Journalist's relationship with political authority in Egypt 1960-2011

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ABSTRACT

The study of the journalist's relation with political authority in Egypt from 1960 to 2011 seeks to reveal, describe, analyze and interpret the journalist's relation with political authority in Egypt during this period and to reach a model that explains the factors affecting the journalist's relation with political authority. This is by exposing the political, legislative, social and cultural factors affecting the journalist's relationship with political authority during the period of study. This paper aims to reveal the personal characteristics of successive political leaders during the period of study, and their role in shaping the relationship between the journalist and the political authority in Egypt. In addition to revealing the social development, personal characteristics and professional gradations of a sample of prominent journalists during the course of the study, and the role these factors played in shaping the relationship between the journalist and the political authority in Egypt. The study found that the media in general, and the press in particular, play a role in political life, whether by expressing interest groups and opinion leaders, or by relying political systems on them to reach out to the public and promote their policies at home and abroad alike. Media has also proved to be the link between the public on the one hand and political decision makers on the other. The results also confirmed that the media helps the political systems to create public opinion in favor of their policies or to mobilize public opinion against those opposing their policies, which in both cases is a dangerous and vital role. The study also revealed that the mass media can influence the minds and emotions of the public and change their attitudes and behavior in a way that serves their policies and achieves the interests and goals of the political authority. The results of the study also confirmed that the legislation and laws prevailing in each country determine the form of the relationship between the press and the political authority. The results of the study also showed that the forms of relations between journalists and politicians vary, sometimes they are confused, and sometimes stable.

1. Introduction

There is a changing relationship between the press and the political authority, as the system of government in each country sets the boundaries of the relationship between the press and the political authority, so that the nature of this relationship varies from country to country, and from one political system to another within the same country. That is why many theories have emerged

that explain the contentious relationship between the press and political power, which will be discussed and analysed.

1.1. The Importance of The Media to Political Systems

Media is the input of a country's political system, presenting demands for public opinion and political parties, reflecting the voice of interest groups and opinion leaders for the political system to respond and producing the outputs of the overall set of decisions and policies on the distribution of resources [1]. The media also play a major role in serving political systems, both internally and externally, as political systems use the media to reach out to the public in all its forms and directions, promote their political, economic and social projects, and the foreign policy of countries depends on the media to communicate their messages abroad very effectively. The media also influence the individual's awareness of the policies of the regime [2].

The media are one of the soft power tools used to support and strengthen the political work of the countries to achieve the goals that the decision-maker aspires to achieve by creating the intellectual and psychological climate for the external environment, and creating preconceptions that change existing convictions to accept a policy. The state seeks through the mass media to influence the ideas and orientations of others on a specific issue in order to serve the country's internal or external political goals, and the political authority can benefit from the media in achieving two aspects of benefit, the first is to create a public opinion in favour of its positions, and the second is to mobilize public opinion against all those who oppose its policies. The United States deals with the media as an important tool for implementing its foreign policy and the tool responsible for disseminating American concepts and values, as well as a tool used to promote information and cover events, by influencing the minds and emotions of the public and changing their attitudes and behaviour in a way that serves their policies and achieves their interests and goals. US use of soft power tools, including the media, was more effective in achieving its strategic objectives in the Arab region than the hard-power [3].

The political systems depend on the mass media to achieve several goals, the most prominent of which are keeping order, achieving social and political integration, and breaking the imaginary barriers among the people to create a general consensus toward the issues and subjects that the political system seeks to spread through mobilizing citizens. The media are also addressing issues in a way that is consistent with the vision of the political system that seeks to convince the public of its views on internal or external issues to create a public opinion on the issues raised. Political life in the modern state is complete only with heavy media and constant dialog between citizens and various governing bodies [4].

The media played a role in political decision-making that took place from January 25, 2011 to June 30, 2013, but the influence of the media on political decision differs according to the political systems under which the media operate. It also noted that the media influence decision-making on two sides, affecting political decision makers on the one hand, and influencing public opinion on the other [5]. Countries resort to the mass media to create channels of communication with parties that cannot communicate directly with them, and governments use the mass media to reinforce their positions before the governments of other countries to control the climate of negotiations. the statesmen can send signals through the media if they are unsure of the way the other country will respond to natural negotiation [6].

