

## Farhat Hached Between Struggle and Assassination: A Reading of the Coverage by the Algerian Newspaper “Al-Manar” (1951-1954)

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### Abstract :

This study examines how the reformist Algerian newspaper “Al-Manar”, published by Mahmoud Bouzouzo, documented the journey of the Tunisian trade union and nationalist leader Farhat Hached during a decisive period of the Maghrebi struggle.

The study focused on Hached's pivotal role as leader of the Tunisian General Union of Labor and as a symbol of the labor movement's rise that transformed into national leadership of resistance against French colonialism.

The newspaper devoted extensive coverage to his assassination in December 1952 by the “Red Hand” organization, transforming the incident into a matter of public opinion and a symbol of sacrifice and martyrdom. “Al-Manar” continued to use this event to promote national consciousness and support the Tunisian cause until 1954.

**Keywords:** Tunisia, Farhat Hached, Al-Manar, assassination, trade union...

### Introduction:

The Algerian newspaper “Al-Manar” is considered one of the most prominent reformist newspapers that emerged in Algeria.

It played a pivotal role in documenting and covering the conditions of Algeria and contributing to its reform efforts, based on a set of foundational objectives and principles that its editors committed to and worked to implement.

The importance of “Al-Manar” is evident in the expansion of its sphere of interest to include issues of the Arab Maghreb, the Arab and Islamic nation, as well as the conditions of the Algerian people in particular and the Maghrebi peoples in general during the colonial period, and their suffering from the repressive methods of French colonialism, particularly the Tunisian issues.

Among the most prominent of these issues was that of the distinguished trade union and nationalist leader Farhat Hached. Through extensive media coverage of Hached as a symbol of the resistant worker, focusing and

highlighting his national and trade union role, the newspaper documented his rise from labor activism to the leadership of the national movement, culminating in the issue of his assassination as a pivotal historical event during the struggle for Tunisian independence.

Tunisia witnessed at the beginning of the 1950s an escalation of tension between Tunisian nationalists and French protectorate authorities, following the failure of the negotiating government and the failure of French reforms to meet Tunisian aspirations.

Different segments of the people became engaged in the national struggle, with workers led by Farhat Hached being the most prominent participants. Workers organized a series of strikes between 1950 and 1952, which alarmed colonial authorities as a result of his strong activity in organizing workers and linking them to the national cause. He was assassinated on December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1952, an event that provoked widespread reactions at the Maghrebi, Arab, and international levels.

“Al-Manar” was generally interested in liberation movements in Arab Maghreb countries, and therefore its focus on Hached was part of this orientation calling for Maghrebi unity in the face of shared French colonialism.

The newspaper was careful to address the details of the Tunisian crisis from 1951 to 1954, starting with the participation of the New Tunisian Free Constitutional Party

and its results, leading to the deterioration of the situation in Tunisia, then the assassination of the great trade unionist Farhat Hached, and the repercussions of the incident on national work internally and externally.

### **Problematic Question:**

How did “Al-Manar” newspaper, by Mahmoud Bouzouzo, address the trajectory of the trade union and political struggle of the leader of the Tunisian General Union of Labor, Farhat Hached?

To what extent did it succeed in presenting this journalistic coverage?

And how did it address and interpret his assassination and its political and regional dimensions within the context of the Maghrebi public's reaction to the event?

## **1. Introduction to AL-MANAR Newspaper**

### **1.1. Historical Overview of the Newspaper**

“Al-Manar” is a semi-monthly Algerian newspaper—a political, cultural, religious, and independent publication founded by Mahmoud Bouzouzo<sup>1</sup> in the capital city

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1 Mahmoud Bouzouzo: Born on February 22, 1918 in the city of Bejaia. He obtained a degree in Islamic jurisprudence, then moved to Constantine where he completed his studies. He subsequently enrolled at the École Supérieure (Higher School) in the capital, where he finished his education and obtained his advanced degree. He later joined the Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars and became engaged in the ranks of correctors and editors for the newspaper “Al-Basair.” He was appointed as General Guide of the Algerian Islamic Scouts and then became its president in 1947. He worked in Algeria as an Arabic language teacher, then turned to journalism, establishing the newspaper “Al-Manar,” which was published between 1951 and 1954. In it, he attacked colonialism, which led to his imprisonment by

Algiers(Bouzouzou, 1982) (Mouloud, 2023).

