



Article

Editorial of Conspiracy Hate and Insecurity
The Algerian Military Magazine 'El-Djeich' as a Case

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Abstract

This research critically analyzes 10 editorials written in French that the Algerian army magazine (El-Djeich) published from January 2021 to October 2021, a peak time for the army to reinforce its threatening discourse against Morocco (*the classical enemy of Algeria*). It attempts to explore how the editorials employ a conspiracy narrative to represent Morocco as a country that has been waging wars and threatening its stability. The editorials aim to construct an 'outer enemy' to shift the public opinion from political, social, and economic problems that the appointed political leadership fails to solve. More than that, the editorials try to reestablish the image of the army underestimated by the social protestation Hirak which claims a 'civil and not a military state'. Since the 16th of February 2019, the Hirak has been claiming that the army should return to its barracks and take care of the security of the country's borders instead of interfering in social, political, and economic affairs. The theoretical framework of this study was based on van Dijk's model (van Dijk, 1985, 1989, 1993, 1998a, 1998b, 2000, 2004, 2006) to treat the texts as a voice of the Algerian army that violently attacks Morocco, amidst high tensions between the two countries, accusing the kingdom of instrumentalizing 'conspiracies' and waging 'cyber-attacks' against Algeria. Relying on critical discourse analysis (CDA), the many linguistic constructions identified in the editorials reflect that the stand of the army and the political leadership towards Morocco are unfounded and fallacious. For instance, the findings of this research identified a pattern of argumentation based on erroneous allegations that the magazine of the army attributed to Morocco. Devoid of any proofs, the editorials have portrayed Morocco as a 'threat to the country'. As a matter of fact, the study assumes that the magazine of the army uses editorials to rally the population against an external enemy and to divert the attention of the Algerian population from real internal problems. Indeed, the challenge for the Algerian military leadership is to convince the Hirak partisans, who strongly denounce the interference of the army in Algerians life, that the national army is the only institution that can stop an external enemy (Morocco) which threatens their well-being than do internal economic, political and security challenges.

INTRODUCTION

The military magazine El Djeich devotes a part of its issues to attack Morocco. A very interesting analogy is made in El Ouardighi (2021) who wonders if the magazine of the French

armies reserves its pages to attack Germany or Italy, as nations, countries, and leaders, accusing them, for example, of having a history and psychology of traitors. This would be inconceivable, says El Ouardighi, and would be astonishing and pathetic. However, this is happening with the Algerian army magazine, *El Djeich* (literally: The Army) which shows unquenchable hatred towards Morocco. Apart from El Ouardighi (2021), this study could not find any scientific accounts that clarify or examine the discourse of the magazine towards Morocco though we believe that it is not different from the Algerian political, media, and academic classes (Mliless, 2020, 2021). More than that, little is known about the argumentative patterns it develops when it comes to the image it creates about Morocco despite the role that the editorials have in shaping public opinion. In fact, the very concise and superficial study by El Ouardighi (2021) revealed that across 68 pages of the July issue, Morocco was cited and insulted 34 times by the editorial. That is to say, the magazine attacks Morocco every two pages where half of the content is devoted to inveighing the country's western neighbor.

When examining editorials, researchers tend to focus on those produced by newspapers and tend to ignore the importance of editorials that army magazines write to give a particular stand about issues related to war, security, and conflicts. To fill this gap, the present study investigates the content of 10 editorials published in the Algerian army magazine (*El-Djeich*) from January 2021 to October 2021, a peak time for media coverage of events that marked the relationship between Morocco and Algeria. This study sharply focuses the way editorials build the image of the Algerian army as an advanced guard institution that protects the country against foreign enemies and local traitors. In this way, the army thinks that it can eradicate an ongoing political and social refutation of the role of the army that penetrates all aspects of the Algerian society. Against all democratic norms, it has been always the army that appoints presidents. It is mentioned in Serrano (2021) that the power '*le pouvoir*', an opaque collection of army generals that includes secret services chiefs, and aged politicians, had chosen every president of Algeria since independence. After Boumédiène died in office in 1978, the army opted for another candidate, Chadli Bendjedid. In 1990, the '*Fort Islamic du Salut*' party known briefly as FIS was about to win the local and parliamentary elections. Immediately the army canceled the election and Algeria submerged in violent armed conflicts between state forces and armed militants (Serrano, 2021). The civil war took a decade and caused the death of 150,000 to 200,000 Algerians, and thousands more were disappeared by the state.

For Gèze (2005), the 'black decade' of the nineties was characterized by a "state terrorism in a largely unprecedented form" (p.192). Many truths about the reality of this secret "dirty war" are now known, notably through the testimony of many books, but also through the thousands of witnesses whose testimonies have brought to the front the atrocities committed by the army at that time (Souaïdia, 2001; Samraoui, 2003). In this horrifying context, Gèze (2005) gives a detailed account of the thirteen years of civil war because of which 150,000 to 200,000 died, 18,000 disappeared, turned hundreds of thousands to cripples and orphans, pushed more than 500,000 to exile, and forced the displacement of 1.5 million. In short, the horrors of the nineties that marked Algerians for several generations were most often presented as inexpiable confrontations between Islamists armed groups and the military. The features of this era will be frequently mentioned in the editorials as reminders for the population which seems to forget that if in the nineties the enemy was internal (armed Islamist movement); today the enemy is an external party that wants to destabilize the country.

Since the nineties, Algeria has become a highly centralized state in which the military has occupied a central role. To most Algerians, it was unclear who is ruling the country (Serrano, 2021). As the civil war ended, the army needed to legitimate its hegemony over the political arena. It elected a prominent political figure from the independence generation. The army appointed Bouteflika in 1999 after competing candidates "backed out of the contest amid

accusations of electoral rigging” (Serrano, 2021). In Algeria, the army and the people are always in an irreparable divorce: “If there is one country where this equation is particularly problematic, it is Algeria” (Gèze, 2005).

Being fed up with this situation, being unable to support eternal disputes among various power factions, and being forced to elect Bouteflika (inert and ill) for the fifth term, millions of Algerians started a “nonpartisan Hirak¹ protest movement that has since become a broad and peaceful rejection of the military autocracy that has ruled the country since independence” (Serrano, 2021). Many advocates of the Hirak that sparked in February 2019 have been calling for a ‘civil and not a military state’ (دولة مدنية مشي عسكرية). For the military, the image of the institution that has been shaken by brandished slogans of the Hirak should be repaired to render the prestige of the army. For this aim, the military leadership employs the media to rebuild this image and to influence Algerians that the army is the protector of the country against enemies and fitna² mongers. It should be recalled that the narratives under study have been serving this objective for so long. Relying on the 10 editorials of the magazine, this study will argue that the army leans on a particular topic: branding Morocco as an external enemy, in hand with Israel, that manipulates internal political dissent to destabilize the country.