A study on press authority and values of transition to political development revealed the importance of media based on the volume of media information flows that affect the pattern of cultural and political values, which in turn lead to the desired political development of a powerful unit [7]. In the same context there is a model describing the relationship of the press with the political authority, and the model assumes that the media in general and the Press in particular may fall under the umbrella of the media authority by two ways, the first implies that the media are a tool in the hands of the authorities as they want to achieve their policies and programs, while the second implies that the media have an effective authority in society to be a voice for citizens that reflects their needs and requirements [8].

Aida Al-Sokhawi considered that the importance of the media stems from being the link between public opinion and political decision makers. And the study adds that there is a link between the political leadership of the mass media and the role these means play in the political decision-making,

as long as the political power of the mass media is increased. The influence of the media in political decision-making has increased, and vice versa, thus having a correlation between how political leadership deals with the media and the role that it plays in political decision-making [9].

The press can play a number of roles, the first of which is the Watch Dog, a function that is consistent with fourth authority term, which means that the task of the press is to monitor all the institutions of the society, Protecting it from any information or misleading data that may be directed to it, while the term of the Guard Dog assumes that the media reflects the interests of the dominant groups and the regime without tilting at one's side or even holding the powers to challenge the other, so this entry does not assume that the media possesses all the powers. Either the Lap Dog term means that the media, including the press, always belong to the political authority, without being an independent tool, and without regard for other views and trends in society, which are incompatible with the interests of authority [10].

In the same context, Steven Livingston [11] reached an input that refers to the contribution of the media to accelerating the process of political decision-making by pushing statesmen to hasty responses on internal and external issues in response to pressing questions of journalists. Livingstone's entrance also assumes that the media coverage of events related to international conflicts is dominated by emotionally oriented interpretations, which hinder the desired political endeavours, and the political systems suffer from the media handling of pressing issues of national security, leading to political losses. The portal also assumes that the media set governments' foreign-policy agenda.

Some of the output of the communications system is the input of the political system, on the grounds that the media output passes through the gate guards, their task of filtering the subjects, and turning them into inputs to the political system of the legislative or executive authority. Thus, not all output of the communication system can be considered as inputs to the political system, according to the study [12].

1.2. The Inconsistency of the Relationship Between the Press and the Media as a Whole and the Political System

The form of the press's relationship with political power is governed by the power and influence of authority on the one hand and the independence and strength of the press on the other. The prevailing political situations in each country are involved in drawing the form of the press's relationship with the political authority, so there are different roles of the media according to the existing political systems. In liberal regimes, the media express opposition opinions, allows the individual freedom of opinion and freedom of support or opposition, and the media in liberal societies are also characterized by the flow of information, and the mass media are monitoring power.

In totalitarian systems, the state monopolizes and controls the media either by ownership of them or by censoring their content and programs, and totalitarian states use the media, including the press, to legitimize their political system, while developing countries use the media to achieve community unity and strengthen state influence [13]. There are several factors that influence the content of the media, including the government or the prevailing political system, and the political system's trends contribute to shaping the media agenda, along with the public, media organization and communication trends. The political system is also a major variable that plays an important role in shaping the agenda of private and government media in Egypt and Arab countries. The political system creates a climate and provides opportunities for an appropriate media system [14].

The influence of the media on the political decision differs according to the political systems under which the media practice their work. The development of means of communication, the emergence of the Internet, the ease with which different people have access, and their relative lack of government control have turned them into a weapon that the masses have known against the ruling authority [15]. While Ali Bin Shobel Al Qarni stressed the inconsistency of the relationship between the mass media and the political authority, referring in his study to the link between the nature of the political system and the nature of the media system, the political system creates the climate and provides opportunities for the emergence of an appropriate media system. It is therefore the political and social system that defines the media and defines its form and content [16].

The different form of the relationship between media and political power is due to the different state-specific press and media legislation, although the principle of freedom of opinion and expression is recognized in all the constitutions of Arab countries derived from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted on 10 December 1948, The International Covenant on Civil and political Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 19 December 1966, has been based on a difference in the concept of the right to communication between the Arab countries on the grounds that the political system prevailing in each State has the right to enact its legislation. The process of issuing laws governing the affairs of states is subject to a group of political, economic and social factors that vary according to the different ruling regimes [17]..