It's published in Arabic with contributions from national writers from various tendencies, most of whom were supporters of the Algerian People's Party(Sadala, 2009, p.271)

Though apparently independent, it was affiliated with *the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties*.<sup>1</sup> The first issue was published on March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1951, and it continued publication until January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1954, when it ceased permanently at issue number 51 due to financial hardship, as the Movement for the Triumph of

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French authorities and his exile. He fled first to Morocco, then to Switzerland in 1958. He initially intended to settle in Berlin, but life there did not appeal to him, so he decided to return to Switzerland, which granted him permanent residency. He lived in Geneva from 1962 onwards, working there as an imam and preacher at the Islamic Center, and taught Arabic language at the Geneva International School of Translation until his retirement. He had intended to return to Algeria and establish his own newspaper, but chose to remain in Geneva, where he contributed to the founding of the Islamic Cultural Institution and worked as its preacher for some time. He was also among the founding members of the "Cordoba Foundation for Intercultural Dialogue and Cultural Exchange," headquartered in Geneva. He was keen on meeting with the intellectual elite residing in Switzerland from time to time to discuss the conditions of the Arab and Islamic worlds and exchange views and ideas. He was an active member of the Cordoba Cultural Association, known for his extensive reading in various arts and sciences, and owned a private library containing approximately 10,000 books. He died on October 5, 2007 in Geneva, Switzerland, at the age of 89.

1 The Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties: Founded in 1946 under the presidency of Messali Hadj in the capital, it was a continuation of the Algerian People's Party, which was established in 1937, and it maintained the same program and objectives.

Democratic Liberties withdrew its financial support following the party crisis in 1953.

The newspaper was printed at the Arab Print Shop in the capital, which was owned by Abu Al-Yaqzan(Naceur, 2007, p.275).

## **1.2. Circumstances and Phases of Its Foundation:**

The idea of founding the newspaper dates back to 1950. In this regard, Mahmoud Bouzouzo, the newspaper's proprietor, stated in the introduction presenting the newspaper series:

*"Then came the year 1950, when some friends affiliated with the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties proposed to me the issuance of a national, non-partisan newspaper, which would secure its printing and distribution rights with editorial independence on the condition of spreading the national spirit throughout the country. And thus the newspaper "Al-Manar" was born".*

During its run, "Al-Manar" experienced some inconsistency in maintaining its scheduled publication dates. It would stop publication during the annual printing shop holiday in September each year. It was suspended for more than two months during September and October 1953 due to financial reasons.

When it resumed publication at issue number 48 dated November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1953, it appeared in only two pages, indicating its deteriorating

financial condition. In the same issue, its founder stated:

*"The publication of Al-Manar in this small size after this long suspension is the clearest evidence of its financial condition. Were it not for the assistance of some virtuous benefactors of this nation, its suspension would have lasted much longer, or this issue would have carried a final farewell to our readers... However, what prevented this was our sincere determination to continue serving our just cause, a deep love for eternal truth, and a strong will to achieve the noble ideals that our hearts yearn for, and a keen effort to assert the rights of free thought in this land where despotism and tyranny have inflicted deadly diseases upon all forms of freedom(Bouzouzou, 1953, p.1)."*

Thus it ceased publication permanently at issue 51 on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1954.

