

## Index

- Abbas, Kamal, 67, 183, *See also* CTUWS and EDLC  
 appointment to NCHR, 182, 192  
 denounces ETUF corruption, 87  
 establishes CTUWS, 37  
 French Human Rights Prize recipient, 37  
 global labor support, 83, 158  
 and ILO conventions, 45  
 imprisoned, 49  
 independent union movement, 64  
 legitimacy claims, 89  
 on Mahalla strikes, 54  
 meeting with Habib Guiza, 111  
 on the Muslim Brotherhood, 166  
 relationship with Abu Eita, 89, 162, 182, 202–3  
 use of new media, 46
- Abbassi, Amara, 113
- Abbassi, Hacine, 132, 142, 179
- Abdaljawad, Mahdi, 127
- Abdel Gowad, Mohamed, 173
- Abdel Hadi, Aisha, 41, 48, 60
- Abid, Lassâad, 137
- Abu Eita, Kamal, 151, 183, 192, *See also* EFITU  
 background, 46  
 establishment of RETA, 49, 52–53, 75  
 global labor support, 158  
 independent union movement, 64, 189  
 Karama Party, 50, 173  
 Kefaya movement leader, 47  
 legitimacy claims, 89  
 as Minister of Manpower, 178, 181–82  
 pay inequality protests, 47  
 relationship with Abbas, 89, 162, 182, 202–3  
 use of new media, 46  
 worker mobilization, 206
- Achour, Habib, 95, 98, 109
- Actors' Syndicate, 173
- ACTRAV. *See under* ILO
- Adouani, Sami, 150
- advocation, defined, 4
- AFL-CIO, 150, *See also* American Federation of Labor  
 funding for ETUF projects, 51  
 funding for Solidarity Movement, 85  
 international operations, 81  
 Solidarity Center. *See* Solidarity Center  
 support for international unions, 207
- African Development Bank, 28
- African National Congress (ANC), 215
- African-American Labor Center, 51, 81
- aggregation, defined, 4
- Al Jazeera*, 46
- Al Masry Al Youm*, 46
- Al-Aridah, 133–34
- Aleimi, Hichem, 114
- Alexander, Anne, 57, 59
- Alexander, Christopher, 99, 103
- Algeria  
 civil war, 101  
 support for Tunisian movement, 115
- Al-Ghad. *See* Ghad Party
- Ali, Khaled, 165
- All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), 215
- Al-Massar, 141
- Amamou, Slim (aka Slim 404), 120, 128
- American Federation of Labor, 95, 207, *See also* AFL-CIO
- Amin, Idi, 127
- Angry Friday, 54, 62
- Ansar Al-Sharia, 141

- April 6th Movement, 49, 54, 114, 184  
 Arab Barometer, 65, 156  
 Arab Socialist Union, 27  
 Arab Spring, 2  
   narratives of, 7, 23  
 Arab-Israeli war (1967), 26  
 arbitration, in Egypt, 25  
 Ashour, Sameh, 173  
 Ashry, Nahed Al-, 183, 185  
 Association Tunisienne de Femmes  
   Démocrates (ATFD). *See* Tunisian  
   Association of Democratic Women  
 authoritarianism  
   and democracy promotion, 217  
   as political economy of repression,  
   101  
   and union politics, 5  
   legacies of, 217  
   transition from, 206, 209, 217  
 Ayari, Belgacem, 157  
 Azhari, Khaled Al-, 72, 76, 168, 173,  
   186  
  
 Bahrain, labor movement in, 213  
 Barakat, Saber, 73, 165  
 Bardo National Museum (Tunis), 187  
 Bassiouny, Mostafa, 57, 59  
 Bayoumi, Yosri, 71  
 Beblawi, Hazem Al-, 179, 183  
 Bedoui, Abdeljelil, 128  
 Belaid, Chokri, assassination of,  
   145–49, 152, 176  
 Bellin, Eva, 53  
 Ben Abdellah, Hassen, 113  
 Ben Ali, Leila, 116  
 Ben Ali, Zine El Abbedine, 109  
   1987 coup, 12  
   2009 elections, 117  
   and Gafsa strikes, 8  
   and the Trabelsi clan, 100  
   and UGTT leadership, 13, 110, 116,  
   126  
   cabinet, 128  
   declares Bourguiba unfit for office, 99  
   economic development under, 130  
   family corruption, 100, 108, 116  
   legitimacy of, 114, 195  
   neoliberal policy, 118  
   ouster of, 54, 127  
   repression under, 18, 177  
   restructures UGTT, 99, 101  
   rhetoric, 101, 118  
   state apparatus of, 101  
 Ben Gueddour, Anouar, 128  
 Ben Jaafar, Mustapha, 117, 124, 128,  
   133, 144  
 Borai, Ahmed Hassan Al-. *See also*  
   Borai's Law  
   amends trade union law, 68  
   and ETUF leadership, 66, 71  
   and independent unions, 67  
   as Minister of Manpower, 66, 168,  
   183  
   as Minister of Social Solidarity, 178  
   attends ILO conference, 87  
   declares trade union independence,  
   67  
   ILO counselor, 66  
 Borai's Law, 68, 76, *See also* Egypt:  
   Law 35  
 Bouazizi, Mohammed, 7, 114, 119–21,  
   123, 148  
 Bourguiba, Habib, 109, 112, 124  
   “decapitation” of union leadership,  
   98  
   as corporatist bargainer, 96  
   declared unfit for office, 99  
   ouster of, 195  
   has UGTT leaders arrested, 97  
   rise to power, 94  
   visits US, Am. Fed. of Labor, 95  
 Brahmi, Mohammed, 148–49, 152,  
   176, 179  
 Briki, Abid, 191  
  
