RESEARCH

THE DEATH OF THE ENEMY AS AN SPECTACLE: THE BOMBING OF ALIAS "MONOJOJOY" THROUGH THE RCN-COLOMBIA NEWS TELEVISION

La muerte del enemigo como espectáculo: el bombardeo a alias "Monojojoy" a través del telenoticiero RCN-Colombia

Andres Fernando Orozco Macias[1]: Universidad National University of Colombia.
Andresorozco08@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6778-1153

ABSTRACT

Investigation of order qualitative and interdisciplinary with a content analysis, is part of a broad inquiry into the news broadcast of depletion to leading guerrillas and their transmission through the Colombian telenoticieros, promptly in this article intends to investigate do interpretative-conceptual how the RCN news television issued the scoop of the abatement of Víctor Julio Suárez Rojas alias "Monojojoy"? This analysed in the context of 50 years of armed conflict in Colombia between FARC-EP and the last two Governments: Álvaro Uribe Vélez and Juan Manuel Santos. The importance of highlighting these two leaders is due to that Uribe Vélez impulse the democratic security policy that had as its focus the increase of the security forces for the eventual elimination of the insurgent organizations. This question and mentioned a brief history allowed to develop two analytical moments: the first is the construction of the enemies of the State through the speeches of the station of RCN; and the second, the dynamic political connection between the Colombian telenoticieros and State policies as discursive source for interpreting the armed conflict.

KEY WORDS: TV news, RCN, enemies, Monojojoy, media construction, FARC-EP, Juan Manuel Santos.

RESUMEN

Investigación cualitativa e interdisciplinar con un análisis de contenido, que toma como foco la transmisión noticiosa de los abatimientos a los líderes guerrilleros, puntualmente ¿De qué modo interpretativo-conceptual el noticiero del canal RCN televisión emitió la primicia de la muerte de Víctor Julio Suárez Rojas alias "Monojojoy"? Esto analizado en el marco de los 50 años de conflicto armado en

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[1] Andres Fernando Orozco Macias: Researcher of the group "History, Work, Society and Culture" of the National University of Colombia Medellín, with category of A1 research in the Colciencias classification, Historian and Master in Political Studies with a focus on political communication.

Colombia entre las FARC-EP y los dos últimos gobiernos: Álvaro Uribe Vélez y Juan Manuel Santos. La importancia de destacar estos dos mandatarios es que Uribe Vélez impulso la Política de Seguridad Democrática que tuvo como foco el incremento de la fuerza pública para la eliminación definitiva de las organizaciones insurgentes. Esta pregunta y el breve antecedente mencionado, permitió desarrollar dos momentos analíticos: el primero, es la construcción de los enemigos del Estado a través de los discursos del telenoticiero de RCN; y la segunda, la dinámica conexión política entre los telenoticieros colombianos y las políticas de Estado como fuente discursiva para interpretar el conflicto armado.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Telenoticias; RCN; enemigos; Monojojoy; construcción mediática; FARC-EP; Juan Manuel Santos.

A MORTE DO INIMIGO COMO ESPETÁCULO: O BOMBARDEIO Á "MONO JOJOY" ATRAVÉS DO TELEJORNALISMO RCN–COLOMBIA

RESUME
A investigação qualitativa e interdisciplinar com uma analises de conteúdo, que enfoca a transmissão noticiosa dos abatimentos aos líderes guerrilheiros, pontualmente. De que modo interpretativo conceitual o telejornalismo do canal RCN televisão emitiu em primeira mão a morte de Victor Júlio Soares Rojas "Mono Jojoy"? Isto analisado no contexto dos 50 anos de conflito armado na Colômbia entre as FARC-EP e os dois últimos governos: Álvaro Uribe Vélez e Juan Manuel Santos. A importância de destacar esses dois mandatários é que Uribe Vélez impulsou a Política de Segurança Democrática que teve como foco o incremento da força pública para a eliminação definitiva das organizações insurgentes. Esta pergunta e o breve antecedente mencionado, permitiu desenvolver dois momentos analíticos: o primeiro, é a construção dos inimigos do Estado através dos discursos do telejornalismo da RCN; e a segunda, a dinâmica conexão política entre os telejornalismos colombianos e as políticas do Estado como fonte discursiva para interpretar o conflito armado.