There is often a contradiction between constitutions and national legislation because the ruling regimes violate constitutional provisions, and there is a defect in Arab legislation on rights and freedoms because of exceptional legislation that runs counter to constitutions; The declaration of a state of emergency or martial law comes at the forefront of exceptional legislation, and this contradiction has led to a satisfactory situation in which the Arab press suffers from duality, and in the face of constitutions recognizing the principles of freedom of opinion, expression and the press, laws aimed at restricting this principle [18].

The media plays a role in formulating the theoretical ideas and principles of the political decision, which depends on the nature and philosophy of the political system, emphasizing that in the case of the authoritarian regime, the role of the press system is limited to mobilizing and publicizing the political decisions of the leadership [19].

The impact of the media on political decision-making is changing from stage to stage, as the media increasingly influence political decision-making in the case of marginal issues, decreases in the case of important issues, and increases in its impact if it wishes to prevent the political system from taking a decision that it intended to take. Also the influence of the media in cases of political instability is increased, and its impact is reduced in cases of political stability. There is also a difference between the (private) opposition media style and that of the (governmental) national media in dealing with the output of the decision-making process. While the former weakens the legitimacy of decisions, the latter legitimizes them [19].

1.3. The Role of the Press Editor in the Political Decision-Making Process

The group of political, economic, cultural and social changes play a key role in forming Egyptian intellectuals, indicating that each of the three eras (Gamal Abdel Nasser - Mohamed Anwar Sadat - Mohamed Hosni Mubarak) represented a transition and a start inside the Egyptian society, the study concluded that president Gamal Abd Al-Nasser's rule witnessed political, social, economic and cultural changes, and there were also feelings of hatred for the royal ruling period, which is expected to get out of the British occupation. These general lines made the viewpoints between politicians and intellectuals close, and the disagreement was not deep at that time. The study also concluded that the most important thing that distinguishes the Egyptian president Al-Sadat's rule regarding the political decision-making process is that it was an individual decision whether it is related to the internal policy or foreign policy. According to the study, President Sadat viewed himself as everything [20] Journalists' perception of the limits of their roles is reflected in how they cover events [6]. Their perceptions play an important role in drafting the news release decision as well as the selection of sources, and that journalists' choices are later an indicator of countries' foreign policy.

1.4. The Nature of the Relationship Between Journalists and Sources

Bayan Al Rajhi discussed the relation between the mass media and the parliament representing the legislative authority, which is a complex and exciting relationship, sometimes honest and intimate, sometimes very complicated and explosive, and rarely reaches a break, and the study adds that the relation between journalists and politicians is a confused relation, there is a partnership and perhaps attraction. Journalists need stories from politicians, politicians need some publicity to achieve their own goals. A strong relationship between the two parties is based primarily on mutual respect, recognition by both sides of their respective importance for the exercise of democratic action, and the study emphasizes that society does not benefit from their hostile relationship; It makes parliamentarians less willing to disclose information, and journalists' reports on parliament will be objective, reflecting on the free flow of information. on the other hand, the study indicates that the relationship between the journalist and the politician should not be intimate relationship, and if this happens, journalists will be less willing to criticize the government [21].

The reliance of journalists on experts and researchers as sources is complex, owing to their desire to present news stories that include explanation, reader understanding, subject dimensions and details, 90% of the journalists in the sample sought to reach out to experts and researchers as sources of information. While 1% of the sample indicated that researchers and experts seek to communicate with journalists, the study described the nature of the relationship between the two parties as limited [22].

In the same context, Marria, Shauhua & Brooke [23] confirmed that the basis of the news industry is its sources, and the study indicates that since 1970 the American press has seen its role as a watchdog. Journalists are now dealing with information coming from its sources as raw materials that are taken and formulated properly, rather than being displayed for its sources. The study also suggests that advances in computer technology enable journalists to easily access the database to validate information rather than rely on official sources. According to the study, official sources are no longer the only source of truth.

