Agenda-Setting: A Cross Analysis of the Algerian Press Service Double Discourse towards Morocco Libya and Mali

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Résumé
Le rôle de l’agence de presse algérienne (APS) et de l'agenda politique qu'elle exécute concernant les trois conflits géopolitiques distincts au Maroc, en Libye et au Mali est un sujet de grande importance pour les chercheurs dans le domaine des études des discours médiatiques et politiques. L'hypothèse de cette étude repose sur le double discours haineux de cette agence pour mettre en œuvre l’agenda politique algérien nourrissant à la fois la sécession et l’insécurité au Sahara Marocain mais également en préservant la sécurité et la stabilité en Libye et au Mali. Par ce double discours, nous entendons que la langue qui est utilisée par l'agence de presse pour qualifier les trois enjeux politiques est contradictoire. À cette fin, trois théories (agenda-setting, framing, priming) sont utilisées pour étudier pertinemment la manière dont l’agence se met au service de la stratégie politique algérienne. Incontestablement, elle promeut, de manière particulièrement flagrante, un projet de sécession visant ainsi à démanteler le Maroc, notamment en coupant le Sahara de la carte du royaume. D'autre part, les trois théories serviront aussi à étudier la ligne médiatique de l'agence qui présente l'Algérie comme un état pacifiste qui s'efforce de préserver la stabilité et l'unité de la Libye et du Mali. Pour cette fin, le présent article a fait usage de la section ‘World’ du site internet anglais de l'agence et il a identifié 1107 articles de presse du 15 Mai (date du coup d'État militaire au Mali) au 15 Décembre 2020 (date ou le président des États Unis d’Amériques Donald J. Trump a proclamé la reconnaissance de la souveraineté du Maroc sur son Sahara) et tout cela aussi en plus du conflit politique en cours en Libye. En ce qui concerne la théorie de ‘agenda-setting’, cette recherche a identifié de nombreux concepts et expressions comme indicateurs de la position politique algérienne vis-à-vis des trois questions. En ce qui concerne la théorie de ‘framing’, cet article a compté et catégorisé les actualités au jour le jour en quatre types nommés ‘Maroc’, ‘Mali’, ‘Libye’ et ‘Reste du Monde’. Les résultats révèlent que les expressions linguistiques et concepts articulées par l’agence de presse sert à mettre en œuvre l'agenda politique de l'État algérien. Au-delà de cette mise en œuvre, le discours haineux de l'agence sur la question du Sahara Marocain semble être très péjoratif et exprime explicitement que l'Algérie soutient à la fois le séparatisme et l'instabilité mais également l'insécurité au Maroc. Aussi et de manière très différente, l'agence exprime l'engagement de l'Algérie à maintenir la stabilité en Libye et au Mali. Enfin, on constate que les résultats relatifs à la théorie de ‘priming’ montrent que l’agence de presse s’est concentrée uniquement sur la question du Sahara Marocain qu’elle ne l’a pas fait pour la ‘Libye’, ‘le Mali’ ou encore le ‘Reste du monde’. Les résultats montrent, de manière très flagrante, que la quantité des articles de presse consacrés aux trois crises est destinée à faire du problème du Sahara Marocain une préoccupation majeure pour l’Algérie. Il
ressort des articles de presse (1107) utilisés par l'agence pour couvrir toutes les événements internationales, qu’une très grande majorité, à savoir 735, étaient réservés au Sahara Marocain, alors que 85 articles parlaient de la Libye, 77 reportaient sur le Mali, et enfin 210 couvraient le reste du monde.

*Mots Clés*: Agenda politique, Algérie presse service, discours double standard, framing, Sahara Marocain, priming

**Abstract**

Much can be said about the role of the Algerian Press Service and the political agenda it sets regarding three distinct geopolitical conflicts in Morocco, Libya, and Mali. It is hypothesized in this study that the agency’s double discourse to execute the Algerian political agenda nourishes secession and insecurity in the Moroccan Sahara and seeks to preserve security and stability in Libya and Mali. By double discourse, we mean that the language utilized by the press agency to qualify the three political issues is contradictory. For this aim, agenda-setting, framing, and priming theories, are used to examine how the agency serves the Algerian political strategy that flagrantly promotes a secession project to dismantle Morocco by cutting the Sahara from the kingdom’s map. On the other hand, the theories will serve to study the media line of the agency which presents Algeria as a peacemaker state that strives to preserve stability, sovereignty, and unity of Libya and Mali. Relying on the ‘world’ section of the agency’s English website, 1107 news stories were extracted from the 15th of May (date of the military coup in Mali) to the 15th of December, 2020 (Donald J. Trump recognition of Morocco’s sovereignty over its Sahara) in addition to the ongoing political conflict in Libya. As far as agenda-setting is concerned, this research identified many concepts and frames as indicators of the Algerian political position towards the three issues. In relation to priming, this article counted and categorized day by day news into four types named as ‘Morocco’, ‘Mali’, ‘Libya’, and the ’Rest of the World’. The results indicate that the linguistic expressions and concepts indicate that the agency serves the political agenda of the Algerian state. More than that, the discourse of the agency towards the Moroccan Sahara issue is derogatory and explicitly expresses that Algeria supports separatism, instability, and insecurity in Morocco. Differently, the agency articulates the Algerian commitment to maintain stability in Libya and Mali. Finally, the findings related to priming show that the press service has concentrated more on the Moroccan Sahara issue than it did for ‘Libya’, ‘Mali’, and the ‘Rest of the World’. In this sense, the findings show that the amount of news stories devoted to the three issues is meant to make the Moroccan Sahara problem a primary concern. Over the 1107 news stories that the APS used to cover all the international issues, 735 were reserved for the Moroccan Sahara, 85 talked about Libya, 77 news stories reported about Mali, and 210 covered the rest of the world.

**Keywords**: agenda-setting, Algerian Press Service, double standard discourse, framing, Moroccan Sahara, priming
1. Introduction

Most of the time, media discourse brings people together, freezes differences, and promotes prosperity and peace among conflicting nations. In the Maghreb and the Sahel region, the Algerian Press Service (APS) presents Algeria a country that builds peace, defends the sovereignty of states, does not interfere in the neighbors’ internal affairs, and uses peaceful measures to settle regional conflicts. These allegations are false. The purpose of this study is to demystify the Algerian political agenda promoted by the APS. More than that, this study will explain how the agency pursues a double discourse while treating the three regional issues.

The language of the APS consists of saying different, even contradictory, statements depending on the issue it covers. For instance, a defamatory and hateful language is used by the APS to address the Moroccan Sahara issue. Differently, the agency adapts a language of peace and friendship when it comments on the political unrest in Libya and Mali. This narrative has been around for more than seven months, the period that this study relied on to investigating how the APS serves the political agenda of Algeria. Indeed, the fact that the APS does not pursue the same process of coverage of political conflicts in the area means that the agency deceives the audience, manipulates it, and confuses its perception about the reality of the three conflicts. In this sense, this study tries to explain that the double discourse of the APS reflects the real position of the Algerian state towards the Moroccan Sahara and the other neighboring issues.

Additionally, the present research will explicate that the agency not only selects particular linguistic expressions and frames to execute the Algerian political agenda towards the Moroccan Sahara crisis but it also fosters enmity, hate, insecurity, and instability because of its explicit and permanent interference in the Moroccan internal affairs [1, 2, 3]. To achieve its aim, this study will examine the English website of the agency and will retrieve the news stories that cover the Moroccan Sahara, the military coup in Mali, and the political upheaval in Libya.

We strongly believe that APS executes the Algerian political agenda in the region by shaping the narratives that support the country’s political orientation. For this reason, 1107 news stories were identified and transcribed from the ‘World’ section of the English website of the agency to prove that the double discourse it employs is meant to support separatism in the Moroccan Sahara and to promote security and stability in Libya and Mali. Recently, the inauguration of diplomatic representations in the Moroccan Sahara has brought tremendous diplomatic effects.

Importantly, the opening, at the end of January, of an American consulate in Dakhla, will be a major turning point for the future of the Moroccan Sahara. Surely, the many Moroccan diplomatic triumphs are causing enormous diplomatic defeat of Algeria, a total death of the separatist thesis it repeatedly claims, the collapse of its principle of neutrality and non-interference in other countries’ internal affairs, and finally the end of a fallacy and a lie that Algeria is a supporter of freedom and self-determination of peoples across the world.

1.1. Importance of the Study

Geographically, agenda-setting has been examined in North America, Asia, Europe, and Latin America without mentioning Africa though the theoretical map of agenda-setting has continuously evolved with the proliferation of new communication technologies and changes in the social landscape during the past several decades [4].

To fill this gap in research, this study explains the extent to which the APS undergoes a double standard discourse to promote the state’s political agenda towards three major crises located in its neighboring context namely the Moroccan Sahara conflict, the Libyan political unrest, and the Malian military coup.
The aim is to prove that the agency adopts an intentionally discriminating discourse to cover the Moroccan Sahara issue. The APS makes the Moroccan Sahara conflict Algeria’s major political concern to flagrantly intervene in Morocco’s internal affairs. Unfortunately, the APS is an Algerian media tool of propaganda that is alarmingly using non-ethical ways to promote the state’s political positions.

It is argued that media outlets controlled by the state have become necessary to the durability of undemocratic governments around the world [5].

The messages that the APS constructs and the political agenda that it serves are meant to help to reinforce the regime’s objectives, by all means, to perpetuate the Moroccan Sahara crisis.

1.2. The Algerian Press Service (APS)

Media studies have generally established news media as both a site and a process of social interaction and ideological construction and agencies that play a vital role in expressing social thinking and national agendas [6, 7, 8, 9].