Mahmoud Bouzouzou expressed his sorrow and frustration over the financial reason for the newspaper's cessation, saying:

*"If 'Al-Manar's suspension were a colonial blow, it would be a light matter, for colonialism habitually hinders freedom of expression, and we would have turned the world upside down and proven to it that we can withstand its blows... But for 'Al-Manar' to be suspended due to negligence by its readers, subscribers, and those who appreciate its mission, especially in a time of struggle, while it serves the national cause with integrity and sincerity—this cannot be conceived*

*of, and silence about it is impossible, unless consciences have died and free thought has no supporters. And is our outspokenness not evidence of our faith in the vitality of our consciences and the freedom of our thoughts?"(Bouzouzou, ibid.).*

"Al-Manar" newspaper had a price of twenty (20) francs until issue number seven, then increased to twenty-five (25) francs starting from issue number eight published on August 31<sup>st</sup>, 1951.

As for the number of pages, the newspaper began with four pages, but issue 18 of the second year, dated February 27<sup>th</sup>, 1953, had only six pages, and starting from issue 48, it was published in only two pages due to the financial crisis it faced, and remained so until its last issue 51, published on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1954, which contained four pages.

The annual subscription to the newspaper was estimated at 500 francs for twenty-five issues, while the subscription of supporters was estimated at 1,000 francs. Starting from issue 12 of the first year, published on December 21<sup>st</sup>, 1951, the annual subscription became 600 francs, while the supporters' subscription remained fixed.

As for the reason for naming it "**Al-Manar**", its proprietor said in the first issue published on March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1951 in its editorial page:

*"I named it 'Al-Manar' in optimism and hope that God would grant it light from His presence to dispel the deep darkness that looms over our nation in all fields. 'Al-Manar' will send its rays to chase*

*away darkness wherever it may be, illuminating the paths for travelers, whatever their political, cultural, religious, or freedom direction may be*”(Bouzouzo, 1951, p.1).

The manner of writing the title underwent changes but eventually settled on the use of Persian script, with the letter "Nun" separated from the Alif, forming a lighthouse from which rays emanate, representing scientific and intellectual radiation—this from issue number three.

The newspaper raised the slogan: “***A Political, Cultural, Religious, Free Newspaper***”.

It mentioned in the first issue dated March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1951 the following Qur'anic verses: “*Allah guides to His light whom He wills*” and “*And for whom Allah has not appointed light, for him there is no light*”. However, starting from issue ten of its first year, it added two poetic verses by the poet Muhammad Al-Eid Aal Khaleefa:

“We have traversed every sea for demands\*\*\*\*and their landmarks became apparent. The shores greeted us from afar\*\*\*\*and signaled to us with light, the lighthouse.”

The newspaper's language was simple, easy Arabic with a focused journalistic style, and usually accompanied topics with expressive images reflecting the events covered. Its address was printed on the front of each issue: P.O. Box 03, Algiers-Bourse. Its headquarters was located at 28 Rue Mulhouse in Algiers, with current account number 14-76. The

responsible director was Mahmoud Bouzouzo.

## **2. Farhat Hached: The Activist**(Belhadi, 2013, p.11)

The coverage of Farhat Hached<sup>1</sup> in the pages of the Algerian newspaper “Al-Manar” focused on presenting the distinctive characteristics of his leadership and activism, his role in founding the Tunisian General Union of Labor,<sup>2</sup> and his efforts for his country's liberation.

Much has been written about him,<sup>3</sup> as he was the great activist trade union leader and martyr who

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<sup>1</sup> Farhat Hashed: Born on February 2, 1914 in Al-Abbasiyya in the north of the Kerkennah Islands. He obtained his primary school certificate in 1929 from the Arab-French School of Al-Kallabine. He was appointed in 1930 as a clerk at the Tunisian Motor Transport Company on the Sahel coast. He joined in 1936 the transport company union and the local federation of the CGT (General Confederation of Labor) in Sousse. In 1946, with the support of various nationalist forces, he succeeded in establishing the General Tunisian Union of Labor. Following the events of January 2, 1952, and the arrest of most national leaders, he became a principal leader in directing the nationalist movement demanding internal independence and worked to gain support for the national cause through his relations with American trade unions and officials of the American Democratic Party. He was assassinated on December 5, 1952.

<sup>2</sup> This independent labor union was founded on January 20, 1946, under the leadership of the activist Farhat Hached, with the aim of defending the material and moral rights and interests of Tunisian workers.