Figure 1 . Demonstration demanding the departure of the Chief of the Army (Martinez, 2020)

¹Hirak is nonpartisan protest movement that started in February 2019. It is a broad and peaceful rejection of the military autocracy that has ruled the country since independence (Serrano, 2021). The Hirak has created a political culture of popular emancipation by revealing flaws in the system in power in Algeria, which lacks the tools to reinvent itself or negotiate a new social contract with its population (Boubekeur, 2020). Born on February 22, 2019, Algerians of the Hirak claim that they are fed up of the unbearable feeling of impunity of the authorities which wanted to maintain a dead man at the head of the state for the sole purpose of keeping the hand on the country (Schwartzbrod, 2021).

²Fitna is a state of trouble or chaos (collinsdictionary.com) and a disorder, or a disturbance, or a revolt, or sedition (Martinez-Gros, 2011). In Humphrey (1994), fitna refers to serious tension, explicitly or probably of a religious kind, within the Muslim community. It is balanced by another concept, ‘aman’, often meaning 'security'. Fitna is associated with the hypocrites, who are, almost by definition, either within the Muslim community, or claiming to be so. The first of these two passages discusses the possibility that the hypocrites might succeed in sowing dissension, fitna, amongst the committed Muslims (Humphrey, 1994).

Editorials as a Media Genre

The editorial is defined in Lowell (2008) as a piece of writing in which the author “gives facts to the reader, and then goes on to provide an opinion; this is followed by the author giving reasons as to why he/she believes said the opinion” (p. 189). For Abreu (as cited in Lowell, 2008), there are two main reasons why editorials are written: 1) to get an opinion that is not widely known to public view and 2) to try to persuade the reader into believing the author’s opinion. An editorial (also called an op-ed) is a corporate voice or position of a media organization and a distinctive media genre on any given issue of public interest where the opinions of a newspaper or magazine as an organization are explicitly represented (Duyile, 2005). It is defined in Okoro and Agbo (2003) that an editorial is “a critical evaluation, interpretation, and presentation of significant, contemporary events in such a way as to inform, educate, entertain and influence the reader” (p. 125). In the same direction, Hoffman (2007) defines the editorial as a “statement of opinion from an editor or publisher about you and your business generated by news staff” (p. 113). In line with the above definitions, Iyorkyaa (1996) defined an editorial as “a journalistic essay which attempts to inform or explain, persuade or convince, and stimulate insight entertainingly or humorously” (p.14). Spencer (as cited in Iyorkyaa, 1996) viewed the subject matter as “a presentation of facts and opinion in concise, logical, pleasing order for the sake of entertaining or interpreting significant news in such a way that its importance to the average reader will be clear” (p.14). In many newspapers, the editorial usually takes one page and is placed on the left-hand. Technically, an editorial occupies a special place in the geography of a newspaper, represent the collective institutional voice of a newspaper rather than that of an individual, have no bylines in the majority of countries, and are written with differing aims and motivations to news reports (Firmstone, 2019). As for the Algerian military magazine, the editorial, which is situated between the magazine’s cover page and its table of content, emerges from pressing issues, raised topics in the mass media, or being at the heart of public debate. In this article, the editorials understudy reflects the position of the Algerian military institution. This is crystal clear in the use of the first person plural pronoun 'WE' because it bears the military posture.

The origin of editorial can be traced as far back as 1830. This was the period in which the term editorial was used as a label to designate a statement of the editor’s opinion (Ate, 2008). In the 20th century, Ate argues that the cost of editorial became enlarged as newspapers and magazines across the world had designated a separate editorial page for editorials and letters to the editor. Technically, Ukonu (2005) assumes that an editorial is a melting pot that incorporates investigative, interpretative and hard news reporting. Furthermore, Ukonu adds that objectivity, precision, specialism, and advocacy are also styles adopted in treating editorial topics. Ate (2008) further revealed that editorial writing belongs to print media (newspaper) as commentary belongs to broadcasting. If essays, articles, columns, and reports can be attributed to individuals, editorial writing is attributed to the print institution or proprietor and not to the writer (editor). Good editorials, says Ate (2008), are those which follow good writing principles. For this aim, strong and persuasive editorials are those that:

- Influence, educate and entertain.
- Carry an institutional flavor.
- Are rich in human interest.
- Are based on facts and not speculations.
- Cross-check facts to ensure credibility.
- Are original in tone and substance (no dubbing of other editorials).
- Use a plain, unambiguous, and easy language.
- Adopt exact and precise vocabulary.

- Avoid verbosity and circumlocution.
- Are catchy and attention arresting.
- Use persuasive techniques in line with its purpose (Ate, 2008).

METHOD

For decades, the Algerian elite (Mliless 2021) and official media (Mliless 2020) have specialized in unjustified verbal attacks against Morocco. Academicians, politicians, parliamentary members, and media figures have launched a viral campaign against the kingdom. Their hateful narratives aim to make Morocco an ‘enemy’ of the Algerian state. Today, the Algerian army is not an exception. The military uses its magazine (El-Djeich) to foster this status. More than that, the editorials accuse and blame Morocco for instrumentalizing conspiracies to ‘destabilize Algeria’ and to prevent it from being a ‘stabilizer and peace builder’ in the region. Over ten months (January-October, 2021) the editorials of the army magazine repeated the same familiar playbook: branding Morocco as a plot to destabilize the country. The choice of this period is important because it represents a culminating point in the conflict between Morocco and Algeria due to the succession of these events: 1) the call of the Moroccan ambassador, Omar Hilal, to the United Nations during the meeting of non-aligned countries for the ‘independence of the Kabylia people’ in Algeria, 2) the Pegasus leak, 3) the outburst of violent forest fires in North Algeria and the lynching and immolation of a young activist in the courtyard of a police station in Kabilya, 4) the visit of the Israeli foreign minister to Morocco, and 5) the breakdown of diplomatic ties between the two countries. To analyze this issue, the present study adopts critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine overtly expressed structures of conspiracy and fear. The aim of the present study is to argue that the discourse of the editorials executes the agenda of the country that of the making of Morocco the cause of plots and conspiracies that happens inside the country. Furthermore, the interpretation of the narratives shows that explicit patterns of conspiracy and false allegations are direct incitation to war and armed conflicts in the region. Henceforth, study will justify that the army’s attitudes embedded in the editorials threaten international peace in the region.

In conformity with CDA, the purpose of this study is to demystify the editorials’ narrative pattern that makes Morocco a conspiring country that threatens the Algerian integrity. Relying on the French version of the El-Djeich, the editorials were translated and analyzed to identify structures and concepts of conspiracy and fear that the military use to tell the persuade the population about the existence of an external threat (Morocco) that only the army can save them from. In the editorials, the military, as it is the case with the media and the elite (Mliless, *العدو الكلاسيكي* (the western enemy) *العدو الكلاسيكي* (portrays Morocco as the classical enemy) 2020, 2021. In this study, we strongly believe that each month the *العدو جار السوء* (and the bad neighbor) editorials reinforce the country’s enmity towards Morocco. For this purpose, we try to prove that the magazine of the army promotes war insecurity and instability in the region through the machination of conspiracies and plots. To investigate this topic the following questions are raised.