 Camel Day attacks, 92  
 Camp David Accords, 28  
 Caraway, Teri L., 3, 60–61, 64, 206  
 Carthage Agreement, 190  
 Center for Trade Union and Worker  
   Services. *See* CTUWS  
 Central Bank of Tunisia, 113  
 CGTT, 94, 141, 153–54, *See also*  
   Guiza, Habib  
   challenge to UGTT, 158  
   creation of, 135  
   legitimacy, 136  
 Chahed, Youssef, 191  
 Chandoul, Mohamed, 116  
 Cheffi, Samir, 131

- China Labour Bulletin, 215  
 civil disobedience, to oust Morsi, 92  
 civil service, under Sisi regime, 188  
 Cleopatra Ceramic, 183  
 Collier, David, 58, 124  
 Collier, Ruth Berins, 58, 124  
 colonialism, legacy of in North Africa, 209  
 Committee to Protect Journalists, 155  
 Compagnie des Phosphates de Gafsa (CPG), 111, 114  
 competitive cooptation, 66  
 Confédération Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens. *See* CGTT  
 Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), 94  
 Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe, 85  
 Congrès pour la République. *See* CPR  
 Congress for the Republic. *See* CPR  
 Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), 214  
 Constitution Party, 79  
 coordination, defined, 4  
 Cornell University, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 136  
 corporatism. *See also* incorporation and antecedents to contentious politics, 206  
 failure of, 205  
 in Egypt and Tunisia, 206  
 regime-backed, 2  
 reestablishment of, 196  
 corporatist bargaining and revolutionary goals, 211  
 corporatist collapse and neoliberal reforms, 205, 211  
 and revolutionary politics, 194  
 causes of, 6, 195  
 defined, 4, 23  
 failure to emerge, 214  
 in Egypt, 23  
 in revolutionary politics, 205  
 in Scandinavian countries, 205  
 in Tunisia, 121  
 periodization of, 21  
 theory, 215  
 corporatist structures  
 basic duties of, 4  
 failure to control labor, 117  
 corporatization of unions, 1  
 Corrective Revolution of 1971, 26  
 corruption of union elections, 6  
 in Egypt, 13, 46, 51, 53, 56, 98  
 in Tunisia, 121  
 Council of Nile Basin Countries, 178  
 CPR, 133  
 critical junctures, historical legacy of, 58  
 CTUWS, 37, 43–44, 69, 88–89,  
*See also* Abbas, Kamal  
 and EDLC, 182  
 and ILO conventions, 45  
 challenge to ETUF-EFITU duopoly, 90  
 documentation of strife, 55, 62, 184  
 influence on Guiza, 111, 135  
 monitoring of elections, 46  
 regime backlash to, 49  
 rhetoric of, 51  
 support for jailed Tunisian workers, 115  
 Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, 17  
 De Connick, Monica, 144  
 democracy promotion (concept), 84  
 Democratic Front, 77  
 Democratic Patriots' Movement, 145  
 dependent development, 209  
 Dignity Revolution, 7  
 Dimassi, Houssine, 128  
 Doctors' Syndicate, 164  
 Dostour Party, 94, 178  
 Economic Reform and Structural Adjustment. *See* ERSAP  
 EDLC, 89–90, 153, 162, *See also* Abbas, Kamal  
 founding convention, 152  
 EFITU, 87, 89–90, 153, 162, *See also* Abu Eita, Kamal  
 declaration, 62–63, 85  
 establishment of, 55  
 media coverage, 65  
 Egypt  
 10<sup>th</sup> of Ramadan City, 38  
 Alexandria, 91  
 civil service law, 1, 192  
 constitution (2014), 181

