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**THE CASE OF THE TERRORIST
ORGANIZATION NOVEMBER 17 (17N)
MEDIA AND POLITICAL POWER**

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Abstract

This research addresses the role and the power that the media have in framing information about terrorism and also the importance of the media in a well functioning democracy. In order to do so, a case study of the Terrorist Organization November 17 (or 17N) in Greece is presented, using theories related to terrorism, media and political influence in order to better understand the way that the media present an important issue as the terrorism is. Also theories regarding media power and media framing are included, in order to discuss the role of the media and more specifically the press.

Finally, the paper will present a news framing analysis on Greek newspapers and then there are five interviews from some expert people for this specific case of 17N giving their voice in the research in order to better understand the way of the media presenting terrorism in Greece and how they can affect the political system.

Keywords: terrorism, media, political system, media power, news frame analysis, interviews

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1. Introduction

“The success of a terrorist operation depends almost entirely on the amount of publicity it receives.” (Laqueur, 1977, p. 109).

On 23 December 1975, three unmasked gunmen stalked and shot Richard Welch down. He was the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) station chief in Athens. The murder was at point - blank range in front of his wife and his driver. A previously unknown group calling itself Revolutionary Organization 17 November (RO 17N or 17N) claimed responsibility for this assassination. It was the first serious terrorist attack against the country’s dramatic attempt to wipe out the legacy of its seven-year dictatorship and establish the foundations for an effectively functioning democracy (Kassimeris, 2001, p. 6).

Since that day, Greece has been suffering the most protracted and intransigent of all the ideological campaigns of terrorism in Western Europe. The vendetta pursued by 17N has resulted in several deaths and serious injuries, numerous bombings and billions of money of damage to property. George Kassimeris in his research claims that: “what distinguishes 17N from other terrorist organizations is its durability and astonishing resistance to infiltration. During these past 25 years, not a single member has been arrested and no 17N terrorist is known to the Greek, European or US security and intelligence agencies” (Kassimeris, 2001, p. 7) . The organization, often referred to as *organossi phantasma* (*οργάνωση φάντασμα*) or phantom organization (Greek translation), is named after the day (17th of November) in 1973 when the military junta used tanks to crash a student - worker occupation of the Polytechnic University in Athens (Kassimeris, 2001, p. 7).

After 17N’s first attacks, foreign intelligence services came to Greece to control better the situation. This was an innovative element of the 17N as the only attacks

that were carried out until that period they were primarily bomb attacks by its members. The appearance of 17N at that time and to this aim was crucial in the evolution of the organization in space and time and the myth and mystery that created around this organization.

17N was acting “as the armed vanguard of the working class and the defender of Greek national independence” (Kassimeris, 2001, p. 8); 17N has carried out more than 100 attacks and killed 23 people, ranging from US Embassy employees and military personnel to Greek parliamentarians, newspaper publishers, journalists, policemen, judges, leading industrialists and ship-owners, and Turkish diplomats (Kassimeris, 2001, p. 8).

Hewitt (1984, p. 55) supports that: “Democracy can be defended only through broad participation, by dialogue and consent, and by the determination of all social forces to uncover its enemies” (Hewitt, 1984, p. 55). The major dilemma, in such situations, is how to protect democracy without losing or sacrificing basic social freedoms; freedoms that have been gained by citizens after decades of conflicts and protests against totalitarian and authoritarian regimes (Hewitt, 1984, p. 55). In the fight against terrorism, all political parties are obliged to cooperate in their efforts to triumph against terrorist groups.

The primary objective during selection of topics of this thesis was to link the issue with the central object of my studies, journalism and more generally Mass Media. The rationale for selection was based on that the theme which I will focus should be studied in the light of the media and the journalistic profession. The issues that someone could study are a lot, but the theme was chosen for this work, particularly terrorism and internal terrorism in Greece, because the spread and dimensions are huge of domestic terrorism in our country in recent years. Moreover, the phenomenon has been a particularly intense psychological, social, economic and political implication. It is a multidimensional phenomenon that directly and indirectly affects all areas of our daily lives.

The extent and manner of influence depends largely on the presentation of terrorism by the media. The presentation of terrorist acts, attacks, especially the period that all the terrorists got arrested, the role that the media played and the dimensions of this phenomenon that hires through the way of journalistic coverage of the media is the central theme of my thesis entitled: “The case of the Terrorist Organization November 17 (17N): Media and Political Power”.

Through my thesis I will present the 17N terrorist organization, its operations, its activities, its relationship with society, politics and the media. Especially for the last part, it is important to link terrorism and media because as Walter Laqueur writes in his book *The New Terrorism* (1999, p. 78): “It has been said that journalists are terrorists’ best friends, because they are willing to give terrorist operations maximum exposure. This is not to say that journalists as a group are sympathetic to terrorists, although it may appear so” (Laqueur, 1999, p. 78). And he continues analyzing the symbiosis between the media and terrorism: “It simply means that violence is news, whereas peace and harmony are not. The terrorists need the media and the media find in terrorism all the ingredients of an exciting story” (Laqueur, 1999, p. 78).

The interviews that I will have in my thesis will help to understand the situation in political violence and terrorism in Greece since the interviews will be given from some experts to this topic. The former Director of Security of U.S.A Embassy in Athens during a large period of 17N was acting; two journalists who are experts on terrorism topic in Greece, one Congressman and the former Minister of Public Order who was responsible for the arrest of 17N members on 2002 will help to understand better how important the organization was these 25 years. Greek media have a lot of power that they are capable of changing the public opinion. This power will be presented in the thesis, especially in the period of the member’s capture by the police.

This thesis has the objective to use the case of the Terrorist Organization November 17, as a way to understand more about the power of the media in

shaping people's opinion through news framing, and the important role they can play in creating a better democracy. In order to achieve those goals, this paper will focus on the examination of the case study of the Terrorist Organization November 17. Theories of deliberative democracy and civic cultures from Dahlgren and Corner will be employed in order to analyze the organization. Furthermore, concepts of media power, media framing, interviews and voice will be investigated, in order to understand the importance of traditional media in presenting an important topic like terrorism. Finally, a news frame analysis will be conducted on Greek newspapers in order to understand how they framed the 17N members' arrest and the importance of that framing to the way that the politicians were presented that period of time.

The main research questions of the research are as following:

- a. How did the newspapers Kathimerini and Rizospastis frame the Terrorist Organization November 17 during 27 June 2002 - 8 September 2002? This specific timeframe is because all the arrests took place that period of time.
- b. How have the Greek newspapers framed the Terrorist Organization November 17 and how does this framing relate to political parties in Greece?
- c. How are different media outlets presenting, influencing and perpetuating the "image of the terrorist"?
- d. How do some experts analyze the presentation of the media during that period?

2. Theoretical Framework

The objective of this dissertation is on the 17 November (17N) terrorist organization and a wider range of terrorism especially in Greece. Firstly, I will define terrorism and then I'll try to present the way that the domestic (Greek) media presented 17N. Terrorism in Greece as a term and as a strong presence was appeared with the existence of 17N which for more than 27 years the action of this specific terrorist organization was widespread fear in the whole country.

Terrorism found Greece in a turbulent political phase of its history and therefore unprepared, both to treat as well as to set appropriately. In this paper, and based on my subject, as a student of Communication, I have grappled extensively about how the Greek Media faced terrorism in the country and consequently how they presented the arrest of the 17 November terrorist organization's members.

For the case of the Terrorist Organization 17 November (17N) it is relevant to include some theories and ideas. More specifically concepts of terrorism, Media and Political Parties that is important because 17N was the biggest terrorist organization in Greece operated for 27 years in the country. Power and media framing issues are relevant because they explain the importance that the media have in a democracy. Media framing is important as a concept, because it is a process that allows the media to construct meanings and guide audiences on how to think about issues. Media power is important to include in the theoretical framework, in order to understand the underlying power conflicts that take place within a media text.

2.1 Definitions of Terrorism

The problem of defining terrorism is commonplace for any author trying to approach the subject and it is one of the main points of conflict and disagreements

between the governments of countries in international meetings where terrorism is one of the frequently occurring topics on the agenda (Daskalopoulou – Livada, 1998, p. 10). The existence of the problem is due to the fact that terrorism is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that is difficult to obey the conceptual limitations of a definition and be distinguished clearly. Also it is a constantly evolving phenomenon that year after year is displayed in different ways that science is slow to examine, register and classify.

“Virtual or real, national or transnational, state - sponsored or executed by small groups, terrorism in all its forms remains a central concern for contemporary societies” (Freedman & Thussu, 2012, p.1). It has not disappeared with the assassination of Osama bin Laden nor the emergence of a new narrative of democracy during the ‘Arab spring’ of 2011. Terrorism defines politics and international relations as well as social and cultural interactions in our globalizing world (Freedman & Thussu, 2012, p.1).

Terrorism is a phenomenon which occurs from ancient times. Recorded in the texts of ancient authors (such as in the “Politics” of Aristotle), appears in various historical periods in various forms and reaches our days with more typical energy attack of September 11, 2001 in the U.S.A. Mairi Bosi states that: “Violence persists and appears to be back with different users and instruments that section of society feels that it is not represented and it is not participated by the distribution of power”. (“My translation”, Bosi, 2000, p. 20)

Terrorism is a complex phenomenon with deep historical, political and social roots. It is a concept due to its complex nature cannot be determined easily and accurately. Nonetheless, however, the effects often influence the course of humanity. As expressed by an international relations professor: “The terrorism is difficult to define, but you understand it”. Also a prolific writer professor at Georgetown University Walter Laqueur in an attempt to define what is terrorism, says about the phenomenon: “no definition of terrorism is not possible to cover all aspects of terrorism that occurred in history: peasant revolts, labor struggles and street bandit attacks followed by a systematic policy of terror, and the same is true of with regard to general wars, civil wars, revolutionary wars, wars of national

liberation and resistance movements against foreign occupiers” (Laquer, 1997, p. 19).

The term "terrorism" first appeared in 1798 in a supplement to the Dictionary of the French Academy (Dictionnaire), a term which was used by the Order of the Jacobins during the French Revolution. By this term is characterized the violence in order to build the new social order. The targets of terrorist actions were the aristocrats and their supporters, but later dissidents and rebels were included. Robespierre in a speech to the National Assembly said: “It is necessary internal and external enemies of the Revolution be stifled or be lost with it. Now, in this situation, the main primary purpose of the policy is to direct people with the logic and the enemies of the people with terror. If the force of the popular government in peacetime is virtue, then the force of the popular government in time of revolution is both virtue and terror. The virtue is fatal without terror and terror is powerless without virtue. Terrorism is nothing more than direct, strict and rigid justice. So it is a version of virtue” (“My translation”, Bonanate, 2009, p. 21).

The phenomenon of terrorism holds a position of high priority and importance to the theme of political events. This happens not only because of the remarkable changes that have reserved the 20th century in the field of international terrorism, but also because of the special nature of the concept of the phenomenon and how to deal with it . Issues that the political researchers and thinkers are concern for several decades at the level of theory, but of course the people that are engaged in the governance of a country, in terms of the transaction. However, precisely because of the particular nature of the phenomenon, the effort of the definition and the conceptual determination, encounters great difficulties and obstacles, and for this reason this effort has been characterized as a minefield by many scholars (Bosi, 2004, p. 27).

Stern explains the reason that a definition is difficult: “The student of terrorism is confronted with hundreds of definitions in the literature. Some definitions focus on the perpetrator, others on his or on her purpose, and still others on the terrorist’s technique” (Stern, 2003, p. 32). But only two characteristics of terrorism are critical for distinguishing it from other forms of violence. Stern

presents these characteristics stating that: “terrorism is aimed at noncombatants. This characteristic of terrorism distinguishes it from some war-fighting. Second, terrorists use violence for dramatic purpose: instilling fear in the target audience is often more important than the physical result. This deliberate creation of dread is what distinguishes terrorism from simple murder or assault” (Stern, 2003, p. 33). What can be called terrorism for someone may be called a fight for freedom for someone else. But whatever the motive is, the outcome of the act is affecting civilians quality of life and threatening the human values.

The question “what is terrorism” and by extension “who is a terrorist” remains unanswered so far mainly because there are plenty of interpretations around it. In other words, until today there is no universal definition of “terrorism” and “terrorists”. It is noteworthy that while all of analyzes and scientific approaches governed by the view that both the concept and the practice of terrorism are historical and political facts; nobody addresses all the causes of its genesis, its existence and its evolution.

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 terrorist phenomenon began to affect very strongly the global community since many believe that terrorism was born on this day, leading analysts to redouble their efforts to clarify the concept of terrorism. It should be emphasized here that the urgent need to come up with a definition of terrorism as soon as possible stems from the fact that the international terrorist activity has been designated as a primary preoccupation of U.S. foreign policy. The result is that we are phase a standing "war on terror". Therefore as long as the concept of terrorism remains blurred this means there are a series of problems. The most important of these problems is that in the name of protection from terrorist attacks may be committed the greatest crimes since as history has already demonstrated that there are more than a few times that a terrorist action is (re)baptized counterterrorism for the sake of “national interests”. In the name of “anti-terrorist measures”, many inhumane acts take place. A similarly serious problem is that as long as there is no definition of terrorism we are more threatened by terrorism because when there is liquidity and leveling or

confusing of concepts, anyone is in a danger position in the future to be characterized as a terrorist due to specific considerations.

Besides everything else, the term “terrorism” is a highly politically and emotionally charged term, which can obviously be used for political and propagandistic purposes. Noam Chomsky says that: “there are two ways in which this can be the approach of the phenomenon, the literal and the propagandistic approach” (Chomsky, 2000, p. 280 - 281). The literal approach consists of the attempt to define terrorism, examples of the phenomenon, as well as causes and consequences. On the other hand, the propagandist approach is usually adopted by governments of totalitarian states and to a large extent by the Western media. Feature of propagandistic approach is the performance of the words “terrorist” and “terrorism” in officially appointed as enemy of the governments against which the respective actions are turned and not by the institution of these actions. This process is known as “ticketing paste process” (“My translation”, Townshend, 2002, p. 6). Groups of people can be classified as “terrorists” or alternatively as “radical activists”, “liberation movements”, “urban guerrillas” or “extremists”. The same applies to nations which can be characterized as “terrorist” or else as “repressive regimes”, “authoritarian regimes” or “dictatorships” (Norris, Kern, Just, 2003, p. 6).

The problem of the definition of discrimination by national liberation movements and balancing human rights are political issues and represent not only deeper differences of views but perception of political reality, differences in worldview and address global problems. Under these conditions, the formation of a unique and yet correct definition of the phenomenon of terrorism becomes particularly difficult process. Most definitions tend to include either theoretically irrelevant features or exclude theoretically relevant characteristics, rather than have a completely conceptual approach. However, this does not mean that because of the above we should lead to a relativistic theory. “Certainly there are objectively determined terrorist acts and terrorists. And the discovery of objective criteria for classifying constitutes the real challenge for political science, international

relations and especially for the criminal law” (“My translation”, Townshend, 2002, p. 8).

If we had to start determining the key elements that should be included in a definition of terrorism, then that would be the fact to constitute a serious crime of violence, the aim to be innocent people, the desire to challenge the perception by spreading terror, the act to intend to serve ideological, philosophical or sociopolitical purposes. These elements are found in most definitions (Daskalopoulou – Livada, 1998, p. 11). For example, Peter Papadatos gives the following definition: “Terrorism is the challenge of terror to individuals, groups or to the entire community, with the commission of serious crimes of violence, directed either against individuals or indiscriminately against innocent civilians and designed to achieve certain objectives, mainly socio-political” (“My translation”, Papadatos, 1987, p. 12). If we take into consideration this definition, the terrorist organization November 17 belongs to the “kind of terrorism” which attacks against individuals, mostly to politician or CIA agents that they were working in Greece.

According to Paul Wilkinson: “terrorism is the systematic use of compulsive intimidation, usually to achieve political ends and it is used to create and to exploit a climate of fear among a wider target group than the direct victims of the violence and to publicize a cause, as well as to press a target to accept the terrorist’s goals” (Wilkinson, 2001, p.12). Wilkinson believes that terrorism stewards the use of murder and destruction and the threat of murder and destruction because one way for terrorists to achieve their demands is to terrorize all individuals and governments (Wilkinson, 2001, p.12).

Bosi states that “terrorism in the ways and methods that has appeared, it has not been integrated into a satisfactory interpretative framework that would accurately decode its manifestations or delimited its action” (“My translation”, Bosi, 2000, p. 62).. In this context international organizations and states have sought more to describe acts of terrorism despite the phenomenon itself (Bosi, 2000, p. 62).

According to the United Nations No. 1566 (2004) Security Council resolution, terrorist acts are “criminal acts, including against civilians which aim to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to cause situation of terror in the general population or a group of persons or particular persons, to intimidate of a population or compelling a government or an international organization to act or not to act an operation”.

Apart from international organizations, many states sought to define the phenomenon of terrorism, often with different definitions by different services. Thus, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S. states that: “Terrorism is the premeditated politically motivated violence, directed against targets among the civilian population and which originates from sub-national groups or secret agents and aims to influence the public” (“My translation”, Mazis, 2005, p. 18), the FBI defines that “Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (as quoted by The Terrorism Research Center 2002), (“My translation”, Bosi, 2000, p. 74).

Another definition, much more brief but quite comprehensive in terms of the above elements, is as follows: "Terrorism is the systematic use of coercive intimidation, including the threat or use of violence against civilians for political purposes." (Norris, Kern, Just, 2003, p. 7). This definition, like the preceding one, determines the phenomenon from the techniques, the goals and the objectives, characteristics which are considered essential to determine an act of terrorism. The second definition, however, includes an additional important element which is the systematic use of intimidation. There are many times when individual events accidental use of violence or horror challenge presented by the media as a terroristic acts. It is true that the element of violence and terror can be indicative of a terrorist event. However the word “terror” means chronic fear and therefore terrorism refers to the systematic challenge of fear (Schmid, De Graaf, 1982, p.28). The element of systematic use and of repetition and feels very much the opportunity to recognize and identify an act or action as a terroristic (Bosi, 2000, p. 45).

In this spirit moves the definition of Thomas Badey for international terrorism, according to him, it is “the repeated use of violence with political motivation, aimed at devaluing of a state ,uses non-state players and affect more than one state” (Badey, 1998, p. 62). The notion of repeated violence in conjunction with the concept of political motive takes us away from the characteristic of the random and unnecessary use of force and leads us to the approach of the phenomenon of terrorism as “use of violence for political purposes”. Many academics are approaching the identification of terrorism in political violence. A useful definition of terrorism is the one who gave Johan Galtung, who started from the classical definition of Clausewitz for war as the “continuation of politics by other means”, so he defined in the same way terrorism as the “continuation of violence by other means”. This definition is particularly useful because it explicitly assumes that political violence, whether emanating from the elite who control a socio-economic system; either begins “from below”, usually in response to the first. It's always a circle and it is inconceivable the separation of a form of violence from the other one (Galtung, 1988, p.17). The members of the Terrorist Organization November 17 were not satisfied with the political system in Greece. They wanted to change it through their terrorist actions waiting for the public opinion to support them.