- What are the differing points of view mentioned in the editorials?
- What evidences are used in the editorials to support its arguments?
- What sides of the issue are not mentioned in the editorials?

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In **January 2021 (number 690)** of the Algerian magazine El-Djeich (henceforth the Army) wrote an editorial titled ‘any intention to undermine the security and integrity of the country is illusory’. The headline mentions that any attempts to ‘undermine the security’ and ‘integrity and sovereignty’ of the country is ‘illusory’. Also it stresses that the Algerian people inside the country and in the diaspora are ‘firmly convinced’ that the army is a ‘strong shield’ against threats or hostilities of parties and alliances. The army enjoys a ‘powerful support’ of the people, as the latter is its ‘strategic depth and its inexhaustible human reserve’. The editorial affirms that the military institution is faithful to its principles and the oath it has taken and that ‘it will remain in line with the state’s institutions under the political leadership’. To meet the security challenges, ‘accelerating’ and ‘prevailing’ in the geographical environment, the army is ready to make huge sacrifices to ‘defeat all subversive attempts and hopes of the enemies’, says the editorial. The editorial highlights the power of the military that lies in its ‘powerful arsenal and its qualified units’ and, above all, ‘the determination of its personnel that no threat or alliance can intimidate’. Similarly, the editorial stresses the role that the army has played, and the commitment it has made to ensure the ‘permanent stability of the country and the welfare of society’, a mission that is ‘neither difficult’ nor ‘impossible’ despite the health crisis of the new coronavirus that has affected the economy of the country.

Finally, the editorial recommends that the efforts made by Algerian army, which are crowned by the ‘neutralization of terrorist’ and the recovery of ammunition and weapons ‘intended to undermine the stability of the country’, should be highly praised by the population.

The issue of **February 2021 (number 691)** brought no difference to the traditional editorial line of the magazine. Faithful to the commitment and loyalty that the army made to ‘the martyrs of the Revolution of November 1954’, the editorial celebrate the second anniversary of the peaceful popular marches and places the interests of Algeria above all internal frictions as the country is targeted by ‘foreign parties’.

The editorial affirms again the ‘primary concern’ of the army to build the new Algeria as desired by the martyrs. It recalls that the army, since the beginning of the popular marches, has ‘adopted an unchanging neutral position’ in alignment with the ‘choices claimed in the social movement that burst in 2019’. In this sense, the text made a value judgment when it says that most of the demands claimed by the Hirak have been realized on the ground, while others will be fulfilled gradually, such as the legislative elections. The construction of a new Algeria pushed the president to wage three battles. In the first place, the president has been leading a war against ‘underdevelopment to improve the living standards of citizens’. On a different front line, the president has initiated an efficient approach to combat against the Covid-19 pandemic that he actually won though the country ‘dose no dispose of sufficient means if compared to other countries that are better equipped’. The third battle that the president disputed was political. For the editorial, the holding of the referendum on the constitution and the organization of legislative and local elections are achievements that the president realized despite the ‘detractors’. However, the adherence of Algerians to build a ‘new Algeria, powerful and sovereign’ was not appreciated by ‘some enemies who have begun to manipulate their pawns and instructed some malicious voices’ to devalue Algeria’s legitimate claims and to plunge it into ‘chaos and confusion’. In fact, the nefarious strategies are planned to damage the credibility that the army enjoys amid the people and, thereby, to undermine the close bond between them and their army:

To prevent ‘those who seek to fish in troubled waters’, the editorial recommends that political parties and civil society associations should play their role, assume their

responsibilities, and fill the gap in terms of leadership. Joint efforts, wrote the editorial, may create a ‘culture of activism’ that would push people to participate in politics, and thereby, to contribute to the construction of the new Algeria that many ‘internal and external traitors’ do not like.

The editorial of **March 2021 (number 692)** criticizes the slogan ‘civil state, not military’ and discusses the resumption of the popular movement (Hirak). Two weeks after the resumption of the Hirak demonstrations, the magazine accuses ‘foreign parties’ of undermining the stability of Algeria by ‘surfing on the wave of Hirak’. Foreign elements, which serve a foreign agenda, constitute a ‘mafia that tries to crack the strong bond that unites the people to its army’. The slogan embraced by the Hirak ‘Civilian state and not military’ is ‘crude and meaningless’ now that the ex-president Abdelaziz Bouteflika is no longer ruling. Today, the slogan is brandished and chanted by ‘enemies of Algeria’ who have infiltrated the Hirak to attack the national army and destabilize the country (see figure 2).



Figure 2. Hirak slogan ‘the people want a civil state and not a military state’ (Courier International, 2021)

The reality behind this slogan, says the text, is to instill doubt and uncertainty, above all to widen the gap between the population and the national army. The enemies of Algeria do not appreciate ‘these beautiful images of cohesion’ that unites the citizen and the soldier as materialized in slogans chanted by pro-government demonstrators saying that the people and the army are brothers’ (الشعب الجيش خاوة خاوة). In the conclusion, the editorial denounced a ‘cyber-attack war’ led by Moroccan and French Facebook activists who attack ‘political leadership and the army by spreading fake news and rumors’. To stop these attacks, the narrative explicitly recommends that the population should be aware of such ‘malign maneuvers’ and ‘new wars’ that are waged from abroad against the country.

In the editorial of **April 2021 (number 693)** the magazine evokes that the ‘army-nation’ link, ‘a reality of Algeria and its people’. It has become a pattern among the editorials of the army magazine that this link is a red line for enemies of the state who bet on dismantling the joint that cements Algerians and their army. By reiterating ‘the eternal and sacred relationship between the army and the people’, the editorial assures that the army will remain ‘faithful to its oath and its commitments, protecting national sovereignty, territorial integrity and the Algerian nation against any threat or risk that could endanger or harm the citizen’. As for the ‘skeptics and propagators of lies and promoters of rumors’, the editorial believes that they ‘cannot succeed, even an ounce, to destroy this alive and hopeful bond that binds a

rebellious people with the descendants of the army of national liberation'. The editorial went further this time and praised the achievements of the army that 'some may well be working to deny'. In this sense, the editorial indicated that 'those who attempt to dismantle the army-nation are in total ignorance of the reality of Algeria and its people', which 'will not be fooled by stale traitors and enemies who have shown total bankruptcy, insanity, and inability'. In the end, the army recommends that in order to fulfill the election processes, the people 'should be prepared to engage in the legislative elections to achieve the project of the new Algeria'.

