

ISSN 1989-9572

DOI:10.47750/jett.2024.15.05.025

The Resonance of the Algerian Revolution in the English Press Through Historical Writings and El-Mujahid Newspaper

Abdellatif Djouad¹,
Mahdadi Mohammed²,
Bek Mohammed³

Journal for Educators, Teachers and Trainers, Vol.15(5)

<https://jett.labosfor.com/>

Date of reception: 10 July 2024

Date of revision: 12 Sep 2024

Date of acceptance: 12 Dec 2024

Abdellatif Djouad, Mahdadi Mohammed, Bek Mohammed (2024). The Resonance of the Algerian Revolution in the English Press Through Historical Writings and El-Mujahid Newspaper. *Journal for Educators, Teachers and Trainers*, Vol.15(5).250-261.



Journal for Educators, Teachers and Trainers, Vol. 15(5)

ISSN1989 –9572

<https://jett.labosfor.com/>

The Resonance of the Algerian Revolution in the English Press Through Historical Writings and El-Mujahid Newspaper

Abdellatif Djouad¹, Mahdadi Mohammed², Bek Mohammed³

¹University of Badji Mokhtar Annaba (Algeria).

²University of Ghardaia, Department of History (Algeria).

³Modern and contemporary history, Conferene Professor (A) Department of History University of Badji Mokhtar Annaba (Algeria).

The Author's E-mail: abdellatif.djouad@univ-annaba.dz¹, mehdadi.mohammed@univ-ghardaia.dz², mohamed.bek@univ-annaba.dz³

Abstract:

Upon the outbreak of the Algerian revolution, its leaders recognized the strategic role of revolutionary media and propaganda in the liberation war. They were convinced that success depended first on armed struggle and then on media efforts to enlighten national public opinion, rally support for the revolution, and inform the public of the revolution's military and diplomatic developments and victories.

On the internal level, the media aimed to foster national unity and awareness of the revolution's progress. Externally, it sought to convey the truth of the revolution to Arab and international audiences to gain material and moral support.

The revolutionary leadership initiated the publication of the first newspaper that expressed its stance, defended its principles, and was named Algerian Resistance. This effort was later reinforced by another newspaper called El-Mujahid, into which the first newspaper was eventually merged. El-Mujahid newspaper became the official voice of the revolution, carrying its momentum forward and defending its cause.

To emphasize the importance of the Algerian revolution and its position in global circles, El-Mujahid closely followed both Arab and Western newspapers. It highlighted the positions of British newspapers on the Algerian revolution, quoting them, refuting French claims, and supporting the Algerian cause.

Additionally, numerous historical writings have focused on the Algerian revolution, drawing on written and oral sources, including the press, to gather accurate information and present the facts in scholarly journals and historical books.

Keywords: Algerian revolution; El-Mujahid newspaper; English press; French colonialism; Britain; Torture and genocide; Students; negotiations; independence.

Introduction:

Following the end of the Algerian Resistance, El Mujahid became the official publication of the National Liberation Front on July 15, 1957. It was available in two versions, one in Arabic and the other in French. Throughout the Algerian revolution, El Mujahid released 120 editions, detailing the events and developments related to the Algerian cause on both local and international fronts. The publication also focused on global public opinion and international journalistic writings, emphasizing the diverse perspectives on the revolution.

The objectives of this research are as follows:

- In this article, I will present excerpts from various English newspapers, showcasing their interest in the events of the Algerian revolution through description and analysis.
- This emphasis contributed to the internationalization of the Algerian cause and exposed the distortions published by French media. As a result, it became necessary to seek a just solution to end this bloody war and achieve Algerian independence.

In the process of reading and analysis, I followed the historical, descriptive, and analytical methods to obtain comprehensive and reliable information that supports the Algerian cause.

The article is divided as follows:

- **Introduction:**
- **Main Body:** The following elements are covered:
 - **First:** Revolutionary Media: 1. El Mujahid Newspaper.
 - **Second:** The Algerian Revolution in the English Press:
 1. The Algerian Revolution in the English Press through Historical Writings.
 2. The Algerian Revolution in the English Press through El Mujahid Newspaper.
- **Conclusion:**

The general problem posed is: What topics were addressed by historical writings and the El Mujahid newspaper from the English press? Additionally, how did these sources reflect their stances on the events that Algeria experienced during the Great Liberation War (1954-1962)?

1. Chapter one: Revolutionary Media

The Patriote bulletin, issued by the Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action in 1954, represents the final stage in the search for revolutionary media before the revolution. These various attempts gave real hope for the possibility of establishing a revolutionary media, despite the limited resources and trained personnel available for such an endeavor. The November 1st Revolution erupted at a time when colonial media and its propaganda had reached their peak, working against the revolutionary awareness of the Algerian people. Therefore, the revolution found itself in urgent need of creating revolutionary media capable of fostering revolutionary consciousness and playing key roles in the social change process and armed struggle. The first declaration of the revolution was issued in this context, representing the first deliberate political media effort in the name of the National Liberation Front, addressing the Algerian people specifically, and French colonialism and the world in general, to announce the birth of the Algerian revolution (Hamdi, 1991, pp. 13-14).