In his study, Basyouny Hamad [24] was able to put several positions for journalists, which in turn determine the nature of the relationship between them and politicians, the first of these functions is the function of objectively gathering and presenting news without bias, the second function for journalists is to interpret news so that the reader, viewer or listener can understand the government's actions. The third function that the study observed is the function of representing the public opinion viewpoint in the face of the government, which makes the means of communication a guard for the government's actions and aims at not allowing the government to exploit its powers, while the fourth function serves the two parties, the government and the public opinion. Journalists form public opinion by presenting issues of concern to him, informing the government about public opinion trends, and finally, according to Bassiouni Hamada, the fifth function of journalists is to participate in the political process by focusing attention on specific issues. Communication has a major impact on decision-making through the way the facts are presented and by the supporters and opponents chosen by means of communication to cite them.

1.5. The Role of the Dominant Political System in Drafting of the Journalist's Boundaries in Shaping the Editorial Policy of Newspapers

Khaled Zaki Abu Al-Khair's study [25] found a theoretical model to explain the relationship between the determinants of editorial decision-making in newspapers and professional performance, and the model ensures that political factors influence the selection of topics and the choice of professional values on which they will depend.

The communicator has the capacity to influence in one way or another the ideas and opinions of the audience, and the situation of journalists varies according to the policies followed in each country. Under liberal political systems, any citizen can work in the profession of journalism, and freedom of expression extends to freedom of publication and work in the media without restrictions or obstacles. In socialist political systems, those who are allowed to work in the media are required to enjoy political confidence, whereas some countries allow work in the media only for those who have membership in the professional associations or syndicates of the media [26]. The journalist should enjoy a range of guarantees concerning the practice of the profession. In addition to protecting the journalist from physical abuse such as imprisonment, detention, torture, kidnapping and murder. Also providing the capabilities that help journalists access and obtain information, access documents and data, and consult both official and unofficial sources of news, The study also emphasized the high status of journalists and the media, giving them the proper immunity to the nature of their work and their need to protect against all internal and external pressures that may be exposed to force them to work that does not agree with their conscience or force them to present an incorrect or distorted story [26].

1.6. The Role of Journalists' Social Characteristics in Influencing Their Work

A study [27] sought to test the hypothesis that journalists' social characteristics influenced news content. They were asked to provide a recent example of their best news work and the stories of journalists were arranged according to some social characteristics of journalists, suggesting that individual factors were more relevant to the news production process. While a study [28] aimed to uncover the institutional effects on the situation of journalists, the study examined the extent to which the independence of journalists in their media institutions has changed, and whether there is a relationship between journalists' awareness of the nature of their institutions (subordinate or

independent) and the journalistic roles they believe that they are vital. The study found that media organizations became more aware of what concerns society, and the study showed no relation between the nature of the organization's work and the roles of journalists.

2. Theorical Framework

2.1. Theory of Cultural Criteria

The theory of cultural norms is one of the most explained theories of the impact of personal characteristics and reference groups of the Journalists on his or her work, thus shaping his or her relationship with other elements of the communication process [29]. This theory emphasizes the role of the Journalists in the process of information control, consistent with the prevailing social values, traditions and norms that provide a framework for the cultural norms prevailing in society. Using this theory, the paper seeks to reveal the personal characteristics and social background of the sample of journalists, and their impact on shaping the shape and nature of their relationship with Egypt's political power.

2.2. Dominance Model

The Journalist sees himself as dominating the media process, having a strong sense of its own, clear direction, and seeing the target audience as the media message consumer, and the content is a persuasive message specifically aimed at influencing the consumer (the public), as the audience in this model is a term of persuasive communication [30]. This makes the Journalist in this form eager to see the echo quickly, so that it can be sure that its goals in the communication process it leads are met. Journalist deals with his audience as being in the position of the guardian or the controlling father and knowing with all the facts [31].

2.3. Autism Model

In the Autism Model, the Journalist adopts the professional standards of the media organization and takes priority in its media practices, standardize, adopt and guide its activities and limited outreach to the public, without considering the real needs of the public [32]. In this model, media institutions dominate the communicative community to such an extent that they are more recent than they are in their audience, and this model appears in totalitarian societies and authoritarian regimes.