The above phenomenon constitutes an integral part of social coexistence and non-democratic organization of society. Namely organization of society based on institutions which instead of aiming to ensure equal distribution of power in all its forms between the citizens, aim to reproduce of a standard asymmetric distribution of power / authority that has historically established from some privileged social groups. Under these conditions, some “social groups tend to react violently as they excluded from the privileges, the authority and also the power that they consider allocated to it in” (“My translation”, Mavrogenis, 2008, p. 33).

Wilkinson argues that terror is a highly subjective experience and everyone has different limits and reasons for feeling frightened of certain experiences and

images. One definition of terror is the unintended or derived by - product of other events that are beyond our power to predict or to control (Wilkinson, 1986, p. 14). Another form of theoretical approach that is proposed by Bosi is the one that distinguishes three types of contents: “terrorism as a crime, terrorism as a political conflict and terrorism as a simple or a random violence” (“My translation”, Bosi, 2000, p. 23). As Bosi mentions, scholars argue that terrorism is equated with the crime and constitutes the set of operations that involve violence or use of acts that cause terror and have as a result the death, the damage or the destruction of property. Terrorism as a political conflict is recognized by several academics without managing to make it a main and a final definition since it includes political revolutions, uprisings, military dictatorships which, although involving the use of violence do not constitute terrorism. The third type of approach is that of terrorism as random use of violence which is defined as “a random use of violence against the population of a country in order to exercise influence over political developments” (“My translation”, Bosi, 2000, p. 48). This view, always in the same, should not be considered completely accurate as far as it does not take into account the whole range of potential terrorist acts, for example, the attacks on facilities with specific political and ideological motives (Bosi, 2000, p. 48).

Considering all the above and given the lack of a single methodological background, it is not surprising the fact that there has not been even accepted a definition in the context of an institutional text adopted from a wide-ranging international organization this would give it the necessary formality and authenticity. Beyond the failed attempts that are made under the Convention of the Society of Nations to prevent and combat terrorism, which never entered into force, it has never again been attempted to imprinting a general definition of terrorism.

Terrorism although is an important term in the vocabulary of the policy was not possible to determined by a commonly accepted definition. Alex P. Smith (2005, p. 11) reports that “many academic fields have shed so much ink as the acts of terrorists have shed so much blood, but still there is no consensus definition of

terrorism” (Smith, 2005, p. 11). Furthermore, there is a characteristic expression: “A terrorist for somebody is a freedom fighter for someone else” (Nacos, 2010, p. 19).

Even though there is no agreement upon detailed definition of terrorism, as its character or type of operation, most experts agree that the ghost of fear is important to the determination of that phenomenon. Additional characteristics of the terrorist groups are heartlessness, disregard for established humanitarian values and a limitless quest for publicity through the mass media. The most common methods that are used by terrorists to achieve their goals are hijacking, hostage taking, bombings, assassinations and mass murders. However, terrorism is not only politically motivated. Common criminals might use terrorist attacks such as revenge, just to succeed in their malicious goals.

Historically, terrorism as a political and social phenomenon has been one of the most serious types of organized crime and is a sore that affects almost all countries of the world in a direct or indirect way and today has taken a global dimension. Terrorism is the use or attempted use of violence and terror to enforce alleged political or religious purposes. From the perspective of law enforcement, terrorism is divided into 3 categories:

- Ideological
- Nationalist
- National Fanaticism

Of course, there are many subdivisions of terrorism as there are phenomena of terrorism in an individual level or in a civil disobedience level (e.g. left-wing ideology, right-wing Terrorism, State Terrorism, Islamic Terrorism). Depending on the motivations and purposes of the above forms of terrorism and the combat terrorist organizations are classified such as:

- Nationalist Organizations (which included the separatist organizations)
- Ideological Organizations
- Religious Organizations

As we will see below, the members of 17N considered their organization as a revolutionary and not as a terrorist one which is closer to the second form (ideological organization). Even after their arrest, some of the members considered themselves as political prisoners and not as common criminals.

Terrorists believe that they act according to a higher revolutionary morality that justifies all their actions, even actions that are essentially not much different from the actions of common criminals. They pay no attention to the generally accepted humanitarian principles and values and with much defiance and pride; they place themselves above and outside moral law. As concerns written law, they believe it to be a creation of the ruling class, an “international conspiracy” against their rights, their country and their interests in general.

Depending on the field of action, terrorism is distinguished in international terrorism (or foreign) and domestic, internal or local terrorism. *International terrorism* is terrorism that extends to the wider international arena, even though the organization's headquarters which represent and act is in a given space. *Internal terrorism* is terrorism which acts based on the boundaries of a particular state. In most cases the internal terrorist organizations work together. 17N was an internal terrorist organization which is believed that the members of 17N worked together in some attacks with the members of ELA. ELA was the second biggest domestic terrorist organization in Greece and it existed before 17 November.

The terrorists use violence against persons or things and they seek to hurt their opponent, but also to propagate their beliefs, claiming violence to achieve their goals. Terrorists are specially trained, fanatical, decisive, ruthless, merciless, committed to the cause and they do not care either for their own lives. Their unique aim is the success of their mission and the challenge of fear. They are organized and they operate very well.

Left provisioning terrorism differs significantly from all other types of terrorism. It does not ever use indiscriminate violence. This type of terrorists choose their targets either by the political or the economic or the military establishment and

sometimes journalists have become targets. Thus, terrorists believe that if they neutralize the important persons of the system, it would be dissolved and eventually would become weak. It cares with extremely careful way to eliminate or minimize the risks for the ordinary citizens and makes that because terrorists are interested in public opinion of the country, which “they do not want to frighten, but to awaken in order to participate in the effort to overthrow the system” (“My translation”, Pappas, 2002, p.47).

The above characteristics of modern, left provisioning terrorists groups are applicable to the case of November 17, the revolutionary organization that embattled Greek society.

2.2 The power of Media

Over the last two decades, the influence of the mass media has grown enormously. “People from all over the world are now able to collect information about all kinds of issues from a wide variety of sources, including television, the internet and newspapers” (Camphuijsen and Vissers, 2012, p. 15). Modern media play an important role in modern society. We are in a period, that we are experiencing the rapid development of technology, immediate information and processing procedure of the media. The media, with great possibility to combine audio and picture, ensure the technological bridging of information with the understanding. Thus, it has been created an open “learning environment”, which depending on the supplied knowledge influences positively or negatively the society. The media are nowadays almost exclusive sources of information on the happenings in the world. A research has shown that the way in which the media determine the theme of the information projects on the public space orients the way in which people think about these. As Chadwick discusses in the context of

the Internet: “political knowledge is discursive, contingent on circumstances and not least, changeable: It emerges via interaction with others” (Chadwick, 2006, p. 54). Another important feature in today’s world is that information can be manifested in many ways and the forms of appropriation – translating information into knowledge – are evolving, especially among the young, in keeping with cultural and media changes. “New media technologies can promote new modalities of thought and expression, new ways of knowing” (Dahlgren, 2009, p.110). Dahlgren believes that the media are able to spread a more broad knowledge than some years ago and he argues that “looking at late modern democracies more generally, the media spread knowledge, albeit very selectively and at times in woefully inadequate ways. They also contribute to new forms of knowledge, new ways of understanding oneself and the world” (Dahlgren, 2009, p.112).

Concerning 17N, the media played a serious role between the politicians and the civilians and Dahlgren states that “the media can mobilize an array of identities and offer various kinds of engagement and community that can become quite strong, yet such identities often do not – at least explicitly – have much to do with politics”. (Dahlgren, 2009, p.125). The Greek government, during the whole period of the 17N members’ arrest, carried more for the elections and the influence that might have the operation to the public opinion. The country was in a difficult period of time (concerning terrorism) due to the Olympic Games and everything that the political parties did was influencing the citizens. The media tried to demystify the terrorist organization and the same time supporting the efforts of the government.

A discussion regarding the power of the media, in connection to terrorism, political parties and democracy, is relevant in this research, in order to understand the underlying systemic power dynamics. The media are routinely assumed of having power, however the strength and direction of that power is the subject of debate. “While, the media have power over public and corporate perception and can bring about changes by providing opportunities, at the same time, it is

possible of getting caught up in media power flows that are harmful” (Corner, 2011, p.15). Concerning the power of the media, Corner argues that: “Even if the primary evidence of media power is present in given economic circumstances or in institutional scale and prominence, the final consequences, and then the arguments about these, may largely turn on the impact of such arrangements upon the terms of individual perception, knowledge and feeling and the conditions for behavior which these provide. In that sense, the arguments are about symbolic and cultural aspects of power”. Corner writes about the influence that the media have and the way that they can modify the political power. He states that: “media can be used as a channel that modifies political and economical power, into cultural power, since they have a form of “soft” power than can encourage perceptions, generate feelings and provide information about society” (Corner, 2011, p. 14 – 15). This trait of the media is why the news frame analysis is important, in order to understand the kind of conceptions that media encouraged about the terrorist (revolutionary) organization 17 November.

The importance of media to the power relations in society is growing since an increasing number of subject areas and types of players in society are related to politics because they are subject to political argumentation or because the players themselves use political argumentation in relation to the media. A wide range of areas in the everyday lives of citizens are examples of that. Research conducted thus indicates that media is extending its power to put items on the agenda as well as to influence the communication of such items, including who are to be considered political players.

In Corner’s book (2011, p.16), there is a broad reference in what Lukes (2005, p. 23) believes concerning power. According to Lukes (2005, p. 23) “there are three “dimensions of power”. The first was the dimension of formal (and “official”) decision - making and the social actors identifiably involved in this. The second was the less definable routes and processes of agenda-setting, by which certain issues attained public visibility and were given prominence within a ranking, or were perhaps marginalized or excluded altogether, without this being made fully

explicit and accountable. The third was the power through almost entirely unacknowledged modes of domination, in which a strongly hegemonic relationship produced deep levels of compliance through intensive socialization” (Corner, 2011, p.16).

The growing importance of media to exercise power in society is also related to media development in itself which tends to increasingly involve the media users through interactive, participatory and mobile media types. The power of the media has to be researched systemically, by taking into consideration their relationship with 15 other sources of power, such as elite interests. The relationship of media and systemic power is important to understand better the role between the political parties and the media during the period of the 17N and Corner argues that: “There are very good reasons, historical, political and sociological, for seeing media institutions and processes as exercising their powers systemically, that is to say within the terms of a broader pattern of determining relationships with other sources of power, the vested and often elite interests of which they routinely serve to maintain, whatever the localized tensions and questioning that might also occur”. (Corner, 2011, p.19).

According to Corner “media power has a substantial manipulative and that it necessarily involves a persuasive force (advertising is a paradigm example) seeking to bypass individual rationality and thereby aiming to “impose” its meanings upon readerships and audiences, rather than to provide a social and individual resource for them to use”. (Corner, 2011, p. 37). In Greece, the arrest of the 17N members was extremely important news and those days most of the people were watching all the procedures of the arrests and they were influenced (as we will see below in the interviews) since nobody wanted to do anything else than watching the news.

2.3 Media and Democracy

The power of the media is not only to entertain, to influence and to inform. Many times trying to make good in today's society, the media create a protective shield for democracy. This energy is created by journalists who consistently perform their profession and pursue objective information. The correct information is when journalists themselves simply inform without empathy and without trying to impose their views. They simply transform the facts in their true dimensions without excesses. Under this context they make the citizens to have a more objective opinion and simultaneously to develop their social consciousness. Only then “the impact of the media is beneficial and positive to everyone with objective results” (“My translation”, Mavrogenis, 1999, p. 81).

The power of media according to which they exert pressure on the political parties when attend meetings of the Parliament, it contributes to the protection of the democratic system. In this way those in power are beyond reproach and they care to apologize to the people, something that is one of their most important moves. Any act must be made known to the public with the necessary explanations. But there is another way by which the media engaged in protecting democracy. The media facilitate the pluralism of the expression of political opinion from the political staff, interest groups, and citizens in general. The public dialogue allows the review of government decisions. Thus, through correct and objective information from the media the democracy is protected. The effective presence the media in the sittings of Parliament and the expression of the people through these are the best ways to preserve democracy (Mavrogenis, 1999, p. 82).

As media, are meant all available means by which a large number of people can be informed about past and current events. The media are divided into:

- Asynchronous means: As it is the press and the internet, as their information is transmitted at different times for each distinct user.
- Modern means: As it is the radio and the television, as well as all users receive the information simultaneously.

“This that we narrated it actually happened. Nothing happened as we tell” (“My translation”, in Lyrintzis’ book). These accurate words of Goethe are particularly concerning the role of the media as intermediaries between reality and the individual. Projecting or omitting what is happening around us, the media are mechanisms of representation and presentation of reality in the person (Lyrintzis, 1989, p. 27). The media impact on the level of values, beliefs and ideas of the people, shape the knowledge and attitudes on a wide range of topics (e.g. society, politics, art, economy, entertainment, leisure, etc.). They are mechanisms of socialization and transmission of knowledge and values relevant to the school, church and family. It is not disputed by any researcher and scholar the important role of the media in shaping our social life as they are information channels, they provide educational material, and they cover and reorganize the culture (Mpourantas, Papaleksandri, 1998, p. 43).

The media play an important role in the creation of mass culture of our era. The cultural identities of social groups and classes have been redefined by the mass production and consumption of both materials and cultural products. The changes in the culture are caused by the rapid development of technology. Firstly the photo later the cinema and finally television and video created and set another language: the language of the image that has its own conventions, symbols and codes.

2.4 Terrorism and Media

Terrorism cannot express the content only in terms of intimidation and violence. Terrorism as a psychological action is communication that is directed to the public through symbolic, violent terrorist acts. In this sense, terrorism is understood in terms of propaganda. Violence aimed at changing behavior through coercion. The propaganda aimed at the same through persuasion. Terrorism is a combination of both (Schmid, De Graaf, 1982, p. 14).

Terrorists want through their own actions to focus public attention on the issues they consider important and to assert their own posts, their own arguments. Also, an important role in recruiting new members is viewing of their propaganda through the visibility of their actions. Brian Jenkins since the mid - 1970s mentions that “terrorism is a theater” and terrorist acts are often carefully choreographed to attract media attention (Hoffman, 2006, p. 174). The most important way they try to achieve this attention is the threat or the implementation of spectacular acts of violence (bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, hostage taking, etc.) with which they try to provoke the attention and viewing of media. Therefore, they seek to enter the theme of media (media agenda) and through this to entrain the public subjects (public agenda) and political themes (policy agenda) conquering finally the agenda. In this sense these acts are a type of political communication outside from the established procedures (McNair, 2008, p. 262). For their part the media cover the acts of terrorism not only because they constitute news but also because - unless all other factors - the public response to such actions leads to high viewing numbers - sales. Such actions include drama, shock, danger, suspense, surprise and thus present a great opportunity for extensive visibility since they include all the elements that tie the audience in front of their television screens. Eventually, the high viewing figures and the increased sales of forms leading to an increased commercial revenues media companies since they are directly connected with advertisements. And as Dahlgren says: “The media, both the traditional mass media and the newer interactive media, impact directly and routinely on the character of civic cultures via their form, content, specific logics, and modes of use” (Dahlgren, 2013, p. 101).

Undeniably, it has been shown that terrorist acts and the subsequent public visibility through the media can influence the internal politics of state and thus their electoral processes. In the political consequences of a terrorist act in election processes are putting the issues of public security and the threat of terrorism on the agenda as well as becoming the central issue of the election campaign,

something that happened in the presidential elections in the U.S. in 2004 (Oates, Kaid & Berry, 2009, p. 65). Furthermore, in this category they belong the alteration or the subversion of election results as has happened in general elections in Spain in 2004 (Associated Press, 2004).

In particular, it is now commonplace, the coverage of a terrorist attack by the media is the primary objective of the terrorists. The terrorists in the modern era have a relationship of dependence on technological possibilities offered by the media and primarily the television (Nacos, 2007, p. 15). Most of terrorists seem to count on the impact of their actions significantly and especially the chance to gain media attention. The huge and continuously increasing impact as the spread of terrorist acts is due almost throughout most extent to the development of media, particularly in the television picture (Nacos, 2007, p. 15 - 16). Freedman and Thussu state that: "For the majority of people who are not directly subject to its violence or intimidation, terrorism have to be 'made to mean' and the media are crucial ideological vehicles in systematizing and organizing disparate 'acts of terror'. Indeed, media are not simply external actors passively bringing the news of terrorist incidents to global audiences but are increasingly seen as active agents in the actual conceptualization of terrorist events" (Freedman & Thussu, 2012). Furthermore, the reverberations and aftershocks after a terrorist attack continue to impact international relations, domestic policy and public opinion (Norris, Kern, Just, 2003). With the assassination of Steven Saunders, on June 2000, the relations between Greece and Great Britain passed a tough test. The media scaremongering after the murder and the British were looking for answers that nobody could give. At the same time, the climate in Greek politics was bad as elections approached and parties were trying in every way to attract voters.

Camphuijsen and Vissers argue that: "The goal of terrorist groups is not to hurt as many people as possible, but to influence public opinion regarding the legitimacy of their causes. To do this, they need the media to report both their needs and their political messages". (Camphuijsen & Vissers, 2012, p. 52).

One reason that terrorists use the tactics they do is to get publicity and thereby get their message across. Schmid and De Graaf argue that: “An act of terrorism is in reality an act of communication. For the terrorist, the message matters, not the victim”. (Schmid, De Graaf, 1982, p. 24). One reason that terrorists use the tactics they do is to get publicity and thereby get their message across. However, in addition to providing them with a megaphone to the world, the publicity actually encourages further terrorist acts and also serves as a recruiting tool for more terrorists - whether foreign or homegrown. In other words, by shining a constant spotlight on these acts of terror, the media actually serve to spawn the system of terror. Laqueur points out: “Terrorists have always recognized the importance of manipulating the media.” Indeed, terrorists the world over have mastered the art of marketing themselves to a sensationalism - driven media, and the media lap it up (Laqueur, 1999, p. 65). Exactly this happened to the 17N terrorists who sent all their proclamations (their manifestos) in newspapers to publicize that they are responsible for the death of each victim. So they acquired more power while the police could not find them anywhere. Despite almost three decades of terrorist attacks, Greek authorities were unable to arrest even a single terrorist. Furthermore, they were unable to obtain confirmed fingerprints of members of either group or to attain blood samples, strands of hair, or scraps of clothing. Not a single item of forensic evidence existed that could bring the terrorists closer to being arrested.

When the terrorists, therefore, attack or threaten to engage in violent acts, they seek through the media to achieve some very specific goals, such as:

- The attention and disruption of the mass audience both in the country - aimed, as though outside of this country designed to intimidate and spread terror. The spread of fear and the challenge of terror, after a terrorist attack, are of central importance to the terrorists and the continuous transmission of images of violent terrorist attacks serves this particularly purpose. This is the reason that the 17N members were attacking to specific and important persons. They did not want to threaten the citizens

but with their actions, they were seeking to threaten the whole political system such as the Ministers and the Congressmen.