- Egypt (cont.)  
     constitutional assembly, 19, 167, 172–74  
     Dispute Resolution Bureau, 183  
     emergency law, 50  
     Helwan, 38  
     Kafar Al-Dawwar, 24  
     Law 12 of 2003, 35  
     Law 18 of 2015, 188  
     Law 203 of 1991, 32  
     Law 35 of 1976, 27, 34, 68–69, 181, *See also* Borai's Law  
     Mahalla El-Kubra, 38, 43, 49, 52, 182, *See also* Mahalla strikes  
     Ministry of Manpower, 26, 40, 203  
     National Council for Human Rights, 192  
     NGO law, 38, 86  
     participation in Iraq War of 2003, 40  
     railroad strike of 1986, 37  
     Social Fund for Development (SFD), 33  
     Suez Canal, 188  
     Worker's College system, 67  
 Egyptian Democratic Labor Congress. *See* EDLC  
 Egyptian Federation of Independent Trade Unions. *See* EFITU  
 Egyptian Movement for Change. *See* Kefaya movement  
 Egyptian Trade Union Federation. *See* ETUF  
 El General, arrest of, 121  
 ElBaradei, Mohamed, 79, 178  
 elite decision-making, 20  
 elite syndicates, 19  
 El-Mahrousa Center (Cairo), 184  
 Elmergany, Elhamy, 37  
 Engineers' Syndicate, 164  
 Ennahda, 179, *See also* Ghannouchi, Rashid; *and* MTI  
     ability to regroup, 211  
     and Belaid assassination, 146  
     and gender roles, 175  
     and Nidaa Tounes, 186–87, 191, 198  
     and UGTT, 99, 139, 141–42, 152, 175–77, 185, 198  
     boycott of National Dialogue, 142  
     coalition with CPR, 133  
     in NCA, 133  
     relationship with unions, 14, 16, 20, 157  
 Ennahda Movement, 14  
 Ennahda Paty. *See* Ennahda  
 Erdle, Stefan, 110  
 ERSAP, 29–30, 42, 100  
     contraction of public sector, 10  
 Essebsi, Beji Caid, 179, 187  
     as president, 180, 186, 190  
     inclusion policy, 198  
     leader of Nidaa Tounes, 134  
     on unions' right to strike, 192  
     political background, 132  
 Essid, Habib, 190  
 Ettajdid, 128  
 Ettakatol, 124, 133–34  
 ETUC, 152  
 ETUF, 162–70, 181–90  
     ability to aggregate demands, 56  
     alienated from global labor, 80  
     American labor pivot away from, 51  
     and constitution, 25  
     and Muslim Brotherhood, 15, 20, 78, 89, 163–69  
     and political parties, 19  
     as a legacy union, 4, 60, 64  
     board of directors, 67, 71, 76, 168, 182  
     call for quiescence, 118  
     capacity to control strikes, 56  
     collective bargaining, 119  
     competition for workers, 57  
     control of labor sector, 62  
     cooptation of, 118, 195, 199–200, 215  
     dynamics of corporatism, 61  
     elections corrupted, 195, 198  
     end of monopoly over unions, 67  
     establishment of, 24, 59  
     flexibilized contracts, 195  
     inability to aggregate demands, 48  
     incorporation of, 18  
     invokes ILO conventions, 56  
     Labor Day celebration, 188  
     leaders in ILO, 44  
     legitimacy of, 51, 60  
     loyalty to Mubarak regime, 33, 35  
     militant member frustration, 45  
     officials in Ministry of Manpower, 26, 40, 68  
     prevention of outside labor support, 53  
     public sector main source of labor, 9

- railroad and steel strikes as turning point, 37
  - role of in political economy, 5, 13
  - scholarly analysis of, 57
  - subjugation of to NDP, 27
  - under Mubarak regime, 186
  - under Sisi regime, 203
  - weakened by flexibilization, 105
  - workers unaware of membership, 64
- ETUF-EFITU duopoly, 90
- European Trade Union Confederation. *See* ETUC
- Evans, Peter, 208
- external linkages
  - and revolutionary movements, 19
  - as a factor in labor movement transitions, 60
  - as key to union strength, 7
  - in Egypt, 17, 157
  - in Tunisia, 18, 157, 160
  - research on, 216
- Facebook, 8
- Fahmy, Ismael Ibrahim, 68
- Fangary, Mohsen El-, 70
- federation vs. federation split
  - defined, 18
  - in Egypt, 18, 199, 203
- Fekry, Fathi, 71
- file vs. leadership split (Tunisia), 117
- FJP, 167–68
  - and ETUF, 166
  - and Muslim Brotherhood, 14, 72, 76, 172, 174
  - and neoliberal reforms, 78
  - electoral legitimacy, 147
  - labor position after Morsi election, 76
  - relationship with unions, 20
- flexibilization
  - as cause for corporatist collapse, 6
  - defined, 4, 31
  - in Egypt, 11, 23, 31–35, 38, 42, 49, 56
  - in Tunisia, 11, 101–6, 118, 121, 195–96
  - of labor code, 103
  - of labor laws, 194
  - role of in corporatist collapse, 4
- flexicurity model, 197
- Forum démocratique pour le travail et les libertés (FDTL). *See* Ettakatol
- Free Egyptians Party, 75
- Free Officers Coup, 24
- Free Patriotic Union, 180
- Freedom and Justice Party. *See* FJP
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 45, 86, 150, 201
  - consolidation efforts in Botswana, 216
- Fustat Park (Cairo), 189
- Gadhafi, Muammar, 112
- Gafsa strikes, 8, 12, 115–16, 120, 130, *See also* Tunisia:Gafsa
- Gama'a Islamiyya (Egypt), 77
- Ganzouri, Kemal Al-, 71
- garbage collectors strike, 139
- Gaza incursion of 2009, 120
- Genedy, Ahmed El-, 86
- General Federation of Independent Unions (Jordan), 212
- General Federation of Jordanian Trade Unions (GFJTU), 212
- General Federation of Workers Trade Unions (Bahrain), 213
- German Social Democratic Party, 86
- Ghad Party, 42, 52
- Ghafour, Ashraf Abdel, 173
- Ghannouchi, Mohammed, 128, 132, 162, 179
- Ghannouchi, Rashid, 98, 129, 146, *See also* Ennahda
- Ghazzali, Abdul Monem Al-, 67
- global labor
  - activists, 20
  - and external linkages, 16
  - as a transnational advocacy network, 207
  - decisionmaking processes, research on, 217
  - defined, 57
  - funding for capacity building, 88
  - impact of on regime transition, 207
  - importance of policy focus, 83
  - negative view of ETUF, 151
  - pluralism promotion, 217
  - post-1990 changes, 80
  - prioritization of union cohesion, 17, 150
  - rhetorical and material support, 80
  - support for CTUWS, 45
  - support for Egypt, 86, 202