<sup>3</sup> Among the most prominent are: Ibn Hamida Abdel Salam: The National Trade Union Movement of Workers in Tunisia 1924-1956, Al-Makni Abdel Wahed: Farhat Hached, Founder, Witness, Leader, Martyr, Saidan Omar: Farhat Hached, Leader of the National and Social Struggle and the National Trade Union Movement, Hached Nouredine Ibn Farhat Hached: I Love You, People, Articles from 1945-1949, Part 1, Khaled Ahmed: Leader Farhat Hached, Hero of the Social and National Struggle, Martyr of Freedom, His Life, Struggle, Thought and Writings.

worked for the liberation of his country from French colonialism and for laying solid foundations for the Tunisian General Union of Labor.

Although some obscurity still surrounds him, the newspaper "Al-Manar" comes to enrich his struggle, demonstrating this through his leadership position in the Tunisian General Union of Labor from 1946 to 1952, where he dedicated his efforts to defending the interests of workers and the nation as a whole.

The articles presented to the reader of the newspaper address a fundamental period in the history of Tunisia. Farhat Hached was no ordinary figure; he marked history with his trade union and national activist path and formed one of the statures that faced colonialism with steadfastness.

The Intellectual and activist Abdel Hamid Mehri provided descriptions of Farhat Hached in an article published a week after the assassination, drawing a picture of a great activist who combined personal humility with overwhelming practical impact.

He also emphasized that his influence did not end with his death but continued through an entire generation and loyal comrades who inherited his message to continue the struggle. He wrote about him:

*"Farhat Hached, that simple and humble activist who does not attract people's attention through his appearance but rather through his deeds, whose news flies to different corners of Tunisia and sometimes goes beyond the borders of Tunisia to the ends of the world.*

He added:: *"This simple and humble activist cannot be replaced by any single person because his exceptional personality, his brilliant ideas, and his great deeds stamped an entire generation of Tunisian workers and left clear marks of his legacy to his close comrades and loyal assistants. This select elite of his assistants and this generation stamped by Farhat Hached with his own mark is what will replace Farhat Hached and undertake to complete his message in Tunisia"*(Mehri, 1952, p.1).

In the same context, Mehri emphasizes the strength of Farhat Hached's personality and his way of influencing people, as well as his intellectual and political vision of the role of the working class during occupation. He said:

*"Farhat Hached was a strong personality, but one that did not impose itself violently on people; rather, people loved its strength and were drawn to it willingly, hurrying to seek help in times of need. This strong personality was clothed in upright character and simplicity in appearance and speech, balance in actions and words, and self-control in hardship and ease. This soft and gentle aspect was all that appeared from Farhat Hached's strong*

*personality to those who knew him from a distance or met him once or twice.*

Mehdi added: *“Farhat Hached had broad horizons, solid political and social culture, and with all this was realistic—his broad horizons did not keep him from sound judgment and wise plans in both general and specific matters. He believed that the duty of the working class in an occupied country was to*

Here Farhat Hached appears to us not merely as a trade union leader, but as an exceptional national leader who combined solid morals and balance with broad culture and the belief that national liberation takes precedence over the sectional demands of the working class. This merger of social struggle and political struggle made him both a target for colonialism and beloved and a savior to his people.

Mehri confirms in his article in “Al-Manar” that Hached did not work within a narrow scope but had a strategic vision where he focused on building collective strength—first, by unifying the labor and political front internally in the Arab Maghreb to confront colonialism as a single front, and second, by establishing effective communication with the outside world to win international support for the Tunisian and Maghrebi cause.