- The connection of victim with the message they want to pass and the recognition of their motivations. As already mentioned, in modern terrorism, the target is symbolic. For this reason, terrorists expect that the terrorist attack will not only be known by the media but also it will cause extensive discussions and debate on emissions of the media, both the causes and motives, as well as for the selection of the victim. The 17N members were selecting their victims very carefully and they wanted to send a message mainly to the politicians and to the foreign secret agencies. 17N is supposed to be a revolutionary organization (its members wanted this definition) and their victims were highly important for their cause. The message was that nobody could stop them (we will see below that neither the foreign secret services could find the 17N members) and their actions had both political and social impact.
- The mediation of the media to make the necessary negotiations and to fulfill their demands. The only demand that the 17N members had during the 27 years of their terrorist acts was to change the political system and not to be “subservient to foreign powers” (“My translation”, Mavrogenis, 2008, p. 19).

The interview of a terrorist from a valued representative of the media, a fact which gives to the terrorist a different prestige elevated level of respect and serves effectively the communicative goal of terrorists (Mavrogenis, 2008, p. 19). Furthermore, through the extensive coverage of terrorist activity and of the evolution of the terrorist attacks, the terrorists gain access to various kinds of information about the public reaction to the terrorist attacks (Schmid, De Graaf, 1982, p. 26).

Dahlgren supports that: “The mass media contributed to the reconfiguration of private and public space and as we continue with the interactive electronic media, we see an intensification of the sense of being co present with others who are physically removed, contributing to the growth of “despatialized simultaneity”,

where the experience of a shared now is uncoupled from the imperatives of physical proximity” (Dahlgren, 2009, p. 115).

2.4.1 Terrorists use the media

The motives and the goals of the various terrorist groups occupy a very wide range. It is possible to start from the effort of deconstruction of institutions of a state and end up to the religious fundamentalism. Or they may even express with secessionist or liberation actions until the reunification effort of divided country. They can also be associated with more concretized issues, such as the prohibition of abortion, environmental concerns and animal rights or lobbying for the adoption or abolition of a legal text.

But despite the fact that both major ideological differences and short-term or long-term goals, terrorists have one thing in common: their actions are not random and “irrational”. “Every act seeks maximum publicity and additionally intends to the intimidation and subordination to achieve the goals” (Hoffman, 2006, p. 173). According to McNair the tactics of horror - the “terro” as mentions - include bombings, murders, kidnappings and hostage-taking, actions that are most often designed to highlight messages of various kinds. Indeed, notes that “in this sense, constitutes a type of political communication that carried out from the established procedures” (McNair, 2008, p. 262). The former Prime Minister of Great Britain Margaret Thatcher in a public speech said “publicity is the oxygen of terrorism” (Wilkinson, 2011, p. 150). This is something that the terrorists over time show that they fully understand and they act accordingly.

As the recent terrorist attack at the Boston Marathon shows, the way for terrorists to broadcast their message to the world is to get the attention of the world media. Today’s terrorists know that they have the media at their disposal - CNN, FOX and the rest, including their online counterparts, are all at their beck and call - because today’s media outlets have 24 hours of airtime to fill, and what’s more salacious than the murder and mayhem of terrorism?

A historical characteristic example of the effort spread their messages to a wider audience constitute the Assassins, one of Shiite Islam Sect which has acted in the Muslim world during the Crusades. They used the process of "from mouth to mouth" dissemination of their operations in mosques and markets with the ultimate aim of spreading fear (Wilkinson, 2011, p. 149). Even more typical example, however, constitute the Sicarii, an extremist sect that has acted during the war of the Jewish Zealots in Palestine two thousand years ago. This organization was attacking to the Roman conquerors (and their fellow-citizens who had different opinions from them) during religious festivals and in places with large crowds. In this way they sought that the large number of witnesses would spread their acts (Nacos, 2010, p. 253).

Similarly, modern terrorists progress to violent acts in order to disseminate their propaganda. Modern technology, however, have much better equipped them than their predecessors. Especially, realizing the predisposition of media to broadcast with tension, the acts of violence and especially those of terrorism, they organize highly shocking, dramatic and deadly actions. Furthermore, the development of technology has enabled them not to depend exclusively by the traditional media to promote their messages.

2.4.2 Objectives of terrorists through the influence of the media

Terrorist acts constitute news and the basic role of the media is to broadcast them. Of course, a major issue is the duration and the type of coverage that must be devoted to them. Many Government officials have occasionally sent a strong criticism of the media which gave step to terrorists to express their views. On the other hand, people of the media respond that it is their responsibility to present all the important aspects of news about terrorism cases.

However, apart from the general desire of terrorist organizations to publicity, Wilkinson (2011, p. 154) distinguishes four specific objectives:

- to transmit the "propaganda through the act" and to intimidate the public – target, the 17N members had targets only from public authorities (police) and from the political life in Greece. The meaning of their attacks were only to frighten the politicians and the foreign authorities,
- to mobilize wider support between the domestic and international public opinion, focusing on issues such as the "inevitable victory" and the "correctness of their views". None of their targets was accidental. They wanted through their acts to motivate the public opinion to react "in the political establishment",
- to prevent and disrupt the reaction of the government and security forces, such as putting forward the arguments that the anti-terrorist measures are inherently tyrannical and unproductive,
- To mobilize, to stimulate and to push their team and their potential supporters and the same time to proceed in recruiting new members, attracting new funds and planning new attacks.

Nacos (2010, p. 258) encodes the communication objectives of terrorists into three categories that are the pursuit of attention, the recognition and the gaining respect and legitimacy in certain circles, countries and regions. In each terrorist organization the individual goals may differ. In some cases someone may be more important than the other, while in some other organizations someone may not have any particular value. As a general rule, however, it can be stated that the terrorist acts try to increase the impact of these communication objectives regardless of whether they are also helping to the further achievement of short and long-term policy goals.

2.4.3 Gaining Attention

The attempt by terrorist organizations to attract attention is inextricably linked with the theory of media regarding the determination of the agenda (agenda setting). The definition of the agenda according to Dearing and Rogers (2005, p.

19 - 20) defined as “an ongoing competition between supporters of various public issues in order to attract the attention of media professionals, the public and political elite” (Dearing & Rogers, 2005, p. 19 - 20). It is used to explain why in a democracy it is given to the public information on certain issues and not for others. It also explains why certain issues, unlike other, resolved through the political action (Dearing & Rogers, 2005, p. 20).

Terrorists try to appear through the media as much as possible in order to make known to the public their existence, their methods and their goals. On the other hand, the fundamental role of a free press is to fully inform the public. Therefore, terrorists seeking entry into theme of media (media agenda) and through this to entrain the public subjects (public agenda) and political themes (policy agenda) conquering finally the agenda.

An important factor in the effort to accomplish this goal is to create fear in the public - target. In fact, it is the main contributor to the agenda of the terrorists and which may be seen in the entire range of terrorist activities. The strategy to attract attention is to intimidate the audience (either public target - either the government), so that even the threat of the potential to be a victim of a terrorist act to be enough to create fear and then affect the political process. Hoffman (2006, p. 174) states: "Only by spreading terror and attacking a wider audience allows terrorists to gain maximum leverage which they need to achieve fundamental political changes" (Hoffman, 2006, p. 174).

There are several examples which seem to confirm that the effort to attract the attention of an important aspect of the strategy of the terrorists. During the hijacking of the TWA aircraft company in 1985 by a Lebanese Shiite organization, members of which had graduated from American universities with degree in communications, met regularly at the home of the leader to determine communication strategies (Hoffman, 2006, p. 176). Also in 1972, during the Olympic Games in Munich, the Palestinian terrorist organization “Black September” organized the hostage of the athletes of the Israeli team, an action which ended in tragedy after the rescue attempt by German security forces. The terrorists had taken into account that many journalists had gathered there to cover

the games as well and that the attention of all the people of the world were paying attention there (Hoffman, 2006, p. 179).

2.4.4 The Aim of the Recognition

The second communication objective of the terrorists, the recognition, is explained not only by the theory of setting of the agenda (agenda setting) but also with that of framing. The method of framing deals with how the various social and political actors act and interact to produce organized ways of understanding of the events and of the world. In Kenterelidou's book (Greek book), Entman (1993) states that "the way in which a news topic will be framed can define the way that the public will notice, will understand and will remember the news event, and how to evaluate and act concerning that" ("My translation", Kenterelidou, 2009, p.24).

Therefore the terrorists do not only want to be known to the general public but also to transmit their message. Sometimes this can happen simply by making a terrorist attack. The public wonders why some people wanted to commit it and then what are the incentives and what do the terrorists seek. A typical example is the cover of U.S. magazine Newsweek on October 15, 2001, one month after the attacks of September 11, in which the main headline was: "Why do they hate us?" The consequences of this strategy can be multiplied if the terrorists manage the mass media to frame these issues in a specific way. In some cases, the media may give a positive tinge to the causes of events by comparing them with those of other legalized actors so to give recognition to the terrorists.

Sometimes, terrorist organizations are forcing the mass media to broadcast their motivations so that the entire world to be informed for them. For example, in 1976 Croatian hijackers demanded and succeeded to reproduce the proclamation from the big newspapers in the U.S. such as New York Times and the Washington Post. In other cases the terrorists hold hostages, who forward their demands, sometimes persuaded, some other times after the use of violence and in other cases operating

under the influence of the Stockholm syndrome, i.e. of the trend the detainees to identify with their captors (Nacos, 2010, p 261).

However, in most cases, the media “voluntarily” transmit the relevant news. In fact in the case of the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 in 1985, were found numerous correspondents in Beirut to cover the event. As the days went by and there were no significant developments, journalists “were forced” to look or to create news to justify the expense and the stay of their co-partners there. This led - because of the lack of news - in broadcasting of the incentives and demands of terrorists but also in creating change (by viewing the relatives of hostages, etc.) for the safe return of the hostages at any cost (Hoffman, 2006, p 174-177).

2.4.5 The “projection steps” of the terrorists

We can distinguish three stages of projection of the terrorists by the media. The first and the simplest is when an act of terrorism takes place and the media broadcast it. In this case the terrorists affect broadcasting of news by selecting the location, timing and the target of the attack; they cannot influence the framing of transmission from the journalists.

The second case is when they send their messages directly to the media. In this case, however, each media decides whether to forward or not the message, if it will broadcast the whole or part of this as well as the manner in which it will transmit it. This way was endearing tactic of 17N in Greece, sending of manifestoes to specific newspapers. 17N was acting in the same way during the 27 years of its actions. This was the only way of communication with the media and the citizens.

The third way of viewing terrorist messages is when terrorists have the full control. It is the case which a greater influence is exercised and can create and convey their message as they desire. Terrorists can reach this step when they are able to force the media to transmit the original message, as in the case of Croatian

hijackers, or publishing their own newspapers, creating television and radio stations and especially using the internet.

2.4.6 Media use the terrorists

Frequently it has been mentioned that the relationship between terrorists and the media is symbiotic (Farnen, 1990, p. 102). The term "symbiosis" in biology means the relationship that can be developed between dissimilar organisms from which they benefit both partners that in this case is called "symbiotic organism."

But what is journalism and what is expressed by the media? A definition that is given is: "Journalism is the collection of news and information and their dissemination through the media in order to inform citizens». The authorities (or the elements) of journalism according to Kovach and Rosenstiel (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2006) are:

- The first obligation of journalism is the truth,
- Journalism must be loyal to the citizens,
- the commitment at the intersection of the information,
- It should act as an independent auditor of power,
- It should provide a step of public review and consensus,
- It must strive to make the important fact in an interesting and relevant fact,
- It must present the news in a comprehensible and concise way,
- The journalists must have the right to act according to their conscience.

The public opinion must know the truth for any issue. If the journalist is loyal to his profession, he can gain the trust. He has to be loyal to his information and not to be waif of politicians. His or her independence ensures that the citizens and all the politicians will trust him presenting the news as better as he can.

In addition, a definition for the media according to McQuail is: "the massive communications comprise the institutions and techniques through which specialized groups use technological means (press, radio, films etc) to disseminate

symbolic content to a large, heterogeneous and widely dispersed audiences” (Karan, 2005, p. 98).

The companies of the media do not only serve the above purposes but mainly seek to increase their business revenues. The news which includes drama, shock, danger, suspense, surprise constitutes a great opportunity for extensive viewing, since they include all those elements that tie the audience in front of their television screens. Terrorist activities consist among other things of hijackings, assassinations, kidnappings, hostage-taking, arson, mass poisoning, torture, rape and bombings. In this case, it could be stated that “the mechanism of media and terrorists' cohabitation is “the thirst” of the media for this type of news; while on the other hand, the terrorists seek to spread their propaganda and to broaden their political purposes” (Oates, 2008, p. 136).

As the terrorists so the journalists need the public for their existence. Moreover, the audience share or sales is directly connected with the commercial revenues from advertisements and therefore the more television viewers watching a television channel or as a best-selling newspaper the more they will grow their revenues. Farnen says that “the basic purpose of the media is not what is listed as subtitle in the newspaper New York Times, that should be published all the news which are printed, but the purpose is to publish news which will achieve high readability” (Farnen , 1990, p. 107).

The role of the media - even the “classic” media like newspapers, radio and TV - has changed over the years and has become into a more accessible vent to view the messages of terrorists. Two important reasons that led to this mutation are the competition and the speed.

While the competition always existed as an important factor, in recent decades the number of electronic media increased significantly as a result to become much tougher. This led to the focus of the media attention to “exceptional news” since everyone want to be the first to broadcast their facts, in order to be sure that the audiences will watch their own TV channel and not another. Thus, while in the past the main competition among the media was whether and who had a news story, in today's era the key factor is who first had the news. It is assumed that if

after a terrorist attack there is video material, it will be broadcasted by television stations. However, the question is who will be the first broadcast, the sooner the better broadcast.

However, the problems that are currently encountered by the coverage of terrorist acts are different from previous years due to the appearance of international news networks. Even in the case in which for some reason news won't be broadcasted, there is also the internet. As Nacos states when in 2002 in Moscow Chechen separatists seized a theater holding hundreds of hostages and while the Russian government managed to mitigate the broadcasting of information from the local media, the public was fully informed thanks to the international TV networks and of course the internet (Nacos, 2010, p. 264).

It is therefore clear from the above that the media face a very difficult task to cover terrorist attacks. Realistically, they cannot ignore such events. In fact, under the viewpoint of the theory of liberal opinion, consumers expect the media information about the tragedy. But even in the perspective of the theory of social responsibility, which allows restricting news when they can destabilize or disrupt the population, terrorism cannot be ignored. The media will have to decide how much information they transmit concerning the victims, how to report an act without risking a rescue effort, which information shall not reveal because it would harm the investigation of principles and whether it should be mentioned speculations about possible future attacks without causing panic (Oates, 2008, p. 136). The editor of the newspaper Washington Post, Katharine Graham once said: "The publicity may be the oxygen for the terrorists. But I say that: the news is the lifeblood of liberty. If the terrorists succeed in depriving our freedom, their victory will be much greater than they would hope and much worse than we fear" (Nacos, 2010, p. 264).

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Strategy: Case Study

In order to better understanding the Terrorist Organization 17 November, it is important to rely on a solid methodology and a clear research design. Given that the organization is not only contemporary but it was existed for 27 years, I have decided to opt for a case study design. I chose to focus on my study only the days that the members of the terrorist organization were arrested. Yin (2003, p. 5) believes that there are three conditions which are important in the choice of a research design. The first condition is the type of the research questions posed, where Yin (2003, p. 6) mentions that “how” and “why” questions are more explanatory and likely to lead to the use of case studies, histories and experiments as the preferred research strategies. The second and the third condition are the extent of control that the researcher has over behavioral events and the degree of focus on contemporary events. Yin argues that “the case study is preferred in examining contemporary events, but when the relevant behaviors cannot be manipulated” (Yin, 2003, p. 7).

Based on these observations, the case study method is the most fitting, in order to develop a deeper understanding of the functioning of the Terrorist Organization 17N and its relations to theories of terrorism and media power. The research questions posed in the beginning of this paper have already set a goal of understanding “how” the media are framing 17N and therefore, the case study is suitable for this purpose. Furthermore, the other two characteristics of the case study make it the best fit in this case. First, the goal of this research is to understand how Greek newspapers have framed the terrorist group and how does this framing relate to political parties in Greece. Therefore there is no need for a researcher to have control over behavioral events. Bruce Berg (2009, p. 317)

defines the case study method as “a method involving systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions”. Given that the aim of the research is to understand how the Terrorist Group works, case study again appears to be the most suitable research method. More specifically, the embedded case study approach is best suited in this particular research.

Case studies offer a number of advantages to the researcher. Berg argues that “case studies can be flexible and regarding the scope of the research they can either have a broad focus on life and society or a more narrow approach to the unit of analysis” (Berg, 2009, p. 318). In the case of the 17N, a more broad scope has been selected, given the overarching nature of the organization that includes notions of societal and political life. Berg (2009, p. 318) explains the role of the case study method: “The researcher aims to uncover the manifest interaction of significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon, individual, community, or institution. But in addition, the researcher is able to capture various nuances, patterns, and more latent elements that other research approaches might overlook. The case study method tends to focus on holistic description and explanation”. Following this definition, the case study qualifies as a method for the study of the 17N Terrorist Organization that aims to understand political engagement with the organization and the role of the media and their framing of the organization.

The case study method has been criticized and researchers often opt for an experiment or survey type of investigation. Yin has identified three reasons for this, “namely the lack of a solid case study structure, that has led to sloppy or biased investigations, the lack of a basis for scientific generalization and the notion that case studies are too time consuming and result in massive, unreadable documents” (Yin, 2003, p. 10). Yin responds to these criticisms by putting forward the argument that bias is not an exclusive characteristic of case studies, but can also be encountered in other research studies. However, he argues that “the problems are not different, but in case study research, they may have been more frequently encountered and less frequently overcome” (Yin, 2003, p.10).

Berg (2009, p. 326 - 327) presents three design types of case studies, which can consist either of single or multiple case studies. These design types are “descriptive, exploratory and explanatory”. Since the 17N Terrorist Organization case aims to be a descriptive one, I will focus on the descriptive design type of a case study. Furthermore, Berg offers a definition of descriptive case studies: “Descriptive case studies require that the investigator present a descriptive theory, which establishes the overall framework for the investigator to follow throughout the study. What is implied by this approach is the formation and identification of a viable theoretical orientation before enunciating research questions” (Berg, 2009, p. 326).

The theoretical orientation of this paper has already been established in the theoretical framework section, with the main concepts of the paper being identified in the symbiotic relations between terrorism and the news part, in the power of the media part and in the media and Democracy part. Based on this theoretical framework this paper tries to understand the concept of news framing of terrorism within a globalized world and the importance of the media. Given that some of the aims of this research are to understand better the role of the media and their framing of the Terrorist Organization 17N, the main body of the data collection will come from two different newspapers from Greece, covering different parts of the political spectrum.

Two methods are used in my research analysis, named: the qualitative research doing news frame analysis from 99 articles from two different Greek newspapers and the interviews that I took from some expert persons that are very familiar with the Terrorist Organization November 17.

3.2 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research aims to explore in depth analysis of areas for which there is not enough knowledge. Responds to questions like "Why" and "How".

Methodologies applied in the case of qualitative research are the group discussions, the in-depth interviews and the methodologies through observation.