- global labor (cont.)
  - support for independent unions, 85, 158
  - support for UGTT, 139, 151, 157, 160, 200
  - support of union pluralism, 82
- Global Union Federations, 81, *See* GUFs
- Goldberg, Ellis, 39
- Googrey, Said, 73
- government collapse (Jan. 1918)
  - in Tunisia, 128
- GUFs, 138, 151, 157
  - and UGTT, 202
  - as external link, 17
- Guiza, Habib, 111, 135, 153–54, *See also* CGTT
- Gulf War, 29, 33
- Habib, Sayyid, 43
- Hajji, Adnen, 115, 119, 126, 142
- Hajji, Lotfi, 155
- Hamalawy, Hossam El-, 165
- Hamdi, Hechmi, 133
- Hammami, Hamma, 126
- Haute instance pour la réalisation des objectifs de la révolution, de la réforme politique et de la transition démocratique. *See* High Commission
- Health Workers' Union (Tunisia), 151
- Heched, Farhat, 124
  - assassination of, 95, 125
  - as leader of independence movement, 95
  - creates UGTT, 95
  - memorial, 171, 176
  - veneration of, 131
  - visits AFL in US, 95, 150
- Helsinki Accords, 84–85
- Hibou, Béatrice, 101
- High Commission, 133
- Hisham Mubarak Law Center, 36, 52
- Human Rights Watch, 175
- Hussein, Saddam, 29
- Ibrahim, Ahmed, 128
- ICFTU, 80, 150
- ILO, 21, 68, 155, 157, 191
  - ACTRAV (Workers Bureau), 88–89, 202
- and “decent work” agenda, 196
- Archives, 21
- as external link, 16
- blacklist, 68, 85, 87
- Committee of Experts, 21, 47, 82, 104, 202
- Convention 87, 38, 44, 82, 87
- Convention 98, 44, 82, 87
- conventions, 17, 80, 137
- conventions, as legal justification
  - against regimes, 44
- conventions, language of, 45
- Core Labor Standards, 212
- Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization, 197
- Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, 81
- impact on training unionists, 216
- International Labor Conference, 87
- on strike organization, 104
- opposition to labor rigidities, 10
- records on strike data, 48
- relationship with ETUF, 87
- rhetorical toolkit, 88
- support of independent unions, 48
- supprt of UGTT, 157
- IMF, structural adjustments, 2, 98, 196
- incorporation. *See also* corporatism
  - and labor displacement, 61
  - and revolutionary movements, 19
  - as a “historical cause” for political economy, 58
- defined, 5
- in Egypt and Tunisia, 58
- legacy of, 7
- modes of, 59
- narratives of, 158
- of labor into a political system, 58
- rhetorical power of, 160
- independence-since-birth narrative
  - in Tunisia, 125
- independent unions. *See also* labor unions *and names of specific unions*
  - emergence of in Egypt, 48
  - formation of, 93
  - in Egypt, 64–65, 163–69, 173
  - in Tunisia, 169–72, 201
  - revolutionary legitimacy, 63, 93
  - under Mubarak regime, 15