One month later, the editorial of **May 2021 (number 694)** opens with a title that pretends to 'tell the truth to enlighten public opinion on the events taking place in [the] country'. The headline is so direct and incisive in that it advises, informs, and warns those who want to trespass the national security red lines. The editorial assures that the army will continue 'to face all the dangers that threaten the country with strength, firmness, determination and an unshakeable will'. This time, the editorial warns some protest movements, social demands, and subversive elements who continue their criminal and provocative actions by inciting workers and employees to strike. These parties demand some rights which, in reality, seem to 'undermine the elections' and, by the same token, 'engage the country in a political impasse'. The inner subversive elements who were preparing explosive attacks against citizens are two sides of the same coin who want to 'make Algeria bend by all means'. Fueled with subversive desires, these actors want to execute destructive plans by manipulating the demonstrators. To generalize chaos and spoil the efforts of the new Algeria, forces of evil are desperately benefiting from scarcity of products, the rise of prices, strikes, and insult of institutions of the state and its security forces.

The editorial ends with a message for the enemies, be it internal or external, to stop plotting against the process of building the new Algeria which will continue against the 'will of the enemies who thought they were greater, who overestimated their strength, and who try to swim against the tide, forget that Algeria as a territory, a people, a history and values'.

Under the title 'The ANP will not intervene in the elections, the issue of **June 2021 (number 695)** reminds Algerians that the army will be neutral and will not intervene in the legislative elections of June, 2021: 'the Algerian Army [...] will refrain from interfering in any electoral process'. From the outset, the editorial criticizes those 'who are unable' to mobilize citizens and win their trust, want to make of the army a 'footstool' to achieve political aims. The editorial speaks to the enemies with 'short memory' and reminds them that the army will 'continue to carry out its constitutional mission following the laws of the Republic, in a spirit of commitment and constant willingness to defend the sovereignty and unity of the country'. In this editorial, the army prioritizes that it will not interfere in elections unless appropriate conditions to ensure its safety of the people to express freely and transparently their free choice are not respected. In this case, the army will be forced to intervene to 'coerce and correct those who will jeopardize the operation'.

Along this promise, the editorial refers to the security situation in the neighboring countries (Mali and Libya) and noted that 'the instability prevailing in the neighborhood due to the Covid- 19 pandemic, trans-border crime, and terrorism is a situation that requires new measures'. Added to these threats, the magazine mentions that 'direct and indirect interventions of some countries in the region' are meant 'to dictate agendas, to plunder the goods and wealth of the region, or to employ the cyberspace to launch new forms of warfare on social networks that have become a refuge for organized crime networks to spread misinformation and hostile campaigns that might cause discord among members of the algerian people'. In this regard, the editorial recommends that the army and the people must be prepared to face this dangerous and challenging situation, by all means, to protect and ensure the safety of the country: 'the

Algerian people must be aware of the magnitude of these challenges, unmask the traitors and mercenaries, and face all those who seek to undermine the stability of Algeria’.

‘Algeria rejects any threat from any party’ was the message used by the editorial of **July 2021 (number 696)** for the post- independence generations to beware of the mongers of hate and preachers of ‘fitna’. The editorial explained that ‘foreign hands’, which serve subversive agenda, want to harm and the country, to spread rumors among citizens, and to fabricate a climate of doubt and confusion through lies. Nevertheless, the text assure Algerians that their enemies ‘are doomed to failure and our youth who have acquired a high degree of awareness will be able to separate the wheat from the chaff because the lie cannot last long and the truth will eventually come out in the open, today or tomorrow’. The editorial tells young generations, mainly those engaged in the Hirak, to bear in mind that ‘no other happiness equals that of enjoying freedom and security, and all the pleasures of life cannot substitute for it’.

The editorial reminds also of the glorious sacrifices taken by their stepfathers to recover national sovereignty after a hard and bitter struggle that defeated colonialism. Therefore, the freedom and security that the country enjoys today are neither a coincidence nor a gift, but the result of immense sacrifices and huge efforts of many generations. To explain this point, the editorial makes a parallel between past events and the climate of security and stability as well as the adherence of the people to build ‘the new Algeria’. To preserve this situation, the editorial warns against ‘the presence of some agitators’ who are ‘attacking’ the achievements that have been made so far. In collaboration with the army, the editorial calls the public to join the battle ‘to defeat the intentions of suspicious currents and their maneuvers to attack the security and stability of the country’. Immediately after, the editorial cites the tasks assigned to the army and emphasizes that the army is ‘in line with the missions and the requirements of operational readiness to eradicate threats and to counter enemies’ plans’. The Algerian state, as mentioned in this editorial, pretends that it is surrounded by a hostile and an unstable region. It refers to the continuous endeavors made by the army to ‘support all international efforts to restore security and stability in the neighboring countries’ despite the aim of some ill-intentioned parties which strive to ‘undermine and to discredit Algeria role in the region’.

To cope with this agitated context, the army executed several military trainings and tactical maneuvers to reach a high degree in the development of its forces in all aspects’ including the ‘development and the training of human resources’, as well as the ‘implementation of combat readiness programs and the mastery of advanced weapon systems’.

To conclude, the editorial advices the post-independence generations, which ‘did not live the massacres perpetrated by the colonialism’, that happiness and freedom are invaluable. Youth, particularly those of the Hirak, ‘must wary about the preachers of chaos and fitna’ who ‘threaten the country, spread rumors, and fabricate lies’. It recalls that some internal parties are ‘serving foreign agendas activated by external actors to target Algeria and its people’. What is sure, however, is that their actions are ‘doomed to failure thanks to the vigilance high degree of awareness shown by the army’.

In **August 2021**, the army magazine released the issue numbered 697 for which it assigned the theme of ‘Algeria will never submit’. Reassuring and uncompromising at the same time, the narrative attests that ‘no nation in the world has reached the rank of a respectable state if it does not have a strong army, which defends and protects the country’. The strong tone of the editorial reiterates that the army is determined to ‘defend the territorial integrity’ and reaffirms that it will ‘never be used as a justification by enemies to blackmail Algeria’.

Through the editorial, the army wants to say that Algeria is a ‘strong state’ engaged in ‘resolving crises and eliminating vestiges in the region’ though some ‘external parties’ are

disturbing its efforts. In fact, those who ‘seek to harm the country’, says the editorial, are ‘specialized in misinformation and lies’, are ‘incapable of perceiving the horizon’ because ‘their sight is blocked’.

Therefore, any attempts to harm the country, to sow doubt on the unity of the people, or to violate the slightest inch of the national territory, will be countered by the army. In a targeted language, the editorialist warns that ‘fools and traitors who nourish hate’ ignore the history and the nature of Algerians and ‘have no idea of its reaction’ in case ‘some disturbing spirits would try to cause it evil’.