Propaganda media activity was a primary function of the members of the external delegation, aiming to introduce the new revolutionary movement. Among the actions that can be included in this context were the broadcasting of the November 1, 1954, declaration on the "Voice of the Arabs" radio station, holding press conferences, and reading statements on behalf of the National Liberation Front. The first press conference was held on November 15, 1954, by the Cairo mission, which introduced the National Liberation Front to the public (Boudria, 2013, p. 160).

The second phase began with the Soummam Conference and was characterized by national media efforts starting at the end of 1956, including the establishment of the Voice of the Front and the Army of Liberation, using the national secret mobile radio, which relied on primitive means. Despite facing numerous dangers, it stood against French colonialism. In addition to national efforts, Arab support played a significant role in promoting the Algerian revolution during this period through coordination with the offices of the National Liberation Front.

The third phase was marked by the launch of the "Voice of Algeria" across almost all Arab radio stations, with broadcasts from Tunis, Cairo, Damascus, as well as Baghdad, Amman, Kuwait, Jeddah, Tripoli, and Benghazi in Libya. The preparation and broadcasting of programs from "Voice of Algeria" were the responsibility of members of the external delegation of the National Liberation Front and Algerian students (Boudria, 2013, pp. 162-163).

After two years of armed struggle, the Algerian revolution recognized the necessity of establishing a newspaper affiliated with it to articulate its positions and track its progress. Thus, Algerian Resistance was issued in both Arabic and French (Rahman, 1992, p. 118). The first edition was published in Paris on November 22, 1955, targeting the Algerian community in France as well as the French public to enlighten them about the reality of the conflict in Algeria. This edition was called Edition (A). The second edition, known as Edition (B), was published in Morocco on July 5, 1956. The third edition, referred to as Edition (C), was published in Tunisia in both Arabic and French and was discontinued on July 15, 1957 (Delio, 2014, p. 116).

1.1 Section one: El Mujahid Newspaper

When the Soummam Conference was held on August 20, 1956, it was decided to cancel all other editions and unify them into a single newspaper under the name El Mujahid, which was considered the central voice of the National Liberation Front and the official spokesperson of the revolution (Mufdi, 2003, pp. 193-194). El Mujahid first appeared as a revolutionary bulletin in June 1956 in Algiers (El Mujahid, Birth Certificate, June 1956). When Algerian Resistance ceased publication after releasing its 19th issue on July 15, 1957, El Mujahid became the central voice of the National Liberation Front (Lounissi, p. 117).

El Mujahid was published in two editions, one in Arabic and the other in French. The French-language collection of El Mujahid was completed in Yugoslavia in June 1962 in the form of three medium-sized volumes containing 91 issues. The Arabic edition was printed in Algeria after the French collection was released, in four volumes containing 120 issues (Beshishi, 1994, p. 119).

Ben Youssef Ben Khedda mentioned that "El Mujahid will fight and struggle for a sacred cause, which is the liberation of Algeria," and after a long discussion, it was agreed to name the newspaper "El Mujahid." Abane Ramdane oversaw the Arabic and French editions, which were separated due to the differences between readers in the East and the West. Later, Ahmed Boumendjel took over the supervision of the French edition (Attoum, 2021, p. 210).

El Mujahid was initially printed on a Roneo machine in Algiers and was a simple newsletter with only a few pages. It was supervised by the Coordination and Execution Committee and featured a simple frame with the words "This is El Mujahid," and below it, the phrase "The Central Voice of the National Liberation Front" in parentheses with two stars, and the phrase "Revolution from the People and for the People" above the word El Mujahid. The phrase "From the People and for the People" signified the massive popular support around a single principle—*independence* (Kbeish, 2010-2011). This slogan was taken from the North African Star (Saadallah, 1992, pp. 372-373). Below that, the table of contents of the issue was listed, with the issue number at the bottom of the page (Patrick Eveno, 1991, pp. 278-279).

El Mujahid newspaper went through three main phases in its history:

1. **The Algerian Phase:** This period, known as the Algerian era, saw the newspaper being published in Algiers, starting from its first issue in the Kasbah district. It served as the voice of the National Liberation Front from June 1956 to January 25, 1957 (Hamdi, *The Algerian Revolution and Media*, 1995, p. 147). During this phase, the newspaper operated in complete secrecy, and its headquarters in the Kasbah was discovered during the Battle of Algiers (Kbeish, 2010-2011, p. 13).
2. **The Moroccan Phase:** This period began when the newspaper moved from Algeria to Morocco after its headquarters was discovered. It was hosted by El Mujahid in Tetouan. Tetouan was chosen as the location for El Mujahid because it was selected by Mohamed Boudiaf as a rear base for the revolution (Ihedaden, 2008, p. 50). This phase started with the eighth issue after an eight-month hiatus, from January 25 to August 5, 1957 (Ihedaden, 2008, p. 50). During this time, El Mujahid transitioned from secrecy to public presence. Rida Malek was appointed as its head, and Mouhidine Moussaoui served as its editor-in-chief. The newspaper was published in both Arabic and French (Hamdi, *The Algerian Revolution and Media*, 1995, p. 149).
3. **The Tunisian Phase:** This longest period in the life of El Mujahid during the revolution began after the second session of the National Council of the Algerian Revolution, held in Cairo from August 20 to 27, 1957. As a result of this session, the newspaper was funded and distributed, and its headquarters was moved to Tunisia (Kbeish, 2010-2011, p. 14). The Arabic and French editions were separated, and after the martyrdom of Abane Ramdane, Ahmed Boumendjel took over the supervision until the establishment of the Provisional Government. During this phase, El Mujahid experienced stability, covering the critical periods of the revolution. This phase began with issue 11 on November 1, 1957, and continued until April 30, 1962, which coincided with issue 120, the last issue published outside the homeland. Issue 120 was the cumulative total of the newspaper (Dabdoub, 2004, pp. 100-102). The newspaper was printed in Tunisia, with one French and one Arabic copy placed in a large envelope and sent to Mr. Mubarak in Tetouan, where Mr. Abdelrazek and Zohair Ihedaden reprinted the newspaper (Ihedaden, 2008, p. 52). Overall, El Mujahid published 120 issues during the Algerian revolution, with 116 issues available, meaning 4 issues are missing. The newspaper contained 1,386 media items (Dahesh, 2009, p. 153).