## Index

225

- infitah* reforms, 26, 36, 61  
 internal linkages  
   and revolutionary movements, 19  
   as a key to union strength, 7  
   in Egypt, 15  
   in Tunisia, 15, 160  
 International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, 80  
 International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. *See* ICFTU  
 International Labor Organization. *See* ILO  
 international legal standards, 84  
 International Monetary Fund. *See* IMF  
 International Republican Institute, 86, 202  
 International Trade Secretariats, 81  
 International Trade Union Confederation. *See* ITUC  
 international trade union movement  
   and ETUF, 136  
   pivot to independent unions, 88  
   UGTT role in, 152  
 interviews, as a research source, 20  
 Iraq War, 120  
 Iraq War (1991), 11  
 Islamic State, 187  
 Islamist movements. *See* Islamic parties  
   *and names of specific movements and parties*  
 Islamist parties, 210, *See also names of specific parties*  
   relations with unions, 163, 211  
 Islamist-secular strife, 92, 142, 168, 203, 210  
 Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 40  
 ITUC, 21, 201  
   as external link, 16, 82, 85, 154, 200  
   formation of, 52, 81  
   pushback on IMF promotion of flexibilization, 197  
   support of UGTT, 150  
 January 25th Revolution, 54, 62, 129, 146, 178  
   ETUF response to, 54  
   Tunisian Revolution role in, 55  
 January 30th gathering, 55, 62, 129  
 Jawad, Mahdi Abd Al, 185  
 Jebali, Hamadi, 133, 147  
 Jerad, Abdessalem, 110, 117, 121, 131  
 Jomaa, Mehdi, 180  
 Jordan  
   free-trade agreement with US, 212  
   labor movement, 213  
 Journalists' Syndicate, 46, 173  
 judicialization, in Egypt, 37  
 June 30th protests, 92, 177  
 Karama Party, 50, 52, 61, 173  
 Kefaya movement, 47, 50, 53–54  
 Khairy, Ahmed, 178  
 Khalosy, Mohamed, 173  
 Khatab, Abdel Fatah, 173  
 Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 86  
 Ksiksi, Jamila, 170–71  
 Laarayedh, Ali, 147, 157, 170, 180, 185  
 labor incorporation. *See* incorporation  
 labor law  
   in Egypt, 34, 44, 52, 57, 69, 195  
   in Jordan, 212  
   in Tunisia, 103, 105, 118, 196  
 labor militancy, 6  
   in Tunisia, 8, 195  
   origins of, 13  
 labor quiescence, 23, 26  
   and flexibilization, 197  
   in Tunisia, 101  
 labor quiescence, defined, 4  
 labor unions. *See also* independent unions *and names of specific unions*  
   ability to aggregate and advocate, 23  
   as a revolutionary sector, 8  
   corporatization of, 23  
   goals of in 2011 (Egypt), 57  
 Land Center for Human Rights, 30, 48  
 Lawyers' Syndicate, 164  
 League for the Protection of the Revolution, 140  
 leftist-liberal alliance under Mubarak regime, 37  
 legacy unions, 206  
   defined, 3  
   in Tunisia, 18  
   six factors for continued dominance, 60

- legitimacy  
   as a factor in labor movement transitions, 60  
   international, 82–83  
   narratives of, 158  
   revolutionary, 83, 131, 157, 160  
 Libya, blamed for anti-Bourguiba rebellion, 112  
 Ligue Tunisienne des droits l'homme.  
   *See* LTDH  
 LTDH, 120, 177
- Machrouu Tounes, 127  
 Maghrabi, Ahmed Alaa El-Din Amin Al-, 40  
 Mahalla strikes, 44, 48, 51, 54  
   under Sisi regime, 189  
 Mansour, Adly, 178, 180, 182  
 Marghary, Gebali El-, 178, 183  
 Marouf, Yousri, 182  
 Marxian approaches to trade union activism, 208  
 Marzouki, Moncef, 132–33, 142, 149, 179  
   becomes president, 133  
 Mebazaa, Fouad, 128  
 Megawar, Hussein, 54, 63  
 Middle East exceptionalism, 205  
 militant workers  
   in Egypt, 118  
   in Tunisia, 118  
 military interregnum. *See* SCAF  
 military intervention, 92  
 military, varying role of in Egypt and Tunisia, 211  
 mobilization of workers, 58, 148, 206  
 Morocco, support of Tunisian movement, 115  
 Morsi, Mohammed, 72, 76, 140, 162, 167–68, 177, 183  
   changes of Borai's Law, 77, 79  
   ouster of, 15, 63, 92  
   takes oath of office in Tahrir Square, 62  
   union displeasure with, 91  
   wages policy, 204  
 Moussa, Amr, 79  
   in National Salvation Front, 79  
 Mouvement de la Tendance Islamique.  
   *See* MTI
- Mouvement des Démocrates Sociales (MDS), 97  
 MTI, 98–99, 138, *See also* Ennahda  
 Mubarak, Hosni  
   and Islamist parties, 210  
   cabinet, 40  
   ouster of, 54, 63, 68, 118  
 Mubarak, Saleh Noman, 166  
 Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA), 108  
 municipal unions (Tunisia), 139  
 Muslim Brotherhood, 52, 162–69  
   activism, 20  
   and FJP, 14  
   and secularists, 63, 91  
   anti-terrorism rhetoric, 184  
   as part of the old regime, 210  
   candidates banned, 42  
   cooptation of, 53  
   in 2005 elections, 49  
   influence in labor movement, 204  
   January 25th Revolution, 54  
   members on ETUF board, 68, 71, 76  
   protesters killed in coup, 137  
   purge of by unions, 199  
   under Mubarak regime, 15  
   under Nasser regime, 24  
   voter turnout methods, 211
- Naghd, Lofti, death of, 140, 146–47  
 Naguib, Mohammed, 25  
 Nasser, Gamal Abdul, 24, 32, 38  
   1952 coup, 59  
   bureaucratization, 9  
 National Constituent Assembly (Tunisia). *See* NCA  
 National Council for Human Rights (NCHR), 182  
 national council for social dialogue, 144  
 National Democratic Institute, 86  
 National Democratic Party. *See* NDP  
 National Dialogue, 160, 180  
   and Belaid assassination, 176  
   and Carthage Agreement, 191  
   as back-channel for decision-making, 177  
   awarded Nobel Prize, 187, 201  
   launched after Belaid assassination, 176  
 UGTT announcement of, 140  
 UGTT role in, 176, 202