Accordingly, this feeling builds up national discourse and social interactions through the news content [9]. Be it an official media outlet in Algeria, the APS plays a primary role in constructing political perspectives on geopolitical issues from different reading positions. The APS is chosen here because of its 59-year news coverage and its widespread impact on the news contents in Algeria.

Since its creation on 1 December 1961 in Tunis, the APS has become Algeria’s voice on global and regional political issues. As reported on its website, the APS "exercises its public service mission by developing the production of general and specialized news covering politics, economy, culture, and sports, especially to present facts, actions and achievements of the Algerian state" (http://www.aps.dz/en/about-aps).

Over many decades, the APS has considerably produced news stories mainly when it comes to the issue of the Moroccan Sahara conflict.

In effect, it has become a propaganda tool to promote the political agenda of the Algerian state that has been explicitly supporting the secession of the polisario front, a guerilla group that claims property over the Moroccan Sahara.

The policy of the APS is built on news fabrication to cover the issue of Moroccan Sahara. The drift of the APS towards promoting separatism in Morocco has been observed for more than 45 years as a voice to enrich instability [1, 2, 3].

Lately, serious preoccupations were expressed about the APS’ non-neutrality, but over the years, the network has remarkably become a media brand for non-ethical journalism to foster a climate of tension by placing itself at the intersection of media interference and agenda political setting [10, 11, 12].

As such, the present study posits that APS perpetuates an archaic policy inherited to do the colonization and the cold war period as it collects, processes, distributes news, commentaries, and written or photographic documentation to build its information in accordance following the ethical and requirements of the country’s political agenda [1, 2, 3].

The Algerian double standard discourse towards the Moroccan Sahara conflict started since the former Algerian president Benjedid assumed power in 1979. In fact, Algeria does not interfere on the Moroccan internal affairs but it promotes instability in Morocco by helping a handful of armed separatists affiliated to the polisario gain independence [13].

Since the seventies, the APS has shown explicit support to a separatist movement, the country created and branded under the name of the ‘polisario front’. The expansionist desire of Algeria is to create a new state in the Moroccan Sahara to dominate the territories and to limit the surface of Morocco [13].

For this aim, Algeria has undergone a perennial political process that financially costs the country a lot of money to maintain military, humanitarian, and diplomatic aids to the separatists in the refugee camps near Tindouf, Algeria [13].
However, the APS neither speaks about the financial aid it procures to promote separatism in the Moroccan Sahara nor it cites the Algerian officials’ responsibility for repeatedly and systematically diverting humanitarian aid destined for the refugees in the camp [14]. With three bordering crises, the internal stability of the country has become a major concern of the Algerian press Agency. If the orientation of the Algerian political agenda, settled by the APS, is to seek division in Morocco and jeopardizing its territorial integrity, political security, and social stability the Algerian political inclinations for the other issues is different. On the contrary, Algeria never hides its desire and hope, expressed through the APS, to see Libya and Mali secure and stable. This double standard discourse is expressed by the APS when it covers events in the three countries.

The ultimate aim of this study, then, is to demystify the Algerian political agenda that the APS largely mediatizes. Such a deliberate linguistic process is identified in foreign policy as an identity-making and a political performance by relating the ‘self’ to the ‘other’ [15].

1.3. Historical and Political Context

The historical context of the three conflicts in the Moroccan Sahara, Libya, and Mali is very significant for many reasons. The Maghreb and the Sahel-Saharan regions are witnessing many problems related to the preservation of territorial integrity (Morocco), rebellions against the central regime (Libya), and the establishment of political stability and good governance (Mali). The three political crises have exacerbated multidimensional insecurity threats that are weighing on the economic, political, and social stability of the region. More than any time, regional cooperation is needed to solve these upheavals within a total mutual respect of countries’ souvrainty and stability, especially between the Maghreb and the West African countries to counter common challenges together.

Nevertheless, Morocco, a developing country that is striving to complete its territorial integrity, is countered by Algeria. For more than four decades, Algeria has supported a separatist armed guerilla that it harbors inside its territories. To maintain escalation in the Moroccan Saharan cities, Algeria uses the APS to reinforce the political agenda towards this conflict.

In the treatment of this issue, the agency uses a discourse of insecurity and hatred to qualify the Moroccan Sahara issues. The linguistic expressions and frames used for this aim differ from the discursive patterns which the APS employs to cover the political unrest in Libya and Mali. For instance, the agency uses a very friendly language to promote peace and stability in Libya and Mali the security of which is fundamental to Algeria.

1.3.1. The Moroccan Sahara Issue

The question of the Moroccan Sahara is one of the oldest conflicts in contemporary history. This conflict had its very first beginnings in the 60s of the last century when Morocco asked for the recovery of its Sahara from the Spanish colonizer which refused to deliver the territory to the kingdom.

On September 18, 1974, Morocco requested the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice to give its opinion in the case. On October 6, 1975, the Court issued its advisory opinion on the Sahara, recognizing that “Western Sahara was not a land without a master” confirming the existence of legal ties and allegiance between the Sultans of Morocco and the Sahrawi tribes.

This event forced Spain to conduct negotiations with Morocco on its withdrawal from the territories. When Late King Hassan II was preparing for the launch of the ‘green march’ to get back the territories, Algeria announced on October 21, 1975, that it was opposed to the organization of this peaceful march and mobilized for this purpose its diplomacy to thwart the completion of the territorial integrity of Morocco.
To counter Morocco’s will, and for the sake of increasing pressure on Morocco, the Algerian regime went further by expelling 350,000 Moroccans from Algeria, in what the former Algerian president Houari Boumedien called the ‘black march’[16, 17, 18].

Since then, Algeria hysterically and explicitly displayed its ambitions by attempting to occupy areas in the Moroccan Sahara just after the departure of the Spanish forces. For the Algerian regime, the completion of territorial integrity by Morocco constitutes a threat to Algiers as it will make the Kingdom a serious competitor.

Indeed such a concern justifies the Algerian ambitions to extend its hegemony over the Moroccan Sahara. In January 27, 1976, Algerian military men infiltrated the village of Amgala, located near the town of Smara.

The Algerian contingent went to war with a battalion of the Moroccan Royal Armed Forces. In a desperate attempt to justify the presence of its army on Moroccan territories, Algeria had conveyed via its media that it was an unarmed convoy of trucks carrying food and medicine.

In the 28th of February, 1976 negotiations between Morocco and Spain ended with the departure of the Spanish troops from the Moroccan Sahara in 28 February 1976, the day before Algeria created and named an armed gruella it called the ‘polisario front’ [19].

In this context, Ricardo Sanchez Serra, the Peruvian expert in international relations underlined that Algeria created the polisario separatist front on its soil and triggered an artificial conflict over the Moroccan Sahara to fuel its obsession to find an outlet on the Atlantic Ocean [20].

In addition to the military and financial support of the separatist group, Algeria has bribed many poor countries in exchange for their recognition of the phantom state [21, 22, 23].

Four decades after the outbreak of the Moroccan Sahara issue, the problem has yet to find a final and consensual solution. Many options have been provided to settle the conflict that opposes Morocco to the separatist armed guerilla which Algeria generously supports to claim authority over the Moroccan Sahara.

On April 11, 2007, Morocco submitted an autonomy project draft to the United Nations that the country wrote in coordination with civil organizations, political parties, elected officials of the Moroccan Sahara, and the Consultative Council for Saharan Affairs (CORCAS). The Moroccan project of autonomy was supported by one-hundred seventy members of the US House of Representatives who send a letter to President George W. Bush, asking him to support the autonomy project presented by Morocco, calling it ‘promising’, ‘historic’, and ‘innovative’.

The letter adds that the plan provides a ‘realistic framework’ for a ‘negotiated political solution’ [24]. Many countries welcomed the ‘serious’ and ‘credible’ efforts led by Morocco for the resolution of the regional conflict over the Moroccan Sahara [25].

Lately, the Moroccan project has been favorably hailed by thirteen members of the council [26] who voted for the resolution, while Russia and South Africa abstained, one of the few African countries that support Polisario’s claims over the Moroccan Sahara [27]. Regrettably, the Moroccan project for peace has always been rejected by Algeria and the separatist guerilla that keep sending to the United Nations a common project based on secession and self-determination.

Despite explicit interference of Algeria in the Moroccan internal affairs, the kingdom has always sought peace and direct negotiations with Algeria to terminate this conflict. The inflexibility of the Algerian political position regarding the conflict persists and the dispute with Morocco on the territories is far from being ended. Since the beginning of the crisis in the seventies, all Algerian presidents have supported the polisario front to secede from Morocco. After the death of President Hawari Boumediene, Rabat saw in Chadli Benjedid the man of the Algerian-Moroccan reconciliation [28].
Since then, Late King Hassan II and President Chadli Bendjedid met twice in June 1988 in Algiers and in February 1989 in Marrakech to establish the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU). The two heads of state were to meet officially in May 1991 to discuss the modalities aimed at ceasing fire between Morocco and the Polisario. That same year, the land borders reopened for just three years.

On January 12, 1992, Chadli Bendjedid’s resignation marked a halt in the normalization of the relations between Morocco and Algeria. Morocco then loses a privileged interlocutor [28]. The advent of President Bouteflika in 1999 had raised the same hopes, but the convergence of views between the army, the security services, and the presidency on the issue has postponed the peace process in the region. Oftentimes, the Algerian government has held a stubborn resentment against Moroccan [29].