El Mujahid focused on internationalizing the Algerian cause, exposing the enemy's propaganda methods to both local and global public opinion, highlighting the authenticity of the Algerian people, and expressing the ideas of the National Liberation Front. Notable contributors included Ibrahim Mazhoudi,

Abdullah Charef, Amin Bashishi, Mohamed Ibrahim El Meili, Abdel Rahman Charef, Issa Massoudi, Rida Malek, Abane Ramdane, Mufdi Zakaria, Abdel Malek Tamam, Mouhidine Moussaoui, Frantz Fanon, and Pierre Scholi (Delio, History of Written Algerian Journalism 1830-2013, 2014, pp. 120-121).

1.2 Section two: Key Issues Covered by El Mujahid Newspaper

The newspaper held a very significant position in the history of the revolution due to its prominent role in communication, media, and propaganda. It was an important means of communication that the revolution relied on and activated, serving as a link between the leaders, fighters, and national and international public opinion (Hamdi, The Algerian Revolution and Media, 1995, p. 153). El Mujahid focused primarily on explaining and analyzing the policies of the National Liberation Front, being its official and true spokesperson. Its emergence was a necessity for the revolution's development and its need for genuine revolutionary media. As Abdel Malek Tamam, who was tasked with writing the editorial for the first issue, noted, with the revolution's evolution, the need for an official spokesperson became apparent. The content of the newspaper included explanations and interpretations of the Algerian revolution, its causes, goals, commentary on the achievements and efforts of the National Liberation Army and the fighters, and exposing the colonizer's intentions and criminal actions against the oppressed people.

El Mujahid addressed several issues, including:

- **The Algerian Revolution:** The newspaper published several analytical articles describing the revolution and its place among the revolutions of the era, as well as its contributions to national and global heritage. Notable articles included:
 - ✓ "A Revolution That Created a People," El Mujahid, Issue 31, November 1958.
 - ✓ "Six Years, A New Society Created by the Revolution in the Heart of the Battle," El Mujahid, Issue 81, November 1960.
- **Torture and Genocide:** El Mujahid detailed various methods employed by the French authorities to torture and exterminate the Algerian people in daily scenes of the war. The newspaper attempted to reveal the true message of French propaganda, which was a short campaign. El Mujahid included numerous foreign testimonies and reports from the Red Cross, including a notable article titled: "The Nature of Genocide in the Algerian War Intensifies," El Mujahid, Issue 49, August 1959.
- **Algerian Sahara:** France began its attempts to separate the Sahara from Algeria in 1957 (Rahman, 1985, p. 117). The French established a special ministry for the Sahara, directly annexing it to France after it had previously been part of Algeria's Oran and Constantine regions. El Mujahid published an investigative report proving that the Sahara is an integral part of Algeria, presenting evidence and historical laws. The Sahara issue led to the suspension of the first Évian negotiations due to the French side's insistence on excluding the Sahara from the negotiation's agenda. The newspaper commented on these attempts in an article titled: "How French Media's Coverage of the Sahara Disappears into Thin Air Against the African Tide," El Mujahid, Issue 44, February 23, 1959.
- **Students in the Algerian Revolution:** El Mujahid covered the establishment of the General Union of Algerian Muslim Students in July 1955, which demonstrated its close connection with the fate of the Algerian people by declaring a general strike at the University of Algiers and French universities in May 1956. The newspaper's article titled "The Student Movement Continues," El Mujahid, Issue 11, September 1957, highlighted the role of Algerian students in supporting their revolution despite the pressures and acts of terrorism imposed by the French government both in France and abroad (Rahman, 1985, p. 121).
- **Negotiations between Algeria and France:** El Mujahid aimed to clarify through its coverage of the negotiations between the Algerian revolution and the French government, maintaining the political positions and principles declared in the November 1, 1954, statement. The newspaper analyzed the story of the negotiations from 1956, detailing the French side's stubbornness and refusal to engage with the Algerian delegation led by Mohamed Khider. The article was titled: "The Story of Secret Communications," El Mujahid, Issue 22, March 1961 (Rahman, 1985, p. 13).
- **International Aspects and the Algerian Cause:** El Mujahid discussed key debates at the United Nations and the maneuvers by France to obstruct the approval of resolutions guaranteeing the Algerians' right to self-determination. The newspaper highlighted the efforts of the Afro-Asian bloc to internationalize and address the Algerian cause in the UN General Assembly's agenda for 1955, and presented the evolving positions of various countries on the Algerian cause in articles titled: "At the United Nations: The Camp of Freedom vs. The Camp of Colonialism," El Mujahid, Issue 57,

November 1959, and "What Have We Gained from the United Nations?" El Mujahid, Issue 86, January 1961.