PALAVRAS CHAVE: Telejornalismo; RCN; inimigos; Mono Jojoy; FARC-EP; Juan Manuel Santos.

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1. INTRODUCTION

With the development of the Colombian armed conflict between FARC-EP and the governments of Álvaro Uribe Vélez and Juan Manuel Santos, RCN TV newscast played a leading role in the coverage of different events, from the terrorist attacks committed by this organization, to the overthrow of the guerrilla leaders. The appearance of the Democratic Security Policy in 2003 proposed in its discursive base the elimination of subversion through the increase of the State's Public Force, which defined the conceptual parameters to justify the elimination of the enemies of the State; at this point, television media such as RCN played a crucial role in the selective issuance and construction of specific events that pointed out who were the violent ones within the framework of Democratic Security.

Complementing the above, the construction of a media enemy involved the issuance of a series of actions that were qualified as harmful or violent, but this case study is not focused on the discursive accumulation of those actions but in the broadcast of the overthrow of one of the guerrilla leaders: the Monojojoy. Through the news scoop of the RCN TV newscast, a *negative* characterization of the killed guerrilla leader is reconstructed which in itself justifies and reminds viewers of the need for his execution by debugging the link between media and politics, in the same way the connection between the speeches and concepts of State policies and the interpretation of facts through the TV newscast. Specifically, the concepts used by the broadcaster of the broadcast of 8:00 a.m. on September 22, 2010, were analyzed to demarcate the dimensions in the discourse from the justification of his overthrow legitimizes political power.

Two important analytical moments were identified: the characterization of political enemies through a methodological constructivism and the emergence of political leaders (Juan Manuel Santos) who legitimize themselves through interpretive discourse. In order to confront these two analytical moments, the theoretical discussion is composed of two models: The spectacular construction of the enemies as part of a constructive model: Balandier, (1994); Murray, (1991); Camps, (2011); Debord, (1967) and Dayan & Katz, (1992); and the connection of political speeches and TV newscasts for the leading appearance of the leaders: Bourdieu, (1997); Entman, (2004); Hoskins and O'Loughlin, (2007) and Casey, Calvert, French & Lewis, (2008).

2. OBJECTIVES

Los objetivos planteados dentro del desarrollo de la investigación están caracterizados en tres momentos:
1. Identify the interpretative-conceptual relationship between RCN TV newscast and the Democratic Security Policy.
2. Analyze the constructive characterization of the Monojojoy as an enemy through RCN TV newscast.
3. Observe the emergence of Juan Manuel Santos as a leader in view of the construction and elimination of the enemy.

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3. METHODOLOGY

In order to develop the proposal, we chose to study a specific case of killed FARC guerrillas: the Monojojoy and its broadcast through RCN-Colombia TV newscasts as a concrete point to learn subjectivation processes through the news format of this chosen channel, in the same way, its relation with the general concepts of the Democratic Security Policy.

This piece of research does not generalize other TV-news-producing channels, nor does it carry out a comparative analysis between newscasts to avoid saturation and repetition processes in the analysis of results, for this reason, it was considered pertinent to conduct a case study with a single TV news channel to achieve an interpretative and constructive-epistemological framework that helps us to understand the action itself of the TV news discourse. Based on this, it is highlighted that the concepts used in the Democratic Security Policies are adapted to the discourse about the death of the guerrilla broadcast through the "Breaking news" in RCN TV newscast, in order to explain and understand the Symbolic interactionism between TV news and politics.