Regrettably, the Algerian authorities, intelligence services, politicians, and media have tirelessly fuelled a climate of tension in a fragile region that is today threatened by insecurity and terrorism. The mobilization of Algeria did not stop at the stage of receiving the recognition of the puppet state, but it even launched media campaigns to support the Polisario that culminated with many tensions inside the Moroccan southern territories. In October 2010, violent escalations raised in the city of Laayoune as the law enforcement dismantled an illegal camp constructed by pro-polisario activists in the Gdim-Izik camp. The operation resulted in 11 deaths and 70 wounded among the law enforcement personnel and four among the civilians, as well as enormous material damage to public and private property. Recently, the speeches of five candidates for presidency were explicit on that. Friday, December 6, 2019 was broadcast live on Algeria’s television and radios a debate which brought together the five candidates. In their responses to a question about their foreign affairs program, the candidates (Ali Benflis, Abdelmadjid Tebboune, Azzedine Mihoubi, Abdelaziz Belaïd, and Abdelkader Bengrina) overtly expressed their vows to grand independence to the polisario front if anyone is elected president [32].

Faithful to the promises he made as a candidate, Abdelmajid Tebboune, now president of Algeria, qualifies Morocco as an ‘occupation force that must retreat from the area to grant independence to the Sahrawi population’ [33]. More than that, Tebboune reaffirms Algeria’s will to defend the legitimacy and the right of the armed guerilla front to independence and self-determination. He stresses that ‘everybody in Algerian including the institutions, the politicians, and the army knows that it is a matter of occupation and is decolonization’ [33].

Today, the polisario front is using banditry and gangsterism at the Guergarat, a buffer zone between Morocco and Mauritania. In October 2020, members of the guerilla, manipulated by Algeria, have repeated some of these violations, including blocking the traffic of people and commerce through the borders [27]. The polisario blockage of the checkpoint is perceived as defiance to the United Nation’s mission in the region (MINURSO) which oftentimes warned against the separatist group’s actions, including the establishment of activities in the grey zone.

We strongly believe that Algeria not only holds a decaying vision linked to cold war ideology but it seems that its explicit support of the polisario armed guerilla is a threat to regional stability. The polisario front has significantly and dramatically toggled towards organized trans-border crime and drug smuggling due to its bankruptcy and the extreme poverty that reigns among the refugees in the Tindouf camp [30, 34, 35]. To remedy to financial and social predicaments, the polisario front resorts to various forms of trafficking and activities related to clandestine immigration [36].
In this direction, it is important to recall the preoccupations declared by the United States of America on the Sahel-Saharan strip. For Washington, this area is poorly controlled by the states of the region, as a possible rear base for former Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat renamed Al-Qaïda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) [37, 38, 39]. Many countries of the region join this preoccupation and highlight the connections between the polisario front, Touaregs, and proxies of AQIM. To give impetus to this idea, Abdelhak Khiame, the head of Morocco’s Central Bureau of Judicial Investigations (BCIJ), declared in March 2018 that the border region between Morocco and Algeria became a safe haven for certain terrorist groups, including AQIM and ISIS cells which have been facing serious security challenges in Syria and Iraq [40]. The Moroccan counterterror office, adds Kasraoui, has managed to identify more than a hundred of the polisario members, who have been operating in AQIM. Similar information unveiled by the Terrorism Research and Analyses Consortium’s (TRAC) [41] notifies that members of the movement back arms and narcotics trading in the refugee camps and across the region.

Algerian never acknowledges neither the drift of the front towards banditry nor it exposes the many plots it orchestrates to destabilize the region and to endanger the territorial integrity of Morocco. In this study, the aim is to confirm the country’s involvement in supporting separatism and instability in Morocco by proving that the attack on the Kingdom by Algeria is systematic in its political agenda set by the official media outlet (APS). Essentially, politicians, parliament members, the media, and non-governmental organization in Algeria, consider that the issue of the Moroccan Sahara is a primary concern for the state. As practiced in the APS, the subordination of political agenda to media discourse will be investigated.

The present study focuses on the inclinations of APS as part of the Algerian political system and explores how the state uses official media for political purposes to destabilize Morocco and maintain stability and security of Libya and Mali. While a broad range of news stories highlight the Algerian role as a peacemaker in the region (Mali, Libya), attacks on Morocco, however, are predominantly conducted by the agency.

Hopefully, this article attempts to testify that the current agenda-setting of the APS articulates Algeria’s politics and spreads the ideology of its government, political parties, non-government organizations, elites, public and private media, cultural and public figures who openly declare their engagement in the problem while contending that the issue is supervised by the United Nations (UN). Contrary to this position, Algeria maintains that the issue of Libya and Mali falls within its national security to preserve the stability and the security of its borders. This ambivalence is felt in articles 26, 27, and 28 of the Algerian constitution which mention that the country 1) Endeavors to settle international differences by peaceful mean (Algerian. Const. art. 26 § 2) and 2) Resorts to war for the achievement of legitimate sovereignty and the liberty of other peoples (Algerian. Const. art.26 § 1). In the Moroccan case, the Algerian authorities, politicians, media, and diplomatic personnel always resort to article 27 of the constitution which mentions that “Algeria declares its solidarity with all the peoples who are fighting for political and economic liberation, for the right of self-determination and against all racial discrimination” (Algerian. Const. art. 27).

However, Algeria never embraces this position when it comes to the conflicts in Libya and Mali. If Algeria flagrantly interferes in the Moroccan Sahara issue, the position it takes towards Libya and Mali are aligned with objectives of the Charter of the United Nations “for the reinforcement of international cooperation and for the development of amicable relations between the states on the basis of equality, mutual interests and non-interference in internal affairs” (Algerian. Const. art. 28).

1.3.2. The Libyan Political Unrest

The political upheavals in Libya are rendered to the fall of the Libyan regime of Kadhafi, an event that has reinforced the security vacuum in the Sahel-Saharan zone [42]. In
2011 the Security Council ordered the 1973 resolution number upon which forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombarded Libya to forcefully implement the ‘Operation Unified Protector’ that imposed a no-fly zone on the country to ostensibly protect civilians against a potential massacre by Kadhafi [43].

After three years of perpetual instability following the fall of the political regime, Libya has finally turned into a failed state under the mercy of Islamist extremism [44, 45]. It is important here to mention that the Libyan security sector has imploded and exploded simultaneously while many members of the armed forces have left their units [46]. After 2011, Libya has been at the concern of the international community since it became a platform for radical Islamism, the Islamist state In Syria (ISIS), and migration and drug trafficking [43].

For more than nine years, the Libyan crisis has become a security hazard and a magnet that attracted jihadists, terrorist networks, organized crime, and human trafficking facilitators among others.

Overall, the public insecurity has been exacerbated by criminal gangs boosted by the sway of jihadists from the Middle East who took hold of the abundance of arms scattered in society. The split of the international community on the response to be adopted to solve the political crisis in Libya reveals many differences among Mediterranean actors. The Algerian authorities opposed any armed intervention that might be a prelude to the break-up of the country and the instability of the region.

The Algerian position is based on neutrality and non-interference in the internal affairs of Libya as dictated in the Algerian constitution. Its strategy relied on the roadmap proposed by the African Union which ordered an immediate cessation of hostilities to facilitate delivery of humanitarian aid and to launch negotiations between the Libyan parties that might initiate a political transition in the country. In the absence of a real peace process, Libya has been presented as a ‘Somalia on the Mediterranean,’ a ‘failed state’ and a ‘haven for terrorists’ [43, 47] that borders Tunisia and Algeria and is just 350 km away from Italy and Malta. Actually, Algeria fears that the Libyan conflicts, if not quenched, might influence its internal situation menaced by the presence of AQIM in the mountainous area of Boumerdès and the extreme south. For the first time since its independence, Algeria is truly facing potential cross-border threats from Libya, Tunisia and Mali [48].

From its part, Algeria organized many inter-Libyan dialogues to find a solution to the civil war by unifying various Libyan actors, including Muammar Khadafy’s partners and members of the Islamic Group fighting in Libya, a terrorist organization that was eventually absorbed by Al Qaeda [49, 50, 51]. In this direction, it is important to mention that the attack perpetrated on January 16, 2013, against the Tigantourine gas site by a group led by Mokhtar Belmokhtar, Algerian Jihad’s Southern Amir [52], was launched from the Libyan territory [53, 54]. Though summits and round tables have been organized and supervised by the United Nations Organization to settle the Libyan political upheaval, the conflict still persists.

The Algerian hope to restore peace and stability to Libya is fundamental to the country as highlighted in president Tebboune’s speeches. For example, his speech in the army headquarters in mid-October, 2020, Tebboune underlined the imperative to work without delay to exterminate political discord in Libya and to put an end to the bloodshed through legislative elections in which conflicting fractions will take part to appoint their leaders. The Algerian political position towards the Libyan political unrest is reflected in the APS that the country utilizes to promote its will to maintain stability and security of the Libyan borders.

In relation to this crisis, the present study aims to examine the extent to which the APS executes the Algerian political agenda that strives to maintain the souvrainity of Libya and to prevent disorder and political unrest in Mali. Algeria fears that the divergence of events in Libya and Mali could seriously affect its internal security fragilized by social and political discordances.
1.3.3. The Malian Political Conflict
Mali, the largest state in West Africa after Niger, is landlocked in West Africa mainland. Politically, Mali is at the heart of the debates since the radical and separatist groups took over the north due to insufficient involvement of the government to maintain stability in regions dominated by the Touareg [55].

The Malian crisis is very complex in the sense that it is surrounded by ambiguities. The current situation in Mali cannot be explained without analyzing the political, economic, humanitarian, and security issues in the region as well as the various local, national, regional, and international actors concerned [56].

Internally, the crisis affects the sovereignty of Mali, whose cohesion is threatened as well as a good part of the Sahel and West Africa. Institutionally, the country suffers a political vacuum since the coup that caused the fall of President Amadou Toumani Touré and favored the fall of the north of the country under the control of the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) [57, 58, 59].