Addressing the general public, the editorial reminds that ‘the enemies and their affiliate traitors’ ignore that betraying the homeland is a ‘shame that will haunt their lives as well as that of their descendants forever’ as has happened to the Harki³ community. Algeria remains more than ever committed to its sovereignty and national unity and ready to vigorously confront all hostile attempts to the state and eradicate terrorist organizations that try to undermine its stability said the editorial of issue number 698 published in **September 2021**. Referring to the chaotic situation that the country experienced, the editorial recalled that the army has repeatedly warned against external plotting. For instance, the massive forest fires set to the Kabilya region testifies the exposure of the country ‘to malicious plans, whose threads are woven abroad’, are executed by ‘traitors and agents to undermine the territorial unity and the national cohesion’.

The magnitude of these fires revealed the ‘futile and the deep resentment of planners and those who executed them’ to weaken the country by creating the ‘fitna’ between the Algerian people.

Without justifications, the text alludes to the direct involvement of two terrorist organizations, MAK and Racha⁴, which were ‘manipulated by Morocco and Israel to set fires to the Kabilya region’. The narrative alludes to the sacrifice made by the army to put off fires. Devoid of knowledge in firefighting and short of material, many young soldiers, who were sent to the region, died in fires while saving trapped people.

The editorial alludes to the ‘cohesion and the unprecedented brotherhood and solidarity’ between the army and the people to face ‘numerous and varied hostile plans’ and to ‘unveil, reject and defeat whoever is the individuals and states behind them’. The narrative refers to ‘hostile plans’ and to ‘the involvement of Morocco in heinous and unforgivable crimes’. Devoid of any justification, the editorial mentions that there are ‘strong and proven links that Morocco holds with the two terrorist organizations’. The aggressive acts, ‘carried out by Morocco since the country's independence’, has been done against international customs and principles of good neighborliness, cooperation, and mutual trust. While Algeria has sought

³Harki refers an Algerian community of Arab or Berber origins who behaved in a pro-French manner during the Algerian war (Hamoumou, 1987, 1993). For Crapanzano (2008), Harkis were about 250000, who served as auxiliaries in the French army during the Algerian war of independence (from 1954 to 1962). De Gaulle, the French president, ordered their demobilization after the Evian Accords (March 18, 1962), which ratified Algeria's independence, despite the risk of massacre that was said to follow.

⁴The Algerian government had included the MAK and Rachad in its list of terrorist entities last April. The MAK is a separatist organization that campaigns for the self-determination of Kabylia. It was founded in 2001, after the Black Spring in Kabylia, which claimed 126 victims between 2001 and 2003. However, Rachad's ideology is not compatible with that of the MAK. Founded on April 18, 2007 in London, the Islamist current Rachad describes its action as "non-violent" and aims to bring "a radical change in Algeria. Several of its founding members come from the Islamic Salvation Front, a party that was banned in 1992 and then turned to terrorism (Orus Boudjema, 2021).

to establish good faith, the text mentions that the ‘Makhzen⁵ stubbornly has driven the relations between the two countries in an impasse from which it would be difficult to emerge’. In this vein, the magazine recalled the statements of the Moroccan envoy to the United Nations who, ‘in violation of all diplomatic practices’, has expressed support for a ‘separatist movement classified as terrorist and calling for the attack on the territorial integrity of Algeria’. This event pushed Algeria to break ties with Morocco without mentioning the reason that forced the Moroccan ambassador to the United Nations to respond to the provocations of the Algerian minister of foreign affairs.

Over two pages, the editorial of the military magazine El Djeich No. 699 of **October 2021** dealt with hot political and military topics. The explained why countries located in hostile geopolitical areas should have strong armies. On several occasions, the editorial quoted the declaration of the president when he said that ‘Algeria is a striking force for those who doubt it’. The declaration, says the narrative, was directed to the ‘malicious activities of the Makhzen’ orchestrated over the last three months. To counter these activities the editorial reminds Morocco that the army, which has been engaged in perpetual and extensive training, is ready and determined to demystify all plans and conspiracies. The combined tactical exercise of ‘Raâd 2021’ in the second military zone (see map below) reflects the commitments of the political and the military leadership to ensure cohesion between the various forces, and thus, alleviate the military full readiness to deal with any serious acts of hostility and propaganda campaign conducted by the Makhzen against Algeria.



Figure 3. Algeria Six Military Zones (Herbert, 2018)

⁵Makhzen refers to ‘the native Moroccan government (Merriam Webster)’ or the whole of the Moroccan administration especially under the French Protectorate. It is mentioned in Méton (1978) that the word means ‘part of the Moroccan territory over which the authority of the central government was effectively exercised.

The editorial evokes the ‘propaganda’ that tries in vain to undermine the country, to attack its ‘sovereignty’, to undermine the ‘unity of the people’ and its ‘territorial integrity’, and to ‘destabilize’ the Maghreb. The magazine argues that ‘Morocco has plotted numerous and recurrent hostile actions’ which Algeria has ‘patiently faced’ with the utmost restraint.

The editorial mentioned other hostilities that the army attributes to Morocco. Without any justifications, the narrative cited the ‘Moroccan officials’ attempts to flood our country with ‘drugs, espionage, destructive propaganda, and tendentious statements and accusations’. The kingdom, says the editorial has become ‘a platform for Israël to launch threats against Algeria from Moroccan soils’. The actions taken by these countries are reactions to Algeria’s firm position and principles regarding ‘the need for a just solution to the Sahrawi question’. The narrative prioritizes ‘the legitimate right of the Sahraoui people to self-determination, to be free from occupation and thus to allow freedom to the last colony in Africa’. The editorial believes that by multiplying acts of hostility, Morocco and Israel think that they could make Algeria abandon fundamentals of its foreign policy as the ‘unwavering support for the right of peoples under occupation to self-determination, as is the case of the Palestinian and Sahrawi peoples who have been fighting for over forty years to liberate the territory despoiled by Moroccan occupation’. In this vein, the editorial evokes again that Morocco is an ‘expansionist regime that has gone too far in conspiracies and subversive propaganda campaigns, aimed at minimizing the role of Algeria in the region and exhausting its capabilities’. The editorial added that ‘Morocco executes its plans through some internal weak-minded and traitors of the nation’ in reference to the two groups of MAK and Rachad which are ‘recruited and instrumentalized as agents’ to weaken Algeria and to make it abandon its principles and noble values. The editorial ended with a peculiar phrase saying that ‘Algeria, a striking force, and those who doubt it has the wall of lamentations to cry’. This statement joins that made by the president which said that ‘Algeria is a force and not simply words’. Actually, this statement is intended for media consumption and states which try to propagate conspiracies and plots against Algeria, says the editorial.