2.4. Model of Hostility

This model assumes that there is a kind of persistent antagonism between the journalist on the one hand and the politician who represents the source of information on the other, as conflict of interest is the characteristic of the relationship between the journalist and the source [24].

2.5. Accreditation and Adaptation Model

This model assumes that the relationship between the Journalist and the source depends on mutual cooperation between the parties, despite the complexity and the differences of their objectives, and considers that cooperation between the parties is the way to reach the target audience [24].

2.6. Model of Relationship Between the Communication System and the Political Decision-Making Process

This model deals with the role of the media in the political decision-making process, and divides the communication system into official and private media, so that the official media output differs from the private media output, the official media output is determined in the legalization and social control process, and it broadcasts non-doctrinal and very important messages on international issues [24]. Private media output is partisan thinking, seeking to weaken legitimacy and impartiality.

2.7. Theoretical Hypotheses of Study

First, there is a correlation between the journalist's approach to political power and the comprehensiveness of the prevailing political system. Second, there is a correlation between the journalist's approach to political power and his failure to take into account the needs of the public. Third, there is a correlation between the journalist's belonging to the private media and his bias in dealing with cases. Fourth, there is a correlation between the journalist's affiliation with the official media and his commitment to social responsibility.

3. Method

The study belongs to the How-to Studies field. The qualitative studies are a broader framework than an alternative to using numbers, statistics or control, as they seek to generate a holistic impression of the movement of the phenomenon by collecting, analysing, and recording results [33]. The study is based on the methodology of the media survey, as well as the comparative approach, to monitor the similarities and differences in the nature of the journalist's relationship with political authority in Egypt between the three political eras (President Gamal Abdel Nasser's era - President Mohamed Anwar Sadat's era - President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak's era). This is by comparing the political, legislative, and press situations, comparing the general characteristics of the political leadership in each era, and comparing the personal and professional characteristics of the journalists in the case study's sample.

3.1. Case Study Method

Define A case study is a type of research curriculum used in meta-studies. [34] while others considered it to be a method of qualitative research. From the qualitative entrance, the researcher used the in-depth interview tool, the researcher to answer the research questions and test his/her hypotheses, and the interview is the only tool that gives the researcher the chance to stand face-to-face in front of the source of information. This gives them the opportunity to get the most information in precise and clear detail.

The in-depth interview is based on form, known as 'interview guide', which includes a set of points and subjects that the researcher must cover in the research paper, it allows a high degree of flexibility in the formulation, and order of the questions. [35] The researcher analysed the qualitative content of the speeches of the presidents (Jamal Abdul Nasser, Mohammad Anwar Sadat, and Mohamed Hosni Mubarak), as well as the qualitative content of the book articles by the journalists who were studied by the researcher.

3.2. Case Study Sample

The researcher addressed a group of Egyptian journalists to case study in order to reveal the form and nature of the relationship between the journalist and the political authority in Egypt, and the factors affecting it, and the case study sample was a 'Purposive sample'. The sample case study included: Journalists who were contemporary in the first presidential period from 1960 to 1970: Mr. Mohamed Hassanein Heikal: Chairman of the Board of Directors and Editor-in-Chief of Al-Ahram Foundation (1957-1974), Egyptian Minister of National Guidance in 1970.

Professor Ihsan Abdul Qadous: The editor-in-chief of the magazine Rosalyosov in 1945. The Chairman of the Board of Directors of Rosalyosov magazine in 1958. The editor-in-chief of Al-Akhbar Al-Youm newspaper for two periods, the first (1966-1968) and the second (1969-1974). Chairman of the Board of Directors of Akhbar Al-Youm, 1971-1974. Chairman of the Board of Directors of Al-Ahram Foundation, 1975-1976. Full-time writer in Al-Ahram newspaper in 1976.