In order to obtain the analysis, we chose the "Breaking news" in RCN TV newscasts at the 8:00 am broadcast on September 22, 2010, which lasted 5 minutes.

The analysis of this broadcast was divided into two moments that were placed in a classification and division of speech box that is referenced in letters and colors. From letter [A] to [C] of yellow color were the fragments that represented the processes of construction and characterization of the enemy in what was called the spectacular construction of the enemy; in the second part of the box that goes from letter [D] to [E] and represented by green color, it allows us to analyze the discourse in which the uses of the political leaders are given for the processes of legitimization of power and the moral justification for making their action valid before the viewers, it is in this part where the content analysis has its relevance through the ambiguous and diverse uses of the concepts that build the "reality" of the event.

In this process, four basic concepts were identified: "low", "violent", "finish" and "great news", these made it possible to understand from the epistemological constructivism that is reinforced with theorists like Murray (1991) and Entman (2004), who allow us to glimpse the relation of power with the constructive processes of the political visibility and the discursive and conceptual alliance between television and the Administrations of State as we will see below with the model of Entman (2004). Finally, these four concepts are correlated with both the construction of the enemies ("low" and "violent"), and with the use of leaders ("finish" and "great news"). It should be noted that this piece of research is of a qualitative nature supported by an analysis of content according to the division of discourse mentioned above.

4. DISCUSSION: SHOW AND DEATH

Whether death is a tragedy or a party depends on the discursive structure of the person who mentions it, Murray (1991) provides a complete theory of the way in

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which this type of events can impact on a broad social sphere; in its social construction of the political show it deals with three elementary points, which are:

- *The construction and uses of social problems*
- *The construction and uses of political leaders*
- *The construction and uses of political enemies*

These three points are fundamental to understand more closely the discourse of RCN TV newscast in the broadcast about the death of alias Monojojoy. In this broadcast of TV news analyzed in the results, two of the points made by Murray are fulfilled: The construction and use of political leaders and the construction and use of political enemies, these two moments are fulfilled implicitly and explicitly respectively, but undoubtedly the sphere of the uses of social problems becomes a crucial mechanism to promote these two.

One of the key signs is the construction of the enemy as a political problem that is part of an implicit ideological summary of the events issued in the speech of the news broadcaster, this is allowed because the "everyday language of some people who do not recognize it whatsoever as ideological accept the expressions [as] a way in which the world is constituted" (Murray, 1991, p. 21), there is no questioning or argumentative criticism of the viewer about the event presented as news, attention is given to this information and the reinforcement of its images as a must be on the part of the natural forces of political events.

The emergence of a social and political problem presented as news seeks to stimulate a kind of unrest and demand for a solution guided by the broadcaster who seeks, in the interview of political representatives, their "opinions" about the event (Bourdieu, 1997). To every problem there must be a solution as constitutive inference of advertising, therefore, the emergence of an energetic leader who feels a hard position in front of the negative event presented as news makes it possible to elaborate a competition against the "evil" that is constructed through of the presented events and indicated as reference signs of what should not be done in the social and political sphere (Murray, 1991).

For this political problem to exist and leaders to excel, it is unavoidable to know the "origin of evil" and enunciate it to the public opinion, rather than by its leaders, it points to its facts and then demonstrates who the authors of such "*barbarism*" were. Therefore, broadcasters and journalists have to incite to mention only part of the event, they must be politically demarcated to leave no doubts or loose questions in the viewers. As Bourdieu (1997) maintains:

> It is true that there is political intervention, and political control (exercised, in particular, through the appointment of the leading positions), but it is also true that, in a current era, there is great precariousness in employment and with an exercise of a reserve of candidates to enter the professions related to radio and television, the propensity to political conformism is much greater. People get carried away by a conscious or unconscious form of self-censorship, without having to make a call to order (p. 19).