Influential elements that characterize qualitative methods are that they have a normal flow and largely are not directed by the investigator. Lincoln and Guba, also wrote in 1985 that qualitative methods are natural (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.23). The researcher thereby can “penetrate the personality of the subject and to understand the social influences that subjects have accepted” (“My translation”, Papageorgiou, 1998, p. 9 - 10).

The researcher that follows a qualitative method observes, conducts an interview, takes notes, describes and interprets the events exactly as they are. When the researcher is working on field studies, he is always active, because qualitative methods require making use of all those elements, which the researcher meets comments from those who associated with the object, which he notes, even the way the subjects sit or converse (Eisner, 1991, p. 217). He or she must record the events, but at the same time is confronted with him. He undertakes to combine with a sensible way the data, information and situations in order to reach a conclusion from what he observes. This happens through the way he perceives the presence of things and their importance. The researcher after he collects the data, he will try to interpret them (Eisner, 1991, p. 36), with the help of literature or collaboration with fellow scientists in order to obtain the best possible result. The sense of what is important and the context, in which it will be investigated, is subject to the capabilities of the researcher. Peshkin (1985, p.128) has likened the subjective elements of the researcher with a positive “explosion”. It is the researcher who will enliven the essential elements of the research and determines what to include in the results and what is not. However, it should be taken into account his subjectivity as a researcher, despite the efforts to an objective research.

Qualitative methods give the opportunity to the researcher to target what it means for the subjects the experience for which they speak, in other words, to deepen. What happens is a “thick” description (Geertz, 1973, p.17) from the perspective of researchers. Apart from the detailed analysis, qualitative methods record the

“voice” of the subject and its expressions (Eisner, 1991, p. 38). Through the interviews, the research will have voice giving a broader knowledge concerning 17N.

They are not described, however, only the subjects and their narratives in qualitative methods. Qualitative methods are largely affected by the culture-civilization of the researcher. The researcher is asked to interpret the data that have been collected and to bring out the final conclusions, using his representations.

What therefore has been weight to qualitative methods is the judgment of the researcher and those who would read the research (Eisner, 1991, p. 39). But always the results of an investigation constitute the starting point for a series of qualitative and quantitative methodological efforts, because the issues for study and analysis do not stop to exist and their results bring constant concerns to the researchers.

3.3 News Frame Analysis

3.3.1 Philosophical Underpinnings

The analysis of the data that are taken from newspapers will be conducted as a qualitative news frame analysis. Hallahan argues that framing is connected to “the underlying psychological processes that people use to examine information, to make judgments, and to draw inferences about the world around them” (Hallahan, 1999, p. 206). Schroder states that: “news framing is based on the constructivist approach to communication and the notion that words and signs have the power to create meaning and define social reality” (Schroder, 2012, p. 104). Hallahan offers the following explanation of constructivist thinking: “Human behavior is thought to result from how people interact and their use of symbols to create meaning. Constructionists contend that representations of objects or problems in

people's minds vary from the corresponding actual objects or conditions on which they are based. More important, constructionists contend that people act based on these perceptions” (Hallahan, 1999, p. 206).

Furthermore, Schroder believes that the battle for the construction of our shared reality is mainly played out on the media field, given that modern societies are “mediatized” (Schroder, 2012, p. 107). Schroder believes that “the media should be analyzed as artifacts and practices that reproduce and contest society”. Based on that premise, he tries to explain that the aim of research in the field should be “to critically examine the discursive frames through which the media construct authoritative versions of vital aspects of contemporary human existence” (Schroder, 2012, p. 108).

Based on these structures, it is important to research how the media have constructed the image of the Terrorist Organization 17N and how this framing interacted with political and social life in Greece. Furthermore, it is important to examine how the terrorist organization was framed in contrast to authoritative actors such as the Greek Police, the Greek Government and the Ministry of Public Order (which was responsible for the arrest of the 17N members).

3.3.2 Data Collection Method

After establishing the philosophical aspects behind news frame analysis, I will now focus on the method itself. According to Jensen: “The concept of a frame suggests that an item of information – whether arising from one's perception of the environment, from other people, or from media technologies – only makes sense once it is placed in a context of additional information” (Jensen, 2012, p. 164).

Frames are mental categories that are produced from the selection of some information. The interpretation of this information is both a product and a process of framing. Frame analysis is focused on the world – opinions that guide the actions of the audience. Therefore, Jensen believes that: “Frames are of special

interest for the understanding of how media and society are coupled in communication” (Jensen, 2012, p. 164).

Media framing research is focused on the ways that media guide audiences on questions of how to think about specific issues. Scheufele states that: “Framing is based on subtle nuances in wording and syntax and therefore [...] most likely [has] unintentional effects, or at least effects that are hard to predict and control by journalists” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 19). Following that description of framing, this research aims to examine how media and politics interact through the framing of the 17N Terrorist Organization. More specifically how the media framed the terrorist organization by producing and selecting certain news pieces and how those news pieces guide the audience in a certain way of perceiving 17N members. Furthermore, given that it has been argued that a lot of research regarding framing has ignored aspects of power and social interests (Carragee & Roefs 2004, p. 224), this research will approach the framing of the 17N Terrorist Organization, taking into consideration the various political and social factors that have an interest into getting their framing of the Terrorist Organization 17N through the media.

In order to examine the ways that Greek newspapers frame the Terrorist Organization 17N, I will use the three framing tasks identified by Benford and Snow in their work. More specifically, these framing tasks are referred to as “diagnostic framing”, which focuses on the identification of the problem, “prognostic framing”, which identifies solutions to the problem and “motivational framing”, which offers reasons for further engagement and collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 16).

The analysis of diagnostic frameworks will identify both thematic and episodic frameworks. Iyengar identifies episodic frameworks in news that depict social issues as limited to events only and not placed within a broader context. “The various broad interpretations of the same social issues constitute the thematic frameworks” (Iyengar, 1991, p.135, in De Vreese 2005, p. 56). Furthermore, Iyengar suggests that news organizations tend to prefer episodic framing, a practice that “simplifies complex issues to the level of anecdotal evidence”

(Iyengar 1991, p. 136 – 137, in De Vreese 2005, p. 56) and removes the context out of the understanding of public affairs and social issues.

The second framing task is prognostic framing and consists of the identification of a solution to the problem and a plan of action towards that solution (Benford & Snow, 2000, p.34). In this research, I have focused on recognizing whether solutions have been offered in the news pieces I analyzed and then explored if there were patterns on the solutions offered and on the actors seen as responsible for solving the problem.

The third framing task, motivational framing supplies a rationale behind engaging in collective action and the construction of a vocabulary of motive. I identified patterns on the direction of the motivation offered. An example of this type of framing is the reproduction by the news articles of the arrest of the 17N members during the summer of 2002.

3.3.3 Sampling

My research focuses on Greek newspapers framing of the 17N Terrorist Organization. I focused on Greek newspapers because 17N acted in Greece. I will try to include newspapers from various parts of the political spectrum, in order to cover as many angles and frames as possible. Listed below are the newspapers I have selected from each ideological orientation:

Kathimerini, Καθημερινή (Right Wing)

Rizospastis, Ριζοσπάστης (Left Wing)

I also planned to use another newspaper which is named Eleftherotypia, Ελευθεροτυπία (Centrist) but unfortunately and because of the financial crisis in Greece, the company (that this newspaper is belonged) declared bankruptcy and the archive disappeared.

The time scope of the research spans from late June 2002 to September 2002, since it was between these months that all the members of the terrorist organization were arrested. I chose this period because it was the most important

time for the media, for the politicians and for the terrorist organization. During these 27 years, a big myth was created and within three months, the myth was broken when we saw the people who were behind the terrorist organization.

The research has to be reliable and valid so the search which was deemed to be the most reliable in bringing forward the results was “November 17 AND the media”. Concerning the validity, these two newspapers are two of the biggest and most valid newspapers in Greece.

Searching for articles related to the 17N in Rizospastis, I deemed 52 articles to be relevant to the case for the time frame between 2002 - 06 - 27 to 2002 - 09 - 27. A search on Kathimerini for 17N arrest returned 47 articles that were deemed relevant to the research.

3.4 The Methods of the Interviews

3.4.1 Philosophical Underpinnings

The interview is one of the basic tools of qualitative method. It concerns the interaction, the communication between individuals, led by the researcher or the questioner in order to extract information related to the subject of research (Cohen and Manion, 1992, p. 307-308). In other words it is the process that has as its object to form a “mental content” (Mialaret, 1997, p. 148), to reveal aspects of personality and recognize behaviors. A key tool is the conversation that takes place between two or more persons.

Tuckman, defined the interviews as an option of “input” to what takes place in the mind of the subject (Tuckman, 1972, p.68). The interviews highlight the knowledge that the subject holds (information and knowledge), what he likes and dislikes (values and preferences) and especially what he thinks (opinions and perceptions).

One element that differentiates it from a simple discussion is that it is the main tool of investigation, an indirect way of collecting information regarding the perceptions and the "believes" of the people who are interviewed. A second element is that the dialogue takes place between people who are essentially strangers to each other and a third element is that the interviews are guided by the researcher at a great rate, element that of course depends on the type of the interview (Rubin and Rubin, 1995, p. 2). The choice of the researcher to follow interviews hides a very positive feature for him and for the part of the subject: encourage both sides that take part in the process to feel more connected to the debate, which is being conducted, fed by the views that are expressed.

3.4.2 Data Collection Method

After establishing the philosophical aspects behind interviews, I will now focus on the method itself. A first point is that a researcher must be presented as much a professional as he can be. He must have a basic knowledge in order to know the questions to which he will make, because the formulation of the questions is not an easy process (Bell, 1997, p. 145) and the way they will be put, holds a major role in whether and how it affects the subject. The questions primarily should be clear, to demonstrate what they actually search.

In order to examine the terrorist organization 17 November, I will have 5 different interviews from people who lived the whole period of the 17N's acts and through their own point of views, I will better understand the way that the media presented the organization and the role that politicians played creating the public opinion. I will present their answers and analyzing and combining them in one part, so to make my research more complete.

3.4.3 Sampling

Except the news frame analysis, my research will focus on the interviews from some people who know more details about the terrorist organization. I met all of them during my trip back to Greece and I had prepared 10 questions concerning the media and the political influence of 17N and I also asked them to tell me the role they played during the 17N's terrorist acts. I interviewed 5 persons who have dealt with this issue for several years. I had an interview with:

- Mr. Spiros Zachariou, former Director of Security in the American Embassy in Greece
- Mr. Tassos Pappas, journalist in Eleftherotypia newspaper, Director of Political Reportage, Author of a book concerning 17N.
- Mr. Ioannis Panousis, Congressman in the Greek Parliament, Journalist and former President of the Mass Media and Communication Department in Athens University.
- Mr. Dimitrios Alexopoulos, journalist, Professor of the Mass Media and Communication Department in Athens University.
- Mr. Michalis Chrisochoidis, former Minister of Public Order (he was in this position when the members of the 17N terrorist organization were arrested).

I chose to interview these people because they are experts to this topic and they know more details than the most of the people in Greece. Their opinions are very reliable and valid since they work on the topic of November 17 more than 20 years. All the questions can be found in the Section C of the Appendix. The answers that they gave to me helped me to make my research better and they let me have a more broad knowledge about the terrorist acts since 1975 (the year that 17N began the terrorist acts).

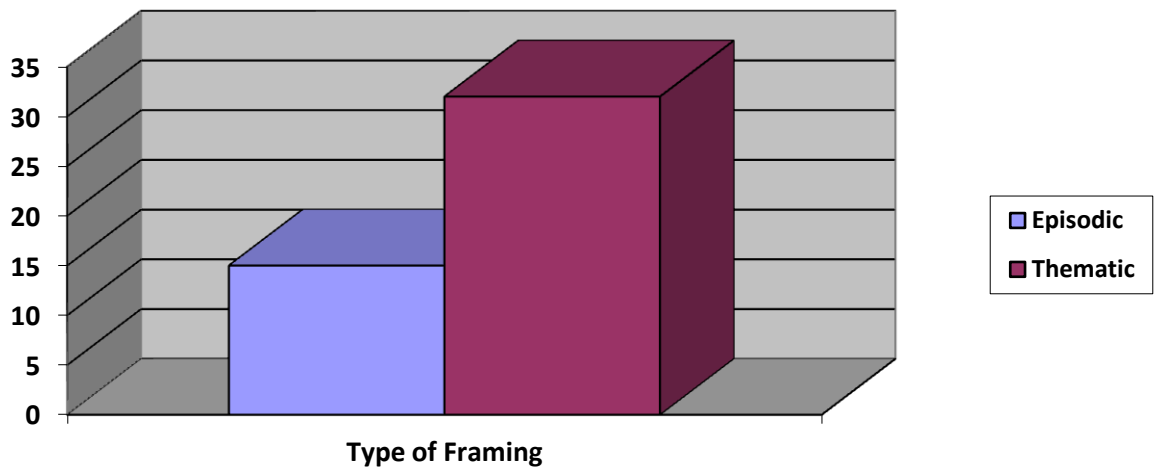
4. Results

Having established the theoretical framework of the research, the results of the news frame analysis conducted on Greek newspapers will now be presented. Kathimerini and Rizospastis have totally different ideologies and approaches to the subject that I examine so we can have a broader point of view for the research.

For more than 27 years it was considered as a ghost organization and the Greek authorities were unable to arrest the organization's members. The situation was changed after the last murdered in June 2000 of a British Officer. From this point and thereafter investigation was started from scrap by the Scotland Yard's Officers who came to Greece and started investigating all the cases from the beginning in order to synthesize all parts of the puzzle. They were supported by the Greek Police Officers and after a certain period of time the outcome of this effort was obvious as almost all members of the organization were arrested.

4.1 Kathimerini (Καθημερινή)

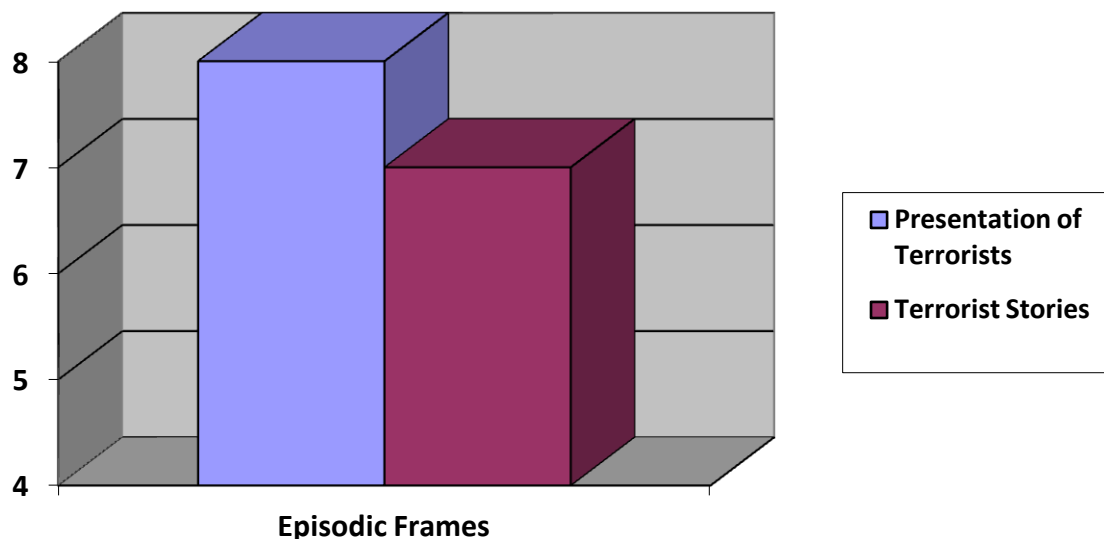
Kathimerini is a conservative center-right newspaper, owned by the Alafouzos Publishing Group which usually supports the conservative Nea Dimokratia party (center – right party). The newspaper framing focuses on the work of the political system and the government that have lead to the terrorists. It focuses more on the political aspect than on the terrorism itself. In fact, in a number of articles, that will be presented later, the newspaper is playing down the importance of the elections (due to the arrest of the 17N members) for the two big political parties (Nea Dimokratia & PASOK).



Graph 1: Episodic – Thematic Framing in Kathimerini 27/6/2002 – 8/9/2002

In this part of the paper I will be referring to the articles from the Section A of the Appendix. The left hand of the graph is the number of articles. In this newspaper there are 15 episodic framing articles and 32 thematic framing articles. Beginning with diagnostic elements, I have identified examples of thematic and episodic frameworks in this search result as well. The majority of episodic news stories is short and focuses on descriptions of the arrest, the filings of accused and the different types of people that are engaging with the Terrorist Organization. Other episodic framing is focusing on describing the way that the members were arrested by the police. Furthermore, in this newspaper we also find episodic framing that focuses on specific members of the organization. One notable article is focusing on a terrorist's wife and her role within the organization (article number 6 in the appendix, section A). Another article is focusing on describing the different jobs that a terrorist was doing before he got arrested by the police (Savvas Xiros) (so there is a broad presentation on his life by the media) and how he managed to be a terrorist beyond the other entire he was used to do in his everyday life (5). Further episodic diagnostic framing is focusing on the psychological reasons behind the Terrorist Organization. Notable articles with this

type of framing recognize the reasons for the terrorists that they were doing these acts (39) or/and the reason that a specific terrorist (Savvas Xiros) was the head of these terrorist acts (34).



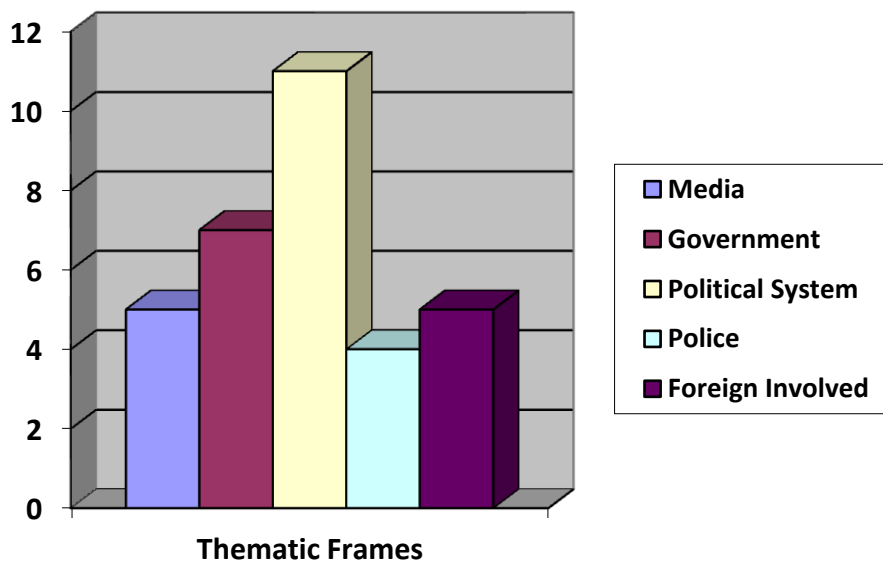
Graph 2: Episodic Frames in Kathimerini 27/6/2002 – 8/9/2002

Moving on to the thematic framing we can see that the presentation of terrorists was important for the Greek media. They wanted to present them as “a myth which collapsed after 27 years” (5). However, what should be emphasized on the presentation of 17N by the media is the great effort to give hasty answers for the character and the role of the organization in order to eliminate doubts of citizens who expected developments to form a comprehensive view, but also to forestall any terrorist support from some citizens. The government is also framed as it works hard on the arrest of all the 17N members in order to gain the favor of the citizens (4). The political system is framed as “tired” (9), “collapsing” (5) (from Savvas Xiros’ confession in the police) and the political leaders of the parties are framed as caring more for their supporters than the 17N victims (40). The police found from various hidden houses of terrorists, arms and bombs while the media in order to scare public opinion (and to retain as much as possible this myth) exaggerated in any reportage they did in the news (2).