Mr. Mustafa Amin: He was the founder of the Akhbar al-Youm in 1944 and the editor-in-chief in 1944-1960, and returned to the editor-in-chief again in 1962. He is the editor of the last Hour magazine in 1938. The editor-in-chief of the magazine "Monday" published by Dar Hilal in 1941. Journalists who were contemporary in the Second Presidential era, 1970-1981:

Mr. Moussa Sabri: Chairman of the Board of Directors of Akhbar Al-Youm and editor-in-chief of Al-Akhbar Al-Akhbar from 1975 to 1984. Mr. Anis Mansour: Chairman of the Board of Directors of the House of knowledge (1976-1984), has served as editor-in-chief for several issues: The editor of several press releases, including Al-Gil magazine in 1960, Hay magazine in 1962, last Hour magazine in 1971, October magazine in 1976, Wadi Al-Nil magazine in 1979, Al-Erwa Al-Oqouki magazine in 1980, May newspaper in 1985, Caricature magazine in 1993, the Arab Women's Encyclopedia in 2004.

Mr. Ahmad Bahaa Al-Din: Editor-in-chief of the magazine "good morning" in 1956. Editor-in-chief of Al-Shaab newspaper in 1958. One of the editors-in-chief of Al-Akhbar newspaper in 1959. One of the editor-in-chief of Akhbar Al-Youm in 1961 and 1962. The editor-in-chief of the last Hour magazine in 1962. He also served as Chairman of the Board of Directors of Dar Al Hilal and Rosalisov. Chairman of the Board of Directors of Al-Ahram and Editor-in-Chief of Al-Ahram (1974-1975). EDITOR-in-chief of the Kuwaiti Al-Arabi Magazine (1976-1982).

Journalists who were contemporary in the Third Presidential period 1981-2011: Professor Ibrahim Nafaa: Chairman and Chairman of the Board of Directors of Al-Ahram (1979-2005). Professor Ibrahim Sa'da: Chairman and Chairman of the Board of Directors of Akhbar Al-Youm (1979-2005). Professor Ibrahim Issa: EDITOR-in-chief of Cyprus (1995-1998). Editor-in-chief of the Egyptian newspaper Al-DConstitution (2005-2010). To do this, the researcher conducted two studies (field and analytical). The researcher conducted a series of in-depth interviews with a selection of 20 experts in journalism and politics

The researcher carried out an analytical study using the tool of 'qualitative content analysis' on the speeches of President Gamal Abdel Nasser (30 speeches), President Mohamed Anwar Sadat (65 speeches) and President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak (176 speeches). Also, the researcher conducted an analytical study based on 'qualitative content analysis' tool on 90 articles of the writers, who represented the sample of the case study. The researcher has selected the essays sample according to the Purposive Sample method, and has identified articles on policy, economic, or social issues that reflect their attitudes toward political power.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. The Journalist's Relationship with the Political Authority in Egypt 1960-1970

The results of the study have shown that there is a link between the prevailing political system during the period of time (1960-1970) and the nature of the relationship between the journalist and the political authority, which was reflected in the predominance of the one voice, and thus the forms of relations between the journalist and the political authority did not vary in that period. The form of subsidiarity or partnership has been taken as a whole.

It was also revealed that President Gamal Abdel Nasser was not meeting frequently with journalists. The president Gamal Abdel Nasser had only met with journalists once after the announcement of the Press nationalization law in 1960. The results of the in-depth interviews also showed that the relationship between the journalist and the political authority was not secure during the era of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, especially with the control of the only political organization, 'the Socialist Union'.

The results showed that President Gamal Abdel Nasser's personal characteristics reflected the nature of the relationship between the journalist and the political authority, Gamal Abdel Nasser was doubting all around him, which had created a state of care and fear that dominated the journalists' relation with the political authority.

Regarding the journalist's relation with the political authority in Egypt during that period, the researcher - according to the case study sample - concluded that Mohammad Hassanein Heikal's relation with president' Gamal Abd Al-Nasser was 'partnership relation', which means that each party played a role for the benefit of the other party. The political leadership relied on the journalist to pass on their ideas and implement their policies, a role that Hassanein had excellently performed, Hassanein Hikal's articles based on persuasion and refuting arguments and proofs to present the political leadership's point of view. It is also keen to disprove its dissenting views and prove its invalidity so that the public does not coordinate behind them.

With regard to Ihsan Abd Al-Qados, it was found that he has presented many writings that carry cash for the beginning of the 'Nasiriya period', but the general orientation of his articles has changed during the 1960s, and that he is inclined to support and defend the political leadership. This is what was monitored from a sample of the content analysis from 1953 to 1962.