Interpretation of Results

It should be mentioned that the enemies that Algeria pretends to be confronted with are internal individuals and groups (traitors), external countries (foreign hand), and a devastating third element which is the Covid-19 pandemic. Even though it is not explicit in the editorial, the specter of Morocco is implicitly cited when the editorial refers to the ‘drugs that come from the western borders’. For more than four decades, the Algerian press and elite (Mliless, 2020, 2021) have treated Morocco as an enemy. Devoid of any justifications, the country has built its existing theory on unjustified allegations and verbal attacks against Morocco. Now, the army, via its magazine, is launching a viral campaign against the kingdom. From agenda setting to hate, the discourse of the editorial is full of conspiracy the aim of which is to make Morocco an ‘enemy’ of the Algerian people and to divert public attentions from real social and political problems. To fulfill its argumentative aim, the narratives under investigation use many persuasive techniques that we list below.

- **Testimonial and Expert Opinions:** statement of political and military leadership to persuade the public to adhere to the army’s ideology. The editorials are rife with quotes of the president and the chief of the army.
- **Call to Action:** The editorials cite many recommendations to support the decisions taken by the army.
- **Emotional Appeal and Imagery:** the editorial paly on the historical heritage and the traumatic outcomes that the Algerian people endured during the black decade. In this

sense, the editorials adopt many linguistic structures to elicit emotional responses from the audience like pity, disgust, fear, and anger among others.

- **Diction:** Use words with strong connotations. For this strategy, the most impactful are those dictated for Morocco for which many negative and derogatory words are assigned.
- **Repetition:** the editorials repeat many words and phrases throughout the narratives. Concerning this technique, the repeated concepts are assigned to instill and reinforce the audience's belief that the conflict is real and true. For example, many words are repeated on purpose to devalue the enemies of the country (Morocco, Israel, MAK, and Rachad) and to praise the army.
- **Prediction:** this technique is used in the editorials to predict that the future of the country, without the hegemony of the army, is opaque and obscure because many internal and external forces are plotting and conspiring against Algeria.
- **Cause and effect:** most of cause and effect arguments are focalized on the present status of the country that is enjoying prosperity and development, say the texts. More than that, the editorials repeatedly mention that Algeria is a preacher of peace in the region and a proponent stabilizer. Because of these achievements, say the editorials, Algeria is envied and disliked by external countries. Nevertheless, the editorials never allude to the bitter realities that have driven millions of Algerians to massively protest for more than two years, the real causes that are pushing thousands of youngsters, women, babies, and disabled people to migrate. More than 27,000 Algerians managed to reach Spain, the Balearic, and the Canary Islands between January and the end of September 2021.

Introductions of Editorials

The introductions of the editorials stick to a distinct pattern, that of mentioning the legitimacy of the Algerian army that descends from the army of liberation which chased the colonizer and sacrificed more than five million and 630 thousand martyrs, according to the last statement of Tebboune he delivered in a press conference. Similarly, it is recurrent in introductions that the new Algeria is the result of a 'battle of the Chouhada' and that of the 'Hirak'. This later has chased away the 'issaba / bandits' of leaders. The editorials failed to mention the word 'Hirak', but instead they call it 'the authentic and blessed social movements that protest peacefully'. Today, the Hirak is faithful to the slogan it brandished from the beginning 'a civil and not a military state' and strongly hold to the building of a democratic and civil country without the interference of the military that took the country hostage since the independence in 1962.

Besides, the narratives reiterate the military maneuvers that the military performed to counter foreign enemies. Also, the editorials clearly show the intentions of the political and military leadership in Algeria to see the constitution adopted, and henceforth, fulfilling the demands of the Hirak that will be guaranteed by the army. In the Algerian case, it is an exception to assigning the management of public order to the military. The maintaining of public order and social turbulences in democratic countries is a mission devoted to law enforcement which is the best-trained service to reestablish public security through special tactics and tools.

The editorials recall the internal issues should be solved by the Algerians themselves. For example, the president and the army are leading many battles to reduce underdevelopment, to contain the pandemic, and to organize the referendum of the constitution. All these battles are lost. For instance, the country has lost the battle of development. Algeria is witnessing the

most difficult moments since its independence regarding the increase in high cost of living, the lack of liquidity, the scarcity of food, the lowest internet penetration in the region, a recurrent lack of drinking water, and repeated electricity interruption in different parts of the country including the capital (see figure 4).



Figure 4. Endless queues for Water ¹ (Hespress, 2021); liquidity ² (Elaures News, 2021); semolina ³ (Rabat Today, 2020); milk ⁴ (Ibnouzahir, 2021); oxygen ⁵ (Benali Cherif, 2021)

Despite these failures, the editorials propagate that the ‘new Algeria’ is a concrete reality and an example of stability and development in the region. Nevertheless, the texts tell another reality. The Algerian plans of development are a fiasco and failure if we take a look at the recommendations made by the World Bank regarding the country’s economic situation (see figure 5). For example, the report cites the plummeting of the currency, the high cost of living, and the migration of foreign investors who do not see any improvement of the environment to invest. The report assumes that Algeria is losing its place among the countries that offers better opportunities of investment.

Table 1. Algeria Macro poverty outlook indicators (World Bank, 2021)

	2018	2019	2020 e	2021 f	2022 f	2023 f
Real GDP growth, at constant market prices	1.2	0.8	-5.5	3.6	2.3	1.6
Private Consumption	2.8	2.1	-5.5	5.2	2.8	1.7
Government Consumption	2.3	1.9	1.3	-0.2	-2.9	-0.5
Gross Fixed Capital Investment	3.1	1.0	-15.9	8.0	6.4	2.9
Exports, Goods and Services	-3.7	-6.1	-11.1	7.4	1.2	1.0
Imports, Goods and Services	-3.6	-6.9	-19.7	12.3	2.4	0.5
Real GDP growth, at constant factor prices	1.5	1.0	-5.5	3.6	2.3	1.7
Agriculture	3.5	2.7	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.4
Industry	-2.6	-1.7	-7.3	5.1	1.9	1.7
Services	5.6	3.3	-5.3	2.7	2.9	1.7
Inflation (Consumer Price Index)	3.5	2.3	2.1	3.9	4.1	4.0
Current Account Balance (% of GDP)	-9.5	-10.0	-14.4	-12.1	-11.4	-11.3
Fiscal Balance (% of GDP)	-6.8	-9.6	-16.4	-12.1	-10.0	-8.8
Debt (% of GDP)	37.6	45.6	51.4	56.1	60.5	65.3
Primary Balance (% of GDP)	-6.3	-9.0	-15.7	-11.6	-9.4	-8.3

As for Covid-19, the management of the pandemic was a total failure for Algeria. In the summer of 2021, a ferocious wave devastated the country to such an extent that oxygen was missing in almost all the Algerian hospitals. The third battle, that of the referendum, the organization of this political event was a failure for the president appointed by the army (Boubekeur, 2020) in that the turnout was very low as 2 million voters participated in the referendum. If we take into consideration the number of voters, the massive participation of more than 680000 people of the armed forces and paramilitary bodies such as the police, civil protection, and gendarmerie is not included in this number, not to mention those working in state administrations and ministries. In a virtual note published by the Home office (2020), the Algerian army counts 280000, the police 200000, the Gendarmerie counts more than 130000, and 70000 firefighters.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) says that the economic situation of the country is worrying (Mhenni, 2021). In this context, the IMF warns against the consequences of high budget deficits in the medium term and the depletion of foreign exchange reserves (see figure 5). The monetary institution delivers a set of recommendations for Algeria to exit the crisis. These include the following:

- A general fiscal adjustment to prioritize measures to eradicate vulnerability and to maintain debt sustainability.
- Diversification of the sources of budgetary financing, through external borrowing.
- Greater exchange rate flexibility to strengthen the economy's resilience against external shocks and to tighten monetary policy to control inflationary pressures (Mhenni, 2021).