2. Chapter Two: The Algerian Revolution in the English Press

The coverage of the Algerian revolution in the English press was primarily reflected through historical writings that relied on international press sources, including English newspapers and Algerian newspapers, especially El Mujahid.

2.1 The Algerian Revolution in the English Press Through Historical Writings

British newspapers paid considerable attention to the Algerian revolution from its early stages, with some adopting critical stances toward France's oppressive policies in Algeria (Saghir, 2009, p. 430). For instance, The Economist wrote on November 1, 1954: "Those who listen in France to advocates of the use of force might imagine that terrorism started in North Africa after the new government dared to grant Tunisia internal independence. This deceptive praise for the policy of force shows that the previous Indochina war was futile and that the French extremists have learned nothing from it" (Belkacem, 2007, p. 180). Similarly, The Daily Telegraph expressed hope that Mendès-France would not resort to violence in Algeria as he had done on May 8, 1945, while attempting a policy of reconciliation with nationalists in Tunisia and Morocco (Belkacem, 2007, p. 184).

The Manchester Guardian, known for its liberal stance, stated in its issue of November 2, 1954: "Algeria has recently witnessed unusual acts of terrorism. While Morocco has been more exposed to outbreaks of violence, Algeria may prove tougher. France has achieved much in Algeria economically, and it has legally annexed it, making it a part of itself. Algerians are more affected by Western influence than Moroccans. However, if Islamic nationalism continues on its current path, Algerians may not be satisfied with what is offered to them, and the situation for France in Algeria may become more difficult than in Tunisia and Morocco" (Belkacem, 2007, pp. 184-185).

The Times expressed surprise at French Prime Minister Edgar Faure's actions in appointing a minister for Tunisia and Morocco while deliberately neglecting Algerian affairs, despite their importance to France. The newspaper stressed to the French governor of Algeria, Jacques Soustelle, that stability in Algeria was linked to addressing Algerian demands for equality with settlers (Saghir, 2009, pp. 431-432).

The Observer, a progressive weekly, called for British intervention and wrote on November 1, 1954: "France and the Western nations stand at a crossroads in North Africa. Terrorism is not an incidental occurrence in North Africa. It is in the shared interest of the West that Britain should use all its influence to reach an agreement..." (Belkacem, 2007, p. 184). Additionally, several British newspapers, including The Observer, reported on the worsening situation in Algeria, leading France to deploy European troops to Algeria. This brought attention to the severe crisis facing the Paris government in Algeria, contrasting with the situation in Tunisia and Morocco (Saghir, 2009, pp. 431-432).

Occasionally, these newspapers expressed a degree of sympathy for France concerning the Algerian issue while advising French policymakers. For instance, The Observer wrote in an October 1955 article: "A new ministerial crisis in Paris could be dangerous as it might indicate France's imminent withdrawal from North Africa. French public opinion has clearly shown its reluctance to engage in another invasion war, leaving only two options: reconciliation or withdrawal..." (Sharit, The Algerian Revolution in the International Press 1955, 2013, p. 159). The Economist published an article in November 1956 discussing the British government's position and the British public's view on its policy towards Guy Mollet's French government. The article stated: "England and France have attacked, regardless of its faults, a victim of armed aggression. This venture, undertaken by the British Prime Minister, risks not only his political career but also his country's position and interests globally. This is the danger... Thus, the more discerning minds in Britain tend to believe that the French ministers, disillusioned by Egypt's support for Algerian rebels, are not fit to advise the British Prime Minister. Regardless, the way this issue has been handled is truly a bizarre mixture of nervous disorders and madness that has seized our leaders in Great Britain" (Sharit, The Algerian Revolution in the International Press 1956, 2013, pp. 310-311).

The Scotsman also discussed the Algerian issue in an article expressing skepticism about Guy Mollet's government, stating that the policy adopted to resolve the Algerian problem was failing. The newspaper noted: "To achieve peace in Algeria, national aspirations must be satisfied, whether by France's consent or despite its reluctance. The cessation of war, conducting elections, and seeking a future constitution for Algeria that could satisfy Algerian Muslims can only be achieved through negotiations with the rebels and recognizing Algerian nationalism. We must declare that Guy Mollet has become a prisoner of right-wing policies in the French

Parliament and that this French President genuinely fears the extremist settlers in Algeria. Mollet may not remain in power for long, but even if he does, Algerian rebels have every right to remain skeptical about this French politician" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in the International Press* 1957, 2013, pp. 55-56).

