclater comme une grenade, déclare au Comité central M. Jacques Chaban-Delmas", Jean Charlot, 'L'union pour la nouvelle République : un Bilan', *Revue Française de science Politique* (1967) 78-86

¹²⁴ " Ils » espèrent que nous allons éclater comme une grenade, déclare au Comité central M. Jacques Chaban-Delmas", Jean Charlot, 'L'union pour la nouvelle République : un Bilan', *Revue Française de science Politique* (1967) 78-86

majority of the votes were for the Popular Republican Movement (MRP) with 36 seats and the National Center for Independents and Peasants (CNIP) with 28 seats. As the latter name indicates, the Agricultural electorate was particularly important to them and therefore, the UNR actively worked towards safeguarding the interest of this stakeholder. Henceforth, although these inner dynamics had already been operating before 1962, the newly elected government, headed by the new Prime Minister, George Pompidou, himself a Tunisian advocate, the objectives were clear.

Firstly, the UNR needed to restore strong diplomatic and working relations with Tunisia to show unity within its party and to steer away from the nation's memory of the political disaster in Algeria. Secondly, they had to win the support of an agricultural voter base that has been dealt hard blows by successive summer droughts. The combination of these two efforts would later bring forward a policy window in August 1963 leading to a series of bilateral deals with Tunisia (spillover effect), one of them being the labour convention deal between both countries.

A/ UNR looks to consolidate its internal base after the Algerian back stack: looks to Tunisia to restore relations, opportunity for talks are perfect

As explained before, the 1962 elections brought forth a transition from the former Prime Minister, Michel Debré who was hostile to Tunisia because of the 1961 Bizerte Crisis, to Georges Pompidou, a Tunisian advocate. This created the first of many policy windows for constructive initiatives to be taken: *'And in the Hôtel Matignon a clearly "Tunisophile" Prime Minister succeeded a man who had never hidden his dislike for the Tunisian leaders – to the point of showing warm affection to their Moroccan colleagues.'*¹²⁵

Tunisia Trying to Assert Its Position on the Geopolitical Arena

Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia had all recently gained their independence. As young, new nations, they were working hastily at rebuilding their administrations as well as finding their footing and determining their positions on the international stage. Around this time, if there were indeed tensions between these three countries, specifically between Tunisia and Morocco, there were also discussions of creating an alliance between both countries. There were dialogues that tensions would be more easily diluted with the entry of two other members. An article from *Le Monde Diplomatique* revealed this: *"Will Maghreb unity, so difficult to achieve with*

¹²⁵ "Et à l'hôtel Matignon un premier ministre clairement « tunisophile » a succédé un homme qui n'avait jamais caché son aversion pour les dirigeants tunisiens — au point de manifester une chaude affection à leurs collègues marocains.", Jean Lacouture, 'La reprise des relations franco-tunisiennes', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (July 1962)

three, be more accessible with five if Libya and Mauritania flank the three leading states on both wings? It has often been observed that by “multilateralising” formulas or reports, one sometimes dissolves the venom that undermines them¹²⁶”. A month later, it becomes clear that these three countries have more to gain by working together than fighting over territorial disputes (Alger and Rabbat), ideological disputes (Tunis and Alger) or lack of personal affinities between the Moroccan king, Mohammed V and the Tunisian president, Mr. Bourguiba. Hence, from the start of the year 1963, the three states attempted to conciliate their positions within the Common market: ‘Since the Maghreb countries must define themselves without delay in the face of the Common Market, it is obviously on the economic level that the need for harmonisation is most acutely felt, and that the first achievements should be expected.’¹²⁷. These diplomatic efforts were then strengthened at the Rabbat Conference in July 1963 where for the first time, all three North African countries were present as well as France and a series of other European and African countries. The importance of this conference is instrumental in securing and finalising the relations that had started a year before, between France and Tunisia, enabling both countries to secure the August 1963 labour convention one month later: ‘where many of those responsible for relations between Europe and Africa had become accustomed to meeting in the freest atmosphere [...] a probably decisive step towards the organisation of periodic, and essentially political, contacts between the two continents¹²⁸’. In the negotiations between France and Tunisia, one man revealed himself to be particularly influential in his role as mediator: Sadok Mokaddem. He was the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Tunisia from 1957 to 1962, playing an influential role during the Bizerte crisis. Before being elected the President of the Tunisian National Assembly in 1964, he was the negotiator for Tunisia on many conventions and agreements as well as the Tunisian Ambassador to Paris.

There is, however, less available information on his French Counterpart, François Leduc. Nonetheless, it is clear he stayed in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs most of his career. In 1964, Sadok Mokaddem wrote an influential piece in *Le Monde Diplomatique* quoting his declarations from 1962, where he explained that Tunisia was still determining its position with its neighbouring countries, specifically with France: ‘It must also define its relations with its neighbours across the Mediterranean, France and Italy in particular. In a broader

¹²⁶ “L’unité maghrébine, si difficile à faire à trois, sera-t-elle plus accessible à cinq, si la Libye et la Mauritanie flanquent, aux deux ailes, les trois Etats prépondérants ? On a souvent observé qu’en « multilatéralisant » les formules ou les rapports, on dissolvait parfois le venin qui les mine.”, Jean Lacouture, ‘Les Dissensions entre les trois états du Maghreb’, *Le Monde Diplomatique* (February 1963)

¹²⁷ “Les pays maghrébins devant se définir sans tarder face au Marché commun, c’est évidemment sur le plan économique que le besoin d’harmonisation se fait sentir avec le plus d’acuité, et qu’il faut s’attendre aux premières réalisations.”, Philippe Herreman, ‘Au lendemain de la conférence de Rabat, Une relance timide de l’unification’, *Le Monde Diplomatique* (March 1963)

¹²⁸ “où nombre de responsables des rapports entre l’Europe et l’Afrique avaient pris l’habitude de se retrouver dans l’atmosphère la plus libre [...] une étape vraisemblablement décisive sur la voie de l’organisation de contacts périodiques, et essentiellement politiques, entre les deux continents”, André Blanchet, ‘Les parlementaires du Maghreb au colloque de Rabat’, *Le Monde Diplomatique* (August 1963) p6

perspective, within the framework of the changing African continent, Tunisia must establish relations with all of its sister African countries¹²⁹. This shows that there is an opportunity for France to seize and carve out better relations with its neighbouring country.