## Index

227

- National Endowment for Democracy, 51, 86, 155, 202, 216
- National Federation of Egypt's Workers, 186
- National Salvation Front (Egypt), 79, 149, 172
- National Salvation Front (Tunisia), 149, 172, 176
- Nationale Tunisienne du Travail (UNTT), 98
- nationalization, in Egypt, 25, 32
- Nawaat* (website), 120
- Nazif, Ahmed, 40, 43, 48–49
- NCA, 140–41, 144–48
  - and calls for “electoral legitimacy”, 149, 179
  - and political parties, 19
  - and strikes, 159
  - and UGTT, 180
  - call for dissolution of, 176, 179
  - formed, 133
  - membership, 133
  - NSF opposition to, 172
- NDP, 27, 40–44
  - and sham elections, 53
  - political reform removed from platform, 50
  - protest vote against (2005), 49
- Neo-Dostour Party, 99
  - established, 95
  - Political Bureau, 95
  - support independence, 95
- neoliberal reforms
  - in Egypt, 24, 34–39, 43–44, 60, 78, 89, 173
  - in Tunisia, 9, 100, 118, 121
  - periodization of, 21
  - trade unions as counter-movement to, 208
- new solidarity movement, 199
- NGOs and law centers, in Egypt, 36
- Nidaa Tounes, 127
  - and Ennahda, 185–86, 191
  - and NSF, 149
  - and RCD, 148
  - and UGTT, 134, 140, 142, 185, 198
  - divisions within, 187
  - establishment of, 134
  - leaves NCA, 145
  - legitimacy, 147
- North African context
  - importance of labor scholarship, 209
- Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions, 81
- Nouira, Hedi, 96
- Nour Party, 77
- Nour, Ayman, 42
- Organisation Tunisienne du Travail. *See* OTT
- OTT, 137, 153, 157
  - formation of, 170
  - Islamist solidarity rhetoric, 136
- Oxfam-Novib, 86
- Paris Club debt forgiveness plan (Egypt), 29
- Parti Communiste des ouvriers de Tunisie (PCOT), 132
- Parti Communiste Tunisien (PCT), 97
- Parti d'Unité Populaire (PUP), 97
- Parti Socialiste Destourien (PSD), 99
- party-labor linkages, importance of, 216
- People's Movement, 148
- People's Republic of China, strike wave in, 215
- Permanent Conference of Alexandria Workers, 91
- Pharmacists' Syndicate, 173
- phosphate industry, Tunisian, 111
- Polanyian approaches to trade union activism, 208
- police intimidation in Egypt, 49
- political activism of youths in Egypt, 48–49, 54
- political economy of obedience in Tunisia, 124
- political power loss
  - in Egypt, 36
  - in Tunisia, 12, 106
  - role of in corporatist collapse, 4, 6
- politicization of labor, 58
- Popular Front (Tunisia), 145, 180, 185
- Popular Petition for Freedom, Justice, and Development. *See* Al-Aridah
- position*, of union movement in transition process, 7