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Bourdieu submits the ideological vision of television and especially the TV newscasts to the socioeconomic needs of the broadcaster (journalist), the lack of employment has led them to join the ideological lines of politicians who directly and indirectly sponsor the production; therefore, their professional "impartiality" that is the peculiarity of journalists has disappeared, in this order of ideas begins the television submission from the subordination of the journalist who excluded his critical capacity when choosing events and his interpretation, assuming the structure of the stories according to the commercial and political profits of television directors and producers (Bourdieu, 1997).

So as to strengthen this commercial perspective, it must make the broadcast information a spectacular fact (Debord, 1967), which is why the technical characteristics of television facilitate the function of a prepared information transmitter and a passive receiver that consumes it without the opportunity to discuss the nature of the incident presented as news. According to this obvious advantage, the newscast must sustain its existence in a double dimension, the first is loyalty of the audience through the spectacular production of "reality" according to an agenda of images and "Breaking news" (Dayan & Katz, 1992; Hoskins & O'Loughlin, 2007); and the second, maintain its link with the topmost spheres of political power to give validity and legitimacy to their interpretations of social order (Casey, Calvert, French & Lewis, 2008, Entman, 2004).

Although Guy Debord does not elaborate a theory about television, he lays the foundations to understand the structure of what he calls the society of the show, in which he grants the image a predominant role in the life of the passive receiver who sees in it a self-portrait of the power that rules over society and over himself; As Debord sustains (1967 [1995]):

> Wherever the real world is transformed into simple images, simple images become real beings, efficient motivations of a hypnotic behavior. The spectacle, as a tendency to show, through different specialized mediations, the world that can no longer be directly reached, normally finds sight to be the privileged human sense that was touch in other times; the most abstract sense, the most susceptible to deception, corresponds to the generalized abstraction of today's society. But the spectacle cannot be identified by simply seeing, even combined with hearing. The spectacle is what escapes the activity of men, the reconsideration and correction of their works. It is the opposite of dialogue. Wherever there is independent representation, the spectacle is (1967, Apdo. 18, p. 13).

Television and the succession of images give way to the construction of stories and characters that are integrated into the discursive orders of a piece of news, which point through the show to produce political reality effects (Debord, 1967 [1995], Murray, 1991), as Debord mentioned: "the spectacle is what escapes the activity of men", where a part of the world is represented as the world itself and takes on a transcendental relevance over the other problems present in society itself, it is necessary to make these events spectacular so that the audience margin is extended to the maximum. The model of Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz (1992) develops the

concept of Media Event that assumes all the audiovisual production of television as a show that assumes the totality of the social structure, where the subject is unaware of his reality and assumes that of television and its different media events as true:

> Shades of political spectacle Are media events, then, electronic incamations of the stages eventd of revolutionary regimes and latter-day version of the mass rallies of fascism? We trhink not, even if they might seem to be, it is true thet media events find society in a vulnerable state as fat as indoctrination is concerned: divided into nuclear cells of family and Friends, disconected from the institutions of work and voluntary association, eyes and ears focused on the monopolistic message of the center, hearts prepared with room. This is reminiscent, mutatis mutandis, of the social structure of a disaster that strikes at night, or of a brainwashing regimen. The threshold of suggestbility is at its lowest the more isolated the individual is from others, the more accessible he or she is to the media, the more dependent the person is, the more the power to reward conformity or punish deviation is in the hands of the Communicator (Dayan & Katz, 1992, p. 18).

Dayan and Katz highlight that the production of news is part of the mass show, which is experienced in three moments: contest, conquest and coronation, they are highlighted as the festive visions of television and have a direct impact on the generation of information as public ceremonial of collective beliefs and political legitimization of national unification, to these authors, television events are eventual rites that unify the political and social vision of events without any need for their being structural in the life of the nation, they make it possible to share the same collective interpretation, for that reason, rather than a broadcast, it is a *ceremonial* (Dayan & Katz, 1992). Therefore, the news known as "Breaking news" focus the point of attention towards what is considered of national interest, which surpasses all other social and political foci and imposes a logic that seems transcendental and historical, but that adapts to the logic of manifest eventuality in political interests (Dayan & Katz, 1992; Hoskins & O'Loughlin, 2007).