The unstable situation favors armed, equipped, and trained international terrorists to fill in the security vacuum and to install inside the country [55]. Led by France and its allies, an anti-terrorism campaign has been launched to eradicate the proxies of jihadism like Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), and the Salafist Ansar-Eddine group [60]. The political unrest in Mali has been asserted among the Algerian political sphere and the media as an issue that favors terrorism, organized crime and illegal immigration [61].

It is important here to highlight that mentioned in that troubles and political unrest in Mali, an external front for Algeria, can destabilize the Algerian south [62]. For Abdelmajid Tebboune, the Algerian president, the threat is comes essentially from radical Islamist groups [32]. What Algeria fears most is separatism in Mali which will give much impetus to Touareg tribes in the south of Algeria to claim secession and independence. Though terrorist groups are threatening Mali and other neighboring countries, Algeria remains faithful to its principles of ‘non-interference’ in the political affairs of the country under the pretext that Algeria preaches dialogue and national reconciliation between the Malian actors. In fact, to settle this conflict, Algeria claims that it should be done without any external interference based on the belief that the solution lies in ‘dialogue between conflicting parties in Libya and Mali. There are no other alternatives than national reconciliation if we really want to settle the conflicts. The solution must come from the people themselves’ [63].

In this context, a speech delivered by the Algerian president in the army headquarters, largely broadcasted by the APS, handled the Malian crisis with great caution and delicacy. Today, the democratic reconstruction, social stability, and integrity of Malian territories are among the priorities of the Algeria people, the government, the political parties, and the media [64, 65]. To examine how the APS promotes the Algerian political position, agenda-setting, priming, and framing theories are used. This multimodal theoretical framework aims to limit the scope of the data by focusing on specific variables and viewpoint that the article attempts to confirm concerning the double standard discourse that the agency adopts and the political agenda it executes.

1.4. Theoretical Framework
The study of journalists’ professional orientations has been at the forefront of linguistic inquiry. As evidenced in the literature, one particular feature of media interventionism is linked to the how and the what for media is engaged in international conflicts to promote principles and values of peace and mutual respect [66]. In the twenties, first studies on the effects of mass media focused exclusively on its impact on the masses, or the population in general [67].
Recently, research gives a lot of importance to why and how media may have far-reaching consequences on people mainly when it comes to the shaping of narratives to manipulate decision-makers in politics, business, culture, and other spheres of life.

To examine how the APS manipulates news stories to promote the Algerian political inclinations, this study adopts agenda-setting, news framing, and priming theories [68, 69, 70].

The potential relationship between the three models will permit to explain the role of the APS in maintaining the Algerian political position towards three neighboring political issues. Based on this connection, the study highlights key dimensions and a description of the contexts within which the three models operate and the benefits that the three models add to the development of our hypotheses.

1.4.1. Agenda-Setting

To settle political agenda, media professionals may target public actors, politicians, business people, speakers of interest groups, humanitarian NGO’s among others to influence the population and voting behaviors [67].

The agenda-setting function of the media is one of the most studied theories on the effect of journalism on people [71]. Since the study by McCombs and Shaw [68], more than 500 scientific works on agenda-setting have accumulated, spanning almost all continents and including political and nonpolitical settings [4]. The literature on agenda-setting examined the correlations between the media and the public agenda [72, 73], the factors that contribute to agenda-setting [74, 75, 76], the mechanisms of agenda-setting [77, 78, 79], and the development of testing and refining of agenda-setting [80, 68, 81, 82].

The use of a double standard discourse by APS to comment on the Moroccan Sahara issue falls under the realm of controlled journalism which is governed by a particular agenda-setting claimed by the Algerian political sphere. According to the theory built by McCombs and Shaw, strong media effects are related to the ability of the media to reproduce the social and cultural aspects of society through the publication of information. In the context understudy, agenda-setting refers to the importance of the Moroccan Sahara issue and the extent to which APS is pre-determined to influence local and international opinion.

1.4.2. Framing

Framing theory drew on works in economics [69] but the emerging body of research on the concept has signaled the latest paradigm shift in political-communication research when Noelle-Neumann [83] proclaimed the return of powerful mass media which coincided with Gerbner’s development of the theory of cultivation [84].

The concept of framing is often traced back to roots in both psychology and sociology [85]. If agenda-setting refers to a strong correlation between the roles that mass media gives to certain issues and opinion creation, framing is based on the premise that media provides a focus and environment for reporting a story, influencing how audiences will understand or evaluate it.

Interestingly, framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can influence how it is understood by audiences [82]. To explain more, framing deals with social construction on two levels: 1) the perception of a social phenomenon by journalists presenting news and 2) the interpretation of that phenomenon by audiences. Practically, the theory of framing when adopted by this study will provide a rhetorical analysis of the text produced by the APS to report about the three issues.

The application of the model to the news stories involves the use of linguistic expressions and words to maintain the agenda-setting used by the APS to manipulate audiences and to promote Algeria’s political orientations.

In this vein, the aim of this study will be to examine how the APS presents facts in such a way that the reader is given a particular point of view or frame of reference and
interpretation. Furthermore, framing, when applied to the APS reports, will help us to unveil Algerian political views which circulate the following agenda. By such coverage, the APS presents a frame through which the stories are interpreted by audiences and sets the basements for future political decisions as follows.

1. To promote secession and instability: The Moroccan presence in the Sahara must be terminated.
2. To promote stability and security among brothers: The crisis in Libya must be settled.
3. To restore security and souvrainty to friends. The political unrest in Mali must be resolved.

1.4.3. Priming
Priming theory draws on political science research of Iyengar, Peters, and Kinder [70]. Priming occurs when news content suggests to the audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments [82]. For many reasons, priming is often understood as an extension of agenda-setting.

1. Both effects are based on memory-based models of information processing. These models assume that people form attitudes based on the considerations that are most salient when they make decisions. In other words, judgments and attitude formation are directly correlated with ‘the ease in which instances or associations could be brought to mind’ [86].
2. Based on the common theoretical foundation, some researchers have argued that priming is a temporal extension of agenda-setting [70]. By making some issues more salient in people minds (agenda-setting), mass media can also shape the considerations that people take into account when making judgments about political candidates or issues (priming).

Priming is based on the premise that Media provides a context for public discussion of an issue, setting the stage for audience understanding. The amount of time and space that the APS devote to the three issues is intentional and explicit to make the audience receptive and alert to the importance of the three themes.

Likewise, the audience’s perception of the Moroccan Sahara issue is impacted by the adoption of fabricated historical, social, and economic situations that the agency perpetually uses to make the audience familiar with as real occurrences. By maintaining the issues in the timeline, the agency strongly leads the reader to believe that Algeria tries to end the ‘occupation of Morocco to the Sahara’ and to urgently ‘settle political unrest in Libya and Mali’.

These two positions reflect the core of the political agenda that the APS sets when it makes the audience believe that Algeria is of good faith and a peace builder in the region. Such aggressive news reports about Morocco thus creates an audience which is temporarily interested in the issue, even though many of the APS readers and subscribers, who are caught up in the moment and who may not know about the reality of the conflict, may support the Algerian agenda orchestrated by its proxy, the polisario front.

1.5. Research Questions and Hypotheses
In this study, the purpose is to unfold Algeria’s political orientations which are linguistically disseminated through the press agency.

This work alleges that the discourse adopted by the Algerian Press Service is a double standard meant to instill the following frames: a) Algeria as a peace-promoting state that
seeks stability and security in the region, b) Morocco is a force of occupation that must grant independence to a handful of separatists in the Tindouf camps entrenched in the Algerian city of Tindouf, c) Libya is brother state that must gain back its stability and souvrainty, and d) Mali is a friendly bordering country the security of which concerns Algeria.

To decipher the APS’s double standard discourse, the present work will examine how the agency settles the ideological agenda of Algeria. The many news stories it uses to cover the three issues show a deficiency in the number of headlines. For instance, the agency uses more headlines to cover Moroccan than it does for the other issues.

When applying priming and framing theories to study the Algerian political agenda stressed by the APS, we want to prove that the intensive news stories are meant to mediatize the Moroccan Sahara issue as a primary concern for the Algerian state. To demystify the way the APS sets the Algerian political agenda, primes its audience, and describes the three geopolitical issues, the following research questions are formulated.

1- How does the PAS advantage the three issues in terms of relevance?
2- How does the APS discourse describe the three crises?
3- Does the APS describe the three countries as friends or enemies?

Based on the research questions above, the following hypotheses are formulated:

1. Moroccan Sahara a primary issue to the Algerian political agenda.
2. APS uses a double standard discourse that promotes separatism in Morocco and stability in Libya and Mali.
3. Morocco is a classical bordering enemy and Libya and Mali are brothers and friends.

2. Methodology

In conformity with agenda-setting, priming, and framing theories, the purpose of this study is to demystify the APS’ systematic execution of the Algerian political agenda in the region regarding three distinct political issues occurring in Morocco, Libya, and Mali. The double discourse pursued by the agency is meant to alleviate Algeria’s political inclination in promoting separatism, insecurity, and instability in Morocco by cutting the Moroccan Sahara from the kingdom; meanwhile, it seeks to maintain stability, souvrainty, and unity of Libya and Mali.

From the 15th of May to the 15th of November, 2020, this study used the English version, (section ‘World’), of the agency’s website to identify and extract all the news stories that covered the three issues. In this study, we strongly believe that APS is part of the problem by shaping the narratives that support the country’s political orientation. For this purpose, 1107 news stories were extracted from the agency’s website to prove that the agency uses a double standard discourse to support separatism in the Moroccan Sahara and to promote security and stability in Libya and Mali.