As we will see in the interviews part, the foreign agencies played a major role during these 27 years of the 17N terrorist acts (1). Kathimerini was presenting several times the statements of the President of the USA that he was giving congratulations to the government (44) or the USA Ambassador saying that Greece has not ended with terrorism yet (43). Furthermore, the Minister of National Defense argues that there is connection between the foreign agencies and 17N (33).

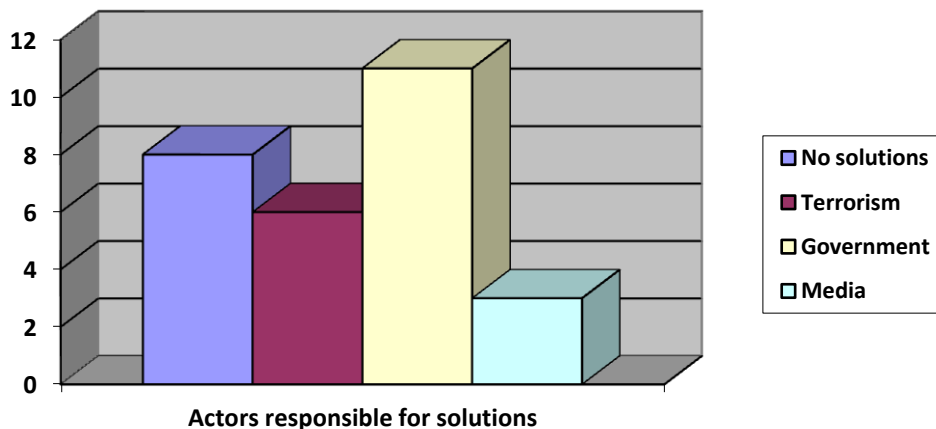
Concerning the political system generally, the two biggest political parties (PASOK and Nea Dimokratia) are interested in the elections (27 & 28) more than arresting the rest members of the terrorist organization 17N (17). On the other hand, the Communist party (KKE) supports this framing since their members say that there are political mechanisms behind the whole operation of arresting 17N members (16).

The arrest of the 17N members was mainly a political and media phenomenon which was rising during the operations of the police in the summer of 2002. They were trying to change the public opinion everyday with their statements and their presentations in the television channels that the same time, the arrested members of 17N were supporting that they are political prisoners and not criminals.



Graph 3: Thematic Frames in Kathimerini 27/6/2002 – 8/9/2002

Moving on to prognostic framing I have identified two types of frames. One includes solutions that are directly related with the terrorists’ acts and the other relates to solutions that are dependent on the actions of the government and the political system. To begin with the framing that examines the types of solutions the terrorist organization can offer Kathimerini views the 17N more as a conduit for the political system and the elections that they were coming that period than as a vehicle of changes of the way workaround terrorism in Greece. This becomes evident in articles that state that 17N is not the only terrorist organization in Greece (5) or that “we are not done with terrorism after 17N” (43). The terrorist organization is seen as able to influence political procedures only by “sending a message to the politicians behind the closed windows of the parliament” (34). Prognostic framing in Kathimerini views the government and the official political organizations as responsible for finding and executing solutions to the problems. More specifically the government is seen as having the options to either deal with terrorism for ever (42), to make democracy work better after the arrest of the 17N members (32) or to keep on thinking the elections and many ways that it will be in power for ever (27).



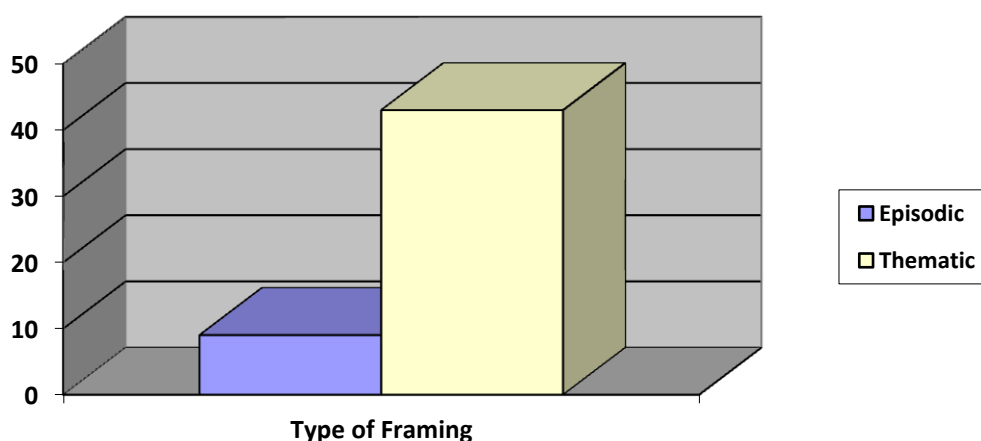
Graph 4: Prognostic Frames in Kathimerini 27/6/2002 – 8/9/2002

4.2 Rizospastis (Ριζοσπάστης)

In this part of the paper I will be referring to the articles from the Section B of the Appendix. In this newspaper there are 15 episodic framing articles and 32 thematic framing articles. To begin with diagnostic elements, I have identified examples of thematic and episodic frameworks in this search result as well.

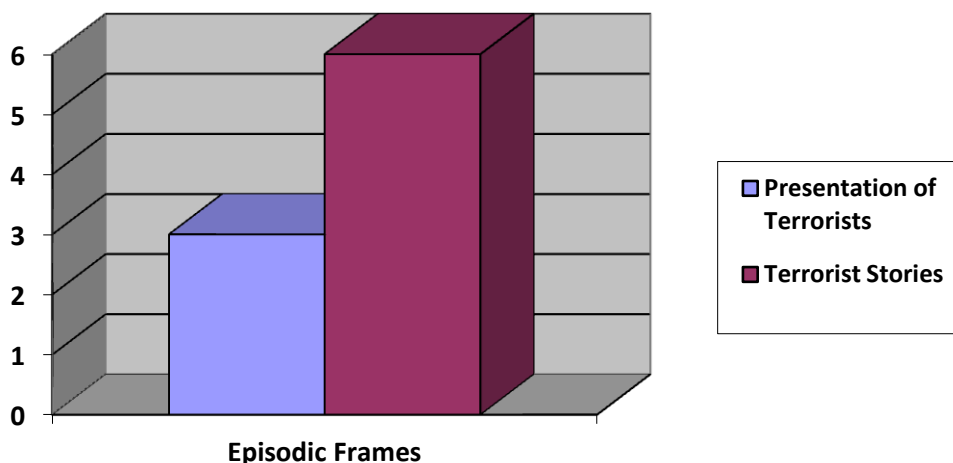
The Rizospastis Newspaper is published by Sigxroni Epoxi Publications (the translation is New Era Publications). It is a left communist newspaper which supports and is supported by the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). As we will see below, the authors focus more on the Greek police and on the Foreign Intelligence Services (such as CIA). They write a lot of articles for the two major Greek political parties (Nea Dimokratia & PASOK) and the problems they cause. Furthermore, many articles are against journalists and the way that the media present the 17N members arrest.

Beginning with the diagnostic task of framing, I identified both thematic and episodic framing. Out of the 52 articles that were used in this research, I identified nine that employed episodic framing. In articles with episodic framing, the reader is presented with articles that focus more on the arrests and the procedure of the arrests, or the way that the media presented these arrests.



Graph 5: Episodic – Thematic Framing in Rizospastis 27/6/2002 – 8/9/2002

Articles focusing on the actions of police when the 17N members were arrested report: “We began the witnesses testimonies and we hope that we will find more in our investigation” (article number 2 in the appendix, section B), or that “some of the terrorists don’t want to talk at all and they refuse everything” (3). Furthermore, episodic framing is being used on the articles that cover Savvas Xiros testimony. Savvas Xiros was the first terrorist who was arrested so the newspaper makes him the leading actor of the whole operation. During his testimony, he talked about a lot of other terrorists who weren’t arrested yet. Notable article describing another terrorist: “J. Serifis took part in a lot of terrorist acts” (8).

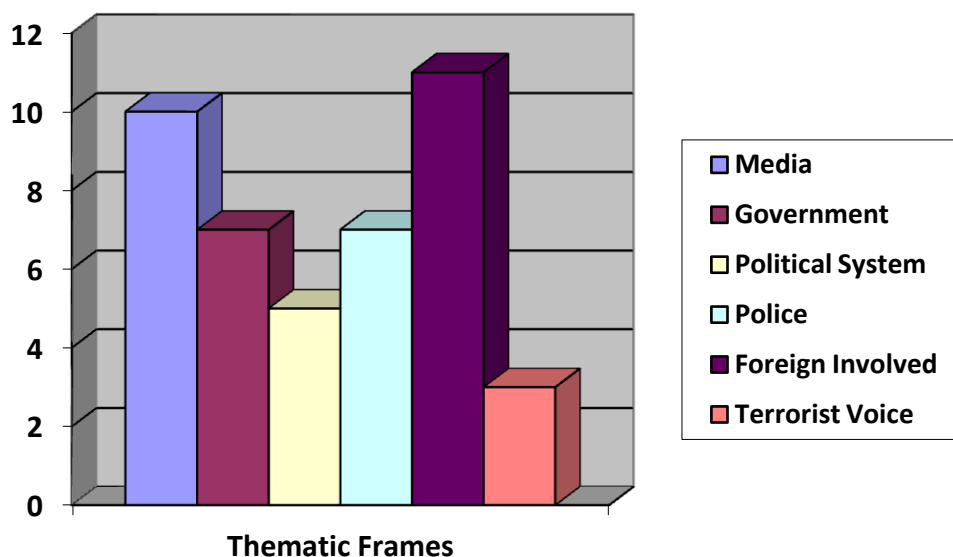


Graph 6: Episodic Frames in Rizospastis 27/6/2002 – 8/9/2002

Thematic diagnostic frameworks are a lot more frequent in Rizospastis during the specified date range. A number of different sources are identified as part of the problem that the 17N terrorist organization is addressing. Rizospastis has used the terrorists as actors to its articles, thus the terrorism’s framing of how the media have presented the 17N has been given a lot of space in the articles. Seven of the articles frame the social – Democratic government of what they expect to gain from the arrests and its failures during all these years that 17N was acting in

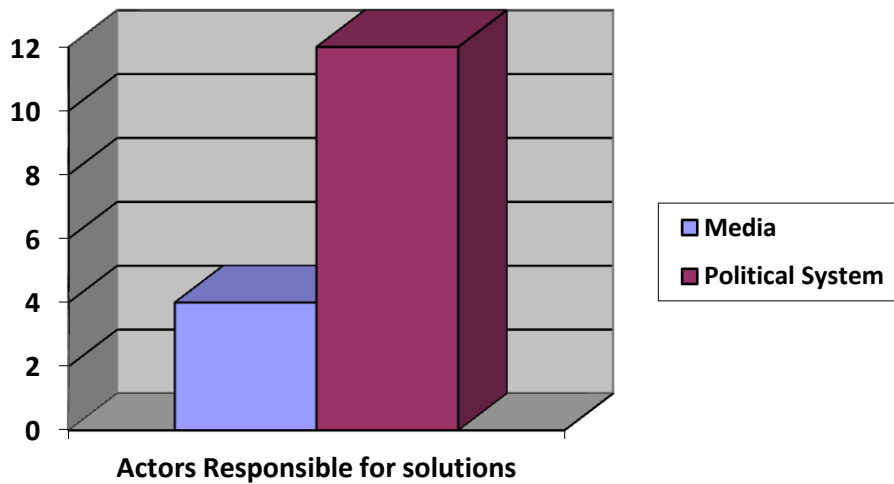
Greek soil. In these articles, the Government is appeared to want to win votes and confidence of public opinion (27). However, in 5 articles the Greek political system is framed as a whole to be the problem. In these articles, the current political system is framed as unable to give solutions and the only thing that the two major political parties care is to gain trust and confidence from the Greek citizens (10) (we cannot forget that two years later would be the Olympic Games in Athens). The newspaper is also referred to the left ideology through that situation of terrorism (28) as the solution of the political system in Greece.

Other parts of the problem that are framed in Rizospastis newspaper are the media and more specifically television channels that are viewed as covering the terrorists in a sensational manner. The newspaper talks about the journalists who are the real terrorists (24 & 40) because they misinform the people, they frighten them and they create more myths around 17N members (43). As it has been written above, Rizospastis is against the police and the Foreign Intelligence Agencies, thus there are many articles who talk about terrorism from CIA (4) and that the police build new and more isolated cells for the 17N members (11). There are some articles that are referred to G. Bush, the ex president of the USA (23) and the congratulations from the White House to the Greek Government due to the processes of the 17N members' arrest (45) with an ironic tone from the authors. Furthermore, there is a small amount of articles that are the terrorists' voice. When all the 17N members got arrested, Rizospastis gave voice to 4 of the terrorists that they are brothers, they are family (14). None of the other newspapers did the same that period of time.



Graph 7: Thematic Frames in Rizospastis 27/6/2002 – 8/9/2002

Regarding the solutions that are dependent on the government and its actions the government is urged to be more effective in three articles (26, 41, 42), whereas in another article (7) the government is called to listen to the public opinion. Furthermore, the newspaper supports that the solution will come when a left party will take the power (28) because it will give the opportunity to listen to the demands of every citizen facing more effectively the terrorism in future situations. An ironic tone is given when there are articles that the Foreign Intelligence Agencies are presented to give any solution for the problem of terrorism in Greece (4). Rizospastis believes that the media do not help the procedures of the arrest (40) and they mislead the authorities of doing their job (16, 17, 18 & 24).



Graph 8: Prognostic Frames in Rizospastis 27/6/2002 – 8/9/2002

4.3 Comparing the framing of the newspapers

In this part of the paper there will be a short comparative analysis between the findings of the newspapers. Beginning with episodic diagnostic framing, it is striking that Kathimerini and Rizospastis do not employ this framing so much. The number of articles with episodic frames are not equal to the ones with thematic. It is worth noting, that thematic framing was prevalent in both newspapers.

Moving on to thematic frames, Rizospastis differs from the other newspaper by employing a framing of the flaws of the Greek Government as part of the problem. This frame is also found in Kathimerini, in less frequency though.

Regarding prognostic framing, Kathimerini is the newspaper with the most framing of the terrorism as a possible actor in the solutions of the problems, as well as the government is whereas Rizospastis employs a frame that sees the terrorism as not being able to have any participation in the solutions. Furthermore, whenever Kathimerini is using framing that sees the terrorism as having a role in the solutions, the terrorism is usually framed merely as an instrument of political

pressure. In this way, Kathimerini is reducing the importance of terrorism and it frames it as a simple conduit of popular frustration.

Finally, we can see that Rizospastis gives a framing of the voice of the terrorists with 3 articles in the same time that in Kathimerini newspaper is totally absent. The foreign agencies and the police play a major role in the framing of Rizospastis. In Kathimerini this framing is almost equal concentrating more on the political influence.

To sum up, I would say that Kathimerini newspaper was mainly focused on the impact of the terrorist organization which was mainly exercised against the political system of the country and the organization was considered as a criminal one. On the other hand, Rizospastis was mainly focused and examined the organization as the one which was acted against the political system but was supported by the Foreign Intelligence Agencies.

4.4 Interviews

During my research I decided to interview some important persons who are familiar with the Terrorist Organization 17 November and through their work during the 27 years of 17N terrorist acts they are able to answer to the questions I asked to them. Due to these interviews, I got a broader knowledge about the Greek political system and the way that the media can create a myth and then destroy it in a few days like they did with the arrest of the 17N members. The question of the interviews can be found in the section C of the Appendix. As I have written above I had an interview with:

- Mr. Spiros Zachariou, former Director of Security in the American Embassy in Greece
- Mr. Tassos Pappas, journalist in Eleftherotypia newspaper, Director of Political Reportage, Author of a book concerning 17N.

- Mr. Ioannis Panousis, Congressman in the Greek Parliament, Journalist and former President of the Mass Media and Communication Department in Athens University.
- Mr. Dimitrios Alexopoulos, journalist, Professor of the Mass Media and Communication Department in Athens University.
- Mr. Michalis Chrisochoidis, former Minister of Public Order (he was in this position when the members of the 17N terrorist organization were arrested).

Beginning with the interviews, the first question was about presenting a little story from their perspective concerning the terrorist organization 17N. Mr. Spiros Zachariou and Mr. Giannis Panoussis decided to say about the reasons that led to the born of this terrorist organization. They believe that the climate of anti-Americanism (because of the dictatorship in Greece that period of time) led some people to create 17N and that behind of this creation was PASOK. Mr. Chrisochoidis denies the second part of this answer but he believes that “the anti – Americanism was the reason of all the terrorist organizations in Greece after 1975”. Mr. Tassos Pappas and Mr. Dimitris Alexopoulos give totally different answers focusing on the arrest of the 17N members. The two journalists were surprised with the terrorists’ position after their arrest. None of the terrorist admitted that was a member of this organization and Pappas states that: “They cooperated with law enforcement authorities, they gave details and generally did not behave as members of a revolutionary organization that had set purpose to overthrow the political system. Apparently, long time before their identification they had reconciled with the idea of their defeat”.

The political system of the country was strange. Governments often changed and the political parties were only interested in the votes of the people. After 7 years of dictatorship, the citizens first heard the word terrorism in 1975 with the murder of Richard Welch, the CIA agent in Athens. The first 10 years of 17N were marked by significant attacks and killings of the politicians of that era. The media had not heard again for terrorism and they were trying to inform the people with

the best way. According to Mr. Zachariou “the media reacted awkwardly the first decade. The presentation of the media was unclear, chaotic, originated from the Police Editors, who were taking the information “with the dropper” and they were broadcasting them as they wanted”. Mr. Alexopoulos says that “the media presented 17N with plenty of suspicions about who guides its actions”. Mr. Pappas agrees on that and he adds that “the media implicated the Foreign Intelligence Agencies such as Mossad, CIA and MIT”.

In my question if the media helped, supported or made the work of the police authorities difficult to identify and arrest the members of 17N, Mr. Panoussis does not believe that the media played so crucial role because “they were in the dark without any information or tipster”. On the other hand, the other 4 argue that “several media broadcast thoughtlessly whatever channeled the law enforcement authorities. They converted into “vaporetos” highlighting every time the options of the governments on the identity of the perpetrators”.