Opportunity for Talks

Furthermore, from the Tunisian side, there also seemed to be a willingness to come back to the negotiating table and push forward alliances with France. The same *Le Monde Diplomatique* article explained that if the Tunisian President was clear on his stance against taking up communication with France, things changed on the 21st of May with the evacuation of the French from the Bizert's base: *'In a note delivered on 21st May by the Tunisian Consul General in Paris, M. Bachbaouab, who remained the interlocutor of the Quai d'Orsay throughout This "period of silence", the Tunisian leader offered to resume diplomatic relations immediately¹³⁰*. As a continuation of these positive efforts, October 1962 sees the new nomination of both countries' new ambassadors. On this occasion, Guy Stibon was able to interview Mr. Mongi Slim, the new secretary of state of the Tunisian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this interview, it is clear that with the Bizerte Crisis behind both countries, economic cooperation is now the priority: *'French goods, economic cooperation in the framework of mutual respect. The problems are numerous and Messrs Mokkadem and Sauvagnargues will have to make arrangements in the practical areas fairly quickly.¹³¹* This reconciliation is also exemplified in the November's *Le Monde Diplomatique* edition where the entire special edition is focused on Tunisia, specifically on the agricultural issues, entitled: *'Tunisia wants to become food self-sufficient in ten years while reducing the agricultural population by more than half¹³²"A pilot experiment: 'agricultural production units"¹³³, 'The*

¹²⁹ "Elle se doit également de définir ses relations avec ses voisins d'outre-Méditerranée, France et Italie en particulier. Dans une perspective plus large, dans le cadre du continent africain en pleine mutation, la Tunisie se doit d'établir des rapports avec l'ensemble des pays africains frères", Sadok Mokaddem, 'La Tunisie pratique une politique de coopération', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (March 1964) p5

¹³⁰ "dans une note remise le 21 mai par le consul général de Tunisie à Paris, M. Bachbaouab, qui est resté l'interlocuteur du Quai d'Orsay dans toute cette « période des muets », le leader tunisien offrait de reprendre, dès maintenant, les relations diplomatiques", Jean Lacouture, "Les Dissensions entre les trois états du Maghreb", *Le Monde Diplomatique* (February 1963) p4

¹³¹ "biens français, coopération économique dans le cadre d'un respect mutuel. Les problèmes sont nombreux et MM. Mokkadem et Sauvagnargues vont devoir procéder assez rapidement aux arrangements dans les domaines pratiques.", Monngi Slim, 'Une collaboration fructueuse et utile pourrait se développer entre la France et le Maghreb', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (October 1962) p 1 and 31

¹³² 'La Tunisie veut conquérir en dix ans son autonomie alimentaire tout en réduisant de plus de moitié la population agricole', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (November 1962) p14

¹³³ 'Une expérience-pilote : Les « unités de production agricole"', *Le Monde Diplomatique*, (Novembre 1962)p14

*economic objectives of independent Tunisia*¹³⁴. Finally, on page 11 of the November 1962 edition, there is an open letter from the Tunisian Ambassador to France, Sadok Mokaddem who reaffirms that Tunisia is ready for: *'the establishment of stable relationships and the development of fruitful exchanges.*¹³⁵. It seems that with every month that passes, the political policy window continues to widen between both countries. Again, in December articles from *Le Monde Diplomatique*, portraying the country in a positive light continues¹³⁶. Finally, in July, fruitful conversations between both countries continued with three main themes: financial, immigration and the status of French living in Tunisia: *'Financial talks have been held in Paris since 22 April, the main aim of which is to determine the amount of French aid to Tunisia. Mr Sadok Mokaddem, Tunisian ambassador to France, is leading the Tunisian delegation, and Mr Hubert de Limairac, director of Moroccan and Tunisian affairs at the Quai d'Orsay, the French delegation [...]. In Paris, expert talks have also been held in recent weeks on immigration and the status of Tunisian workers in France'*¹³⁷. The importance of these bilateral deals is clear from the Tunisian side by having Mr. Mokaddem spearhead these talks but also on the French side with Hubert de Limairac, a seasoned Diplomat who, being in charge of Moroccan and Tunisian affairs, had already been working on the Algerian case in 1962^{138, 139}. Through the continued good will of both countries, with the economic, political and social factors that pushed them to cooperate, a policy window was created to pass a series of bilateral deals in the summer of 1963, creating a snowball effect for these deals and conventions or what Kingdon calls a *spillover effect*. As Kingdon explains: *'Indeed, if you take a look at the sweep of public policy changes over the last century, for example, you notice that policy mostly does not change incrementally, little bit by little bit. There are rapid, big changes, all of a sudden.'*¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁴ "Les objectifs économiques de la Tunisie indépendante", Ibid

¹³⁵ "l'établissement de relations stables et le développement d'échanges fructueux.", Sadok Mokadeem, 'Pour des échanges fructueux avec la France', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (November 1962) p. 11.

¹³⁶ Aimé Dupuy, 'Comment se Déroula le voyage que Flaubert entreprit en Tunisie au printemps 1858', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (December 1962) p6

¹³⁷ "À Paris se déroulent depuis le 22 avril dernier des conversations financières dont le but principal est le fixer le montant de l'aide de la France à la Tunisie. M. Sadok Mokaddem, ambassadeur de Tunisie en France, conduit la délégation tunisienne, et M. Hubert de Limairac, directeur des affaires marocaines et tunisiennes au Quai d'Orsay, la délégation française. [...]À Paris également se sont poursuivies ces dernières semaines des conversations d'experts relatives à l'immigration et au statut des travailleurs tunisiens en France.", *Le Monde*, (22nd of July 1963)

¹³⁸ Besnaci-Lancou, Fatima 'Des harkis envoyés à la mort: Le sort des prisonniers de l'Algérie indépendante (1962-1969)', *Éditions de l'Atelier* (2014).

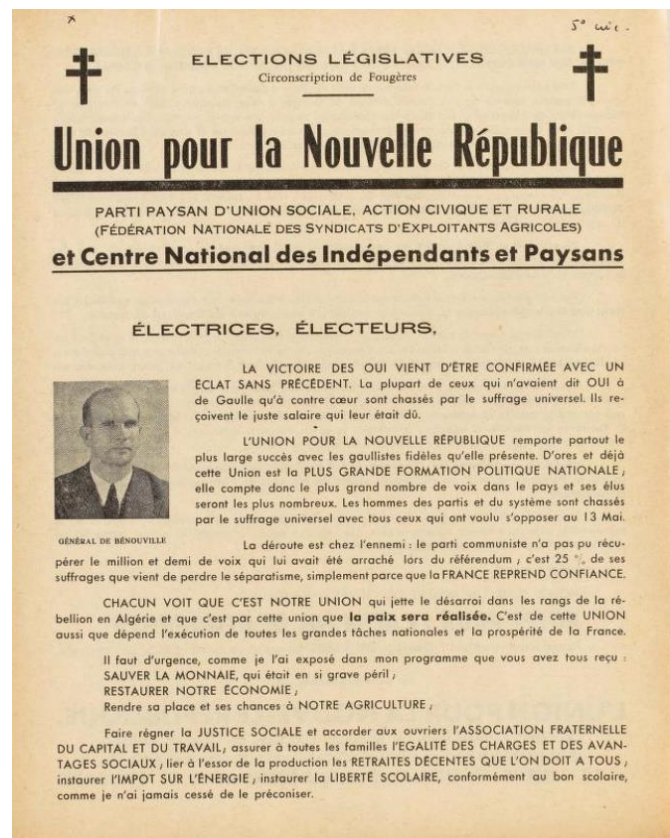
¹³⁹ J.L, 'Les Négociations Franco-Tunisiennes Piétinent', *Le Monde*, (21st of Juin 1963)