The recommendations made by the IMF were rejected by the Algerian president saying that the International Monetary Fund is “acting as if it was preparing the ground for indebtedness. We will never opt for this choice, it is unthinkable. We will not lead the country to a political suicide” (APS, 2021).

Editorial’s Body, Haven for Conspiracy

The analysis of the narratives indicated that the editorials negatively portrayed Morocco as an enemy state that is instrumentalizing malign plots against Algeria. Many concepts were identified in the text as conspiracy markers (see table 2).

Table 2. Conspiracy terms

French	English
Complots	Plots
Ennemies	Enemies
Main Etrangers	Foreign Hand
Parties	Parties
Déstabiliser	Destabilize
Manouvres	Maneuvers
Malveillant	Malicious
Visant l'Algerie	Aimed At Algeria
Fitna	Strife
Plans	Plans
Stratégies	Strategies
Actes	Acts
Actions	Actions
Tentatives	Attempts
Menés	Conducted
Attaques	Attacks
Hostile	Hostile
Nuire	Harm

What these words have in common is that they involved a foreign actor (Morocco), with one aim (attacking, harming, destabilizing), a particular location (Algeria) at a particular time frame (since the outbreak of tensions between the two countries). To develop this point of view, the editorials rely on false and unjustified allegations to push Algerians to believe in conspiracies and cyber-attacks waged against the country from Morocco. The editorials incredibly give the impression that the two countries are at war and confront each other on a real battlefield. Either explicitly or implicitly, many editorials accuse Morocco, without naming it, to be an ‘*agitator*’ and a ‘*revanchist*’ that attacks the achievements realized so far by the ‘new Algeria’. The kingdom of Morocco is oftentimes mentioned as: ‘*partie etranger: foreign part; ennemie de l’ouest: western enemy; pays nord africaine: North African country; ennemie classic: classical enemy*’. It is in the issue of September that Morocco was mentioned first under the name of ‘*Makhzen*’ and then ‘*Maroc*’: Morocco’. For instance, in a paragraph of 365 words, the editorial interchangeably uses Morocco and Makhzen seven times as an enemy that plots against Algeria (see table 2).

Table 3. Unfounded conspiracy concepts related to Morocco

Morocco		Makhzen	
French	English	French	English
Lien fort et avéré du Maroc avec les deux organisations terroristes.	Strong and proven links of Morocco with the two terrorist organizations.	L'implication du Makhzen, d'une manière ou d'une autre, dans ce crime odieux et impardonnable.	The involvement of the Makhzen, in one way or another, in this heinous and unforgivable crime.
Graves et méthodiques provocations du Maroc contre l'Algérie, dans son insistance à nuire à notre pays.	Serious and methodical provocations of Morocco and its insistance to harm our country.	Pendant que le Makhzen s'entêtait à engager les relations algéro-marocaines dans une impasse de laquelle il serait difficile de sortir.	While the Makhzen was stubbornly trying to engage the Algerian-Moroccan relations in an impasse from which it would be difficult to escape.
La décision prise par l'Algérie de rompre ses relations diplomatiques avec le Maroc est souveraine et fondée.	The decision taken by Algeria to break its diplomatic relations with Morocco is sovereign and well founded.	L'extrême hostilité que le Makhzen nourrit à l'encontre de notre pays.	The extreme hostility that the Makhzen nourishes against our country.
[Algerie a] observé une attitude de retenue et de mesure pendant des décennies face aux actions hostiles et aux provocations constantes du Maroc.	[Algeria has] observed an attitude of restraint and moderation for decades in the face of Morocco's constant hostile actions and provocations.		

Morocco is presented as a 'rogue state' for which the editorials attributed many conspiracy terms (aggression, terrorism, monger of fitna, and hostile acts). The analysis of the narratives, as revealed in table 2 above, falsely and arbitrarily accuses Morocco of manipulating and supporting terrorist organizations of MAK and Rachad. Unsurprisingly, the texts never mention that Algeria flagrantly interferes in Morocco's internal affairs. For more than forty five years, Algeria plotted and conspired and even threatened Morocco. The aim is to undermine the kingdom's territorial integrity. The plot has been to separate the Moroccan Sahara from the motherland and to give it to a handful of separatists that Algeria adopted, armed, and supported by all means.

The editorials claim that Morocco and Israel are harming Algeria and limiting its role in the region. The conspiracies and plots range from 'forest fires, cyber-attacks, separatism, stirring the Hirak, and terrorism', mentioned the editorials. In the narratives, the army reminds the audience about the achievement it made to 'unveil espionage and terrorist conspiracies of Morocco'. Without any tangible justification or proof, the army pretends that it has been foiling conspiracies. For this aim, the narratives maintain that the army should intervene to neutralize plans of malignant conspiracy that threaten the country's stability. The guarantee to get out of this 'hazardous situation' necessitates total alignment of the population and its army. In fact, it

simply warns the people of the Hirak and its sympathizers that the road they want to take is risky and that without the accompaniment of the army the future of Algeria is vague.

The editorials speak as if the country does not have highly qualified visionaries and strategists to achieve citizens' welfare. In another way, the editorials tell skeptics and plotters that the army is the salvation, the lantern, and the guide of the people in precarious situations. Linking the past and the present of the country, the narratives argue that role of the army is pivotal. It has been able to maintain the political stability, the economic prosperity, and the social coherence of the Algerians. The texts stress that the country will never be fulfilled its future without the supervision and the magic touch of soldiers. If the of Algeria was marked by dramatic interferences of the army, its present is hijacked by the army junta which manipulates political, security, and media spheres. Today, the Algerian government is criticized for its failures to manage the covid-19 propagation, to ameliorate the economic situation, and to improve citizens' wellbeing. On the list of failures of the Algerian authority is its inability to put out fires that burnt the Kabilya region for more than a month (4th of July-15th of August) in which 69 died including 28 soldiers. The human and biodiversity loss was due to the bad organization, the delay that the authorities made to intervene at the right time, and the lack of means to fight fires that require air intervention skills. Morocco, which Algeria considers as an enemy, has provided help and put two Canadair airplanes at the service of the Algerian authorities that it refused. It seemed that the authorities, including the army, wanted on purpose to let the fires exterminate Kabilya.