We can see that the media played a major role when I asked the way that the media presented the arrest of the 17N members. Mr Pappas says that “the media presented the arrest as a triumph of the concerted action of domestic and foreign intelligence services, especially the British who were involved in the case after the murder of Saunders”. The former Minister of Public Order, Mr Chrisochoidis states that “the media built a myth around 17N and when the terrorists got arrested, the media tried to shake down this myth presenting the 17N members as «next door people»”. Mr. Spiros Zachariou says that “the media expected the arrest because two years later, Greece would organize the Olympic Games and the country «was giving exams of terrorism» that period”. Mr. Alexopoulos focuses on some newspapers (like Kathimerini) saying that: “Some media, especially those who were sympathetic to the conservative party, expressed doubts about whether they had arrested all members of the organization and continue to argue even now twelve years after the dismantling of the organization”.

The Terrorist Organization 17 November influenced the Greek political system for more than 25 years. PASOK (National Socialistic Party) was in power for 20 years until all the 17N members got arrested. Based on several articles and

literature, the U.S. Agency insisted on linking 17N with PASOK. Why did they do this? What evidence has led them to this serious conclusion? The former Director of Security in the US Embassy in Athens, Mr. Spiros Zachariou insists that “there is no connection between PASOK and 17N whatever the American intelligence services believe. Nothing has been proven”. Mr. Pappas and Mr. Alexopoulos support this argument saying that “nobody had testified something like that from the foreign services”. Mr. Chrisochidis states that: “The U.S. government had been working with all governments of PASOK. It is another matter though what they had some officials in the back of their minds. It is also true that at various times, usually retired pensioners, Americans and Greeks, without having liability in what they were saying, they expressed many thoughts. What is important is that after 2002 no one dared to come forward with similar allegations”. Mr. Panoussis did not want to answer to this question.

In the book of Papahelas and Telloglou "17 - 17 November Folder" and specifically on page 145, Savvas Xiros states that: "All the information about the targets was derived either from observation and monitoring by the members of the organization or by the media." Staying in the second part of his petition, I asked what he means when he says that they were taking information from the media and which was the role of the media in this. Everybody gave me the same answer supporting that “this is wrong and in the media (especially in the press journalism), a lot of information is given to anyone and written and broadcast in a daily basis thousands of information on the effect of dignitaries factors of public life. Published information on wrongdoing or criminal omissions state officials are hereby denounced scandals. If anyone follows the news closely can easily gather information about him or the people he wants to hurt”.

As it has been written in other parts, the media built a big myth around the Terrorist Organization 17 November. They presented it as a “ghost – organization” that nobody can find it. Everybody agrees on the major role of the media during these 27 years but did the media finally helped in locating them? Mr. Pappas argues that “the first years a lot of people were happy with these terrorists’ acts because of the dictatorship”. Mr. Alexopoulos says: “Many people

believed that 17N did justice, that it made what it was unwilling or unable to make the Greek state. The myth that was created for the organization due to the fact that for many years acted with great efficiency and without loss. I do not think that society was terrified by the action of 17N". Mr. Panoussis and Mr. Chrisochoidis believe that "the society - according to the investigations of that season - was not afraid of the 17N because the objectives - victims had specific characteristics. Neither has ever been a rumor or evidence proving the support or concealing of ordinary people to the terrorists. The myth was "built" by itself and not by intellectuals or journalists".

5. Discussion

In this section, I will be discussing the research findings, through the theoretical framework of Corner's and Dahlgren's role of media I will be reviewing my research findings and generating a discussion about the role of media in democracy within a political system.

As it has been written in the theoretical framework, in order to meet the standards of democratic politics, the media must communicate to political events in their own way, so as to highlight the characteristics of each event that expose. Thus, public communication in a democracy must be adapted to the discreet logic of the political process which takes place the broader context of the society. The citizens can only obtain the relevant information from the media about the policies that concern them, whether the media reflect the political process in all its various dimensions and aspects. Although ever before the media does not occupy the whole of the public sphere, which contributes to this determination.

Concerning 17N, we saw that the media played a serious role between the politicians and the civilians and Dahlgren states that "the media can mobilize an array of identities and offer various kinds of engagement and community that can become quite strong, yet such identities often do not - at least explicitly - have much to do with politics" (Dahlgren, 2009, p.125). On the other hand, Corner states that: "media can be used as a channel that modifies political and economical power, into cultural power, since they have a form of "soft" power than can encourage perceptions, generate feelings and provide information about society" (Corner, 2011, p. 14 – 15). According to the results in my research, the media presented the arrest of the 17N members from their own point of political and editorial view. Kathimerini which is a right wing newspaper supporting mainly the Nea Dimokratia party, focused on the changes of the government that might

be done if something would be wrong with the whole operation during these (almost) 3 months. It focused more to the political influence that the arrest of the members caused. Rizospastis newspaper decided to analyze the problems of the political system generally than to focus on the arrest of the 17N members. Most of the articles attack to the government and to the authorities (domestic and foreign) and some mentions of the articles concerning the way the media present terrorism and terrify the citizens.

The news frame analysis conducted points to a number of different views and perspectives of the Terrorist Organization 17 November on Greek newspapers. Furthermore, there is a tendency for the press to focus framing the problem itself, rather than the solutions. More thematic frameworks, instead of episodic ones, were employed in both of the newspapers. Thematic frameworks lead to a deeper understanding of the issues and encourage the reader to think about them within a broader context, whereas episodic framing simplifies complex issues. This type of framing is important for the aspect of knowledge, since it provides deeper information to the public.

The public opinion was watching astonished the dislocation of Greek terrorism on a daily serial that lasted 70 days. After 27 years, the 17N acquired a face - or rather faces. It was the last big political story. Since then no other issue had no such duration - more than 40 consecutive front pages of newspapers. And any other issue not fascinated nor a minimum the public. In July and August 2002 holiday makers were asking to apartments to have televisions so not to lose the news arising even within the same day.

Saturday June 29, 2002 is a historic date. In the evening of that day a group of 17N tried to place a bomb at the counters of a shipping company. The organization did what the prosecution authorities wished for 27 years: the fatal mistake. The bomb exploded in the hands of a 17N member. Though this mail handler was injured, the bomb failed to reach its destination and this attack eventually led Greek police to the arrest of the first member of 17N, nearly 27 years since their first assassination of CIA Athens station chief, Richard Welch,

outside his house in Athens on December 23, 1975. For the first time the police was found in an advantageous position. The police kept alive a terrorist. The press and the public opinion faced initially with great caution the announcements from the Ministry of Public Order. To some extent justified. Repeated blunders, failures and unprofessionalism were preceded. Some people rushed to talk about new fiasco. But the advancements that followed were rapid and confirmed in the papers for several months reported that the law enforcement agencies worked systematically and had come close to the terrorists.

Within a month were arrested, confessed and imprisoned many members of the “phantom organization”, while identified almost all the 17N's arsenal. The shock that suffered by the Greek society was big. The media, which had an enormous responsibility for the mythologizing of the organization, assumed a new role. They went ahead in the operation of "dislocation" of 17N and of course their own dismantle. On the one hand the media were trying - with the assistance of political staff - to present the 17N as a gang who were bleeding it dry, as a spiral of common criminals with no political motivation, and on the other hand on a daily basis demanding new arrests to be filled with spectacle the television receivers. But because these arrests did not come, various types of suspects undertook to cover this gap. Former secret service agents, disused journalists, lawyers of questionable morality, and unsuccessful pursuers of terrorism and imaginative politicians of the margin they set up a ghastly “dance of revelations”, of incrimination and of leaks. All these gave the tone every night in the channels spreading confusion in the public opinion. The bombing was boisterous. With serious tone the "underworld" of information spread the most outrageous things. And let contradicted. The next day, with excess audacity, this "underworld" constructs new scenarios, the same vitriolic with the previous.

The media regarding the presentation of the 17 November "they set up" a well-organized communication game, with the ultimate goal of commercialization of the phenomenon of terrorism. At the same time other considerations were served, such as disorientation of the citizens from other burning issues of the timeliness,

strengthening the work of the government and the public institutions. On the occasion of the 17N, terrorism in Greece was presented for the first time as the greatest scourge of the century. It is no coincidence that most journalists of all the media did not hesitate to give the phenomenon of terrorism dimensions of a cinematographic film, horror project, which projected serialized in order not to reduce the interest. In this way, the phenomenon of terrorism was presented as "a summer spectacle that gave the opportunity to the electronic media to have cheap broadcasting time and to the journalists to be transformed to a new version of Sherlock Holmes" (from Mr. Panousis' interview).

Moving in these directions the media engaged in a struggle of humiliation without conditions and limits of 17N and its members, aiming primarily at discrediting the case of the Greek terrorism and shooting down a myth that was created (and maintained by the media) around this organization. Therefore, there was a study of newspaper that with a large dose of irony and without presenting of all the data, there was a systematic effort demystifying of the Greek terrorism, before the justice deciding for what finally is "Greek terrorism" and what is the role of the 17N during 27 years of its activity. What should be noted about the presentation of 17N by the media is the great effort to give hasty answers about the nature and the role of the organization in order to eliminate doubts of the society who expected the developments to form a comprehensive view, but also to forestall any terrorist support from some citizens.

The interviews gave a more specific point of view in the media presentation of terrorism. Summarizing, it should be noted "that the superficial way in which presented the phenomenon of terrorism in Greece helped to take dimensions of thriller, which even verged of the ridicule" (from Mr. Alexopoulos' interview). Mr Alexopoulos also states that: "The object is now the scandal and not the problem of terrorism. The challenge is the competition to increase the audience and the price on the market. A grid of illegal acts and mistakes: leaks, strategic defenses, police games, abolition of the ethics, loss of reason from the press etc. Correctness criterion is not recognized, not recognized criterion binding towards

the value of life, of respect for human existence and of dignity victimizers and victims. Everything is permitted.”

The massive society constitutes the basic skeleton of the network of social life because through this a society is able to acquire a common body of knowledge. The citizen is defenseless against the media but it is not obvious that he will use them rationally. Mr. Pappas believes that in Greek Media, the dramatization of the series of the terrorism took dimensions of “national holy war”. An evenly divided in several places relating to terrorism, public opinion swings between mythologizing and stereotypes. Mr. Panousis argues in the interview that: "We tend to split up in two: those who seek a" blind punishment "(as was blind the terrorist attacks of 17N) and to those who insist that the Democracy and Justice judge with the “eyes open”".

The fact that multiple crises did not lead to a major threat to the democratic institutions could be judged as a sign of democratic consolidation and a sign of a healthy democracy within Greek society. As the former Prime - Minister George Papandreou declared: “The fall of November 17 is a turning point. It symbolizes the deep-rooted democratic institutions of the country, how much this group became isolated from society and public opinion. After the civil war and the military junta, the willingness of Greeks to cooperate with security and intelligence forces shows a mature democracy” (Erlanger, 2002).

The acceptance of 17N in Greek society was, at least in the early 2000s, marginal and its popularity was limited, despite the occasional opposite speculation. Certainly on this particular subject are lacking time series from the 80s onwards that would make that determination more solid. After the dismantling and the trial of the members of 17N, the rumors have ceased to prevail in such an intense style by the media and the issue that was discussed so much in Greece for 27 years was supplanted. The public opinion clearly influenced by the scene created during this period, but it had to do with age, education level, and political beliefs of citizens. Greeks were divided and the above are factors concerning the attitude that they would keep.

6. Conclusion

According to Kassimeris: “the long story of Greek Terrorism was meant to have ended in the summer of 2002 with the collapse of the country’s premier terrorist organization and one of Europe’s longest – running gangs, the notorious 17 November group (17N)” (“My translation”, Kassimeris, 2013, p. 18). The way that the media presented the 17N members was unprecedented. Kassimeris continues saying that: “rather than demoralizing and emasculating the country’s armed struggle movement, the dismantling of 17N and the imprisonment of its members led to the emergence of new urban guerilla groups and an upsurge in and intensification of revolutionary violence” (“My translation”, Kassimeris, 2013, p. 18).

The motivation behind this thesis has been to understand the role of the media and the way of their presentation regarding an important issue such as the terrorism in Greece. The focus of the study is Greece and the particular case of the Terrorist Organization November 17 (17N), that grew and developed as an answer to the Greek Political System and the way that democracy succumbs to foreign forces.

Through theories of communication, journalism and power, I have attempted to understand how Greek newspapers affected the political system and the public opinion with the arrest of the 17N members through their framing of it.

The research questions that guided the thesis were the following:

- a. How did the newspapers Kathimerini and Rizospastis frame the Terrorist Organization November 17 during 27 June 2002 - 8 September 2002? This specific timeframe is because all the arrests took place that period of time.

- b. How have the Greek newspapers framed the Terrorist Organization November 17 and how does this framing relate to political parties in Greece?
- c. How are different media outlets presenting, influencing and perpetuating the “image of the terrorist”?
- d. How do some experts analyze the presentation of the media during that period?

These four questions address from different perspectives the issue of the political system in a country which suffered for 27 years from the Terrorist Organization November 17. The main purpose of this research is to understand the power of the press in guiding people's perceptions around terrorism and in manipulating the politicians. One of the main tools employed is news frame analysis, which is a method that helps to identify the various frames employed by the press and the effects they have on the construction of the image of the Terrorist Organization November 17. Another main tool is the interviews that gave voice to my research and helps to better understand the way that the media were presenting the 17N. During this research, I believe that I have been able to better understand the importance of the media in the political life and in the overall function of democracy, and I hope that it will be a useful and interesting insight on the research around the Terrorist Organization November 17.

Terrorism in Greece has survived for so many years not only because of the ineffectiveness of the law enforcement authorities and thankless competition of political parties, but also because they never formed a solid front against it. Terrorism bore operational because it has not been cowed ideologically. This fight should be given by the forces of society and politics, so they will be able to remove all pretexts that might serve in the future as a springboard for those who are attracted by the allure of adventure. Parliamentary democracy won a battle but not the war.

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8. Appendix

Section A - Kathimerini articles (47 articles) 27/6/2002 – 8/9/2002:

1. Snowe: I was not the target
2. The "tv panels» mislead
3. Terrorism, first topic in the "wells".
4. The conference ended before it even started.
5. Hagiographer, student, businessman, terrorist
6. Close to the organization his ex-wife.
7. And second house with plenty of weapons.
8. Constructive attitude of the Nea Dimokratia.
9. A message of mr. Simitis to many recipients at the Conference
10. Congratulations from Clinton for «17N»
11. Encomia by T. Miller and recommendations for patience
12. In Parliament the International Convention on extradition of terrorists
13. Stable lead for Nea Dimokratia - Hopes for PASOK
14. Prepare public opinion
15. Estimates in the "wells" of the Parliament
16. Complaint for KKE mechanisms behind «17N»
17. The success of the «17N» is not enough for PASOK
18. "There is material, it will take time"
19. Political apnea ... due to "17 November"
20. N. Konstantopoulos: Respect for the rule of law
21. With instructions of Simitis the operation.
22. Simitis determined for all
23. Nea Dimokratia supports the investigations

24. Updating USA by Miller
25. Simitis: “Everyone will held accountable”
26. Simitis: “Light in every shadow”
27. Hopes and fears of PASOK after "17 November"
28. Terrorism is a constant threat for Nea Dimokratia
29. A democracy win the blow against the '17N'
30. Chief of the Hellenic Police: The historic leadership will fully disclosed
31. Preliminary examination for leakage.
32. Democracy without terror and corruption
33. Tsohatzopoulos connects directly 17N and foreign centers
34. Meeting Advocate General of the Supreme Court with Mr. Diotis on the topic of Savvas Xiros
35. Simitis awakens the ministers
36. New backdrop PASOK modulates ... '17N'
37. “To get to the end with the 17N whatever it will happens”
38. Meeting for «17N». Deep state.
39. The puzzle of the persons of "November 17"
40. PASOK: With «17N» is going well, but the rest?
41. General alarm for Koufodinas
42. Not to weaken the investigations
43. Miller: We're not done with terrorism
44. Congratulations Bush to Simitis
45. The lost honor of the Ministers of Public Order
46. Warm week on the issue of terrorism
47. About terrorism and other demons

Complete list of frames identified:

Articles framing the government: 3, 4, 9, 13, 17, 25, 26, 27, 33, 35, 36, 40, 44, 45

Framing of the Greek political system: 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42, 44, 45, 47

Corruption framing: 5, 19, 26, 31, 32, 38

Articles that frame the media: 2, 10, 20, 31, 47

Articles that frame police: 6, 7, 30, 42, 46

Direct democracy framing: 14, 20, 29, 32, 34, 45

Articles that frame the members of the terrorist organization: 5, 6, 34, 39, 41, 47

Articles that frame Americans (it is important because they played a major role during the whole period of 17N acts): 1, 10, 11, 24, 33, 43, 44

Section B - Rizospastis Articles (52 articles) 27/6/2002 – 8/9/2002:

1. The thread are moving by secret services
2. The witness statements began
3. Once again Giotopoulos refused everything
4. With CIA and Scotland Yard the lancet does not go deep
5. Distancing himself from apology Pavlos Serifis
6. Research and scenarios are ongoing
7. Political benefits expected by government
8. Savvas Xiros involves in 17N John Serifis
9. To fully implement the anti-terrorism laws
10. And bipartisan "cockfight".
11. They prepare another 18 special cells
12. Rapid developments and findings

13. Chronicle of action of 17N
14. "Family" affair
15. Centers, in Greece and abroad, protect the "brain" of 17N
16. New announcements after unofficial leaks
17. Detentions, arrests, leaking "information" and "confessions"
18. Proclaimers, custody, leaks and questions ...
19. The "collateral" objectives of the operation of 'dislocation'
20. The "revelations" recommenced
21. "We unexpectedly facing a serious development," the Government says.
22. Tone down now the government.
23. Praise for the fight against terrorism from the White House
24. The real terrorists
25. CIA: The handbook of good terrorist
26. Poll "double reading" for PASOK and Nea Dimokratia.
27. The government is complacent
28. Combating terrorism or countering of the left ideology on the pretext of terrorism?
29. Ongoing investigations and scenarios
30. Unanswered whys
31. They ask to meet the procedural guarantees
32. The wedding (between the Minister of Public Order and CIA)
33. The author of the manifestoes was caught.
34. Congratulations from Bush to Simitis
35. Lot of information, scenarios and assumptions
36. We pass in the era of massive state terrorism
37. With the dropper the official briefing
38. Savvas Xiros is involved in the assassination of Peratikos
39. Adducts of the family environment
40. Terror – Information
41. Behind the surrender of Koufontinas
42. Answers and triumphalism or questions and concerns?