¹⁴⁰ Kingdon, John W, 'A Model of Agenda-Setting, with Applications'. *Law Review of Michigan State University Detroit College of Law*, vol. 2001, no. 2, (2001)p337

B/ Keep Coalition by supporting Agriculture

If, externally, strong relations with Tunisia and European Community countries were a priority, internally, the UNR party needed extra support from the two other leading right-wing parties, the Popular Republican Movement (MRP) and the National Centre for Independents and Peasants (CNIP). Indeed, if the newly created party in 1958 sees itself strongly endorsed by the French electorate, 55% of them did not believe in the UNR's longevity and many believe it would disintegrate if de Gaulle left it.¹⁴¹

Contrary to now, the Agricultural electorate weighed in significantly into the electoral landscape: *'[...] farmers represented more than one fifth of the electorate of the Radical Party or the Centre of Independents in 1962'*¹⁴². Historically, during its first election in 1958, the UNR was already closely allied with the CNIP, as can be seen in this electoral leaflet beneath:



(Legislative election 1958 (Ille-et-Vilaine, 5e circonscription, 1958)

The title of this 1958 leaflet clearly illustrates the close ties between the UNR, the CNIP and FNSEA. In the programme, they bring attention to agriculture once more: *'Give OUR AGRICULTURE back its place and its*

¹⁴¹ Charlot, 1967 p. 78

¹⁴² "[...] les agriculteurs représentaient plus du cinquième des électors du parti radical ou du centre des indépendants en 1962." Platone, 1997

chances¹⁴³. This continuity is also found in 1962 in the UNR's political party where agriculture once again is made a priority as well as the CAP. First, they reinstate the progress they have made during their previous election: *"The country was able to accelerate the realisation of the Common Market [...] Agricultural education [...] Progress of agriculture [...] Establishment of agricultural social security."*¹⁴⁴ before declaring their new mandate that farmers will be their priority: *'The implementation and improvement of the measures already taken in favour of agriculture, an essential part of the national economy'*¹⁴⁵. These alliances and prolixity of ideas can also be explained to the similar upbringing many of these young politicians of the Fifth Republic had with farmers, as they all went through the same Catholic Agricultural Youth (JAC): *'From the 1960s onwards, there was already a strong interweaving of the trade union field, the political field and the media field. Trade union activists and peasant journalists have gone through the same JAC training mould, which facilitates this encounter. Moreover, the JAC is supported by the senior technocrats of the young fifth republic'*¹⁴⁶. Indeed over time, members of the JAC would end up in charge of the FNSEA union, thus privileging a strong communication and influence between UNR decision makers and the Farmer Union. Overtime, this political alliance would also prove to be an excellent political tour de force for the young, newly founded UNR party as during the first mayor election, the JAC would take part in what would allow the UNR to win 4 000 mayor posts around the country.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, in 1962, the newly elected president of the FNSEA was a JAC member, Marcel Bruel. Overtime, this political strategy bore its fruits as the JAC members now made up the bulk of the strongest farmer union in France (FNSEA) and to a large extent a part of the right-wing electorate. This meant it found itself shifting from the CNIP party to the UNR: *"It is therefore an FNSEA, 'renewed', 'reoriented' by the JAC, some would even say 'infected', which remains the privileged interlocutor of the authorities [...] The Centre national des Indépendants et Paysans (National Centre of Independents and Peasants), which in 1951 constituted one of the six sides of the 'Hexagonal Chamber', has seen its base shrink to the point of becoming a small party"*¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴³ Legislative election of 1958 'Rendre sa place et ses chances à NOTRE AGRICULTURE', *Ille-et-Vilaine, 5e circonscription*, (1958)

¹⁴⁴ *"Le pays a pu accélérer la réalisation du Marché Commun [...] Enseignement agricole [...] Progression de l'agriculture [...] Instauration de la sécurité Social Agricole"* Ibid

¹⁴⁵ *'La réalisation et le perfectionnement des mesures déjà prises en faveur de l'agriculture, poste essentiel de l'économie nationale'*, Ibid

¹⁴⁶ *"Dès les années 1960, il existe donc déjà une forte imbrication entre le champ syndical, le champ politique et le champ médiatique. Les militants syndicaux et les paysans-journalists sont passés par le même moule de formation de la JAC, ce qui facilite cette rencontre. Par ailleurs, celle-ci est soutenue par les hauts fonctionnaires technocrates de la jeune cinquième république"*, Ivan Chupin & Pierre Mayance, 'L'agriculture en représentation(s), Luttés médiatiques, Luttés syndicales', *Etudes Rurales n198* (2016) 9-24

¹⁴⁷ (Isabel Boussard, 'Le Général de Gaulle et les Agriculteurs', In J.-F. Sirinelli, R. Vandenbussche, & M. Sadoun (Eds.), *Publications de l'Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion*

¹⁴⁸ *"C'est donc une FNSEA, "renouvelée", "réorientée" par la JAC, certains diront même "infectée", qui reste l'interlocuteur privilégié du pouvoir [...] Le Centre national des Indépendants et Paysans, qui constituait, en 1951,*

REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE Liberté - Egalité - Fraternité



ELECTIONS LEGISLATIVES DES 18 et 25 NOVEMBRE 1962

4^e CIRCONSCRIPTION DU VAR

POUR LA CINQUIEME REPUBLIQUE

U. N. R.

Candidature

Marcel BAYLE

Membre du Comité Central de l'U. N. R.
Secrétaire Général de la Fédération du Var
Fonctionnaire - Médaille de la Résistance

REEMPLAÇANT EVENTUEL :
Raymond GRISONI
Agent Commercial - Conseiller National de l'U. N. R.

Electeurs, Electeurs,

Une nouvelle fois, vous venez de prouver votre confiance à la politique du Général de GAULLE, vous venez de montrer que vous souhaitez qu'il reste à la tête de l'ÉTAT, pour poursuivre l'œuvre de redressement déjà si heureusement commencée.

L'Union pour la Nouvelle République s'était donnée pour seul but de lui apporter un soutien sans défaillance, elle n'a pas failli à sa promesse.