Mehri said:

*“Through his realistic and judicious assessment, Farhat Hached understood that practical union between Maghrebi countries*

*be at the forefront of the liberation struggle above all else. He believed it was a grave mistake for workers to withdraw into their unions and focus on their own interests, demanding wage increases and improved working conditions in a country threatened with complete absorption by the foreigner. This is what the colonizers resented in him and accused him of conducting political work” (Mehri, pp.1-4).*

*was necessary for the success of their causes. For this reason, he had strong faith in Maghrebi unity and made plans to organize Tunisian, Algerian, and Moroccan work in a single labor federation... He had strong interest in the struggles of Algerian and Moroccan workers, frequent contact with them, and numerous friends among them. This Maghrebi labor federation was not an end in itself for Hached; he saw it as a first step that would open the way for forming a political front among Maghrebi parties and organizations. Nor was it lost on Farhat Hached—that realistic man—the importance of winning supporters abroad. He worked hard in this regard, corresponding, traveling, attending conferences, writing in international journals, and inviting international figures to attend conferences and meetings that he oversaw organizing and conducting, presenting them to the world a living and eloquent picture of the efforts of the Tunisian working class and its ability to organize in the struggle” (Mehri, p.4).*

Mehri emphasizes in his article that the essence of Farhat Hached's achievement lies in his ability to mobilize the working class and transform it from a victim of exploitation into an organized force in the ranks of the national liberation struggle against the colonialism based on injustice and racial discrimination. In this regard, he says:

*“Farhat Hached was able to transform the weakness of workers into strength and their unity into a sharp sword to rescue them from the era of French colonialism, an era of injustice and despotism, an era of the most abhorrent forms of exploitation and the most heinous forms of violence and persecution. Through his tireless effort, firm determination, valuable advice, and sincere national zeal, he was able to unite the ranks of Tunisian workers so they could play their historical role in the vanguard of free fighters so that the sun of freedom would shine over the Tunisian land. He was able to achieve the gathering of Tunisian masses around him to oppose the French protectorate system based on racial discrimination”*(Mahfoudhi, 1952, p.1).

Evidence of his unifying efforts and his influence on Algerians and Moroccans is found in those movements and protest strikes declared after his assassination, followed by disturbances in Morocco and widespread solidarity in Algeria. When Tunisians commemorated his fortieth day, they

held prayers in mosques and held several labor meetings in private clubs to commemorate this occasion.(El-manar, 1953, p.1).

Farhat Hached became a major challenge that alarmed French authorities. In light of the absence of Habib Bourguiba, who was in exile at the time, Hached emerged as the principal symbol and main organizer of resistance.

Hached's influence was not limited to threatening French economic interests in the region, but also increased the difficulty of reaching any political agreement. Nevertheless, the authorities did not dare arrest him, fearing complications on the international level, which ultimately led to the decision to his assassination.

### **3. The Newspaper's Coverage of Farhat Hached's Assassination:**

The Algerian newspaper "Al-Manar" focused its coverage on the assassination of the Tunisian trade union leader Farhat Hached on December 5, 1952. The newspaper showed great interest in the assassination incident due to its importance and impact on Tunisia and neighboring Maghrebi countries, including Algeria. It followed the circumstances and causes of Hached's assassination by the “**Red Hand**”<sup>1</sup> terrorist organization, which was supported by French colonial authorities (Mahmoud, 2013, p.244).

#### **1.3. Its Circumstances and Causes:**

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<sup>1</sup> It is a secret terrorist organization that was created and supported by the French colonial authorities during the 1950s, with the aim of fighting national movements in the Maghreb, especially in Tunisia and Algeria.



“Al-Manar” recalled that following the threat directed by the French administration to the Bey, while the Tunisian issue was being discussed by the political committee of the United Nations, and in the midst of these circumstances, Tunisia's greatest trade union leader, Farhat Hached, was assassinated on December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1952.

In this regard, the newspaper asked:

“Who is this man who was killed? He is Farhat Hached, who gathered the scattered Tunisian workers and turned his face toward directing and guiding them throughout the years to defend their natural interests. He is Farhat Hached who, through his determination and struggle, was able to achieve the gathering of Tunisian masses to oppose the French protectorate system based on discrimination between them and the colonists”(Mahfoudhi, 1952, p.1).

In the same context, the language of condemnation in “Al-Manar” was severe, revealing the involvement of French authorities in supporting the Red Hand organization and its assassination of Farhat Hached. The newspaper described the crime as unforgivable and Hached's assassination as a premeditated political operation (Mahfoudhi, *ibid.*).