- privatization
  - effect on UGTT, 11
  - in Egypt, 10, 29, 32, 36, 42, 195
  - in Tunisia, 102
- professional syndicates (Egypt), 163–65
- Progressive Democratic Party, 127
- property rights, in North African context, 209
- proto-unions, 135
- Public Service International (PSI), 151
- Qualified Industrial Zones (QIZs), 34
- Rais Lebled* (song), 120
- rank and file vs. leadership split (Tunisia), 12, 18, 108, 110, 158
- rank-and-file unionists, 14
- rank-and-file vs. central split in Tunisia, 199
- Rasheed, Rasheed Mohammed, 40
- Rassemblement Constitutionnel Démocratique. *See* RCD
- Razek, Amr Abdel, 184
- RCD, 133
  - and UGTT, 113–16, 129–30, 154, 162, 169
  - documents hacked, 120
  - established, 99
  - in revolutionary government, 54
  - protests against, 128
- Real Estate Tax Authority Union. *See* RETA
- reconsolidation of new labor regimes, 216
- regimes, in transition, 84
- repression
  - under Mubarak regime, 50, 171
- Republican Party, 141, 149
- RETA, 49, 66, 151, 189
- revolutionary politics
  - union involvement in, 2
- Revolutionary Socialists, 75
- revolutionary-since-birth narrative in Tunisia, 126
- rhetoric
  - as a form of support, 84, 120, 158–59
  - Egyptian vs. Tunisian unionists, 156
  - Ennahda, 137, 140
  - ETUF, 61–62, 64
  - framing of unity vs. pluralism, 207
  - Nasserist, 61
  - of independent unions, 62
  - of the Tunisian miracle, 101, 114
  - of union leadership, 45, 58
  - UGTT, 18, 131, 144, 187
- Rider, Guy, 144
- Romdhane, Ali, 110
- Sabbahi, Hamdeen, 50
- Saber, Karam, 30
- Sadat, Anwar, 26, 28, 39
- Sahbani, Ismail, 114, 126, 135, 155
  - as UGTT secretary general, 101, 109
  - ties to AFL-CIO, 136, 153
- Salafi Dawa, 77
- Salafi Front, 77–78
- Salafism, 20, 204, 211
- Sawiris, Naguib, 92
- SCAF, 68, 71, 88, 172, 178, 183
  - and transit worker strike, 70
  - declares strikes illegal, 69
  - removes Mubarak, 68
  - vetos new trade union law, 69
- security services, increased use of in Egypt, 39
- Selmani, Chokri, 114
- Shafik, Ahmed, 68
- Shaping the Political Arena* (Collier and Collier), 58, 60–61, 124
- Sharaf, Essam, 66, 70
- Sharif, Nawaz, 127
- Shokr, Abdul Ghaffar, 75
- Sisi, Abdel Fatta el-
  - and union elections, 199
  - as military chief, 92
  - as president, 180
  - endorsed by ETUF, 187
  - militarization of economy, 70
  - military intervention, 178
  - relationship with labor, 211
  - wages policy, 204
  - war on terror, 204
- Social Democratic Party, 75
- Social Development Fund (SDF), 196
- Social Fund for Development (SFD), 30
- social media
  - use of in organizing strikes, 49
- Social Pact, 144, 153, 159
- social pact, tripartite (Tunisia), 143

## Index

229

- Socialist Alliance Party (Egypt), 173  
*socialist*, use of term, 10  
 Solidarity Center, 51, 82, 85–88, 150, 153, 201  
   and ETUF, 200, 202  
   and UGTT, 152, 202  
   focus on unity and pluralism, 216  
   support of Guiza, 154  
   support of Tunisian Journalists Syndicate, 155  
 Solidarity movement in Poland, 140, 207, 214  
 South African Communist Party, 215  
 strike wave (Egypt), 13, 51, 53, 55, 62, 64, 93, 163, 206  
 strikes. *See also* wildcat strikes  
   ability to call and cease, 91  
   in Egypt, 34, 36  
   legality of (Egypt), 69  
   postrevolutionary, 21  
   transit workers (Cairo), 70  
 structural adjustment. *See also* ERSAP  
   and IFI loans, 9  
   as cause of corporatist collapse, 6  
   in Arab countries, 102  
   in Egypt, 9, 28, 39, 194  
   in Tunisia, 100  
   policy revision, 196  
   role of in corporatist collapse, 4  
 subsidy reform, in Egypt, 27  
 Supreme Council of the Armed Forces.  
   *See* SCAF  
 Sweeney, John, 81  
 SYRIZA, 212
- Tadamon, 189  
 Tagammu Party, 36, 52, 75, 78  
   as leftist standard bearer, 74  
   members in National Salvation Front, 79  
   political plan, 75  
   survival methods under Mubarak regime, 75  
 Tahri, Sami, 125, 184  
 Tahrir Square, seizure of, 64  
 Tamarod movement, 53, 92, 177  
 Tanta Flax strike, 49  
 Tantawi, Field Marshall, 66  
 tax workers' strike in Egypt, 48  
 Teachers without a Syndicate, 165  
 Teachers' Syndicate, 164  
 technocratic government  
   in Egypt, 43, 118  
   in Tunisia, 116, 132  
 textile and clothing sector (Tunisia), 108  
 tourism industry (Tunisia), 187  
 Tourism Union (Egypt), 173  
 Trabelsi clan, 116  
   and Ben Ali regime, 100  
 Trabelsi, Mohamed, 191  
 trade union movement in Egypt, 199  
   failure of, 7  
 trade union movement in Tunisia, 19, 200  
   success of, 7  
 trade union movements  
   3 factors of impact on new regimes, 216  
 trade union organization, defined, 3  
 trade union politics  
   impact on domestic politics, 207  
 trade unionism as a mechanism for democratization, 84  
 trade unions  
   ability to aggregate and advocate, 197  
   impact on regime transition, 205  
   in transition, 206, 215  
   relationship to political parties, 215  
   role of in regime transition, 2  
   shift to legal sector in Egypt, 36  
*Trade Unions and Arab Revolutions* (Youfsi), 121  
 Trades Union Congress, 17, 216  
 Troika  
   and UGTT, 139  
   coalition formed, 133  
   electoral legitimacy, 147  
   establishment of, 162  
   independent union support, 137  
 Tunis  
   free speech zone, 142  
 Tunisia, 91  
   1994 labor code, 105  
   constitution (2014), 180  
   constitutional assemblies, 174–77  
   Gafsa, 105, 107, 111, 116, 119, 124, 126, 128, 130, 145–46, 152  
   ILO member, 150