Grâce à l'autorité du Général de Gaulle, grâce à l'appui parlementaire de l'U.N.R., la V^e République a pu déjà réaliser une œuvre magnifique et inespérée.

Tout seul Le Général de GAULLE a rétabli la République en 1958. Il a écarté la guerre civile en 1958. Il a sauvé la République contre les subversions en 1960 et en 1961. (Gau au retour de Gaulle)

Vous lui avez fait confiance. Vous ferez confiance à ceux qui le soutiennent sans défaillance.

C'est dans cet esprit, mes chers Concitoyens, que je sollicite vos suffrages pour contribuer de toutes mes forces, en votre nom, au succès du Général de GAULLE pour que

VIVE LA FRANCE !

membres! 45%

LES REALISATIONS DE L'U. N. R.

Souvenez-vous de la situation de la France, à la fin de l'Ve République :

- Les caisses de l'Etat vides ;
- L'instabilité des Gouvernements ;
- L'impuissance du Parlement ;
- L'inefficacité des Partis ;
- Le mépris de la part d'autres pays ;

Depuis quatre ans :

- Le déficit budgétaire a été réduit et stoppé ;
- Les dettes extérieures ont été remboursées et l'Etat est devenu créancier ;
- Le pays a pu accélérer la réalisation du Marché Commun ;
- Les investissements publics ont pris un essor sans précédent :
 - Constructions scolaires et universitaires + de 50 % ;
 - Equipement sanitaire + de 500 % ;
 - Investissements agricoles + de 60 % ;
 - Energie atomique + de 60 % ;
- etc., etc.,

La hausse des prix à la consommation a été freinée ;
Les salaires ont augmenté de façon très réelle, quoique insuffisamment encore ;
Le chômage est instable ;
Des problèmes jamais résolus depuis des dizaines d'années ont trouvé une solution. Il en est ainsi par exemple en ce qui concerne :

- Enseignement privé ;
- Enseignement agricole ;
- Recherche scientifique et technique ;
- Promotion sociale et professionnelle ;
- Equipement sportif ;
- Progression de l'agriculture.

Dans le domaine social, enfin, on ne rappelle pas assez :

- Le remboursement par la Sécurité Sociale à 80 % ;
- L'instauration de la Sécurité Sociale agricole ;
- L'augmentation de 16,5 % des prestations familiales, y compris le salaire unique ;
- La révalorisation des pensions de vieillesse (10,50 % en 1960 ; 7,70 % en 1961 ; 15 % en 1962) ;
- La création de 25 % des pensions d'invalidité ;
- La création de l'allocation-Loyer.

Ainsi, la Ve République et l'U. N. R., ont fait preuve, depuis quatre ans, de leur efficacité... mais il reste beaucoup à faire !...

L'U. N. R. vous propose :

Dans le domaine social :

- L'humanisation du travail et la généralisation de la formation professionnelle et sociale ;
- Une adoption de la sécurité au marché de l'emploi ;
- L'amélioration du pouvoir d'achat ;
- La protection et la sécurité des travailleurs ;
- La garantie de conditions de vie décente aux personnes âgées ;
- Réaliser le plan d'aide aux Rapatriés d'Afrique du Nord, afin qu'ils aient dans leur Patrie la place et les moyens d'existence auxquels ils ont droit ;
- L'adaptation de notre armée aux conditions modernes de la défense ;
- La recherche de tous les moyens propres à réaliser les conditions d'un désarmement général ;
- La modernisation du service militaire et la réduction de sa durée, de façon qu'il concilie les nécessités de l'Etat et les aspirations des jeunes ;
- La réorganisation de l'O.N.U., aujourd'hui déchu de sa responsabilité et de son autorité ;
- Le rayonnement de la France par la diffusion de sa culture et de ses techniques dans le cadre de la coopération.

Dans le domaine économique :

- Une politique réajustant les moyens superficiels pour s'attaquer aux causes profondes des problèmes ;
- Une politique faisant appel à l'initiative privée autant qu'aux pouvoirs publics ;
- Une orientation sociale de la politique économique, notamment en faveur des personnes aux ressources modestes ;
- Une délimitation d'un important secteur dévolu aux petites et moyennes entreprises ;
- Une adaptation de l'horizon aux conditions du monde moderne ;
- La réalisation et le perfectionnement des mesures déjà prises en faveur de l'agriculture, poste essentiel de l'économie nationale ;
- L'expansion régionale et la décentralisation ;
- Une simplification et un allègement de la fiscalité.

Les anciens partis, c'est le recul, l'instabilité, les crises, l'absence de gouvernement, ou mieux l'immobilisme.

Le Général de Gaulle et l'U. N. R., c'est la France, s'adaptant au rythme du monde moderne, transformant ses structures pour aller vers plus de paix et plus de bonheur.

Tel est le programme que nous vous proposons.

Marcel BAYLE - Raymond GRISONI.

5

(Retrieved from http://jcautran.free.fr/archives_familiales/elections/legislatives/1962/legislatives_1962.html)

In his memoirs, French President de Gaulle explained his allegiance and cultural proximity to the farmer electoral base: 'The land of unchanging villages, ancient churches, solid families, the eternal return of ploughing, sowing and harvesting; this land of legends, songs and ancestral dances, of patois, costumes and local markets; this thousand-year-old France that its nature, its activity and its genius had made essentially rural'¹⁴⁹ (Ibid). Lastly, it is clear that the UNR political party's origins in 1958 found amongst its elected officials many farmers before slowly being replaced from 1962 to 1967 onwards by lawyers, doctors and officials.¹⁵⁰

un des six côtés de la "Chambre hexagonale", voit son assise se rétrécir au point de devenir un petit parti", Isabel Bousard, 'Le Général de Gaulle et les Agriculteurs', In J.-F. Sirinelli, R. Vandebussche, & M. Sadoun (Eds.), *Publications de l'Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion* (2018)

¹⁴⁹ "Le pays des villages immuables, des églises anciennes, des familles solides, de l'éternel retour des labours, des semailles et des moissons ; cette contrée des légendes, chansons et danses ancestrales, des patois, costumes et marchés locaux ; cette France millénaire que sa nature, son activité, son génie avaient faite essentiellement rurale."", Isabel Bousard, 'Le Général de Gaulle et les Agriculteurs', In J.-F. Sirinelli, R. Vandebussche, & M. Sadoun (Eds.), *Publications de l'Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion* (2018)

¹⁵⁰ Ibid p. 84

Yet, undoubtedly during the second legislature (1962–1967) it became increasingly clear that there were moments of tensions between the UNR and the FNSEA. The most emblematic being the negotiations between the two above-mentioned actors that struggled to find a compromise. These discrepancies were also clearly illustrated in open debates in the National Assembly, with some parliamentarians such as Jules Fil, from the socialist party accusing the UNR not to keep to their promises: *“We must not leave the farmers bare under the torment. ‘These are the words that you pronounced, Minister, at the end of the session of July 5, 1963, during which you had, as today, heard the justified grievances of the agricultural and viticultural world, has only become more violent.¹⁵¹”*. Thus arguing that the objectives and goals set up by the cahier des doléances¹⁵², are nowhere near completion .