Among the direct causes of his assassination is that he was a pivotal figure in Tunisian political work. Although he was a labor figure, his ties were closely linked to national political work, not for him

personally but for all Tunisian workers and the Tunisian General Union of Labor.

“Al-Manar” overlooked important reasons that should be mentioned, most notably the increasing resentment of the **Resident-General de Hauteclouque** toward Hached and his desire to get rid of him permanently. This was Hached's request, on behalf of the Tunisian General Union of Labor, from the International Committee Against Repression to conduct an investigation into the circumstances of the detention of many activists in camps and prisons throughout Tunisia and the circumstances of citizens' displacement from their cities.

The request came after the arrest of leader Bourguiba and a number of leaders on January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1952, and the escalation of military repression. The Resident replied with a letter accusing Hached of engaging in political activity under the cover of labor activities, organizing demonstrations and meetings, and that the imprisonment of union members was because of their political activity, not labor activity, which involved their carrying out demonstrations and bearing arms.

Hached in particular declared that as General Secretary of the Union, the time for work to save Tunisia from colonialism had come. From this letter came the assassination.(Touili, 2011, pp.48-50).

Hached also gave a diagnosis of colonialism, saying:

*“Colonialism, as we have said many times, is the most despicable form of capitalism, and despite its apparent strength, this system has known its first defeats, having left India, China, Pakistan, and Indonesia. The awakening of peoples is becoming a threat to colonialism with collapse, and it should be noted that this latter (colonialism) contributed to its own destruction through the contradictory actions it follows in its policy always aimed at monopolizing money, thereby destroying the purchasing power among the working classes and hindering the consumption of the products of its economic institutions, leading to the monopolization of power and the tampering with all manifestations of the nationalism of the people it is supposed to serve, thereby creating a resistance front and hastening a revolution against it, which is carried out by all classes of people and which makes its fate destruction”*(Meddour, pp.240-241).

Indeed, there is integration between labor work and Tunisian national struggle, where the Tunisian General Union of Labor used the power of strikes as an effective tool of pressure to achieve political and national objectives represented in the liberation of the country from colonialism.

### **2.3. His Assassination:**

Regarding the details of Farhat Hached's assassination,<sup>1</sup> “Al-Manar”

reported, a month after the assassination, from the Parisian magazine "Lumière Future" an article by Roger Stephen containing information about the assassination incident. The newspaper summarized it to reveal the historical truth of the assassination of Farhat Hached through eyewitness testimony that refuted the French official narrative, confirming that Hached's assassination was a studied physical elimination operation, not a misunderstanding or mistake as some parties tried to portray it at the time.

What was most important in “Al-Manar” was that the police deliberately blocked the road between Radès and Tunis after Farhat Hached left Radès in his car heading to the Tunisian capital.

The European worker who carried Farhat Hached in his car when the journalist from “Le Monde” was wounded confirmed that Farhat Hached never said, when he was about to board the second car whose passengers finished him off, “*These are my friends*”, contrary to what the French embassy spokesman claimed two days after Hached's assassination (Ettahrir, 1953, p.2).

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almost on the same account, which is as follows: On the road linking Rades and Zaghuan, the first car chased Farhat Hached's car and shot him with a machine gun, then continued driving at high speed, which led to him being wounded in the shoulder and hand, but he managed to get out of the car. After a few moments, another car appeared with three people whose mission was to make sure of his death. When they approached, they made sure that Hached was still alive, so they shot him in the head, killing him, and then they threw him about one kilometer away on the side of the road.

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<sup>1</sup> Most national and foreign newspapers that covered the assassination of Farhat Hached agreed

Al-Manar also revealed colonial attempts to obstruct justice in Farhat Hached's assassination case through erasing material evidence and politicizing the judicial apparatus.

The newspaper noted that Tunisian investigating judge Abdel-Baki was unable to examine Farhat Hached's car, riddled with bullets, which is considered one of the key documents in this case, and he was unable to examine the traces of the crime, which the police reportedly rushed to erase.