Television has the task of providing attention to what is considered unexpected within the traditional agenda of newscasts, when an item of "Breaking news" as the death of a terrorist leader or other conjunctural event renews the television agenda, contextualizing the ceremonials and creating new theatrical spaces on the screen (Balandier, 1994, Dayan & Katz, 1992), these ceremonials are the same emotional processes of the viewers who see, through the presentation of "justice" or "injustice", ways to be happy or sympathetic to the events presented as images in the TV newscast (Camps, 2011).

The "Breaking news" is presented as one of the substantial events of TV newscasts because it keeps the very existence of the news alive, produces spectacular novelty, emotionally moves viewers who await a beneficial outcome of the news that makes them believe in the political powers and in democracy (Dayan & Katz, 1992; Entman, 2004). To Hoskins and O'Loughlin (2007) the "Breaking news" evoke more immediate responses from audience, the presentation of news with reference to terrorism and unlimited threats by armed people and organizations lead directly to

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alienate viewers because it generates insecurity and, therefore, they await the outcome, showing all kinds of cruelties, but at the same time they give alternative solutions to what they present, they generate the poison and the antidote:

> Television news achieves this disruption and resolution chiefly through its economy of liveness. Time is the driving organisational principle of television news, and to understand the relationship between television and the matters upon which it reports, the temporalities of the medium need to be fully explored. One aspect of this principle is the medium's capacity to impose a temporal ordering on events so that they mirror the continuities of what can be described as every day or 'clocktime'. For audiences, it might be suggested, the threat of terror events raised by television news needs to be neutralised to ensure the security of continued viewing, and the regularity or 'flow' of television news offers, paradoxically, a reassurance (Hoskins y O'Loughlin, 2007, p. 24)

This security-time originated in TV news produces processes of political legitimation against events such as terrorism or natural disasters, the reproduction of information points to symbolic objectives that are incorporated into the speech and which it, in turn, links to statements that produce political results, to define the problems in such a way that the solutions are legitimate, consequently, the immediacy and importance of an item of news is constituted as a priority process within the discursive order of TV news, these news are political anchors that are reinforced with the 'expert' commentators that retransmit concepts such as terrorism, threat, safety, etc. (Hoskins and O'Loughlin, 2007), marking political solutions through the implicit creation of leaders and the current political power.

The media, especially television, are to some theorists the main tool for the expansion of their State policies (Entman, 2004, Thompson, 2001), conceiving that their alliance is essential for the construction of the visibility of power where a game is also generated to highlight values and legitimacies before their opponents, who use the illegitimate actors to link and thus achieve greater legitimacy before the viewers.

> With the development of the printing press and other media, however, political leaders began to increasingly enjoy a kind of independent publicity of their physical appearance before a gathered audience. The rulers not only used the new means of communication as a vehicle to promulgate their official decrees, but also as a means to fabricate a self-image capable of being transmitted to other people located in remote places (Thompson, 2001, p. 64)

The image of themselves is sustained by the constant promulgation of making their laws functional before the general public that sees them, of making them not only work in the centrality where the architecture of power is located but also in the deserted areas where the periphery is located, the isolated rural area of "pomposity" and security.