However, despite the tensions, it is clear to all on the influence that both parties have on each other. This clearly demonstrates the political gain from the UNR’s perspective as well as the lobbying weight of the FNSEA of bilateral deals with the need for cheaper labour, exemplified with the Franco-Tunisian Labour Convention. Before the 1962–1967 mandate even began, the UNR’s first term in office demonstrated their political desire to improve farmer’s living standards to ensure their political longevity: *‘We have ensured that 80% of sickness costs are reimbursed by the social security system, we have introduced agricultural social security and family benefits have been increased by 8% this year.¹⁵³’*

All in all, the broad range of various stakeholder interests were able to come together. UNR’s proper utilisation of a combination of the problem, policy and political stream led to a policy window that established the Franco-Tunisian Labour Convention in 1963: *‘Mr Gilbert Grandval, Minister for Labour, who has just completed a short stay in Tunisia, agreed with his Tunisian counterpart on the broad lines of a convention on labour and vocational training¹⁵⁴’*

¹⁵¹ “Nous ne devons pas laisser les agriculteurs nus sous la tourmente. » Ce sont là les paroles que vous prononciez, monsieur le ministre, à l'issue de la séance du 5 juillet 1963 au cours de laquelle vous aviez, comme aujourd'hui, entendu les doléances justifiées du monde agricole et viticole. Nous sommes bien obligés de constater, hélas ! [...] les viticulteurs sont toujours aussi nus, tandis que la tourmente, loin de s'apaiser, n'a fait que redoubler de violence.” Ibid

¹⁵² list of grievances in english

¹⁵³ “enseignement agricole [...]Nous avons assuré le remboursement à 80 % des frais de maladie par la Sécurité sociale, nous avons institué la sécurité sociale agricole, les prestations familiales ont été augmentées de 8 % cette année.”, A.L, ‘ Le Monde, ‘L’U.N.R. va publier un programme permanent et, s’il y a des élections, un programme législatif Le discours du premier ministre’, *Le Monde* (27th of March 1962)

¹⁵⁴ “M. Gilbert Grandval, ministre du travail, qui vient d'effectuer un court séjour en Tunisie, a arrêté, avec son homologue tunisien, les grandes lignes d'une convention sur la main-d'œuvre et la formation professionnelle”, J. Ben Brahem, ‘Une convention sur la main-d’œuvre sera prochainement négociée entre la France et la Tunisie’, *Le Monde* (12th of March 1963)

4. Conclusion

The core question of this thesis was to uncover why certain socio-economic and political factors played various influential positions in determining if and how decision makers pushed for legislative improvement. This was determined in detail by looking at the signing of a bilateral labour convention, pertaining towards seasonal migration between France and Tunisia. Throughout the research, it became clear that out of the five factors hypothesised as playing an influential role, only four were truly determined to coerce decision makers: the supply and demand factors, the post-colonial geopolitical context and the internal situation of the UNR party. The ethnographic mindset did not seem to play a dominant role apart from the divisions that were exerted between Algerians and Moroccans/Tunisians during the Franco-Algerian civil war. In addition, it has become increasingly clear the instrumental role post-colonial tensions played between France and Tunisia, as well as the Franco-Algerian civil war. This was notably illustrated by the 1961 Bizerte Crisis.

Furthermore, the problematisation of migration slowly began to shift in the early 1960s, as it represented a new moment in the perception of guest worker migration, due in part to the emancipation of North African workers from their former colony and the societal debate they spurred upon arrival in France. This clearly shows how the problem stream was slowly built before being used to the UNR's own political gain. The press, through its discourse, made it possible for the government to promote labour migration as a necessity and thus speak in favour of it. This demonstrates the convergence of narrative between both stakeholders. If it was still a period of full employment compared to 1971 when labour immigration was officially halted, the early 1960s represent an important period in time where the agricultural sector demonstrated its historic deeply rooted reliance on cheap seasonal labour. At the time where the UNR searched for internal and external stability, the Common Agricultural Policy and the Tunisian labour convention came as a golden opportunity to strengthen the newly created party while asserting itself on the international stage. This clearly highlights the political stream facet of this calculated move.

The gradual decline of the CNIP's votes, a deeply agricultural voter-based party in favour of UNR, showed the latter's agile political move of modernising the country whilst maintaining stability through the agricultural electorate. This clearly shows how within the policy stream, UNR decision makers were able to use this to their advantage. The UNR also seized the opportunity of the international stage in a moment where the young Moroccan and Tunisian states were trying to stamp out an identity on the international scene. From the perspective of Kingdon's theory, this opened a policy window in international relations for both governments on both sides of the Mediterranean which allowed them to enter a stage of talks whilst boosting their political reputation amongst domestic electorates after the Bizerte crisis. The result of this led to a legislative spillover effect between Tunisia and France. This policy window was also made possible with a change in the French Prime Minister, the problematisation of labour shortages and Tunisian immigration.

The importance of the supply and demand factors were explicitly visible throughout the various streams, demonstrating exponential growth in food demand while witnessing a rural exodus of residents from the countryside towards better job opportunities in cities and higher studies for the youth. Thus, the labour

shortage burden was doubled by these two opposite factors, giving more strength to the problem stream as this rural exodus brought the issue to light. The seemingly absurd request from a large spectrum of the National Assembly to draft French conscripted youth to help with the harvest demonstrates the urgency and scale of the spectrum. Furthermore, environmental factors played a role in aggravating the farmer's grievances as they significantly acted as a catalyst of deeper, structural issues in domestic food production. Due to the increased volatility of harvest as a result of extreme climate changes, the need for an easily modifiable contract became a priority and further justified the reliance on labour migration.