Judge Abdel-Baki was removed from investigating the case and replaced by M. Souli, known for his colonial sympathies, and M. Peto was appointed as his deputy, but the latter was dismissed as he was known for moderation and fairness.

The newspaper continued to uncover damning evidence about the Red Hand gang's planning of Farhat Hached's assassination and to expose the colonial administration's complicity in covering up the perpetrators despite available criminal leads.

It mentioned that it was known that the two cars involved in the assassination of leader Farhat Hached were of types "Citroën" and "Simca Aronde", with the occupants of one firing at Hached and the occupants of the other finishing him off after shooting him.

There were only 350 Simca Aronde cars in Tunisia, and yet, to the writer's knowledge, the owners of these cars were never even

questioned about their movements on the day of the crime.

It was established from a letter Hached sent to his deputy Al-Boudali days before his assassination, and from what he told M. Denbal Keiran and M. Alexander Roith, the English newspaper correspondent, that Farhat Hached knew he was threatened with assassination.

He had moved his wife and four children elsewhere and slept at his neighbors' as a precaution. He even mentioned to M. Keiran some details about the people who belonged to the Red Hand gang, who were the same people that Doctor Al-Sadiq Al-Moqaddem had mentioned to him when they met. Doctor Al-Moqaddem went into exile the day after Farhat Hached's assassination, and M. Keiran requested from the investigating judge and from the Resident-General to confront him with Doctor Al-Moqaddem to investigate the names of the people, insisting on his request without his desire being fulfilled.

Thus the crime of Hached's assassination was not technically obscure but a politically protected crime, where the French administration deliberately ignored the available evidence, witnesses, and intelligence reports. According to what "Al-Manar" mentioned, a senior French official who was careful to remove responsibility from the visible elements of men at the Resident-General's office recently submitted a list of individuals who belonged to the Red

Hand gang and sent a copy to Paris as a precaution. Yet no Frenchman who participated in past events had been arrested. The article's author concludes by calling on the French public to not remain silent so as not to be accused of collusion with criminals, saying:

*"You must remember what was said to the Germans—that they knew of the concentration camps but pretended not to know".*

What is notable through the pages of "Al-Manar" is that when Farhat Hached was assassinated, a committee was formed to investigate the incident, but this committee yielded no results, showing that there were premeditated and complicit colonial objectives to hide this truth.

Although fingers of accusation were pointed at the Red Hand organization, French authorities did not arrest its members but instead directed their firm grip toward Tunisians.

لقد كان لاغتيال حشاد عظيم التأثير على الشعب التونسي خصوصا وعلى شعوب المغرب العربي عموما، وظهر هذا التأثير في تلك الأعمال التي نظمت بالمناسبة، ومثلت رد فعل أولي وما دأب على تنظيمه إحياء لذكره كل سنة هذا من جهة، ومن جهة أخرى فإن دم فرحات حشاد عجل بإشعال فتيل الثورة التونسية التي عملت على استهداف الاستعمار ومصالحه في تونس.

Hached's assassination had enormous impact on the Tunisian people especially and on the peoples of the Arab Maghreb generally. This impact was evident in those activities organized on the occasion, representing an initial reaction, and

in the annual commemoration of his memory.

On one hand, when Tunisians commemorated his fortieth day on December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1953, the Tunisian nation appeared in the garb of a nation aware and conscious, sensing what it has of rights and duties.

This is because it participated in large numbers in commemorating the memory of its hero Hached. A nation that cares about commemorating the memory of its heroic sons finds it easy to climb the ladder of progress and to live a good life.

The Tunisian nation established the proof that it did not forget Hached and that it never strayed from the straight path that Hached walked with admirable courage until he fell under the bullets of the "Red Hand" gang.

Tunisians proved that Hached's death did not terrify them, and through their demonstrations they sent a message to colonial extremists that Hached's idea did not die with his death.

Thus, throughout this period, the Tunisian people expressed their determination to continue their struggle and solidarity despite the obstacles and methods that the French administration used to destroy Tunisian national sentiments.