In the same context, *The Economist* published an article in April 1957 expressing the complexity and difficulty of the Algerian problem, emphasizing that the Algerian liberation war was ongoing and would continue as long as the French government remained obstinate, and would only stop if France recognized Algeria's national independence. The article stated:

"We can say that the deadlock the Algerian issue has reached... has no exit... There is no doubt that the French government has placed all its hopes and outlined all its independent plans based on the reassurances periodically given by Lacoste, and on the latter's belief that the fruits of pacification will soon become clear. Indeed, the resident minister has been insisting since last October that the final hour has struck, and that the results of the severity with which the revolution is treated are becoming apparent to the world... Meanwhile, the Algerians assert with certainty that they will never accept stopping the fighting and holding elections unless France officially recognizes, above all, their national independence. If they are told to accept a solution similar to that applied in Sudan... It is not impossible that Algerian rigidity is a stance intended for maneuvering and misleading public opinion, but this assumption does not hold up against reality, as Algerian leaders show this rigidity even in their internal discussions... They feel an endless confidence in themselves, and they say that the Algerian people engaged in the current revolution are not afraid of facing harsh conditions as they are part of their ordinary life under colonial rule. Therefore, we find it futile to count on an immediate end to the Algerian revolution, and it appears that French reforms are not achieving significant success. The land cannot be distributed because Algerians will not accept it from the French even if they need it, and there is not a single Algerian who has applied for administrative positions... Everything indicates that the Algerian war will continue with unparalleled ferocity... But the end of the war, no matter how long it takes, will be the same end as that reached by the issues of Tunisia and Morocco, but the difference between the Algerian war and the issues of Morocco and Tunisia is that Algerian independence will cause a civil war among the French themselves" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1957, pp. 233-235).

The same newspaper published another article stating that pacification in Algeria had rapidly become a bankrupt operation for France and that the French government was still unable to take a stance to end the Algerian revolution after three years of its duration. It emphasized that the French were still clinging to their official lies and were also unable to open a path to peace (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1957, p. 464).

English newspapers also took an interest in sending their correspondents to Algeria to provide a live picture of the situation there. For example, the *Manchester Guardian* published an article by its special correspondent to the National Liberation Army, providing many details about the life of the revolutionaries in the mountains, their systems, and ideas. The article stated:

"The mountain and forest range where the National Liberation Army's Second Brigade of the Eastern Zone is located bears a striking resemblance to the mountains and forests of the Vercors in France. However, what distinguishes the Algerian mountains from the French mountains is the sound of French artillery, as well as the successive waves of refugees fleeing their burned villages... They are visited by aircraft from time to time, which unload their machine gun bullets on them... What I went to look for in these mountains is the organization of the National Liberation Army and the political ideas held by its officers and men... The National Liberation Army is no longer just an effective organization but is also subjected to unified leadership and a unified strategy... The revolutionary war taking place in Algeria for the past three years is conducted not only by a modern army but also by a new form of a real state with its own authorities and secret or semi-secret local institutions, its courts, police, schools, health services, communication lines, and tax system, etc. This independent Algerian state has much stronger foundations than the colonial states established by France in Algeria, thanks to the loyalty of the people to their national state. Thus, the state established by France is increasingly involved in using extermination methods and continuing it relentlessly" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1957, pp. 210-211).

The newspaper added: "There is a close overlap between the military and political systems, and at every level of this system, there are political advisers in the army and officials responsible for communication with civilians. The work of the National Liberation Army... is not only fighting but also serving the people... I learned about the system of the army men and how they live; they receive a modest salary ranging from 1,000 for a simple soldier to 5,000 for a colonel per month... Family allowances are regularly paid to the families of the soldiers... Administrative accounts are organized in a modern manner, from the smallest unit to the

brigade. In this administrative system, all details related to the fallen or injured fighters are found" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1957, p. 212).

The article continued: "It became clear to me from the political ideas of these fighters that they belong to clear revolutionary democratic traditions, and they are very keen to prove that they are carrying out a modern revolution, not a chaotic rebellion... I saw that their symbols, sources of inspiration, and songs all derive from the Algerian spirit... They have a strong desire to prove that they are not racist, and one of the proofs of this is that they accept positive assistance coming from the French and also accept the gestures of kindness they find from young French settlers" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1957, pp. 215-216).

English newspapers followed the course of the Algerian issue in the United Nations. In December 1957, *The Observer* wrote a commentary on this matter after the discussion of the Algerian issue in the United Nations and the passing of a resolution on it, which was unanimously approved by the General Assembly. The newspaper condemned Britain's support for France's policy before the United Nations, stating: "Any discussion about French policy in Algeria must worry France's allies, as they cannot publicly criticize their ally's wrong policy, but at the same time, they cannot wholeheartedly defend a policy that is in complete contradiction with democratic principles and causes severe harm to France's and its allies' interests, even though it is heading towards complete failure. In this case, the support of the British delegation for France's policy before the United Nations is based only on deceit and cunning and leads Britain only towards being accused of conspiring with the worst forms of colonialism" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1957, p. 167).

The British *Daily Herald* published an article highlighting the upheavals faced by the French government due to the Algerian problem, noting: "France, troubled, is facing the most dangerous crisis it has known since the French occupation. The problem is causing France to be engulfed in a storm. Thus, every government formed in Paris does not last long before it collapses and sinks to the depths of the sea..." In the same context, the *Daily Express* wrote an article stating: "France has been subjected to scandal and abuse worldwide due to the Algerian revolution, losing the support of its natural friends and finding many in the opposition press whom it thought were with it" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1958, pp. 215-216).

Another article by a British journalist in early May 1959, who visited Algeria and toured the gathering centers, described the methods used by the French army to eradicate Algerian identity and make Algerians feel they were French. The article, published in *The Observer*, noted: "A year after General de Gaulle returned to power following the May 13, 1958 uprising, the French army in Algeria still bears the two grave responsibilities it has been performing since the outbreak of the Algerian revolution. The French army was not only required to overcome the revolution by force but also to re-educate the Algerian people to convince them they are French. For this purpose, the French army is engaged in other tasks called pacification, such as those performed by French soldiers in youth clubs, educational schools, and gathering centers... Thus, the French army began to clear the countryside by evacuating civilians and gathering them in what is called gathering centers. The aim of this cleansing is to prevent rural civilians from supplying the revolutionaries... Consequently, French authorities uprooted a million Algerians from their villages and gathered them in shelters and camps managed by special administrative services... I saw how Algerians live in mud huts, while their agricultural lands are left far from them. I entered some of these huts and found little food, and their faces showed hunger and misery" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1959, pp. 323-324).