The same thing the researcher observed in Mostafa Amin's articles, his writings in the early years of the revolution 23 July 1952 opposed the 'Gamal abdel Nasser era', but this trend disappeared during the few years before he was imprisoned because of accusing of intelligence with the enemy. The political power in this era spat silenced any opposition voices and turned them into supportive voices.

4.2. The Journalist's Relationship with the Political Authority in Egypt 1970-1981 Period

The era of President Muhammad Anwar Al-Sadat witnessed a political breakthrough that reflected the political situations in that period, as multiparty parties appeared in the form of platforms inside the socialist union, followed by the emergence of parties, party newspapers

appeared after a disappearance that lasted more than 10 years, newspapers enjoyed many trends and different pens. The patterns and forms of the relationship between journalists and authority varied from dependency to balance to conflict.

The analysis of the speeches of President Mohamed Anwar Al- Sadat showed that there was much talk about the conditions of the press and journalists, perhaps because he practiced the press before, and even he considered himself a true journalist, which he said in many meetings. Although President Anwar Sadat was given a margin of freedom to the press in comparison with his predecessor, President Gamal Abdel Nasser, his relationship with journalists witnesses a form of conflict.

The state of "restricted freedom" in the era of President Mohamed Anwar Al- Sadat was reflected in the Journalism Law No. 148 enacted in 1980, which stipulates that private legal persons may have the right to issue and own newspapers, but this right was not actually exercised except by the Journalism Law No. 96 enacted in 1996. In addition to that president Al-Sadat called himself the family's chief, and any criticism of his policies bothered him and took it personally.

In this regard, the researcher has been able to monitor the relationship between Musa Sabri, Anis Mansour, and Ahmed Bahaauddin with the political authority in Egypt, represented in its political leadership. Musa Sabri's relationship with Anwar Sadat was absolute subordination, with the writer not having to disagree with the president on any policy or issue, but having mocked his pen to defend President Sadat's person, often oblivious to discussing and analysing issues.

As for Anis Mansour, his personality was reflected in his writings, for being a philosopher and thinker, he tended to analyse the personality of President Anwar Al- Sadat, go further in refuting his policies by monitoring their motives and implications, and described the writer's relationship with political power as a balancing relationship. Anis Mansour also reflected the humour and the frequent jokes as part of his character in the form and nature of his relationship with President Anwar Al- Sadat, Anis Mansour's specialization in philosophy played a role in creating an intellectual richness in his discussions with the president and his writings. This has often led Sadat to rely on him.

As for Ahmad Bahaauddin, the style of shout and revealing appeared in writings, whether in the Egyptian newspapers or in the Arab newspapers, in addition to the wealth of knowledge that his writings enjoyed in all the local, regional and international issues. Ahmed Bahaauddin's culture and desire for historical analysis and historical details of events and his adherence to principles played an extremely important role in the president's reliance on him. But although the relationship has sometimes been strained by the writer's criticism, he enjoyed the confidence of President Anwar Al- Sadat, which was reflected in Al-sadat concern to listen to his views and take them into account even after he moved to Kuwait as editor-in-chief of the Kuwaiti magazine 'Al Arabi' in 1976-1982.

4.3. The Journalist's Relationship with the Political Authority in Egypt 1981-2011 Period

President Hosni Mubarak's era enjoyed a high margin for democracy, reflected in press freedom in a remarkable way, with private newspapers appearing, multiplexed partisan newspapers, and the relationship between the journalist and political authority varied between dependence, balance, and sharp conflict over the regime's downfall.

The results of an analysis of the contents of President Hosni Mubarak's speeches showed his interest in the press and journalists from the beginning of his term in office, but this interest did not last until the end of his term, as the researcher noticed that the talk about press and journalists' conditions decreased in the last five years of President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak's rule. This era was witnessed the enacting of Journalism Law No. 96 in1996 which guarantee a high margin of freedom for the journalist.

A number of experts [36] agreed that the political freedom witnessed by President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak's era played a leading role in preparing for the 25th of January revolution in 2011, as the freedom margin allowed some newspapers to harm the president himself. Some experts have emphasized that the vast amount of press freedom observed in the era of President Hosni Mubarak has led to the spread of a false consciousness, which has contributed to the mobilization of public opinion against the regime and political leadership, that led to the25th January revolution.