2.1. Data Description and Management

The news stories published by APS on its English website constitute the data to be examined in this study. It should be recalled that the messages that the agency uses to cover the three issues are displayed on its website in three languages (Arabic, French, and English). Interestingly, the news stories occur in sections reserved for international headlines under the names of [دولي] for the Arabic website, [Monde] for French news stories, and [world] for the English version. The identified news stories were extracted from the English website from mid-May to mid-December, 2020, to have a deep insight into how the APS displays news stories in this period that was marked by four political issues:
1. The tensions in the Guergarat buffer zone due to the activities lead by members of the polisario, orchestrated by Algeria, to disrupt road traffic at the Moroccan-Mauritanian check point.
2. American recognition of the Moroccan souvrainty over the Moroccan Sahara.
3. The reestablishment of peace negotiations in Libya.
4. The military coup in Mali.

Through this time, the agency used 1107 news stories to describe diverse international issues. Among this number, 735 news stories were about Morocco, 77 news stories were devoted to Mali, 85 news stories were attributed to Libya, and 210 covered the rest of the world.

The fact that data collection was spread over seven months permits this study to deny the neutrality of the agency based on the fact that it systematically employs a double standard discourse to qualify the three issues. Hopefully, this study aims to explain how news stories of the APS were oriented and biased by comparing the agency’s coverage of the Moroccan Sahara issue towards which Algeria claims to maintain neutrality while it promotes separatism and instability. Differently, the APS presents Algeria as a state that promotes peace and stablity in Libya and Mali.

First of all, news stories were reduced to ‘bodies’ meanwhile titles and summary leads have been neglected. Then, words have been distilled into categories to serve as units of analysis for the study.

Thus, a textual analysis was used to observe and collect news stories based on the principle that written texts play a significant role in spreading messages in society [87, 88]. Texts on their own do not represent organizational routines clearly but are only social productions [89] and that data collection from documents is useful since it represents meaningful constituents of the social world [90].

The use of textual analysis is important to collect and to study the meaning of data gathered in order to account for the characteristics of a message [91, 92]. In this context, the study claims that nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and modal verbs among others are impressionistic and valuable elements to understand the implications they hold to mediate cognitive, political perceptions whereby words are used to explain a broad array of real-world behaviors [93]. Afterward, the categories are dealt with separately and distilled according to the three issues: Morocco, Libya, and Mali.

3. Interpretation of Results

The studied period yielded a total of 1107 articles. The most significant results show that from the 15th of May to the 15th of December, 2020 the APS produced 735 (66.3%) news stories to cover the Moroccan Sahara issue, 85 (7.6%) news stories to report about the Libyan political unrest, 77 (6.9%) news stories to speak about the Malian crisis, and 210 (18.9%) to cover events occurring in other parts of the world (See table 1 below). Regularly, the APS displays an average of 6 news stories per day among which 3 news stories are devoted to the Moroccan Sahara crisis, one story to cover the conflict in Libya, one report to report about the political impasse in Mali, and one news story to cover events in different parts of the world.
Table 1. News stories of the three issues in seven months

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Morocco</th>
<th>Libya</th>
<th>Mali</th>
<th>World</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 May --- 15 Jun</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Jun ---- 15 July</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 July ---- 15 August</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 August ---- 15 Septembre</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Septembre --- 15 October</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 October ----- 15 Novembre</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 November--- 15 December</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1107</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For many decades, the APS has constantly sided with the Algerian political agenda to cover events in the Moroccan Sahara. It is debated in this study that the agency’s media line seeks to cover news events occurring in the region without objectivity.

It is to that effect that this study aims the agency’s online coverage of the issue to confirm a consistent and systematic reporting of new stories of Morocco from an Algerian political stance. As such, this study will explain how and why the Algerian press agency serves the Algerian political agenda by prominently displaying news stories about Morocco more than it did for the other countries. Thus, data collected from the 15th of May to the 15th of December, 2020 indicate remarkable differences in news reports dictated to the three issues. In table 1 above, the statistics reveal that 1107 news stories were produced in this.

On the first month (15th May- 15th Jun, 2020), 95 news stories were identified among which 41 talked about the Moroccan Sahara issue, 4 news stories were about the Libyan crises, 11 articles reported about the Malian political unrest, and 39 news reports were dictated to the rest of the world. In the second period, (16th Jun and 15th July), the APS produced 93 stories among which 42 news stories targeted Morocco, 17 news reports spoke about the Libyan issue, 13 analyzed the Malian crisis, and 21 were about international matters. Again, it is evident that the Moroccan Sahara issue was massively targeted by the Algerian press agency to the detriment of other critical issues threatening peace and stability in the region as it is the case for Libya and Mali.

The themes of the 21 international news stories were generally about unrest in the Arab world (Palestine, Syria, and Yemen). In the same direction, the third time span (16th of July to 15th of August) shows that 101 news stories among which 47 news stories were devoted to the Moroccan Sahara, 14 to Libya, 24 to Mali, and 15 news stories to report about international events. The results of this period reveal systematic news coverage of the APS which presents the Moroccan Sahara as a priming issue that concerns the state’s political inclination. Furthermore, the results related to the fourth period, (16th August and 15th of September), identify 103 news stories produced by the APS to comment on different international issues. In this period, the APS relied on 46 news stories to report about
Moroccan Sahara, 9 mentioned the Libyan conflict, 3 were devoted to the Malian issue, and 45 were about other international topics. As for the fifth stage (16th September to the 15th of October), 116 news reports were identified among which 58 talked about the Moroccan Sahara issue, 23 articles described the Libyan political unrest, 22 headlines targeted the Malian crisis, and 13 news stories were about international issues. In the sixth period that lasted from 16th of October to the 15th of November, 2020 the results indicate that 390 news stories were about the Moroccan Sahara issue, 82 reports spoke about the Libyan conflict, 74 articles handled the Malian crisis, and 198 news stories were devoted to the rest of the world. It is crystal clear how much coverage the Moroccan Sahara issue received from the APS, especially when tensions first flared up in the Guergarat checkpoint between Morocco and Mauritania due to the intrusion of a handful of separatists to block the frontiers.

The Polisario and its militias which have entered the area since October 21 have carried out acts of banditry, blocked traffic and harassed the UN military observers. Despite the efforts of the UN’s efforts to end this crisis, the militia of the polisario front, which used women and children as human shields to block the check point, abstained and disrupted traffic of goods and travelers for more than twenty days.

About 200 Moroccan and foreign truckers have been blocked at this buffer zone for about three weeks, in the extreme south of the Moroccan Sahara. Since the militiamen of the polisario front obstructed the check point and did not abide by the UN’ observers orders to leave the area, Morocco launched on Friday November 13 a military operation in the buffer zone of Guerguerat, to make an end to the provocations of the polisario.

The safe and highly professional military operation carried out by the Moroccan Riyal Forces reestablished commercial and human crossing between Europe, Morocco, and Africa. Finally, the last period (16th of November to the 15th of December, 2020) shows that the APS produced 363 news stories to cover the Moroccan Sahara issue, three news stories to report about the Libyan crisis, three news headlines to describe the Malian conflict, and 12 news stories to cover events occurring in the rest of the world. The APS produced many news stories in the seventh time span than it did in the other periods. On Thursday, December 10, Donald John Trump issued three successive tweets to permanently change the geopolitical situation in the North West African region [94, 95, 96]. The US proclamation is important for Morocco to complete its territorial integrity and gives much impetus to the Moroccan plan of autonomy which the proclamation describes as serious, credible, and realistic autonomy proposal [and] the only basis for a just and lasting solution for enduring peace and prosperity [97].

More specifically, the presidential decree adds that the United States recognizes that the entire territory of the Moroccan Sahara is part of the Kingdom of Morocco. In addition to its political position, the White House announces that the United States will encourage economic and social development with Morocco, including the Moroccan Sahara, and to this end will open a consulate in Dakhla, one of the prosperous cities in the era, to promote economic and commercial opportunities for the community [97].

What Algeria feared most in the world has finally happened. Donald Trump, the president of the United States of America, took a historic decision by openly recognizing Morocco’s total souvrainty over its Sahara, a turning point that has marked the beginning of the end of a conflict that Algeria maintained for more than forty five years.

The position undertaken recently by the United States of America ended both the Algerian and the polisario secession claim by recognizing, unequivocally, the sovereignty of Morocco over the territories. Washington's recognition of Morocco’s sovereignty over the
Sahara territories plunged Algeria into deep astonishment and bewilderment. Two days later, on the 12th of December, Algeria considered the decision of US President Donald J. Trump, recognizing the sovereignty of Morocco over the territory of Western Sahara as having in reality no legal effect [98].

In the first comment on Trump’s decision, the Algerian Foreign Ministry stressed that “this decision has no legal effect in reality, since it is contrary to all the resolutions of the United Nations and the Security Council [98].

Unsurprisingly, the announcement of the normalization of relations between Morocco and Israel has provoked in Algeria, supporter of the armed separatist movement of the polisario, unanimous condemnation of the authorities and political parties and a wave of anger on social networks. Prime Minister Abdelaziz Djerad, speaking during a meeting that took place in the 12th of December, 2020 on memory of Algeria’s anti-colonial demonstrations of December 11, 1960, said that the renewal of ties between Morocco and Israel is a ‘foreign operations aiming at destabilizing Algeria’ [99]. Apart from that, no official reaction or comment was issued.

The Algerian regime is stupefied due to the American historic decision. Truly, Algeria has not reacted to Trump’s decision leaving it to its official press agency, the APS, to relay a massive wave of news stories to comment on the decision taken by US president and to condemn. The Algerian press service, the official news agency, has relied on statements of Saharawi officials, in particular the representative of the polisario in Washington, who regretted the decision of the outgoing American president Donald J. Trump to recognize Morocco’s souvrainty over the Moroccan Sahara territories. Towards this historic event the Algerian government remained silent, but public and private press have lashed out against Morocco. Feeling desperate, we fear that the polisario front may employ rogue terrorist tactics to score political points that eluded it on the diplomatic front [100].