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Entman (2004) develops a theoretical model of political communication that functions as a cascade, it links and communicates with the political powers (see Box 1). The activation of the nodes so that the waterfall is functional is composed of a network of information that travels along different networks that make up its diffusion through concepts and images in the different media. This way, the ideas fall in cascade from the first public expressions of the Administration of State over an event of a political or social character. After public expressions, top political leaders begin to express their opinions regarding the primary expression of the head of state, these opinions lead in the same order of ideas to conversations between editors and journalists who finally bring the prepared product to the audience in general (Entman, 2004).
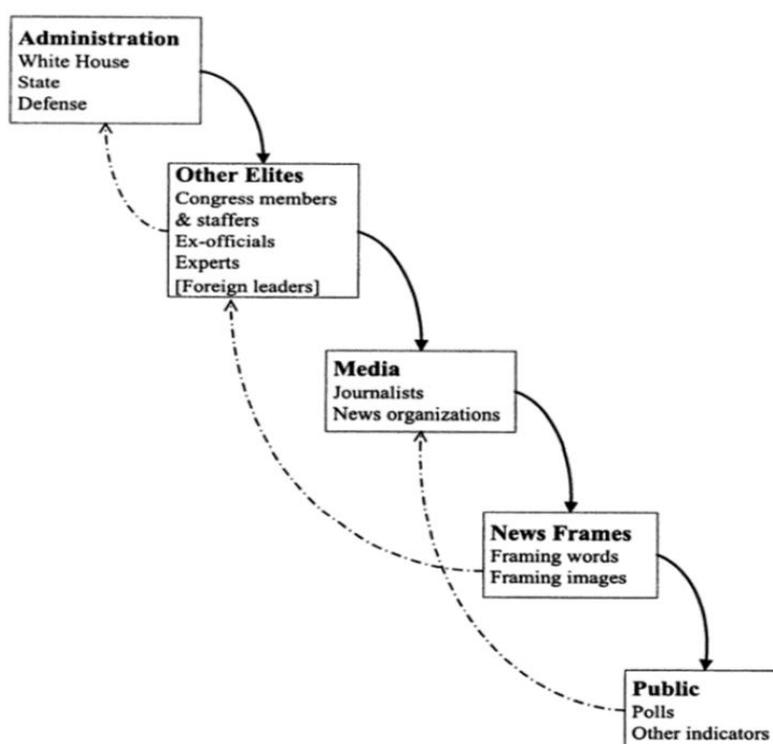

Figure 1. Entman Cascade Model (2004) postulated in his text: "Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and US Foreign Policy" p. 10.

The functional process of this mechanism is a kind of pull-push according to the organizational-conceptual framework of the opinions of the high command of the State, which puts order to the interpretations of the referred events, explains how a violent event can be classified as murder (if it favors a political action on the part of an influential power in the media), or if it is classified as overthrow if, this way, the law or some State agency can be victimized, conceptual development is a priority for the model to be functional (Entman, 2004).

If any of the boxes fail, the model will go to ground; therefore, the information will not be functional either for the news media or for the image of the politicians. The bottom-up feedback confirms the methods of political legitimacy on the part of the

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viewer who approves temporarily what the TV news present until a new event appears that renews its credibility; therefore, as part of the credibility and approval of the "truth" of the news, the journalist worries about being on the site of the event rather than analyzing the background structure of the event (Entman, 2004).

As Casey, Calvert, French & Lewis (2008) reinforces:

> The more dramatic examples of agenda-setting involve incidence of what are called 'moral panics'. This involves an upward spiral of concern, in which increases in news coverage prompt responses from politicians and other elites (who are keen to be seen to be responsive), and the media's coverage of this elite response creates even more media interest. When public concern begins to reflect media coverage, this ups the stakes still further, and political elites and the news media then appear to be responding to public opinion, until action is taken to 'deal' with the problema (p. 11).

This "moral panic" refers to the generic limits established by TV newscasts about the news stories that have sequence in each broadcast, these limits are established by the broadcaster not only in the development of the event, but, with the opinion and actions that governments will do according to the event selected as news, this allows political representatives to match their actions with the problems presented on television, giving strength to the theoretical development of Entman (2004) and his cascade model, in which it seems that the administration of the State Department induces a kind of public agenda of the topics of interest that will strengthen and legitimize its power.