Through this thesis, I aimed to add a governance angle to the literature debate regarding seasonal migration in France, specifically in the 1958-1967 time period. If surprisingly, much of the literature on the topic of French seasonal migration seemed to be bottom up, I attempted to also fill a literature gap by providing a top-down governance approach to the issue at hand. This work pushed to illustrate the inherent political dynamics in relation to societal debate that encouraged or went against certain legal texts pertaining to immigration. I was able to demonstrate the pressures exerted by the UNR and farmer unions on each other leading to a convergence in seasonal migration. My sources would have enabled me to uncover even more untapped conversations and hidden interests if I would have been able to delve into more political party confidential notes and foreign affairs archives for the studied time period. As a result of the limited access to various archives available due to the Covid pandemic, I was hindered from making more detailed conclusions on the state of involvement of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on this matter. Furthermore, I acknowledge that this paper only delves into the French decision-making process. It would be fascinating to uncover the Tunisian socio-economic and political dynamics that led to negotiations between the newly independent state and its former coloniser. Yet, through this thesis I hope to have contributed to the literature of the governance of migration, specifically pertaining to Franco-Tunisian relations and in doing so have helped for all to gain a better insight on the dynamics and pressures governing policy making, in our current times.

Bibliography:

- 22/08/1962: Attentat du Petit-Clamart. (n.d.). *Fondation Charles de Gaulle*. Retrieved 9 June 2021, from <https://www.charles-de-gaulle.org/annonce/22081962-attentat-petit-clamart/>
- Allart, Marie-Christine, 'Les Fransmans au XXe siècle: Du travail à la mémoire', *Revue du Nord*, 432(4)(2019), 795–814. Cairn.info. <https://doi.org/10.3917/rdn.432.0795>
- Arihir, Mustapha 'Les relations extérieures franco-algériennes à l'épreuve de la reconnaissance des torts infligés, de 1962 à nos jours: Étude du rôle de la reconnaissance dans le processus de la coopération et de la réconciliation', *Institut de Recherche Montesquieu* (2014)
- Atupem, George 'Applying John Kingdon's Three Stream Model to the Policy Idea of Universal Preschool', *Bridgewater State University* (2017)
- Berlan, Jean Paul 'L'agriculture méditerranéenne de la France: Dynamique et contradictions. Théorie du marché du travail'. *Économie rurale*, 153(1), (1983) 42–49. <https://doi.org/10.3406/ecoru.1983.2928>
- Berlan, Jean Paul 'Agriculture et migrations', *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 2(3), 9–32. (1986). <https://doi.org/10.3406/remi.1986.1110>
- Berlan, Jean Paul 'Dynamique d'intégration dans l'agriculture provençale'. *Études rurales*, 135(1), 151–160. (1994). <https://doi.org/10.3406/rural.1994.3492>
- Besnaci-Lancou, Fatima 'Des harkis envoyés à la mort: Le sort des prisonniers de l'Algérie indépendante (1962-1969)', *Éditions de l'Atelier* (2014).
- Borrel, Catherine. 'Immigration, Emploi et Chômage : Un état des lieux empirique et théorique' , *CERC-association*, (1999) Retrieved 15 June 2021, from <https://www.gisti.org/doc/presse/1999/cerc/dossier.pdf>
- Boussard, Isabel. 'Le général de Gaulle et les agriculteurs'. In J.-F. Sirinelli, R. Vandebussche, & M. Sadoun (Eds.), *La politique sociale du général de Gaulle* (pp. 257–277). *Publications de l'Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion*. (2018). <http://books.openedition.org/irhis/1099>
- Breda, Guilia 'Les migrations saisonnières au regard du discours sur le codéveloppement.', *Unité de Recherche migrations et sociétés* (2016)
- Brunet, Pierre 'Le problème des migrations saisonnières agricoles dans les plaines orientales de l'Île-de-France', *Bulletin de l'Association de Géographes Français*, 28(216), (1951). 86–92. <https://doi.org/10.3406/bagf.1951.7341>
- Castracani, Lucio., Décosse, Frédéric., & Nieto, Juana. Moreno. 'Le temps du détachement: Mobilité, migration et (hors-)travail dans l'agriculture intensive provençale', *Temporalités : revue de sciences sociales et humaines*, 32. (2020) <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-03082868>
- Castracani, Lucio., Décosse, Frédéric., & Nieto, Juana. Moreno 'Les avatars du travail détaché dans l'agriculture provençale: Entre externalisation, salariat bridé et installation', *Nouvelle Revue du travail*, 18. (2020) <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-03082845>

- Charlot, Jean 'L'Union pour la nouvelle République: Un bilan', *Revue française de science politique*, 17(1), (1967) 78–86. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rfsp.1967.392994>
- Chupin, Ivan., & Mayance, Pierre. 'L'Agriculture en représentation(s): Luttes Médiatiques, Luttes syndicales', *Études Rurales*, 198 (2016) 9–23.
- Collovald, Annie. 'Une politique de la fidélité. La construction du groupe parlementaire UNR (1958-62)', *Politix. Revue des sciences sociales du politique*, 3(10), (1990) 53–69. <https://doi.org/10.3406/polix.1990.2122>
- Décosse, Frédéric 'Migrations sous contrôle. Agriculture intensive et saisonniers Marocains sous contrat OMI', *Phd thesis, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales*(2011) <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01092682>
- Décosse, Frédéric. 'La santé des travailleurs agricoles migrants: Un objet politique?', *Etudes rurales*, 2(182), (2008) 103.
- Décosse, Frédéric. 'Entre " usage contrôlé ", invisibilisation et externalisation. Le précaire étranger face au risque chimique en agriculture intensive', *Sociologie du Travail*, 55, (2013) 322.
- Décosse, Frédéric. "Immigrés, solidarité!" Histoire d'une lutte, envers d'un slogan', *Hommes & migrations*, 1301, (2013) 109.
- Décosse, Frédéric., & Desalvo, Agustina. 'Les détachés de l'agriculture intensive', *Plein Droit*, 113(2). (2017). <https://doi.org/10.3917/pld.113.0007>
- Décosse, Frédéric., & Helliou, Emmanuelle. 'De la migration circulaire à la canalisation des mobilités: Une réflexion sur l'utilitarisme migratoire contemporain à partir de l'étude comparée des contrats OFII (France) et des contratos en origen (Espagne)', *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*. (2020) <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-03083071>
- El Mechat, Samya 'Les relations franco-tunisiennes. Histoire d'une souveraineté arrachée 1955-1964', *Histoires et Perspective Méditerranéennes* (2005) p211 Retrieved 31 May 2021, from <https://www.decitre.fr/livres/les-relations-franco-tunisiennes-9782747577106.html>
- 'En France, La commission épiscopale de l'émigration demande aux Français de surmonter toute tentation raciste', *Le Monde* (1961, November 16). https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1961/11/16/en-france-la-commission-episcopale-de-l-emigration-demande-aux-francais-de-surmonter-toute-tentation-raciste_3114407_1819218.html
- Fauvel, Daniel 'Abel Châtelain, Les migrants temporaires en France de 1800 à 1914', *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 1978(1), (1978). 449–454.
- Flory, Maurice., Le Tourneau, Roger., & Trystram, Jean-Paul. 'L'Afrique du Nord: État des travaux.', *Revue française de science politique*, 9(2), (1959) 410–453. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rfsp.1959.403004>
- Genin, Vincent. 'La politique étrangère de la France face à la crise congolaise (1960-1961)', in *Journal of Belgian History/Revue belge d'histoire contemporaine*, vol. XLIII (2013/1), (2013) 78-113. Retrieved 22 May 2021, from https://www.academia.edu/4952299/La_politique_%C3%A9trang%C3%A8re_de_la_France_face_%C3%A0_la_crise_congolaise_1960_1961_in_Journal_of_Belgian_History_Revue_belge_dhistoire_c