In an article published by the Italian INSIDEOVER Magazine, the polisario is showing a new warfare strategy that marks its shift from a Marxist guerrilla to a ‘dangerous jihadist group’ [101]. Based upon the analysis of the INSIDEOVER Magazine, the Polisario has become a vector of instability and unpredictability Like ISIS, the infamous terrorist group that caused untold desolation in Syria, terrorized European cities, and is now trying to make a comeback in parts of Africa. The point that the Italian magazine mentions is based on a video the Polisario leadership recently sent out to call on war against Morocco by targeting Moroccans and Moroccan interests. It is a very dangerous incitement to terrorism and violence in full jihadist style that urges people to blow themselves up and hit Moroccan targets. At stake is in fact the security of a region not far from the Mediterranean [101].

Once again, the APS displays more news stories to Morocco. The findings represent interesting evidence regarding the concept of priming. The fact that the APS perpetuates this issue as prime news on its website, regardless of language, means that Algeria uses a lot of tools including the media to maintain influence and manipulation of the Moroccan Sahara issue.

The aim behind this hysterical maneuver is to fulfill its ideological and hegemonic desires by granting independence to a guerilla group and consequently promoting insecurity and instability in the region. Eventually, this study assumes that the APS’ biased and unparalleled media coverage to report about the three issues serves the country’s political agenda as it flagrantly primes and favors the Moroccan Sahara issue. Based on the results related to priming, we assume that the APS settles the Algerian political agenda and presents the country as a peace distoter due to the following reasons:
1. Algeria *interferes* in Morocco’s internal affairs.
2. Algeria *supports* separatism in the Moroccan Sahara.
3. Algeria *promotes* insecurity and instability in the region.

### 3.1. The Moroccan Sahara Issue

One way to understand how APS perpetuates the Algerian political stand is through the use of framing. The agency uses a set of linguistic expressions and concepts to communicate the three issues in order to sway the public opinion towards the reality of facts.

If priming shows that the issue of Moroccan Sahara is dominant, primordial, and perpetuated in the news stories of the APS, framing, commonly used by the agency, is a model of analysis that we adopt to confirm that the APS uses a language of hate to set the Algerian political agenda towards the Moroccan Sahara issue. Framing is based on the assumption that how the conflict is represented in discourse can shape the audience perception.

### 3.1.1. Word Categories Related to Morocco

If the APS voices the political agenda of the Algerian policy to support separatism, instability, and insecurity in the region, its coverage of the political unrest and conflict in Libya is perceived differently.

Regarding the Moroccan Sahara conflict, we argue that the APS mirrors the will and hopes of Algeria, its political leadership, and the population to help the polisario front rule over the territories.

This article attempts to show the overuse of hate words and expressions in the Algerian press to clarify how and what for it executes the Algerian political agenda regarding the Moroccan Sahara issue. To this aim, we investigated a set of linguistic expressions and concepts that were extracted from the corpus.

The findings deeply connect to the hypothesis which stipulates that the discourse of the Algerian press agency uses a double discourse full of hate to describe the Moroccan Sahara issue. In this section, we explain that the APS is a media apparatus is devoted to promote the interference of Algeria in the conflict and the fallacies that the state pretends to promote on its neutrality and alignment with the United Nations’ plan to achieve a just and lasting political solution to the issue.

By the same token, the APS always claims that Algeria has been faithful to its principles and aspirations as a model to the third world countries in supporting liberation movements across the world. It is explicit in the discourse of the agency that the Algerian interference has become more strident. Its support for secession and instability in the Moroccan Sahara territories is more reinforced than ever.

In fact, Algeria’s support for secession and instability in the Moroccan Sahara is more than political, military, and humanitarian. The support is also discursively maintained through rhetoric that the APS has been articulating for decades. When framing is applied to examine the APS discourse, it is to refer to the way the APS presents news and information about the three geopolitical issues.

To discuss the results related to the concept of framing, a micro-level is used to analyse and interpreted linguistic constructs particular to the Moroccan Sahara issue. These include nouns, adjectives, verbs, and modal verbs. In the news stories, the connotations that nouns bear are extremely derogatory, negative, and defamatory to limit Morocco to the status of ‘occupation’ a ‘colonizer’ state that ‘poses resistance’ to the international community.

The language of the agency qualifies the Moroccan political moves as a ‘provocation’, ‘equivocation’, ‘escalation’ towards the UN, and therefore a ‘threat’ to the region. Additionally, other nouns were used to describe Morocco as a ‘failure’ in the region that commits ‘aggression’, ‘crimes’, and ‘barbarian’ acts against the ‘Sahrawi population’. The APS always writes that Morocco flees ‘impunity’, orchestrates ‘fallacies’ and
‘contradictions’ to hide false ‘allegations’, ‘embezzlement’, ‘arbitrariness’, and non-respect of ‘human rights’. Apart from political personifications, APS always looms around other issues to smear the image of Morocco by describing the kingdom as ‘debauchery’, and a ‘drug facilitator’. In addition to nouns, adjectives are largely used in the APS language to qualify the Moroccan position in the conflict. In the news stories, the adjectives were morphologically reconstructed to reinforce the same impressions on Morocco as a ‘rogue state’, against the ‘international will’, and a ‘colonizer’ that ‘terrorize’ a ‘peaceful’ population. Verbs were also used on a large scale to illustrate the action taken by Morocco. To demonstrate the political stand of the agency towards the Moroccan Sahara conflict, many derogatory verbs were employed by the agency to describe the actions taken by the Moroccan officials and politicians. In this direction, the agency shows that Morocco is a country that ‘invades’ and ‘sies’ the land and ‘abuses’ power by attacking ‘civilians’ and ‘prevents’ freedom of expression by ‘conducting mass arrests’. Similarly, many biased verbs show that the Moroccan government ‘conducts’ tortures to ‘prevents’ and ‘prohibits’ peaceful protests.

As for mental verbs, the texts denote a wide range of activities and states including cognitive meanings, emotional meanings expressing attitudes and desires, and receipt of communication. To illustrate this category of verbs, the news stories describe Morocco as a state that ‘panics’ in most of its decisions, ‘insists’ on its position, ‘despises’ and ‘denies’ others’ freedom, ‘disregards’ and ‘refuses’ the efforts afforded by the UN, ‘fails’ to convince the world community of its position, ‘blackmails’ and ‘abuses’ the natural resources, ‘irritates’ its neighborhood countries, and ‘engages’ and ‘persists’ in countering UN and the international law.

Altogether, we argue that these verbs are provocative and convey nothing but hate towards Morocco. To qualify the action of verbs, a series of adverbs were employed by the APS to describe the meaning of verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs, or sentences. In fact, adjectives indicating manner are the most used by the APS to qualify the actions and moves taken by Morocco. In this respect, Morocco is regrettably represented by many biased and negative words which describe Morocco as a country that ‘constantly’ hinders the UN efforts to resolve the crisis, and ‘illegally’ occupies the land. The linguistic structures and words used by the APS indicate that Algeria, which claims to be a peacekeeper in the region, committed to the international legality, and aligned with the United Nations efforts, is flagrantly supporting separatism and secession to create a phantom state in the Maghreb. For many decades, Algeria has indefatigably launched itself in an interminable fight to mutilate the Moroccan territorial integrity through systematic, deviant, and defying media coverage. Its ultimate hope is to see Morocco disintegrated and restricted to half of its superficies.

No wonder, the discourse employed by APS explicitly speaks the Algerian political agenda which strives to reinforce a frame that describes Morocco as a ‘rogue state that refuses to abide by the international law’. Accordingly, the political will of the Algerian press is to see the UN and the Security Council, in hand with lobbying NGOs, forge a decisions upon which the United Nation broadens its mission to monitor and watch human rights in the Moroccan Sahara provinces to make it easy for pro-separatism activists in the territories to propagate chaos and vandalism.

Algeria and the polisario front have manipulated a lot of illusions and vanities to mislead the international community. Evidenced through an anti-Moroccan discourse, many distorted and fallacious facts are reiterated by the APS to hide the truth about the conflict, its history, and its development. The content analysis of the 735 news stories reserved for the Moroccan Sahara issue permitted this study to identify and dismantle plenty of illusions and fallacies embedded in the APS content.
The Moroccan Sahara is the last colony in Africa.
- The population does not manage the region’s affairs.
- The wealth of the Moroccan Sahara is being plundered.
- Human rights in the Moroccan Sahara are violated.
- The separatists’ state project promotes peace and democracy in the region.
- Morocco is responsible for not organizing the referendum in the territories.
- The Moroccan autonomy proposal is not serious.
- Algeria holds a neutral position to the conflict.

3.1.2 Word Categories Related to Separatists

Contrariwise to its attitude towards the Moroccan Sahara issue, the APS uses different discourses when talking about the armed guerilla. In the news stories, many word categories were used by the APS to represent the guerilla movement. The language of the APS elucidates that the separatists in the Tindouf camp are ‘victims’ and lead a ‘legal fight’ to get their ‘land back’. It is of no surprise to see the APS denying the Moroccan legitimacy over the territories and praising the separatists’ military behavior in the region. In this direction, the agency victimizes the separatist movement as victims of the situation they are leading in the Tindouf camp inside Algeria.

The process of victimization assigned to the separatist front is used throughout the news stories to stigmatize Morocco, or simply to raise attitudes of complaint against the kingdom based on false allegations that Morocco oppresses and humiliates the population in the Sahara cities. Most of the news stories devoted to the separatist guerrilla display false information to present members of the polisario militias as victims.