From the commemoration of Farhat Hached's memory, it appeared that Tunisians were continuing on the path that Hached had laid out, which was represented in achieving complete independence and the

abolition of the era of French protection.

#### **4. The Maghrebi Dimension in "AL-MANAR'S" Coverage of Farhat Hached's Issue:**

The Algerian newspaper "Al-Manar", as part of the national press, addressed the assassination of the Tunisian trade union leader Farhat Hached in 1952 from the perspective of shared Maghrebi national struggle.

The newspaper praised Hached's personality and his pioneering role in establishing the unity of the Maghrebi labor movement and his efforts to link the Tunisian General Union of Labor with solid relations with Maghrebi neighbors.

في إطار التضامن المغاربي وتوحيد الكفاح، عملت "المنار" على حشد الجماهير وإثارة الوعي بخطورة هذه الجريمة، مؤكدة أنها لم تكن مجرد حدث تونسي داخلي، بل كانت ضربة موجهة إلى الحركة الوطنية والنقابية في المغرب العربي بأكمله من قبل الاستعمار الفرنسي. لذا، دعت الجريدة إلى التكاتف والوحدة في وجه المستعمر. هذه التغطية ساهمت بشكل فعال في تعزيز الوعي بوحدة المصير المشترك بين أقطار المنطقة.

Within the framework of Maghrebi solidarity and the unification of struggle, "Al-Manar" worked to mobilize the masses and raise awareness of the danger of this crime, affirming that it was not merely an internal Tunisian event but was a blow directed at the labor and national movement throughout the entire Arab Maghreb by French colonialism.

Therefore, the newspaper called for cohesion and unity in the face of the colonizer. This coverage effectively contributed to promoting awareness of the unity of shared destiny among the countries of the region.

"Al-Manar" also strongly condemned the French colonial system operating in Tunisia and held it responsible for the crime, linking the repression practiced in Tunisia and Morocco to the national movement in general. The assassination issue was used to shed light on the brutality of colonialism and to refute its claims about "justice," serving as a clear message directed at Maghrebi and international public opinion.

Furthermore, the newspaper highlighted the repercussions of the assassination on workers and national movements in Algeria and Morocco, such as strikes and solidarity demonstrations, to affirm that Hached's issue is distinctly a Maghrebi issue that reflects the unity of bonds in the struggle against the colonizer.

#### **Conclusion:**

Based on what has been presented, it is clear that "Al-Manar" was one of the most influential Algerian journalistic voices in the early 1950s and played a pivotal role in supporting the Maghrebi national movement. Its coverage of the Tunisian issue allowed for an understanding of the depth of Algerian perspectives on the Tunisian struggle and the

relationship of the Algerian press to it.

The newspaper particularly focused on the Tunisian trade union leader Farhat Hached, a symbol of the national and labor movement and his efforts toward Maghrebi unity, and the repercussions of his assassination.

The newspaper devoted considerable attention to this event through introducing Hached and his struggles and the personal characteristics that qualified him to lead the national struggle in Tunisia, making him a target for assassination by colonial authorities.

"Al-Manar" followed the repercussions of this incident on the escalation of Tunisian national work leading to the launch of armed revolution, which ultimately resulted in achieving Tunisian independence in March 1956.

Most importantly, the newspaper contributed to promoting the bonds of struggle between the peoples of the Arab Maghreb, with Hached's assassination serving as a symbol of shared Maghrebi struggle.

"Al-Manar" covered the widespread reactions and disturbances that Tunisia and Morocco witnessed, which expressed deep solidarity among Maghrebi nationalists.

In addition, the newspaper included numerous topics related to the Tunisian issue, in keeping with the editorial line it had set for itself in addressing various national, Maghrebi, and Arab causes.

The scientific material it provided is important for students and academic researchers, as it reflects the repercussions of the Tunisian struggle and the resonance of its issues among Algerian public opinion, thereby reflecting the unifying spirit that demonstrated sympathy and coordination among Maghrebi nationalists on multiple levels in confronting colonialism.

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