43. Manufacturers of myths
44. Without purpose, the cooperation with foreign agencies.
45. Congratulations (referred to the foreign agencies)
46. What does Miller do?
47. Who harbors terrorism?
48. Unanswered critical questions
49. The government gives "land and water" to the Americans.
50. The second hideout of 17N.
51. The mastermind of 17N
52. The time of the evolution of a "premeditated" event

Complete list of frames identified:

Articles framing the government: 7, 21, 22, 27, 41, 42, 49

Framing of the Greek political system: 10, 19, 26, 28, 36, 47, 48

Articles that frame the media: 16, 18, 24, 30, 37, 40, 43, 47, 48, 52

Articles that frame police: 6, 9, 11, 12, 20, 29, 35

Articles that frame the members of the terrorist organization: 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 14, 15, 33, 38, 39, 41, 50, 51

Articles that give voice to the terrorists: 13, 14, 50

Articles that frame the Foreign Intelligence Services: 1, 4, 15, 23, 25, 32, 34, 44, 45, 46, 51

Section C - The questions of the interviews

1. Tell me a little story about the 17N from your perspective during you dealt with this issue.
2. How the media presented 17N on the first decade of its action?
3. The media helped, supported or made the work of the police authorities difficult to identify and arrest the members?
4. How the media presented the arrest of the 17N members?
5. Was it possible to dislocate the organization earlier? And if so what became wrong?
6. Based on several articles and literature, the U.S. Agency insisted on linking 17N with PASOK. Why did they do this? What evidence have led them to this serious conclusion?
7. In the book of Papahelas and Telloglou "17 - 17 November Folder" and specifically on page 145, Savvas Xiros states that: "All the information about the targets was derived either from observation and monitoring by the members of the organization or by the press." Staying in the second part of his petition, what he means when he says that they were taking information from the media? Which is the role of the media in this;
8. What was the role of Foreign Intelligence Agencies to dismantle the organization? Was it an auxiliary or were they acting autonomously and based on their own agendas?
9. Former ambassador to the U.S. Embassy in Athens, Thomas Niles had declared to the Prime Minister Kostas Simitis, during his farewell meeting in September 1997 that the 17N is composed of branded members of Greek society and that the people who make the executions hired and come by abroad for only one firm. Thus, after the action they leave Greece and disappear. It is an important statement that leaves no one indifferent. What more knew Niles Surely the captured members are not the "branded

members of Greek society" that had been mentioned by the Ambassador.

Would he want to link the information of U.S. agencies with PASOK?

10. The media built a big myth around 17N. This helped during the years in locating them? Did it more frighten the society?

Section D - Framing Codes

In this part of the appendix we can find a number of articles and the coding I performed, in order to understand the news frame analysis process. I have employed color coding, coupled with the use of code words next to the color codes.

Codes:

Diagnostic: Definition of the problem

Prognostic: Identification of the solution

Motivational: Inspiring action

Voice

Kathimerini Newspaper

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ 06.07.2002

Η τρομοκρατία, πρώτο θέμα στα «πηγαδάκια»

Του Κωνσταντίνου Ζούλα

Οι ραγδαίες εξελίξεις των τελευταίων ημερών, επόμενο ήταν να μονοπωλήσουν τις ερωτήσεις των δημοσιογράφων και στη Συνδιάσκεψη του ΠΑΣΟΚ. Πόσο μάλλον όταν η παρουσία όλων των κυβερνητικών στελεχών προσέφερε μιας πρώτης τάξεως ευκαιρία να επιβεβαιωθούν ή και να διαψευσθούν κάποιες από τις

πληροφορίες της ακατάσχετης φημολογίας των τελευταίων ημερών, φερ' ειπείν για τα όσα φέρεται να «διεμήνυσε» ο υφυπουργός Δημοσίας Τάξεως στον Ξηρό τον οποίο επισκέφθηκε δύο φορές στο νοσοκομείο ή ακόμη και την πιθανότητα παραγραφής λόγω της κείμενης νομοθεσίας των παλαιότερων αδικημάτων της «17 Νοέμβρη». Η πρώτη είδηση που επιβεβαιώθηκε ήταν αυτή που κυκλοφορούσε -σχεδόν ως ανέκδοτο- στα δημοσιογραφικά γραφεία από προχθές το βράδυ. Οτι, δηλαδή, ο Ξηρός είχε προσφάτως ζητήσει δουλειά από τον υπουργό Εμπορικής Ναυτιλίας. Το παραδέχθηκε ο ίδιος ο κ. Ανωμερίτης κατά τη είσοδό του στη Συνδιάσκεψη, λέγοντας ότι ο περιβόητος πλέον βομβιστής είχε επισκεφθεί το πολιτικό του γραφείο πριν από δύο μήνες και είχε βολιδοσκοπήσει από την γραμματέα του το ενδεχόμενο να εργασθεί ως εποχικός υπαλληλος στον Οργανισμό Λιμένος Πειραιώς. «Εγώ δεν τον συνάντησα ποτέ, αλλά αυτό ήταν το πρόσχημα που χρησιμοποίησε μιλώντας στη γραμματέα μου», είπε ο υπουργός, προσθέτοντας απλώς ότι «ο Ξηρός έφυγε μόλις πληροφορήθηκε ότι δεν μπορεί να προσληφθεί λόγω ηλικίας». Για το γεγονός αυτό, δε. ενημερώθηκε αμέσως το υπουργείο Δημοσίας Τάξεως όταν το προσωπικό του κ. Ανωμερίτη αναγνώρισε προφανώς στην φωτογραφία του Ξηρού, τον μελαχρινό κύριο που είχε ζητήσει προσφάτως δουλειά.

Αν όμως η εκ πρώτης απίστευτη αυτή πληροφορία επιβεβαιώθηκε, μια άλλη φήμη διαψεύσθηκε χθες κατηγορηματικά. Ο υφυπουργός Δημοσίας Τάξεως Βαγγέλης Μαλέσιος χαρακτήρισε «τουλάχιστον ως αστειότητες» τις πληροφορίες ότι «είχε συνομιλίες με τον Ξηρό, προκειμένου να τον πιέσει να αποδεχθεί την ενοχή του και να «σπάσει» τη σιωπή της Οργάνωσης», όπως εγράφη σε ορισμένες στήλες και ειπώθηκε ως εικασία σε κάποιες εκπομπές. Ο ίδιος μάλιστα υποστήριξε ότι και τις δύο φορές που επισκέφθηκε τον «Ευαγγελισμό», ο Ξηρός παρέμενε σε καταστολή και διασωληνωμένος και, ως εκ τούτου, ήταν εκ των πραγμάτων αδύνατον ακόμη και να έχουν μια στοιχειώδη συνομιλία. **Σημαντική, τέλος, είναι χωρίς άλλο και η δήλωση που αποσπάστηκε ύστερα από αλληπάλληλες δημοσιογραφικές ερωτήσεις από τον υπουργό Δικαιοσύνης Φίλιππο Πετσάλνικο. «Δεν τίθεται θέμα παραγραφής των αδικημάτων», είπε επί**

λέξει, διαψεύδοντας τα σχετικά σενάρια και επιβεβαιώνοντας ότι πρόθεση της πολιτείας είναι να κλείσει τα «παράθυρα» της νομοθεσίας ακόμη και για τις λεγόμενες «παλαιότερες» δολοφονίες της δεκατίας του '70.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ 07.07.2002

Αγιογράφος, φοιτητής, επιχειρηματίας, τρομοκράτης

Ευα Καραμανώλη

Τέταρτο παιδί δωδεκαμελούς οικογένειας από τον Άγιο Κήρυκο της Ικαρίας, γιος συνταξιούχου ιερέα, ο οποίος για αρκετά χρόνια ιερούργουσε στον νομό Φλώρινας, είναι ο 40χρονος, φερόμενος ως μέλος της τρομοκρατικής οργάνωσης 17Νοέμβρη, Σάββας Ξηρός.

Ο Ξηρός έζησε τα παιδικά του χρόνια στη Φλώρινα και έφυγε από εκεί μαζί με την οικογένειά του, όταν ο πατέρας του εκδιώχθηκε από το χουντικό καθεστώς. Στη συνέχεια, η οικογένεια εγκαταστάθηκε στη Θεσσαλονίκη, όπου ο πατέρας του Ξηρού συνέχισε να ασκεί τα ιερατικά του καθήκοντα μέχρι τη συνταξιοδότησή του.

Στο πατρικό σπίτι της οικογένειας στις Συκιές Θεσσαλονίκης κατοικεί ένα από τα αδέρφια του Σάββα Ξηρού, ενώ η οικογένεια διατηρεί εξοχικό στον οικισμό Αμπελάκια της Ν. Καλλικράτειας, όπου κατοικούν οι συνταξιούχοι γονείς του. Σύμφωνα με μαρτυρίες κατοίκων, οι οποίοι περιγράφουν τον Ξηρό ως ένα φιλήσυχο άτομο, χαμηλών τόνων που δεν μιλούσε ποτέ για πολιτικά και ησυχολείτο με την αγιογραφία, ο 40χρονος επισκεπτόταν τους γονείς του και κάποιες φορές ήταν μαζί του και η Ισπανίδα φίλη του Αλίσια Ρομέρο Κορτές.

Η πρώτη επαφή του Σάββα Ξηρού με άτομα του αναρχικού χώρου έγινε κατά τη διάρκεια των σπουδών του στο Πολυτεχνείο της Θεσσαλονίκης, όπου ήταν φοιτητής της υδροδυναμικής. Εκεί, σε νεανική ηλικία, ήρθε σε επαφή με αντιεξουσιαστικές οργανώσεις όπως ο «Πήγασος». Το 1983, ο Ξηρός γνωρίζει

την Αγγελική Σωτηροπούλου, τη γυναίκα την οποία στη συνέχεια παντρεύτηκε και απέκτησε μαζί της ένα παιδί 12 ετών σήμερα.

Την περίοδο εκείνη ο Ξηρός, άγνωστο υπό ποιές συνθήκες, υπολογίζεται ότι βρίσκεται στον «προθάλαμο» της «17 Νοέμβρη», ενώ εκτιμάται ότι το «βάπτισμα του πυρός» το πήρε παραμονές Χριστουγέννων του 1984, λαμβάνοντας μέρος στη ληστεία της Εθνικής Τράπεζας, στα Πετράλωνα, όπου σκοτώθηκε ο αστυφύλακας Χρήστος Μάτης.

Το 1990, ο Ξηρός εγκαθίσταται στην Αθήνα και αρχίζει να ασχολείται με τις ξυλοκατασκευές και την αιογραφία. Υπολογίζεται ότι το εργαστήρι του στην οδό Αιγιαλείας 10, στον Κολωνό, το είχε νοικιάσει τα τελευταία τέσσερα - πέντε χρόνια. Ωστόσο, κανένας δεν γνώριζε ότι ήταν αιογράφος ούτε εμφανιζόταν εκεί μόνος του. Οι γείτονες μιλούν για μια παρέα τεσσάρων νέων με έναν μεσήλικα 55-60 ετών που ήταν μονίμως μαζί τους. Αρχικά τους είχαν πει ότι έφτιαχναν μουσικά όργανα, ενώ στη συνέχεια είπαν ότι είναι διαφημιστική εταιρεία. Μέχρι πριν από λίγες ημέρες, όταν έκαναν έφοδο οι άνδρες της αντιτρομοκρατικής, κανείς δεν γνώριζε τι ακριβώς έκρυβε η μεγάλη σιδερένια πόρτα του εργαστηρίου που ήταν πάντα κλειστή. Ωστόσο, οι γείτονες υποστήριζαν ότι «κατά καιρούς άκουγαν φασαρία από ηλεκτρικά τρυπάνια».

Οι ένοικοι της αποθήκης έμπαιναν και έβγαιναν από ένα βοηθητικό πορτάκι, το οποίο όμως ήταν μονίμως κρυμμένο πίσω από ένα τροχόσπιτο, στο οποίο λέγεται ότι έμενε ο Ξηρός και μία κοπέλα, ή πίσω από ασθενοφόρο με ξένες πινακίδες ή πίσω από ένα λευκό αυτοκίνητο μάρκας Μερσεντές.

Σύμφωνα με την Ασφάλεια, ο Ξηρός φέρεται να είναι ένας από τους τέσσερις άνδρες που πήραν μέρος στη συμπλοκή που έγινε στα Σεπόλια, το 1991, ενώ είναι σχεδόν σίγουρο ότι ήταν και ένας από τους δράστες της δολοφονίας του εφοπλιστή Κώστα Περατικού, το 1997 στην οδό Φίλωνος, στον Πειραιά.

Ο Σάββας Ξηρός γνωρίζεται με την Ισπανίδα μακιγιέζ Αλίσια Ρομέρο Κορτές, κόρη Ισπανού επιχειρηματία από τη Μαγιόρκα, το 1990 κατά τη διάρκεια διακοπών στην Ικαρία.

Πριν από πέντε χρόνια, ο Ξηρός γνωρίζεται με έναν Σουδανό, τον Μακί Ελ Νταού, ο οποίος είναι παντρεμένος με Ελληνίδα και ζει στον Πειραιά. Την τελευταία τριετία, μάλιστα, ο Ξηρός αναπτύσσει επιχειρηματική δραστηριότητα στο Σουδάν, καθώς στήνει μία μικρή εταιρεία εισαγωγής - εξαγωγής παγοποιίας και άλλων υλικών. **Η δραστηριότητα της εταιρείας, καθώς και οι επαφές του στο Χαρτούμ εξετάζονται από τις Αρχές, καθώς ευρευνάται το ενδεχόμενο η επιχειρηματική δραστηριότητά του να έγινε στο πλαίσιο προσπάθειας νομιμοποίησης χρήματος από παράνομες δραστηριότητες.**

Ο Σάββας Ξηρός φέρεται να πραγματοποιεί επίσης ταξίδια στην Αφρική αλλά και στη Μαγιόρκα, όπου μέσω γνωριμιών της Κορτές αναλαμβάνει διαμορφώσεις χώρων και καταστημάτων.

Στην Ελλάδα, ο Ξηρός εκτός από τη μόνιμη κατοικία του στην οδό Καλλιθέας 11, στην Παλλήνη και το εργαστήριο στον Κολωνό, είχε στη διάθεσή του και ένα τροχόσπιτο με το οποίο πραγματοποιούσε ταξίδια. Πριν από λίγους μήνες μάλιστα ξεκίνησε και την ανέγερση οικοδομής στην Κερατέα την οποία προόριζε για κατοικία και εργαστήριο.

Οι οικονομικές δραστηριότητες του Ξηρού βρίσκονται ήδη υπό το μικροσκόπιο των διωκτικών ερευνών, οι οποίες ελπίζουν με αυτόν τον τρόπο να απαντήσουν σε ερωτήματα που αφορούν τους μηχανισμούς χρηματοδότησης της τρομοκρατίας, καθώς εκτιμάται ότι ο τρόπος που κινείτο ο Ξηρός είναι ενδεικτικός ενός συστήματος συγκάλυψης.

Ο τρόπος ζωής του Ξηρού ήταν μάλλον πολυέξοδος καθώς πλήρωνε ουσιαστικά τρία ενοίκια (σπίτι στην Παλλήνη, εργαστήρι στην Αιγιαλείας και ένα διαμέρισμα στον ίδιο δρόμο) που συνολικά ξεπερνούν το μισό εκατομμύριο δραχμές το μήνα. Επιπλέον, ο ίδιος ταξίδευε συχνά στο εξωτερικό, όπου απουσίαζε για μεγάλα

χρονικά διαστήματα. Σύμφωνα με τα υπάρχοντα στοιχεία, η οικογένειά του δεν είναι εύπορη ούτε η οικονομική του άνεση μπορεί να εξασφαλιστεί από το επάγγελμά του. Γι' αυτούς του λόγους οι Αρχές δεν αποκλείουν το ενδεχόμενο ο Ξηρός να συμμετείχε σε ληστείες σε βάρος τραπεζών.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ 30.07.2002

Σύσκεψη για «17N» παρακράτος

Του Κ. Π. Παπαδιόχου

Ειδική σύσκεψη με τη συμμετοχή κορυφαίων στελεχών των διωκτικών Αρχών πραγματοποιήθηκε την Κυριακή, με αποκλειστικό αντικείμενο την περαιτέρω διερεύνηση τυχόν διασυνδέσεων ακροδεξιών στοιχείων του «παρακρατικού» χώρου, με την υπό πλήρη εξάρθρωση πλέον «17 Νοέμβρη».

Όπως αναφέρουν ασφαλείς πληροφορίες, οι Αρχές εκτιμούν ότι, σύμφωνα με τα όσα ανέφερε και στο προχθεσινό της φύλλο η «Κ», υπάρχουν σοβαρές ενδείξεις για τη διασταύρωση των δύο παραπάνω, πλήρως αντίθετων εκ πρώτης όψεως πόλων στο παρελθόν. Ετσι, αποφασίστηκε η περαιτέρω διερεύνηση αναφορών στη δράση της «17 Νοέμβρη» που εμφανίστηκαν τα τελευταία χρόνια σε ακροδεξιά έντυπα, αλλά και η χαρτογράφηση των επαφών συγκεκριμένων προσώπων του χώρου αυτού. Εξ άλλου, ο πρωθυπουργός κ. Κ. Σημίτης, αλλά και ο υπουργός Δημόσιας Τάξης κ. Μ. Χρυσοχοϊδης έχουν εξ αρχής επισημάνει πως είναι αποφασισμένοι να οδηγήσουν τις έρευνες σε κάθε κατεύθυνση και να διαλευκάνουν πλήρως το παρασκήνιο πίσω από την ίδρυση και τη δράση της «17 Νοέμβρη».

Νέα τροπή

Βεβαίως, ορισμένα κυβερνητικά στελέχη αντιμετώπιζαν χθες με περίσκεψη τη διαφαινόμενη νέα τροπή των ερευνών. Όπως ανέφεραν, ενδεχομένως μέσω αυτών να εδραιωθεί σε μερίδα της κοινής γνώμης η αίσθηση πως η κυβέρνηση «δεν έχει στα χέρια της την πραγματική «17 Νοέμβρη»», με αποτέλεσμα να απολεσθούν τα πολιτικά κέρδη των τελευταίων εβδομάδων.

Όμως, μιλώντας με στενούς συνεργάτες του, ο κ. Σημίτης φέρεται να αντικρούει τη συγκεκριμένη λογική, υπογραμμίζοντας πως η κυβέρνηση, και κυρίως η χώρα, μεσοπρόθεσμα μόνον όφελος θα έχουν από την πλήρη διαλεύκανση της δράσης της οργάνωσης, η οποία σφράγισε αρνητικά με την παρουσία της όλη τη μεταπολιτευτική περίοδο. Ο πρωθυπουργός φέρεται να εκτιμά, παράλληλα, πως σε μια τέτοια περίπτωση θα επέλθει και η πλήρης απομυθοποίησή της, καθώς ένα από τα ευρήματα της τελευταίας δημοσκόπησης της «Μέτρον Ανάλυσις» (για την «Ημερησία») που ανησυχεί την κυβέρνηση είναι ότι το 19% των ερωτηθέντων θεωρεί τα μέλη της «17 Νοέμβρη» «κοινωνικούς αγωνιστές».

Περίσκεψη όμως έχουν προκαλέσει και στη Νέα Δημοκρατία οι ενδείξεις περί διασυνδέσεων της «17 Νοέμβρη» με παρακρατικούς μηχανισμούς. Επισήμως, το κόμμα της αξιωματικής αντιπολίτευσης δεν τοποθετείται επί του θέματος. Όμως σε κατ' ιδίαν συζητήσεις τους, στελέχη της Ν.Δ. αφήνουν να εννοηθεί πως δικαιώνεται η άποψη που εξ αρχής είχαν διατυπώσει, ότι η κυβέρνηση δεν έχει μέχρι στιγμής επιτύχει την πλήρη διαλεύκανση της υπόθεσης. Παράλληλα, οι ίδιες πηγές πρόσθεταν πως η Ν.Δ. θα επιμείνει να χυθεί άπλετο φως στη δράση, καθώς και τις διασυνδέσεις της «17 Νοέμβρη», αλλά και ότι θα στηρίξει την κυβέρνηση εάν είναι σαφές ότι θα κινηθεί στη συγκεκριμένη κατεύθυνση.