For instance, many nouns described the armed guerilla as ‘precarious’ and ‘suffering victims’. Despite their misfortune, the APS writes that the life they are leading at the Tindouf camp is a ‘tragedy’, an ‘imprisonment’, and a human ‘plight’ marked by ‘hunger’, ‘pain’, and ‘misfortune’. In spite of misery, the militia leads the APS shows that it is a ‘courageous movement’. The political actions of the separatists, says the agency, are fuelled with ‘courage’ and ‘determination’ to get ‘independence’. In this context, the news stories always draw on a mental frame to show that the fight that the separatists are leading is similar to an ‘intifada’.

As far as adjectives, the news reports portray the internal situation of the Tindouf camp as ‘heartbreaking’ similar to that of ‘hostages’ who live under ‘occupation’. Despite that, the APS sustains that the armed group has remained ‘civilian’, ‘peaceful’, and in ‘total respect’ of the UN efforts to settle the issue. Furthermore, the APS texts use verbs to show actions taken by the separatists. In this sense, we identified strident action verbs that the agency uses to legitimate separatism and secession. Many news stories depict the guerilla as a ‘legitimate population’ that ‘resists’, ‘struggles’, and ‘defends’ the ‘occupier’ to regain the land and build the Maghreb.

The APS media discourse sketches separatists’ political behavior as that of a ‘real state’ that fully exercises and respects obligations and commitments towards the rest of the world. However, the APS, as it is the case with all the Algerian media, never talks about the systematic diversion of humanitarian aid undertaken by Algeria and the polisario front intended for the population in the Tindouf camp [14].

The diversion of medical and food supplies to relieve the camp was unveiled by the European Parliament saying that the operation is systematically organized by the Algerian authorities and members of the polisario front [14].

In the same vein, Olivier Chastel, the Vice-President of the Budget Committee in the European Parliament, underlined that despite the assurances of the European Commission, it
seems that food from European humanitarian aid is still found today on the Mauritanian markets [102].

The European Anti-Fraud Office (OLAF) denounced the misappropriation of the humanitarian aid and recommended that an official census of the beneficiaries must be carried out to trace the aids that the EU has been providing of ten million euros annually to the populations of the Tinduf camps for nearly thirty years [14]. Today, the Polisario front is unprecedentedly drifting towards jihadist terrorism in the region.

According to the INSIDEXOVER analysis, the Polisario leadership does not hide its practices of kidnapping, training, and using children in its war efforts against Morocco [100]. The most frightening development in Polisario’s transformation into a terrorist nebula has been the group’s links to terrorist organizations in the Sahelo-Saharan corridor.

Finally, we assume that by way of contradiction the discourse used by the APS victimizes the separatists and shows Morocco a ‘rogue state’.

Undoubtedly, this is pure hate speech that encompasses many words and expressions that propagate, encourage, promote or justify hatred, violence and discrimination against the Kingdom for one and simple reason: to prevent Morocco from fulfilling its territorial integrity and henceforth achieving its democratic and economic model. The political agenda that the APS serves is seriously undermining democracy and development, threatening the security of Morocco, the stability of the region, and the rule of law. In this sense, we assume that hate speech promoted by the agency is an extreme form of intolerance that is going to fuel more violence and conflicts in the region.

### 3.1.3. Word Categories Related to Algeria

This section examines the use of linguistic patterns and word that the APS uses to execute the Algerian political agenda towards the Moroccan Sahara issue. The content analysis of the news stories reflects that Algeria is explicitly involved in Morocco’s internal affairs. This political behavior is likely to diminish positive opportunities to reach a mutually agreed political consensus to settle the Moroccan Sahara crisis.

To reinforce the Algerian political position, the news stories describe that Algeria bears a ‘noble position’ by improving ‘solidarity’ with the ‘Sahrawi population’. In many news reports, the APS expresses the hope of the Algerian state to see the ‘Sahrawi’ get their ‘independence’, the only ‘solution’ to acquire ‘self-determination’, to preserve ‘dignity’, and to gain their ‘rights’. Additionally, the news stories stipulate that Algeria derives this ‘humanitarian responsibility’ from a ‘legitimate historical’ background as a land of ‘muujahedeen’ and ‘Pan-Africanism’.

In addition to nouns, the use of modal verbs indicates attitudes of the APS towards the event expressed. In the news stories, modal verbs (must, have to, should, and can) are used by the APS in conjunction with other verbs as a mitigating device to express functions such as permission, obligation, necessity, and prohibition among others. Modals appear according to different frequencies and percentages. For instance, the modal ‘must’ occurs with a high percentage of 49.5% followed by the modal ‘have to’ with a percentage of 19.4%, ‘should’ with 9.5%, and the modal verb ‘can’ which shows a percentage of 7.7%.

The modal verbs ‘must’ and ‘have to’, which perform obligation and necessity, can often be used interchangeably in English to indicate obligation expressed here through the modal ‘must’ to put pressure on Morocco to grant independence to the separatist movement. It is an indicator that Algeria interferes in the internal affairs of Morocco as an independent nation. The overuse of ‘have to’ reflects an external obligation. It implies that Algeria speaks to other countries or decision makers to oblige Morocco to land the territories to the guerrilla front; it’s something Algeria can’t do. The overuse of ‘must’, ‘have to’, and ‘should’ reinforces our argument that 1) Algeria is part of the conflict by interfering in the Moroccan internal affairs and 2) supporting separatism and the creation of a phantom state in the region.
This is crystalized in an endless of linguistic patterns which show that Algeria flagrantly interferes in the Moroccan Sahara issue. Key to the APS media role, the Algerian political moves are to promote peace and stability in the region. To illustrate this point, some examples are taken from the corpora to stress that the APS blindly executes the country’s political agenda.

- Algeria is a leader in crisis management in the region.
- Algeria inspires strength.
- Algeria is an exporter and seeker of peace.
- Algeria is a factor of security and stability in the region.
- Algeria preserves the integrity and unity of countries.
- Algeria guarantees human rights in the region.
- Algeria supports freedom and independence of states.
- Algeria shows serious concerns about the Moroccan Sahara conflict.
- Algeria looks for a peaceful settlement of the conflict.
- Algeria leads a noble mission.
- Algeria never hides solidarity towards the Sahrawi people.

The linguistic structure embedded in the APS news stories were meant to build a positive image of Algeria as a state of good fate endowed to maintain peace and stability in the region. The language seems to forge a mental model underpinning that Algeria assumes alone a security burden that is threatening the region. This sound in odds of what the texts of the APS tell.

The political inclination of the agency reinforces our belief that the role of Algeria in the conflict is clear. The media coverage assigned by the APS to the Moroccan Sahara conflict is rife with hate speech and subordination of media professionalism to political oriented speech to settle the Algerian political agenda. The verbal repertoire employed by the news agency to report Algeria’s political inclinations reflects a negative discourse whenever the agency comments on the Moroccan Sahara issue. It should be mentioned that Algeria’s constant support to separatism has been backed by local politicians, NGOs, and workers syndicates which overtly express the country’s position on the conflict without respect to the Algerian constitution which claims peaceful settlement of international disputes.

Eventually, we argue that the linguistic expressions and word categories used by the agency to cover the Moroccan Sahara issue indicate that Algeria is strongly active in promulgating and aggravating the conflict. The interpretation of the APS’ discourse confirms our hypothesis that the agency uses a discourse of hate to incite violence and insecurity in the region based on the following conclusions:

1. APS serves the Algerian political agenda towards the Moroccan Sahara issue.
2. APS exposes the Algerian interference in Morocco internal affairs.
3. APS support separatism and armed conflicts in the region.

3.2. The Libyan Issue

Algeria's constant position regarding the Libyan problem is based on the country’s imperative to promote dialogue, to reject violence, to show solidarity, and to resolve the crisis that shakes the country since 2011. As far as the concept of priming is concerned, the Libyan issue is far from being a primary concern of the APS taking into consideration the quantity of news stories that talked about the issue.

Over seven months, the agency produced less than one article per day which show that the agency devoted 82 (11.2%) news stories to cover all the events taking place in Libya (see table 1 above). Actually, the country requires more solidarity from Algeria to restore the
security and stability of the territories, to stop the armed conflict among the Libyans, and to save the state from division. To provide evidence for the Algerian political inclinations towards Libya, many linguistic structures and concepts were used by the APS. Most news stories devoted to cover the Libyan crisis speak about Algeria’s implication and responsibility as a neighboring country to Libya that guarantees unity and stability of brothers. For example, some expressions taken from the APS’ news stories are listed below to show that Algeria assumes a noble mission in Libya:

- Promotes an inclusive political process in Libya.
- Favors security and economic dialogue in Libya.
- Restores a government of national unity in Libya.
- Achieves a ceasefire in Libya.
- Supports political transition in Libya.
- Establishes a constitutional process in Libya.
- Helps to organize elections in Libya.

Repeatedly, Algeria claims through the APS that it plays an active geopolitical role to solve the Libyan crisis. In reality, the role of Algeria in this issue is feeble and absent. It is argued that the country’s policies and diplomacy are weakened by the lack of legitimacy and its authoritarian logic it holds against the Arab spring [103].

These factors have caused a loss of influence among the Libyans. Furthermore, Algeria suffers from the alliances imposed by the real regional powers and any attempt to interfere in the issue seems deemed to fail. On the contrary, Morocco plays a strategic and constructive role in facilitating the inter-Libyan dialogue to solve the crisis in the Maghreb country.

Governments, international organizations, and regional groupings unanimously praised the diplomatic efforts made by the Kingdom to create a new dynamic among the Libyan politicians and to break the status quo which had reigned since the fall of the Kadhafi regime in 2011.

For instance, the Bouznika negotiations on the 6th of September and the 6th of October, 2020, were widely commented on by various media around the world which emphasized Morocco's diplomatic efforts to successfully create a new political dynamic and nurture hope among Libyans to resolve common political disputes.