The article continued: "The purpose of the pacification activities carried out by the civil affairs officers is to make Algerians feel as close as possible to being French... I felt that the military educators are carrying out their educational mission in gathering centers and youth camps with the blind conviction that they can turn rural children into men who feel that Joan of Arc and King Saint Louis are part of their ancestors. However, political observers do not share this view and believe that the only result of this education will be that students... become nationalist Arab soldiers. Thus, it appears that the schools where French soldiers are teaching today are, in fact, creating a new generation of intellectually and militarily educated Algerian revolutionaries. Therefore, I advise the leaders of the French army and French officials to try to organize their army and remove some of the chaos it is mired in before the end of the war" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1959, p. 326).

The British press also commented on the Algerian government's response, which led to its acceptance of negotiations with the French side. The *Daily Telegraph* wrote:

"This decision represents a new hope for Algeria and will be welcomed in Morocco and Tunisia as much as it is by the majority of the French. If this step succeeds, it will meet the first indispensable condition set by President de Gaulle for a final settlement. In the same context, The Times wrote that both sides demonstrated great political courage. President de Gaulle showed bravery in his proposal for direct talks in such a candid manner, and the revolutionaries demonstrated their acceptance of the offer with such speed" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1960, pp. 370-371).

The British press unanimously agreed that the next step for General de Gaulle, after the collapse of the rebellion—which is considered the final stage in the arduous Algerian issue—was to negotiate with the Algerian government. The Daily Telegraph commented on this matter:

"Regardless of the scale of the civil and military purges that General de Gaulle is considering after the failure of the coup, he is capable of managing them. However, what is more important is that the path to resuming negotiations in Ivan without the French government remaining threatened by a separatist movement from the European community and its military supporters" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1960, p. 371).

The Daily Express said:

"De Gaulle's deep faith once again saved France—his faith in the nature of his people and his faith in himself as capable of finding a solution... And finally, his faith in the difficult approach he devised to resolve the Algerian issue. The French president has undergone a very tough test and emerged as the strongest statesman in Western Europe, but he still needs to secure a fair agreement with the Algerians, who cannot have the slightest doubt that De Gaulle represents their best hope, if not their only hope" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1962, p. 236).

The British press also expressed its unreserved relief at the cessation of fighting in Algeria and the prospects for peace provided by the self-determination referendum. They saw it as an opportunity for France to regain a historical role as a mediator and for Algeria to play a significant role in the Maghreb. The Observer praised President de Gaulle and the Algerian leaders, stating:

"The leaders of the Algerian National Liberation Front, who have oscillated between prisons and police investigations, have lived seven years of killing, torture, and displacement of Algerian families. However, these leaders have demonstrated remarkable foresight and generosity in concluding a peace treaty that will help establish fruitful cooperation between France and Algeria. Thus, the Algerian leaders appear to be the most mature and organized Arab leaders, and their influence deserves to be widespread in the Islamic world. As for France, if it can manage to forget the past and take on the role of mediator and bridge in this part of the world, it will be able, in cooperation with Algeria, to repair the damage it has inflicted since 1954 on the relations between the West and the Arabs" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1962, pp. 145-146).

The British press commented on the activities of the Secret Organization in Algeria and the measures to combat it. The Manchester Guardian observed that the patience of the Algerians might wear thin and that the French authorities were inadequate in crushing the Secret Organization definitively. The French authorities had not utilized all their resources in the struggle against the Secret Organization and had not cooperated sincerely with the executive body as stipulated in the Evian Accords (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1962, p. 224).

The Daily Telegraph addressed the same issue and noted that the French decision to rely on Algerian police agents indicated the severity of the situation in Algeria. The newspaper added that, at the same time, the French government implicitly acknowledged that European agents were lenient towards the members of the Secret Organization and that while the French army was following orders, it showed no enthusiasm for its mission. The large-scale operations to clear the cities were very slow, and the British newspaper emphasized that the patience and restraint of the Algerians might not hold up against these provocations, with time not bringing the hour of peace any closer. The newspaper stated:

"Therefore, it is necessary to expedite the organization of a self-determination referendum, and it is hoped that the Algerians will vote for a formula of independence with cooperation with France. It would have been preferable for the period between the cessation of fighting and the referendum to be a long-term peaceful phase, and this transitional period being as brief as possible is a calamitous sign foretelling disaster" (Sharit, *The Algerian Revolution in International Press*, 1962, p. 224).

2.2 The Algerian Revolution in the English Press through El-Mujahid

The British press closely followed the Algerian issue from its outbreak on November 1, 1954, until the ceasefire on March 19, 1962, tracking the events of the revolution and reporting on the Algerian struggle. In

this context, El-Mujahid, as the central voice of the Algerian revolution, monitored what was published in the English press about the Algerian cause, focusing on positive aspects and supportive comments. For instance, El-Mujahid published an article from the British newspaper The Manchester Guardian, signed by its correspondent Thomas Hodkin, which discussed the National Liberation Army (El-Mujahid, September 5, 1957).