[ontemporaine vol XLIII 2013 1 p 78 113](#)

Goguel, François 'Le référendum du 28 octobre et les élections des 18-25 novembre 1962', *Revue française de science politique*, 13(2), (1963) 289–314. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rfsp.1963.392714>

Joanine Roy, 'III. - La voix des syndicats. (1963, October 19). *Le Monde.fr*. https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1963/10/19/iii-la-voix-des-syndicats_2210091_1819218.html

'La disparité des revenus qui pénalise les agriculteurs s'est aggravée depuis trois ans contrairement aux promesses de 'parité' inscrites dans la législation', *Le Monde*. (1964, November 16) https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1964/11/16/la-disparite-des-revenus-qui-penalise-les-agriculteurs-s-est-aggravee-depuis-trois-ans-contrement-aux-promesses-de-parite-inscrites-dans-la-legislation_3141858_1819218.html

'La F.N.S.E.A. choisit la négociation: Un cahier de doléances va être adressé à M. Pompidou', *Le Monde* (1963, October 18) https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1963/10/18/la-f-n-s-e-a-choisit-la-negociation-un-cahier-de-doleances-va-etre-adresse-a-m-pompidou_3093026_1819218.html

'La situation des travailleurs africains en France' *Le Monde* (1963, September 4) https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1963/09/04/la-situation-des-travailleurs-africains-en-france_2204160_1819218.html

Le Bihan, Joseph 'Notes sur les migrations saisonnières de travail en provenance de Bretagne', *Économie rurale*, 57(1), (1963) 41–60. <https://doi.org/10.3406/ecoru.1963.1762>

'Le départ saisonnier des travailleurs Algériens de Métropole est plus important cette année.', *Le Monde* (1962, August 14) https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1962/08/14/le-depart-saisonnier-des-travailleurs-algeriens-de-metropole-est-plus-important-cette-annee_2356135_1819218.html

'Le revenu individuel des agriculteurs augmente deux fois moins vite que celui des autres catégories, estime la F.N.S.E.A.', *Le Monde* (1963, September 12) https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1963/09/12/le-revenu-individuel-des-agriculteurs-augmente-deux-fois-moins-vite-que-celui-des-autres-categories-estime-la-f-n-s-e-a_2202251_1819218.html

Législatives 1958 'Ille-et-Vilaine, 5e circonscription' *Professions de foi du 2nd tour*. (1958). <http://archive.org/details/EL010L195811035052PFPdfmasterocr>

Leroux, Denis 'Je vous ai compris', les limites d'une tragédie française', *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, 119,(2013) 137–139.

Lenoble, Raymond 'La main-d'œuvre saisonnière betteravière en France. Historique des migrations, des origines à 1984', *Fédération Professionnelle Agricole pour la Main-d'œuvre saisonnière*. (1984)

Les Agriculteurs de la Creuse sont inquiets des dégâts de la sécheresse *Le Monde* (1964, August 8) https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1964/08/08/les-agriculteurs-de-la-creuse-sont-inquiets-des-degats-de-la-secheresse_2124655_1819218.html

'Les Négociations Franco-Tunisiennes Piétinent' *Le Monde* (1963, June 21) <https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1963/06/21/les-negociations-franco-tunisiennes->

[pietinent_2232057_1819218.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1965/09/07/les-policiers-ont-interpelle-plus-de-sept-cents-nord-africains-a-avignon_2200827_1819218.html)

'Les Policiers ont Interpellé plus de sept cents Nord-Africains à Avignon', *Le Monde* (1965, September 7)

https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1965/09/07/les-policiers-ont-interpelle-plus-de-sept-cents-nord-africains-a-avignon_2200827_1819218.html

Lochak, Danièle 'Le tri des étrangers: Un discours récurrent', *Plein droit*, n° 69(2), (2006) 4–8.

Loi n°66-415 du 18 juin 1966 Autorisant l'approbation de la convention générale de sécurité social et des trois protocoles annexes, signés le 17 décembre 1965, Entre le gouvernement de la République de Française et le gouvernement de la République Tunisienne - *Légifrance*. (n.d.). Retrieved 25 May 2021, from <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/id/JORFTEXT000000504437>

'L'U.N.R. va publier un programme permanent et, s'il y a des élections, un programme législatif Le discours du premier ministre: " L'U.N.R. s'instaurera comme un parti de gouvernement "', *Le Monde'* (1962, March 27). https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1962/03/27/l-u-n-r-va-publier-un-programme-permanent-et-s-il-y-a-des-elections-un-programme-legislatif-le-discours-du-premier-ministre-l-u-n-r-s-instaurera-comme-un-parti-de-gouvernement_3134518_1819218.html

'M. Michel Massenet est nommé directeur de la population et des migrations.', *Le Monde* (1966, April 2) https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1966/04/02/m-michel-massenet-est-nomme-directeur-de-la-population-et-des-migrations_2697118_1819218.html

Martin, Jean Philippe. 'Le syndicalisme viticole en Languedoc sous la Ve République'. *Économie rurale*, 237(1), (1997) 44–48. <https://doi.org/10.3406/ecoru.1997.4843>

Mesini, Béatrice. 'Contrats OMI, filière légale d'introduction de saisonniers et zones de non-droit dans l'agriculture provençale', *Migration maghrébine : enjeux actuels et contentieux*, Université Mohammed I, Oujda (Maroc), 24-25 novembre (2005)

Mesini, Béatrice, 'saisonniers étrangers dans l'agriculture méditerranéenne, les ressorts d'une mobilisation multiniveaux', *Document de travail, CNRS-UMR Telemme*, 48 (2006)

Mesini, Béatrice, 'Contentieux prudhommal des étrangers saisonniers dans les Bouches-du-Rhône', *Études rurales* 182 : (2008) 121-138.