Though many capitals around the world emphasized the efforts made by Morocco to help Libyan conflicting parts find common grounds to solve the political differences, the APS never mentions the negotiation rounds held in the city of Bouznika. In the course of our data identification, no reports or news stories talked about these rounds. To check this intentional disregard, research was carried out through its website using the word Bouznika, the city where the Libyan parts gathered, lays no results.

On the contrary, the news agency mentions other negotiations that took place lately in Monteux, Switzerland (September 7 and 9, 2020) and Tunis in the same month. If the Algerian government and its media abstained from recognizing the Moroccan efforts to solve the Libyan problem, many international organizations and bodies hailed the resumption of Libyan negotiations in Morocco to establish a government of national unity.

These include the Organization of United Nations, the Arab Parliament in Cairo, Kuwait, Kingdom of Bahrain, the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Jordanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the U.S. Embassy in Libya, The High Representative of the European Union (EU) for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, The Chairman of the AU Commission, the French embassy in Rabat among many others.

3.3. The Malian Conflict
The Algerian Press Service coverage during the analysis period focused on Mali’s political turmoil because of the military coup that ousted President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta on the 18th of August, 2020. The event received considerable coverage with a total of 77 news stories published between the 15th of May and the 15th of November, 2020 to report about the military coup and its aftermath. During seven months, the agency consistently reserved more news reports on the Moroccan Sahara than to speak about the crisis in Mali. On this ground, we assume that the political tension in Mali is not a priming problem as it is the case with Libya contrary to what Algeria claims. The premise that APS serves the political agenda for the Algerian state regarding the Moroccan Sahara issue is explained through the many news stories (735) devoted to Morocco than the APS did for Mali (77), Libya (85), and the rest of the world (210).

The findings of this study reveal that the discourse that the APS employed to describe the three political issues is a double standard. To put this clearly, the position undertaken by the APS is biased and oriented since it supports separatism and regional conflicts at a time many Arab countries stand on the verge of disintegration, civil conflicts, and tribal wars. This is reinforced by the APS’s choice of expressions and concepts to show that the Algerian support to the separatist movement is unquestionable. Meanwhile, the agency fosters the Algerian plans to see the crises in Libya and Mali settled for fear that their potential disintegration may impact Algeria’s internal security. Most of Algeria’s fears to see the Touareg community, living in parts of Libya, Algeria, Mali, Chad, and Nigger, claim independence over large a parcel of the Algerian south which constitutes a big reserve of gas and petrol. Concerning the second hypothesis, the news stories of the APS are said to be gratuitous hate discourse meant to promulgate secession and insecurity in Morocco. The language used by the APS systematically and premeditatedly diminishes and devalues the Moroccan legitimate will to fulfill its territorial integrity. In Morocco, people still remember the summer of 2004 when Spain claims sovereignty over a tiny rocky island called ‘Leila’ at the extreme north of Morocco. Regretfully, Algeria was the only country to condemn the Moroccan claim and qualified the move as an ‘act of colonialism’. Today, The Moroccan Sahara issue is at the forefront of ongoing Algerian media fury. In this context, the linguistic expressions used to represent Morocco are negative, derogatory, defamatory, and hateful.

Similarly, the connotations and the semantic charges of the words and mental frames tend to incite hatred and enmity and feed more political retaliation and border irritations between the two countries. As far as the neutrality of discourse is concerned, the APS embraces the conflict as a homeland affair. In this sense, the third hypothesis claims that the language used by APS shows Algeria’s interference in the conflict. The APS has crafted a brand of enmity for itself by negatively reporting on an internal affair in Morocco. The Algerian politicians and media institutions are highly motivated to defy Morocco and work against real and consensual mechanisms to settle the conflict. This argument is backed by a list of linguistic patterns and concepts that reflect the reality of what Algeria is and not of what it pretends to be. Lately, the Algerian press agency, instrumentalized by the state and the political sphere, has created plenty of troubles and enemies for Algeria due to its unethical coverage of events and falsification of facts. For example, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) denounced on Friday, September 4, an article posted online by the Algerian Press Service (APS) on the reasons why “the Geneva Office of the United Nations Dispute Tribunal” rejected a complaint from Algerian activists [104].

Ultimately, Algeria’s intransigence and direct interference in the conflict ruined the past, freezes the present, and is now postponing the future of the Maghreb. The loss is not only political. Commercial activities pass elsewhere rather than among North African countries. Moreover, the liberty of human circulation is restrained between the two countries due to border restrictions. As for Academicians and knowledge transfer, chances to meet are feeble and contacts are made through meetings and conferences in Europe and America.
Limitations
The primary concern of this work was to examine the double discourse of the Algerian press agency and the extent to which its language embeds a double standard discourse to cover events taking place in the Moroccan Sahara, Libyan, and Mali. The present study investigated APS online ‘World’ section on the agency’s English website for seven months from the 15th of May till the 15th of December, 2020.

This study shows some constraining limitations due to the scope it covers. For instance, the study examined the electronic version of the APS meanwhile heavily biased media mainstream including television networks, print media, and radios remain out of reach. In other words, investigating more media outlets using different approaches and methods could give more insights into the political inclination of Algeria haunted by the Moroccan Sahara issue.

On a different scale, many facets of the APS discourse are not considered when it comes to the language through which the news stories are produced. In this sense, we perceive that pragmatics, sociolinguistics, argumentation, and cultural studies can be used to decipher the news reports that the APS writes in Arabic and French. Furthermore, the present research investigated the language of news stories; meanwhile the visual material was not dealt with. In this direction, a semiotic approach to images and videos could add a lot to explain the political agenda that the APS intentionally executes to promote the Algerian policy towards the Moroccan Sahara conflict.

Eventually, a multimodal approach can constitute a larger sample size based on the fact that political agenda-setting is one of the important areas of study due to the complexity of the number of factors to take into consideration such as governments, politicians, non-governmental organizations, and academicians among others.

Recommendations
The outcomes of the present study appeal to some compelling recommendations. Parallel diplomacy should not be limited to political scientists’ prospective, parliamentary visits’ exchange, and political, economic, and cultural activities. Research is one way of serving the Moroccan Sahara right cause and a strong vanguard to avert Algeria’s premeditated political agenda promoted by its official media.

As proven in the present study, the double discourse of hatred and enmity interferes in the Moroccan souvrainty, jeopardizes its national security, and menaces its territorial integrity. To demystify this process, discourse and linguistic research are needed to help strategic and political science-based studies dismantle plans and tactics embraced by protagonists of separatism in the Moroccan Sahara territories. In this sense, we recommend that the Moroccan mainstream media should take the lead and encounter every machination and fabrication of false facts that offense the image of Morocco as an emerging state in the Maghreb and Africa. For this aim, the Moroccan media institutions should promote the Moroccan peace project, to nurture the kingdom’s policy of coexistence in the region, and to counter the discourse of hate instrumentalized by the APS.

Finally, Moroccan media professionals and producers of documentaries need to shed light on mega achievements in different sectors and the Moroccan Sahara region to show that Morocco is a promising nation-state that strives to ensure sustainability and human development across all the territories.

Conclusion
This study aimed at shedding light on the implications behind the APS double discourse and the political agenda-setting, an area of research that needs to be investigated to understand the extent to which the agency executes the Algerian policy regarding the Moroccan Sahara issue. To examine this topic, this research compared the APS online content
to confirm that the news stories devoted to the three issues have a double standard discourse and serve the political agenda of the Algerian state.

The results of the study indicated that the APS does not abide by the same discourse of peace, stability, and security that Algeria pretends to promote in the region. It is therefore consistent with the results obtained –and not surprising– that more news articles are to be found on the Moroccan Sahara than on Libya and Mali. Furthermore, the agency employs different linguistic structures and words to qualify the three issues. This dissimilarity is explained on the level of priming and framing.

We assume that APS sets the Algerian political agenda based on the consistent conclusions reached in this study: since the agency neither assigns the same level of importance to the three issues nor it equally treats the three conflicts, we strongly believe that the APS sets the political agenda of Algeria towards the three geopolitical crises which favors separatism and insecurity in Morocco and seeks peace and stability in Libya and Mali. Importantly, the study provides important insights into the way the language of the APS represents the Algerian political inclination towards the three issues.

The discourse of the agency contains an opaque, controversial, and double standard language. The linguistic expressions and words used to represent the Moroccan Sahara issue reflect hate and despise. To devalue the Moroccan pleadings to restore its territorial integrity, the APS premeditatedly employs negative, derogatory, defamatory, and hateful terms and expressions. By inciting hatred and enmity, we argue that the incivility procured by the APS discourse favors irritation and unrest in the region. Despite the many alarming reports and studies which say that the region is running tremendous risks (separatism, terrorism, and armed conflicts), the Algerian political sphere, decision makers, and media outlets are restlessly working to reinforce a climate of tension.

Today, the recognition of the United States of Morocco's sovereignty over its Sahara is an undeniable diplomatic victory. The recognition by the United States of the full sovereignty of Morocco over its Sahara will undoubtedly have major strategic consequences in the sense that it will create favorable conditions for the African economy to flourish. Added to this is the decision of several countries, some of which are investors on the African continent, to open consulates in Dakhla and Laayoune.

We believe that there is indeed an interest in this territorial continuity being now a reality taking into account that 34 of the 54 countries of the African Union have decided to establish an African Continental Free Trade Area. Algeria should quit its malign political conducts and must engage clear plans to achieve the following objectives:

1. **Algeria should reconsider** its relations with its neighbors.
2. **Algeria must promote** economic and commercial prosperity among its neighbors.
3. **Algeria must open borders with Morocco** to restore links between families.

**References**


ancien président Boumediene
La marche noire expulsion des Marocains


a-occidental-trahison


Biodata

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