President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak's personality has been reflected in the form and nature of his relation with journalists, the president's calm and patience, and his non-rush in taking decisions that

made him suffer many violations and sharp in opposition, as well as his pardoning of those who had prison sentences.

As for the journalist's relation with the political authority in Egypt during the era of President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, a case study of a number of journalists in that era showed the balance between Ibrahim Nafeh and the political leadership in that period, and Ibrahim Nafeh's personality reflected on his relation with the political authority. His professionalism and his priority in the interest of journalists led him to completely align himself with the political authority and to stand in the ranks of the journalists as a leader of the press and head of the Arab Journalists Union, which led to the balance of the relation between the two parties. As for Ibrahim Sada, he also had with President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak a balanced relationship, he played a role in presenting the country's policies to readers, but at the same time he did not shy away from violating the president at times, which was revealed in the article "pardon the President".

As for Ibrahim Eissa, he was able to use the maximum margin of freedom that was made available in the period of President Hosni Mubarak's rule, and he presented a bitter criticism to President Hosni Mubarak, his policies, government, party and family, and even the matter reached the point of inciting the people to get out of power as his articles showed. This expressed a conflict relationship between the journalist and the political leadership during that period. Ibrahim Issa's rebellious personality has also been shown in his sharp critique of political power.

4.4. Model of Journalist's Relationship with the Authority

After reviewing the results of the analytical and field studies, the researcher found a model that illustrates the factors influencing the shape and nature of the relationship between the journalist and the political authority, as shown in Figure1.
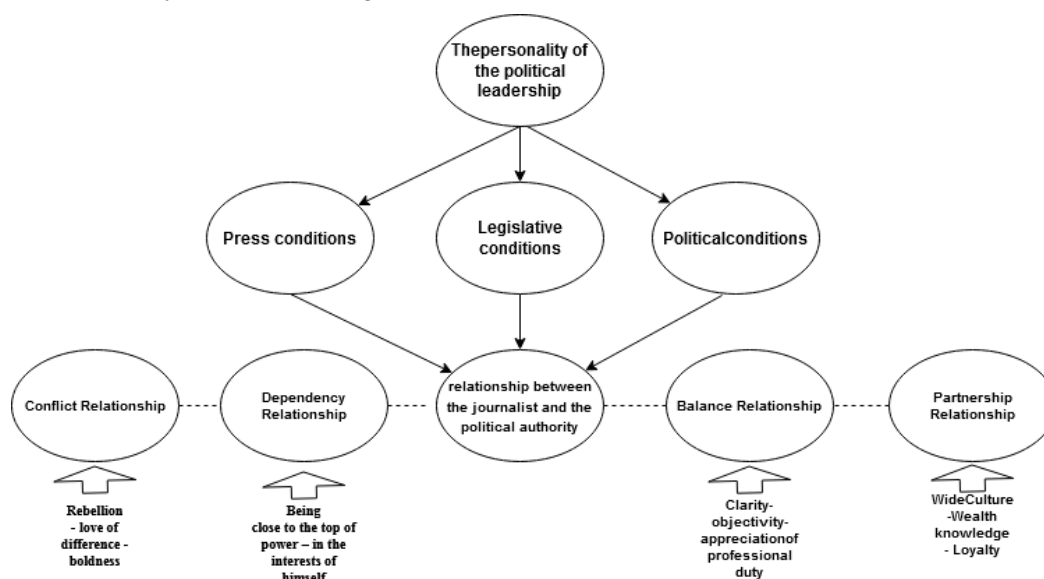

Fig. 1. Model of journalist's relationship with the authority in Egypt

5. Conclusion

According to the above, the researcher saw that the best form of the relationship between the journalist and the political authority is "balance", so that the journalist does not foment in the political leadership, unite with it, disappear from his personality and become a mere echo of the ruler. He also shouldn't use his energy and space and engages in hostility toward the ruler in such a way that he does not pay attention to any bright points, and in such a way that the journalist fails to fulfil his role of revealing facts, highlighting the positive aspects of society in terms of a degree of social responsibility imposed by the nature of his profession.

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