Επισημαίνεται, τέλος, ότι ο περαιτέρω επικοινωνιακός χειρισμός της υπόθεσης της τρομοκρατίας θα βρεθεί στο επίκεντρο δύο συσκέψεων τις οποίες συγκαλεί για σήμερα ο πρωθυπουργός, μετά την επιστροφή του, χθες το βράδυ, από ολιγόήμερες διακοπές στην Πάρο. Ο κ. Σημίτης έχει συγκαλέσει για σήμερα το πρωί τη σύσκεψη του λεγόμενου «πρωινού καφέ» με τους στενούς του

συνεργάτες, ενώ το βράδυ θα συνεδριάσει υπό την προεδρία του το επικοινωνιακό επιτελείο.

Για «δίκαιη δίκη» κάνει λόγο ο ΣΥΝ

Την ανάγκη να εξαρθρωθεί πλήρως η τρομοκρατία και να αποκαλυφθεί όλη η αλήθεια, υπογράμμισε ο πρόεδρος του Συνασπισμού κ. Ν. Κωνσταντόπουλος από τη Σύρο, όπου μετέβη χθες στο πλαίσιο περιοδείας του στις Κυκλάδες.

«Η εξουδετέρωση των δολοφονικών μηχανισμών πρέπει να συνοδευτεί και από την απάντηση σε όλα τα ερωτήματα για τη χρηματοδότηση, τους πληροφοριοδότες, την πλαισίωση και αξιοποίηση αυτής της εγκληματικής δράσης. Οι πολίτες ζητούν απόδοση δικαιοσύνης με δίκαιη δίκη και φως σε όλες τις πτυχές και για όλα τα επίπεδα αυτής της υπόθεσης», είπε χαρακτηριστικά. Ο κ. Κωνσταντόπουλος επισήμανε επίσης ότι «τα μεγάλα προβλήματα της κοινωνίας είναι παρόντα και πειστικά» και πρόσθεσε: «Το θρίλερ της τρομοκρατίας δεν μπορεί να μονοπωλεί το κοινωνικό και πολιτικό ενδιαφέρον. Το σύνολο των μεγάλων και κρίσιμων προβλημάτων, που εκκρεμούν, θα πρέπει να είναι στο οπτικό πεδίο της κοινωνίας. Στα μέτωπα αυτών των προβλημάτων κρίνεται το παρόν και το μέλλον όλων και όχι στις μάχες της παραπολιτικής και των επικοινωνιακών παραστάσεων».

Rizospastis Newspaper

Ο «ιθύνων νους» της «17N»

Διάχυτος ο φόβος τους (κι ένα μεγάλο άγχος), μήπως και κάτι πάει στραβά και αποκαλυφθεί ο ρόλος των μυστικών υπηρεσιών στη βρώμικη ιστορία της «17 Νοέμβρη»! Ο λόγος γίνεται για μια σειρά δημοσιογράφους και πολιτικούς, που το φόβο τους αυτόν δεν μπορούν (ούτε και θέλουν) να τον κρύψουν. Αντιθέτως, τον

εκδηλώνουν με διάφορους τρόπους. Είτε θριαμβολογώντας, επειδή αποδείχτηκε (sic) ότι δεν υπάρχει ανάμειξη μυστικών υπηρεσιών στην υπόθεση «17N»! (Πώς αποδείχτηκε; Αγνωστο... Και έτσι, το ΚΚΕ και όσοι υποστηρίζουν το αντίθετο, πρέπει να κάνουν την αυτοκριτική τους)! Είτε (το κυριότερο) πασχίζοντας απεγνωσμένα ν' αποδείξουν ότι η «17N» συνδέεται με χώρους επαναστατικούς(!) και βεβαίως με το αντιΝΑΤΟικό κίνημα, όπως η εφημερίδα «Ελευθεροτυπία της Κυριακής», η οποία ανακάλυψε ότι η «17N» σχεδίαζε να χτυπήσει με ρουκέτες τις αυτοκινητοπομπές του ΝΑΤΟ, που μετέφεραν ΝΑΤΟικό στρατό στο Κοσσυφοπέδιο!..

Τρόμος! Γνωρίζοντας ότι σε πλατύτατα τμήματα του λαού, σε τμήματα που βρίσκονται στη ΝΔ και στο ΠΑΣΟΚ και παντού, είναι εδραιωμένη η πεποίθηση για το βρώμικο ρόλο μυστικών υπηρεσιών και στη σκοτεινή ιστορία της «17N», γνωρίζοντας, λοιπόν, αυτό το σημαντικότερο και πραγματικό, επιδιώκουν με κάθε τρόπο διαστροφής της αλήθειας να αλλάξουν τα μυαλά των ανθρώπων με το «έτσι θέλω». Γιατί γνωρίζουν ότι είναι σημείο - κλειδί το αν η «17N» συνδέεται με μυστικές υπηρεσίες ή με τμήματά τους, είτε των ΗΠΑ, είτε της Μ. Βρετανίας, είτε της Γαλλίας, είτε άλλης χώρας (και της Ελλάδας), είτε όλων μαζί.

«Μα δεν έχετε στοιχεία», λένε στους κομμουνιστές! «Πώς υποστηρίζετε κάτι που δεν αποδειχεται;»!

Το ΚΚΕ, βεβαίως, δε διαθέτει τέτοια, αστυνομικού τύπου, στοιχεία. Το ΚΚΕ είναι πολιτικός οργανισμός. Και αλίμονο αν περίμενε να κάνει τις εκτιμήσεις και διαπιστώσεις του, όταν θα είχε στη διάθεσή του τέτοια στοιχεία. Μάλλον δε θα τις έκανε ποτέ...

Ομως, για να είναι κανείς (όπως το ΚΚΕ) απράνταχτα πεισμένος για τη σχέση των μυστικών υπηρεσιών (δηλαδή των αστικών κρατικών μηχανισμών) με οργανώσεις τύπου «17N», του είναι υπεραρκετά τα πολιτικά στοιχεία που υπάρχουν, που τα γνωρίζουν όλα τα κόμματα, αλλά κάνουν πως δεν τα γνωρίζουν, επειδή εξυπηρετούν άλλα ταξικά συμφέροντα από το ΚΚΕ. Αυτή είναι η ουσία του θέματος.

Ποια είναι αυτά τα στοιχεία; Θα μπορούσε κανείς, σχηματικά, να τα κατατάξει σε τρεις κατηγορίες.

α) Ιστορική πείρα

Η ελληνική κυβέρνηση δηλώνει κατενθουσιασμένη που οι ελληνικές διωκτικές αρχές, σε αгаστή συνεργασία με CIA, FBI, Σκότλαντ Γιαρντ (και ποιες άλλες;) πέτυχαν την εξάρθρωση της «17N»! Ποια είναι, όμως, η ιστορία αυτών των ξένων υπηρεσιών; Ο ρόλος τους, από γεννησιμιού τους, υπήρξε φιλολαϊκός ή υπήρξε (και είναι) βαθιά αντιλαϊκός;

- Ποιος δε γνωρίζει το ρόλο του FBI στα χρόνια του Μακαρθισμού στις ΗΠΑ;

- Ποιος δεν έχει ακούσει ή διαβάσει για το ρόλο της CIA στη δολοφονία των Κένεντι;

- Δεν είναι πασίγνωστο ότι η CIA δολοφόνησε προέδρους χωρών των οποίων οι κυβερνήσεις δεν ήταν αρεστές στις ΗΠΑ (Πατρίς Λουμούμπα, Σαλβατόρ Αλιέντε κ.ά.);

- Ποιοι στήριξαν τη χούντα στην Ελλάδα, στη Χιλή και σε δεκάδες ακόμα χώρες του κόσμου;

- Τι ρόλο έπαιξαν οι αγγλέζικες μυστικές υπηρεσίες στην Ελλάδα του Μεσοπολέμου, στην Κατοχή (συνεργασία με τις γερμανικές, για να χτυπηθεί το ΕΑΜ-ΚΚΕ), στο Δεκέμβρη 1944, στον εμφύλιο και μετά; Δεν ήταν ρόλος βαθιά αντιλαϊκός;

- Ας θυμηθούμε τις αγγλέζικες και αμερικανικές υπηρεσίες στην Κύπρο. Και πρωταρχικά (μαζί με όλες τις άλλες) στη δολιοφθορά και υπονόμευση του σοσιαλιστικού συστήματος. Ας θυμηθούμε τον Κόλπο των Χοίρων (Κούβα), το Ν. Βιετνάμ, τη Ν. Κορέα, τον Αγιο Δομίνικο, τον Παναμά, πρόσφατα τη Βενεζουέλα, τη Γρανάδα.

Όποια πέτρα κι αν σηκώσει κανείς, από κάτω θα τις βρει... Και το ερώτημα είναι: Πώς οι δολοφόνοι των λαών μετατράπηκαν ξαφνικά σε σωτήρες και κυνηγούν τρομοκρατικές οργανώσεις;

β) Πολιτικά

Από τις 11 Σεπτέμβρη 2001 βρίσκεται σε εξέλιξη μια ισχυρότατη επίθεση κατά των λαών, με πρόσχημα την πάταξη της τρομοκρατίας! Σε εφαρμογή αυτού του προσχήματος ψηφίστηκαν «τρομονόμοι», ασκήθηκε και ασκείται μια γιγάντια ιδεολογική τρομοκρατία, για να τσακιστεί κάθε αντίσταση στην ιμπεριαλιστική θηριωδία, θωρακίστηκαν παραπέρα οι κρατικοί μηχανισμοί καταστολής, προωθήθηκαν περισσότερο οι καπιταλιστικές αναδιαρθρώσεις, καθώς και η επίσημη διείσδυση των αμερικανικών και άλλων υπηρεσιών των ηγετικών δυνάμεων του ιμπεριαλιστικού συστήματος, όπως γίνεται στην Ελλάδα. Χώρια από το τι έχει γίνει (και θα γίνει) μέσα στις ίδιες τις ΗΠΑ, όπου έχει επιβληθεί καθεστώς τρόμου, ενώ προαναγγέλλονται και νέα ανατριχιαστικά μέτρα καταστολής στο εσωτερικό. Όλες αυτές οι μεθοδεύσεις και μέτρα θα ενταθούν περισσότερο ενόψει της νέας πολεμικής επίθεσης που ετοιμάζουν οι ΗΠΑ κατά του Ιράκ.

Εξάλλου είναι γνωστό ότι τα αντιαμερικανικά (και σε μεγάλο βαθμό γενικότερα αντιιμπεριαλιστικά) αισθήματα του ελληνικού λαού είναι αρκετά υψηλά. Σε καμιά άλλη χώρα δεν υπήρξε το σκηνικό αντίδρασης κατά του πολέμου στη Γιουγκοσλαβία που υπήρξε στην Ελλάδα. Το ίδιο και κατά την επίσκεψη του Κλίντον... Είναι φανερός ο στόχος να χτυπηθούν αυτές οι διαθέσεις. Και η «17N» αξιοποιείται - χρησιμοποιείται και σε αυτή την κατεύθυνση. Αλλωστε, απ' ό,τι φαίνεται αυτό θα αποτελεί και την τελευταία συμβολή της στην υπόθεση του χτυπήματος του λαϊκού κινήματος. Το δημοσίευμα της «Ελευθεροτυπίας» για τη «17N» και το NATO προφανώς εντάσσεται σ' αυτή τη μεθόδευση.

γ) Τι λέει η απλή λογική

- Πώς είναι δυνατό να μη συλλαμβάνονται οι της «17N» επί 27 χρόνια και ξαφνικά αυτή να εξαρθώνεται;
- Πώς γνώριζαν οι της «17N» λεπτομερώς τις κινήσεις προσώπων όπως οι Γουέλς, Τσάντες, δίχως να έχουν ακριβέστατη πληροφόρηση από «τα μέσα»;
- Είναι γελοίο να πιστεύει κανείς ότι οι υπηρεσίες των ΗΠΑ περιμένουν επί 27 χρόνια να πληροφορηθούν από τις ελληνικές αρχές τα της «17N»,

τουλάχιστον όσον αφορά στα δολοφονημένα στελέχη της CIA. Πρέπει να θεωρείται παραπάνω από βέβαιο ότι: Κι αν δε γνώριζαν εξαρχής, ερεύνησαν, έμαθαν τους δολοφόνους! Τι τους έκαναν; Αγνωστο. Και πάντως, αν δεν τους εκτέλεσαν, θα τους έβαλαν στο χέρι ως όργανά τους. Όλα τα άλλα είναι για τους αφελείς. Γιατί, βεβαίως, δε θα περίμεναν οι ΗΠΑ 27 χρόνια να εκραγεί η βόμβα στα χέρια του Ξηρού, για ν' αρχίσει να ξετυλίγεται το νήμα...

- Ποιοι είναι αυτοί οι μηχανισμοί που αποπροσανατόλιζαν τις έρευνες, όποτε δηλωνόταν απ' τις ελληνικές αρχές ότι «ακουμπάνε τη "17N"»;
- Τι σόι συνωμοτική οργάνωση είναι αυτή, που τα μέλη της ενεργούν ως τσίρκο, τη στιγμή που τα όσα έκανε η «17N» απαιτούσαν υψηλότατου επιπέδου οργάνωση, πειθαρχία, συνωμοτισμό, επαγγελματισμό, καθώς και ανθρώπους διατεθειμένους να πουλήσουν ακριβά το τομάρι τους και όχι να περιμένουν τη σύλληψή τους διασκεδάζοντας!.. Απαιτούσαν, δηλαδή, προσόντα τέτοια, τα οποία μόνο ειδικές υπηρεσίες μπορούν να διαθέτουν...
- Όλοι οι αναλυτές επικαλούνται την τελευταία προκήρυξη της «17N», στην οποία αναγράφεται ότι η δράση της λήγει. Αφού, λοιπόν, η ίδια αποφάσισε να τερματίσει το βίο της, γιατί δε φρόντισε ν' αδειάσει και τις γιάφκες από τα όποια στοιχεία; Γιατί άφησε τόσο υλικό στη διάθεση των διωκτικών αρχών;

Πρόκειται για ορισμένα ερωτήματα που δεν έχουν απαντηθεί, αν και έχουν τεθεί. Και ίσως στην πορεία να προκύψουν και άλλα ακόμη. Πέρα από το ζήτημα, με το οποίο γελάνε οι πάντες: Ο Σ. Ξηρός στον Πειραιά, που είχε πάρει μαζί του τα κλειδιά της γιάφκας, χειροβομβίδες, ένα πιστόλι της «17N», αλλά και κάρτα με τηλέφωνα συνεργατών του! Και του έσκασε στα χέρια ο πυροκροτητής...

Ο «αθύνων νους» δεν πρόκειται ν' αποκαλυφθεί. Κλείνει ένα μαγαζί, άχρηστο πια και κραγμένο, για ν' ανοίξει κάποιο άλλο...

Όλα τα γεγονότα, τα στοιχεία και οι εύλογες απορίες δείχνουν ότι τη «17N» κι αν δεν υπήρχε, θα την κατασκεύαζαν, αν δεν την κατασκεύασαν εξαρχής, αλλά μόνο

την αξιοποίησαν - χρησιμοποίησαν στη συνέχεια. Τα περί επαναστατικής οργάνωσης, επομένως, ουδεμία σχέση έχουν με την πραγματικότητα. Η αστική τάξη και τα κόμμάτα της θέλουν, όσο τίποτα, να ήταν όλες οι επαναστατικές οργανώσεις και τα κόμματα σαν τη «17N»! Γιατί, απλούστατα, τέτοιους επαναστάτες τους χρειάζονται. Ακριβώς επειδή είναι αντεπαναστάτες...

Ραγδαίες εξελίξεις και ευρήματα

Ραγδαίες ήταν χτες οι εξελίξεις που αφορούν το θέμα της τρομοκρατίας στη χώρα μας, και βγήκαν ξανά στην επιφάνεια μετά τον τραυματισμό του Σάββα Ξηρού το περασμένο Σάββατο από βόμβα στον Πειραιά. *Κάτω από τις κάμερες των καναλιών, ισχυρές αστυνομικές δυνάμεις πραγματοποίησαν χτες το απόγευμα εκτεταμένη αστυνομική επιχείρηση στα Πατήσια εκκενώνοντας τρία οικοδομικά τετράγωνα, και σε διαμέρισμα πολυκατοικίας στην οδό Πάτμου 84, ανακάλυψαν αποθήκη με υλικό και εξοπλισμό. Χωρίς να υπάρχει επίσημη ανακοίνωση των αρχών, τα περισσότερα ρεπορτάζ έκαναν λόγο για την κεντρική κρυψώνα οπλισμού και υλικού της «17 Νοέμβρη». Σύμφωνα με τις πληροφορίες που διέρρεαν όμως, παράγοντες των διωκτικών αρχών, σε αυτήν βρέθηκαν τα όπλα και τα εκρηκτικά της «17N».*

Ρεπορτάζ του τηλεοπτικού σταθμού «ΣΤΑΡ» υποστήριξε ότι το DNA του Σάββα Ξηρού συνδέεται με αυτό ατόμου που συμμετείχε σε τρομοκρατική ενέργεια. *Η είδηση διαψεύστηκε «στον αέρα» από τον διοικητή της υπηρεσίας εγκληματολογικών ερευνών της ΕΛΑΣ Ε. Κυριακάκη, αφού, όπως είναι γνωστό, οι εξετάσεις αυτές θέλουν περίπου 20 μέρες για να δείξουν αποτελέσματα. Διαψεύστηκε και από τον εκπρόσωπο Τύπου του αρχηγείου της ΕΛΑΣ, Ε. Οικονόμου. Παράλληλα, ο δημοσιογράφος Ν. Κακαουνάκης υποστήριξε ότι υπάρχει κατάθεση αυτόπτη μάρτυρα της δολοφονίας του επιχειρηματία Ν. Περαιτικού, ο οποίος έχει αναγνωρίσει τον Σ. Ξηρό ως δράστη.*

Ο ταξίαρχος Ε. Οικονόμου παρουσίασε χτες μια σειρά φωτογραφιών του Σ. Ξηρού, ζητώντας πληροφορίες από όσους τον γνωρίζουν, εξασφαλίζοντας την ανωνυμία όσων βοηθήσουν τις αρχές. Συγκεκριμένα, **δήλωσε ότι οι έρευνες υπό τη διεύθυνση και την εποπτεία του αρμόδιου εισαγγελέα Πρωτοδικών, Ι. Διώτη, συνεχίζονται.** Επισήμανε ότι γίνονται έρευνες σε διάφορα σημεία και ότι προέχει το θέμα της ασφάλειας. «Ζητάμε την κατανόηση των πολιτών», κατέληξε, δίνοντας την πρόγευση της αστυνομοκρατίας που πρόκειται να ακολουθήσει με νέες επιχειρήσεις που αναμένονται να διεξαχθούν «θεαματικά» και με τη διοχέτευση των κατάλληλων «πληροφοριών» για να κρατηθεί το θέμα «ζεστό» στην κοινή γνώμη.