The failure to manage internal issues has pushed thousands of Algerians to risk their lives searching for new opportunities in Spain and France. In September 2021, a massive flow of illegal immigrants, we call the boat people in this study, crossed the Mediterranean in difficult and precarious conditions to reach the Spanish coasts. According to Madrid, nearly 10,000 Algerian harraga have arrived illegally since the beginning of the year (Le Monde, 2021). The word 'harraga' (burners), migrants who often set fire to their identity documents - to avoid being identified and sent back to Algeria - and who "burn" the border, cross it clandestinely.

Among these harraga, women and children are risking their lives to cross. This is a new phenomenon of women, babies, pregnant women, and disabled people tell us a lot about the degree of desperation that in Algeria. Social networks are full of videos of babies, pregnant women, and disabled people fleeing the country (see figure 6). Shocking videos posted on the web, similar to Syrian cases, show entire families, babies, pregnant women, old people, and even cancer patients fleeing their country. These were some of the internal failures that the magazine of the army dropped from the editorials country never recognized. As for the future of the country, no one can tell.



Figure 6: Algerian Migrants: old and sick (Echourouk Online, 2021), babies (Dernière Info Algerie, 2021), women and babies (L 'Afrique Adulte, 2020)

These failures were masked by blind propaganda that the editorials reproduced around a conception of ‘victimization’ to obtain satisfaction from the population and to receive recognition and sympathy from other countries. The conspiracy theory conducted by the Algerian military is meant to make Algeria a victim of Moroccan plots. In line with Mliless (2020, 2021), this study detects a pattern in the army discourse to build a victim image around the country. The idea that Algeria is a country of ‘good faith’ a ‘stabilizer’ and a ‘pace builder’ is a message that the army sends to ‘plotters and traitors’.

To mask and to veil internal problems, many strategies of manipulation and conspiracy attributed to Noam Chomsky (Hadžialić, 2019) are employed by the editorials. In this sense, the narratives resort to ‘Strategy of Distraction’, ‘Create Problems and Offer Solutions’, and the ‘Gradual Strategy’ to maintain the public opinion around the idea that Morocco is an enemy and a very hostile neighbor who ‘supports terrorist groups of MAK and Rachad’, seeks to ‘harm Algeria’, and ‘conspires with foreign powers (Israel)’ to ‘destabilize’ its territorial integrity. The strategy of distraction, the primary element of social control, aims at diverting public attention from important issues and changes determined by the political elite via continuous distractions and insignificant information. The diversion strategy, commonly used among the Algerian elite (Mliless, 2021), is also adopted by the army to divert people’s attentions and prevent the population from knowing what is really happening inside the country.

The ideology of the army reported in the editorials is not only divertive, but it keeps the public busy with marginal facts. Therefore, talking about external enemy and then offering military solutions fits the argumentative and reasoning the army that presents itself as a deliverer. In this direction, the editorials give much legitimacy to the army to gain more power. The many training operations of the army with ammunition and different types of weapons go against the will and content of the people. For more than a year, the Algerian army is engaged in a perpetual race to improve the skills of the army to confront an enemy that exists only in the memory of the leaders. The multiple training operations, either with live ammunition or others, require a large budget to organize and execute the plans taking into account staff movement, logistics, and perishable material. In return, the Algerian people are deprived of food, water, liquidity, and oxygen to fight the Covid-19. Not to mention the scarcity of pharmaceutical products for chronic diseases such as diabetes or cancer.

If Algeria often speaks of a professional army that is highly trained and available, the death of 28 soldiers in the fire of Kabylia testifies about the state incompetence to send dozens of young soldiers to fight against fires without appropriate material. It seems that the military sacrificed dozens of young soldiers to build the image of an army at the service of the people of Kabylia.

Recommendations of Editorials

The final step in the present study is the recommendations that the editorials afford to the audience in the form of conclusions that summarize the army's opinion. Usually, the editorials of the army magazine El-Djeich end with an appeal to internal and external audiences.

To the young people, especially those of the Hirak, who are skeptic and who can be easily influenced by actors who disagree with the army's philosophy, the texts warn them that they can be easily misled by plots and conspiracies. In this respect, the editorials send many warnings to those who claim the departure of the army from the political scene, mainly those who brandish the slogan of 'a civil and not military state'. The army perceives them as internal traitors who are manipulated by external parties to disrupt the stability of the country. Furthermore, the editorials send many messages to the interior front for more consolidation to counter dangers coming from the 'western enemy'. The army evokes the role of the military in stabilizing the country against provocations and cyber-attacks launched from Morocco, a potential aggressor who intends to interfere in the internal affairs of the country. Particularly, more reminders are sent to the post-independence generation which lost fate in the army that canceled the elections of the 90s and launched the country into a deadly carnage. The decision left hundreds of thousands dead and disappeared not to mention the psychological, social, and cultural trauma of millions of Algerians.

CONCLUSION

The tension between Algeria and Morocco is at its peak this summer. The Algerian army said through the editorials of its magazine El-Djeich that 'incessant hostile acts perpetrated by Morocco' against Algeria have necessitated the review of measures between the two countries and the intensification of military operations and training sessions to ensure the availability of its armed forces, said the editorials. In addition to the land border that has been closed between the two countries since 1994, and the ongoing diplomatic frictions over the Moroccan Sahara, some events have aggravated the relations between the two countries. For instance, the call for independence of the Kabilya region by the Moroccan ambassador to the United Nations (Omar Hilal) during the meeting of non-aligned countries, the Pegasus leak, the outburst of violent forest fires in northern Algeria, and the lynching and immolation of a young activist in the courtyard of a police station in Kabilya, the visit of the Israeli foreign minister to Morocco, and the breakdown of diplomatic ties between the two countries are what aggravated the tensions between the two countries. Devoid of any tangible justifications, Algeria has used its diplomacy, its media, its elite, and its army (through the magazine El-Djeich) to launch unfounded accusations against Morocco. All the official institutions in the country claim that Morocco supports terrorist organizations (MAK and Rachad), that it plots with Israel, that it spies over its political leaders, and that it favors separatism in the Kabylia region. Indeed, Algeria is doing this for two main reasons. First, to create an external enemy to divert the attention of the people towards the social, economic, and political problems that the Algerian government has failed to solve. Second, due to Covid-19, the oppressions of the security forces, and the heavy punishment that the Algerian justice inflicted to protestors, the Hirak will surge again because the reasons for its birth are still present. The political context, the severe economic and social situation, the deteriorating situation in hospitals, and the inability of the Algerian health system to manage the Covid-19 are what might push the Hirak to return to the Algerian cities.

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