- Tunisia (cont.)  
 Kebili, 112  
 Kesserine, 107, 123  
 Ministry of Transport, 128  
 Ministry of Vocational Training and Employment, 128  
 Ministry of Youth, 128  
 Presidential Guard, attack on, 187  
 Redeyef, 113  
 Sidi Bouzid, 120, 148  
 Sousse, 187  
 Tabarka, 131–32, 139, 170  
 Tataouine, 140  
 Tozeur, 112  
 Tunisia, Tunis  
 Bardo, 149, 179  
 Tunisian Association of Democratic Women, 175  
 Tunisian Human Rights League. *See* LTDH  
 Tunisian Journalists Syndicate (SJT), 155  
 Tunisian National Journalists Union (SNJT), 155  
 Tunisian Worker's Party, 127  
 Twitter, 8
- UGTT, 91, 174–77  
 and Ennahda, 169–72, 198  
 and ETUF compared, 154  
 and independent unions, 196  
 and Islamists, 20, 138  
 and National Dialogue, 16  
 and NCA, 174  
 and Neo-Dostour Party, 95  
 and political parties, 19  
 and Troika, 134  
 and US labor movement, 150  
 as a legacy union, 4  
 as civil society group, 15  
 as counterbalance to the one-party system, 124  
 as interlocutor for labor, 145  
 as labor broker, 105  
 as protector against authoritarianism, 94  
 cohesion of, 159  
 congresses, 20, 110, 131, 191, 198  
 cooptation of, 162, 194  
 during interim period, 129  
 during transition process, 158  
 established, 95  
 establishment of, 59  
 Executive Board, 130  
 external linkages, 157  
 flexible relationship with political parties, 215  
 general strike, 95, 97, 123, 127, 142, 149, 159  
 government repression of, 12  
 impact in Tunisia, 207  
 incorporation, 18  
 influence on transition, 210  
 intellectual diversity in, 96  
 leaders given cabinet positions (2011), 128  
 leadership, 59  
 leadership, “decapitation” of, 198  
 legitimacy of, 124  
 loss of influence, 118  
 membership, 108, 138  
 militancy, 131, 159  
 militancy-as-strength narrative, 126  
 narrative of, 124  
 National Council, 128, 130  
 rank and file, 103, 110  
 rank and file mobilization, 160  
 rank and file vs. leadership split, 128, 144  
 reaction to Gafsa strikes, 8  
 recycling and rehabilitation system, 109  
 representation of working class, 113  
 resistance to structural adjustment, 11  
 revolutionary legitimacy, 158, 201  
 role of in political economy, 5  
 secularism, 20  
 strike in memory of Belaid, 145  
 under Ben Ali regime, 111, 121, 125, 130, 134, 139, 152, 160, 171  
 under Bourguiba regime, 116, 125, 150  
 unity during transition, 134  
 withdrawal from state management, 129  
 unemployment  
 in Gafsa, 112  
 in Kesserine, 123  
 in Tunisia, 106–9

## Index

231

- Unilever, 40
- Union Départementale des Syndicats de Tunisie (UDST), 95
- Union des Diplômés Chômeurs (UDC). *See* Union for Unemployed Graduates
- Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs Tunisiens (USTT), 95
- Union for Unemployed Graduates (Tunisia), 113
- Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail. *See* UGTT
- Union of Unemployed Graduates, 114
- Union Tunisienne de l'industrie, du Commerce et de l'artisanat. *See* UTICA
- Union Tunisienne de l'Agriculture et de la Pêche (UTAP), 140
- unionization at private sector companies, 39
- USAID, 51, 86
- UTICA, 143
  - and Ben Ali regime, 103
  - and UGTT, 105, 115, 117, 143
  - as interlocutor, 13
  - leadership, 104
  - relationship with UGTT, 203
- UTT, 135, 137, 153
- Wafd Party, 54
  - and Muslim Brotherhood, 73
  - as “loyal opposition” party under Mubarak regime, 74
  - as a legacy union, 72
  - as liberal standard bearer, 74
- Labor Committee, 73
- newspaper, 37
- position on wages, 75
- survival methods under Mubarak regime, 75
- Wałęsa, Lech, 214
- Wali, Mamdouh El-, 173
- Wasat Party, 164
- WFTU, 95, 136
  - and EFTU, 136
- Wikileaks, 120
- wildcat strike committees, 212
- wildcat strikes. *See also* strikes
  - as result of quiescence, 197
  - in Egypt, 32, 35, 44, 204
  - in Tunisia, 96, 108
- World Bank
  - President's Report on Tunisia, 100
  - structural adjustment in Egypt, 29
  - structural adjustment in Tunisia, 98
  - structural adjustments, 2
  - support for Social Development Fund Egypt, 196
- World Confederation of Labor (WCL), 80
- World Federation of Trade Unions. *See* WFTU
- World Trade Union Federation (WTUF), 80
- Yousfi, Hèla, 121
- Youth Revolution, 7
- youth, as leaders in protests, 120