Additionally, El-Mujahid reported on an article from the Daily Mail, the mouthpiece of the Conservative Party in Britain, which emphasized that resolving the Algerian issue was inevitable to ensure the defense of the West. The British newspaper expressed that if the issue was not resolved, the situation of Western countries would continue to be weak.

In the same vein, El-Mujahid quoted an article from The Times, which suggested that the discussions between French, American, and British statesmen should contribute to solving the Algerian problem. However, the article noted the difficulty of reconciling the French portrayal of the Algerian situation with the sovereignty advocated by Tunisia, Morocco, and the National Liberation Front (El-Mujahid, September 1, 1957).

El-Mujahid also reported on an article from the Daily Mail, which criticized French policy as relying on misconceptions and fantasies. The article argued that France needed to negotiate and seek a peaceful solution to maintain its reputation in North Africa (El-Mujahid, September 1, 1957).

Furthermore, El-Mujahid included a piece from The Observer, which commented on the Algerian issue after its discussion at the United Nations in 1957. The article criticized France's policy in Algeria and suggested that Britain's support for France at the UN would only lead to accusations of complicity with colonialism. It emphasized that France's failure to address the issue would lead to significant damage to its interests and those of its allies (El-Mujahid, December 10, 1957).

The same paper reported on Thomas Hodkin's article in The Manchester Guardian, which noted that while the French were able to kill Algerians, they had not succeeded in eliminating the political cells or military frameworks of the Algerian resistance (El-Mujahid, January 1, 1958).

New Statesman, a moderate English newspaper, wrote an article discussing the developments in the Algerian issue. It argued that France should hold a conference with Tunisia and Morocco, with the direct or indirect participation of the National Liberation Front. The article criticized the accusation of the National Liberation Front's delegates as a pretext used by France to avoid negotiations, labeling it as a typical colonial strategy (El-Mujahid, January 1, 1958).

El-Mujahid also reported on an article from The Economist, which analyzed the deteriorating economic and political situation in France due to the Algerian war. It questioned whether any French government could provide a solution acceptable to both the French in Algeria and the Algerians, suggesting that America had lost confidence in the appeasement policy and was treating France diplomatically to avoid a crisis in NATO (El-Mujahid, May 7, 1958).

Additionally, El-Mujahid quoted The Times, which emphasized that the Algerian issue was the most critical problem facing De Gaulle and that he needed to direct public opinion in both France and Algeria toward the desired solution (El-Mujahid, October 10, 1958).

The Manchester Guardian also argued that negotiating with Algerian rebels was the only solution to the Algerian problem, asserting that France needed to end the war to ensure its future and avoid undermining efforts to improve conditions in France (El-Mujahid, October 10, 1958).

Lastly, The Evening Post published an editorial on the Algerian issue, which El-Mujahid reported on. The editorial noted that the Algerian revolution would continue, particularly after the Algerian Provisional Government's statement about accepting foreign volunteers regardless of origin or race. It saw this decision as a sign of the National Liberation Front's determination to intensify the conflict with France (El-Mujahid, April 18, 1960).

The Daily Herald commented on the Algerian side's acceptance of negotiations with the French, indicating that this response from the Algerian Provisional Government was a positive sign for ending the Algerian war (El-Mujahid, June 27, 1960).

The Times published a commentary, which El-Mujahid quoted, stating that the French obstinacy was the cause of the failure of the preliminary negotiations (El-Mujahid, July 11, 1960). In the same context, The Daily Telegraph criticized France for being more rigid and intransigent than expected, disappointing the Algerian delegation (El-Mujahid, July 11, 1960).

The Manchester Guardian also commented on the Algerian-French negotiations, noting that any delays in the negotiations would be attributed to the French government due to its rigid stance (El-Mujahid, July 11, 1960).

El-Mujahid reported an article from The Sunday Times titled "Britain's False Concern," stating that the British Foreign Office would scrutinize the Algerian issue carefully. It highlighted Britain's difficult position and its need to avoid opposing the Asian and African bloc's resolution, which could weaken its stance with these countries (El-Mujahid, September 5, 1960). The article also warned that British diplomats in Africa had continuously cautioned Britain against attacking or opposing Asian and African positions at the UN General Assembly, as this would complicate the existing issues between De Gaulle and Britain. The paper hoped De Gaulle would find a solution to the Algerian problem before the next UN session. El-Mujahid noted that The Sunday Times was not a progressive leftist paper but rather a conservative publication representing the government's views (El-Mujahid, September 5, 1960).

Additionally, El-Mujahid quoted The Times mentioning that France hoped the world would view it as a civilized country. El-Mujahid commented that this phrase indicated a decline in France's reputation and standing due to the Algerian issue. The paper argued that this statement concealed several truths: the ongoing war in Algeria despite French and European hopes for De Gaulle to end it; the reality of self-determination that the world understood, which De Gaulle exploited as a means of war and deception; and De Gaulle's failure to achieve peace. El-Mujahid claimed that the Algerian people's relentless struggle had exposed De Gaulle's false image as a hero and revealed the lies used to mislead global and French public opinion, ultimately leading to France's internal turmoil and international disgrace, along with an unprecedented scandal of rebellion and civil war (El-Mujahid, September 5, 1960).