Mesini, Béatrice, 'Le détachement transnational de travailleurs temporaires extracommunautaires dans l'agriculture européenne', *Université de Leipzig* (2011)

Mesini, Béatrice., Rau, Valérie., 'Segmentation statutaire et ethnique du marché de l'emploi en agriculture : le cas des saisonniers migrants dans la production de fruits et légumes en Méditerranée', *nouvelles dynamiques migratoires : activités régulières et irrégulières sur le marché du travail européen*, Université de Nice Sophia Antipolis, 7 décembre (2007)

Morice, Alain. 'Du seuil de tolérance au racisme banal, ou les avatars de l'opinion Fabriquée', *Journal des anthropologues* 110-111 : 379-408. (2007),

Morice, Alain., 'Le mouvement des sans-papiers ou la difficile mobilisation collective des individualismes', in Boubeker Ahmed & Hajjat Abdellali, *Histoire politique des immigrations (post) coloniales*, Amsterdam, Paris : 125-141. (2008)

- Morice, Alain., 'Quelques repères sur les contrats OMI et ANAEM', *Études rurales* 182 : 61-68. (2008)
- Morice, Alain., 'L'Europe et ses migrations de travail. Une politique quelque peu Clandestine', *Migrations société* 20 (116) : 85-103. (2008)
- Morice, Alain., Michalon, Bénédicte., 'Les migrants dans l'agriculture : vers une crise de main-d'oeuvre ?', *Études rurales* 182 : 9-28. (2008)
- Nantet, Jacques. 'France: Une période surtout marquée par les séquelles de la décolonisation.', *Le Monde diplomatique*(1963, January 1). <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1963/01/NANTET/25131>
- Office National d'Immigration, *Notes Rapides d'information* 42, (1975), Paris, in Décosse, Frédéric. 'Migrations sous contrôle. Agriculture intensive et saisonniers Marocains sous contrat OMI'. *Phd thesis, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales.* (2014) <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01092682>
- Platone, François. ('Le comportement électoral des agriculteurs sous la Ve République d'après les enquêtes par sondage', *Économie rurale*, 237(1), 15–18. 1997). <https://doi.org/10.3406/ecoru.1997.4837>
- Potot, Swanie. 'Quand les saisonniers tunisiens de Ghardimaou interrogent le codéveloppement.', *Hommes Migrations*, n° 1301(1), 79–87.(2013)
- Reconstruction et modernisation | *Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration.* (n.d.). Retrieved 9 June 2021, from <https://www.histoire-immigration.fr/reperes/au-travail/reconstruction-et-modernisation>
- Rozbicka, Patrycja., & Spohr, Florian. 'Interest groups in multiple streams: Specifying their involvement in the framework', *Policy Sciences*, 49(1), 55–69. (2016) <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-015-9227-8>
- Sainclivier, Jacqueline., & Richard, Gilles, 'Les partis et la République: La recomposition du système partisan', 1956-1967. *Presses universitaires de Rennes.* (2008)
- Sandri, Lionello. Levi. 'La communauté d'intérêts des travailleurs servira à cimenter l'union entre les peuples', *Le Monde diplomatique.* (1964, February 1) https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1964/02/LEVI_SANDRI/25800
- Sargent, Frederic. O., & Metzler, William. H.. 'Incomes of Migratory Agricultural Workers' (1960) <https://oaktrust.library.tamu.edu/handle/1969.1/87871>
- Schneider, S. (2000). 'Parliamentary Government in Canada: Institutional Stability and Constitutional Reform in the Legislative and Executive Branches', In R.-O. Schultze & R. Sturm (Eds.), *The Politics of Constitutional Reform in North America: Coping with New Challenges* (pp. 83–116).(2000) . https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-663-11628-8_4
- Schrover, Prof. Marlou., Leun, P. Joanne. van der, & Quispel, P. Chris. 'Niches, Labour Market Segregation, Ethnicity and Gender', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(4), 529–540. (2007) <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701265404>
- Seghirate, Yasmine., & Thibault, Axelle. 'Migrants: Une chance pour les mondes ruraux ?', In *Le Déméter* 2020 IRIS éditions (pp. 229–242). (2020) <https://www.cairn.info/le-demeter--0011662116-page-229.htm>

- Shultis, Arthur., 'The seasonal farm labor situation in Santa Clara County in 1959 and 1960', University of California (1961), *Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics., & California Agricultural Experiment Station.* (1961). The Foundation : The Station.
<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100577736>
- Silvera, V., Gondran, R., Petit, C.-H., Coutant, P., Minot, J., Carcelle, P., Mas, G., Scrive, S., Singer, J., Rambie, P., & Clayette, G. (1964). Vie de la Présidence et des Ministères: Du 16 Décembre 1963 au 15 Février 1964. *La Revue Administrative*, 17(97), 44–68.
- 'Situation satisfaisante au 1er juillet ... Mais la sécheresse pourrait perturber plusieurs marchés.', *Le Monde* (1964, July 22) https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1964/07/22/situation-satisfaisante-au-1er-juillet-mais-la-secheresse-pourrait-perturber-plusieurs-marches_2140755_1819218.html
- Taamallah, Khemaïes. 'Evolution régionale de la population tunisienne résidant en France, au cours de deux périodes 1962-1968 et 1968-1975', *Population (French Edition)*, 32(2), 441–447.(1977)
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1531668>
- Taamallah Khemaïes. 'Les travailleurs tunisiens en France: Aspects socio-démographiques, économiques et problèmes de retour; préface de Pierre George'. *Publications de l'université de Tunis*.(1980)
- Thirion, Isabelle. 'La décision du général de Gaulle de suspendre provisoirement la participation française au Conseil des ministres de la Communauté économique européenne (I er juillet 1965)', *Relations Internationales*, 49, 95–113.(1987)
- 'Trop de travailleurs ?' *Le Monde*, (1962, December 10)
https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1962/12/10/trop-de-travailleurs_2363396_1819218.html
- 'Une convention sur la main-d'œuvre sera prochainement négociée entre la France et la Tunisie.', *Le Monde* (1963, March 12) https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1963/03/12/une-convention-sur-la-main-d-uvre-sera-prochainement-negociee-entre-la-france-et-la-tunisie_2215698_1819218.html
- [Video] 'Pourquoi De Gaulle a dit « Je vous ai compris », le 4 juin 1958 à Alger?', *RFI* (2018, June 3)
<https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20180601-video-pourquoi-le-4-juin-1958-alger-gaulle-dit-il-je-vous-ai-compris>
- Virieu, F.-H. de. 'En s'inspirant de l'exemple français les Six s'efforcent d'harmoniser leurs régimes de protection sociale agricole', *Le Monde diplomatique* (1964, February 1). https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1964/02/DE_VIRIEU/25801
- Walker J. Lawrence., & Taylor H. John, 'Family interactions and the development of moral reasoning', *Child Development*, Volume 62, issue 2 (1991) 264-283 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1991.tb01530.x>
- Zola, Emile 'Germinal', *Penguin Classics* (2004)