Conclusion:

From the above, it is evident that El-Mujahid conveyed a range of articles and opinions from major British newspapers concerning the Algerian issue, highlighting their stances on the Algerian revolution. The following conclusions can be drawn:

- El-Mujahid was regarded as the central voice of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the official spokesperson for the Algerian revolution since the summer of 1957.
- The newspaper focused on several issues, including theoretical studies on the ideological and intellectual aspects of the Algerian revolution, torture and extermination, the Algerian desert, negotiations with France, and the international aspect of the Algerian issue.
- Historical writings also addressed the portrayal of the Algerian revolution in the English press, reflecting Britain's significant interest in the Algerian struggle, which had a notable impact on global liberation movements.
- British newspapers paid considerable attention to the Algerian revolution from its inception through to negotiations and the final determination of Algerian independence, with varying positions on French policies in Algeria.
- El-Mujahid consistently monitored and reported on English press coverage of the Algerian issue, highlighting positive aspects and supportive comments for the cause.
- The news published by El-Mujahid about the Algerian revolution warrants in-depth and serious studies to describe, analyze, and extract valuable information for writing the history of the national movement and revolution.

References

- Ihedaden, Z. (July 2008). With El-Mujahid during the liberation war. 1 November Magazine, National Organization of Mujahideen, 168, 50–52.
- Beshishi, A. (1994). The Algerian revolution: Events and reflections. Algiers: Association of 1 November.
- Boudria, O. (2013). The development of the diplomatic activity of the Algerian revolution (1954-1960). Algiers: Dar El-Irchad Publishing and Distribution.
- Hamdi, A. (1995). The Algerian revolution and the media (2nd ed.). Algiers: National Institute for Communication, Publishing, and Advertising.
- Hamdi, A. (1991). Early signs of revolutionary media in Algeria. Algerian Journal of Communication, 5, 13–14.

- Daboud, M. El-Mujahid and its role in revolutionary media. In Media and its roles during the revolution. Algiers: National Center for Studies and Research in the National Movement and 1 November Revolution.
- Daliou, F. (2014). History of the written Algerian press 1830–2013 (1st ed.). Algiers: Dar Houma.
- Dhiash, S. (2009). Excerpts from media during the Great Liberation Revolution. In Media and its roles during the revolution. Algiers: Dar El-Kassaba.
- Saadallah, A. (1992). The Algerian national movement (Vol. 2, 1st ed.). Beirut: Dar El-Gharb El-Islami.
- Sharit, A. (2013). The Algerian revolution in international press 1955. Algiers: Dar Houma Publishing and Distribution.
- Sharit, A. (2013). The Algerian revolution in international press 1956. Algiers: Dar Houma Publishing and Distribution.
- Sharit, A. (2013). The Algerian revolution in international press 1957. Algiers: Dar Houma Publishing and Distribution.
- Sharit, A. (2013). The Algerian revolution in international press 1958. Algiers: Dar Houma Publishing and Distribution.
- Sharit, A. (2013). The Algerian revolution in international press 1959. Algiers: Dar Houma Publishing and Distribution.
- Sharit, A. (2013). The Algerian revolution in international press 1960. Algiers: Dar Houma Publishing and Distribution.
- Sharit, A. (2013). The Algerian revolution in international press 1962. Algiers: Dar Houma Publishing and Distribution.
- Saghir, M. (2009). International stances on the Algerian issue 1954–1962. Algiers: Dar Al-Hikma Publishing.
- Rahman, A. (1985). Arabic press in Algeria 1954–1962 (1st ed.). Algiers: National Institute for Books.
- Attoum, H., & Ben Attou, R. (2021). The political activity of Ferhat Abbas between 1945–1947 through some archival documents. Development Journal, 8(2), 210.
- Belkacem, N. B. M. (2007). Initial reactions inside and outside on 1 November or the monuments of 1 November. Algiers: Dar Al-Oumma.
- Kbeish, K. (2010–2011). The Mashriq through El-Mujahid. Master's thesis in contemporary history, Department of History, Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, Algiers.
- Lounissi, I. El-Mujahid and its role in psychological warfare during the liberation revolution. In Media and its roles during the revolution.
- Mufdi, Z. (2003). History of the Arabic press in Algeria. Algiers: Dar Houma.
- El-Mujahid. (June 1956). (Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 3).
- El-Mujahid. (September 1, 1957). (No. 13, pp. 6–7).
- El-Mujahid. (September 5, 1957). (No. 10, p. 12).
- El-Mujahid. (December 10, 1957). (No. 14, p. 10).
- El-Mujahid. (January 1, 1958). (No. 15, p. 8).
- El-Mujahid. (May 7, 1958). (No. 23, p. 4).
- El-Mujahid. (October 10, 1958). (No. 30, p. 10).
- El-Mujahid. (November 5, 1959). The revolution of 1959 was not the end (Vol. 2, No. 52, p. 255).
- El-Mujahid. (April 18, 1960). (No. 66, p. 4).
- El-Mujahid. (June 27, 1960). (No. 71, p. 10).
- El-Mujahid. (July 11, 1960). (No. 72, p. 4).
- El-Mujahid. (September 5, 1960). (No. 76, p. 4).
- Planchais, J. (Ed.). (1991). La guerre d'Algérie: Dossiers et témoignages. Reviews and presented by Meynier, G. Outre Mers Revue d'histoire, 291, 278–279.