5. RESULTS
TV NEWSCASTS: AMONG ENEMIES AND LEADERS

The Democratic Security Policy of former President Álvaro Uribe Vélez issued in 2003 was the defense policy of the Colombian State that strategically increased the military personnel throughout the Colombian territory to directly confront FARC-EP, this resulted in the national policy of "the fight against terrorism" seeking to consolidate control of the entire national territory (Ministry of National Defense, 2003). The result of this new strategy of war in the more than 50 years of armed confrontation in Colombia was the murder of guerrilla leaders like David Santamaría aka "Rubén" in February 2006; Tomás Medina Caracas, alias "El Negro Acacio" in September 2007, and in March 2008 the fall of Iván Ríos alias "Manuel Jesús Muñoz" and Luis Edgar Devia, alias "Raúl Reyes"; This demonstrated that the strategy of the Colombian Armed Forces was no longer focused only on the hand-to-hand confrontation but on the downside by means of bombardments to ringleaders, this as a form of military de-structuring.

The beginning of the presidential mandate of Juan Manuel Santos seemed to give continuity to the main axes of Democratic Security in Colombia when, in 2010, there was the assassination by bombing of another guerrilla leader: Victor Julio Suárez Rojas better known by the alias of "Monojojoy" This seemed to demarcate the path of

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the previous president. What interests us to highlight after the previous antecedent is how was the overthrow of "Monojojoy" addressed by the RCN television news program? Within the same Democratic Security policy, a communication policy was declared based on the actions of the State, in which it stated:

> The responsible handling of information is not only the task of all State entities. Likewise, it corresponds to the media, in compliance with the constitutional mandate, to be truthful and responsible, especially when it comes to disclosing information that may endanger the lives of people and the development of operations. Fulfilling these constitutional precepts is a particularly difficult task in a democratic country that, like Colombia, is besieged by terrorist organizations. They not only attack the freedom of the press through intimidation and violence but also disseminate false information, manipulating opinion and sowing confusion. The State will promote and support the reflection on the part of journalists and the media about what their role should be in a democracy in danger: if their journalistic practices support democratic values, what sources of information they legitimize and the effects of the language they use. (Ministry of National Defense, 2003, p. 64).

This way, the mechanisms enunciated by Entman (2004) show that the media promote the concepts demarcated by the State Administration to strengthen the legitimacy of their actions through media such as TV news, this is evident when he mentions: "If your journalistic practices support democratic values, what sources of information do they legitimize and *what are the effects of the language they use*"(italics mine). When the text mentions the concept of "democratic value", it demarcates to the media that the legality of their journalistic work is to legitimize the promotion of the policies of the current governments and to prohibit, to the same extent, the opinions of the armed actors denominated in the framework of «terrorism». But, in the armed conflict in Colombia, the paramilitary organizations had a greater space for participation in media such as television, which in some way allowed legitimizing speeches of their violent actions (Orozco, Barreto, Sabucedo and López-López, 2008, Cruz, 2009).

In our research context, it is the military actions of the Armed Forces of Colombia the ones that want to expose them as fair through concepts that do not denigrate their interventions, which is why Entman cascade model (2004) presented in the box [1] show how a state policy can establish concepts to build enemies or allies.

> [to] explain how variations in strategy, motivation, power, and cultural congruence all affect the degree to which competing ideas spread (Entman, 2004, p. 172).

The 8 am broadcast of the RCN news on September 22, 2010 shows the first news of the overthrow of Monojojoy, the message of "Breaking news" was prepared to remind viewers who the man who had been killed was, reconstructing a story that

gave moral justification to the act. Box [2] divides the messages enunciated during the presentation speech of the informative scoop.

Table 1
Div Characteristic message division issued by the RCN newsletter in its informative scoop on September 22, 2010

	MESSAGE		MESSAGE
TO	"A lot of attention! aka the "Monojojoy" would have been written off a few minutes ago".	**B**	"He was considered one of the most radical and violent guerrillas". "Scarce academic level, almost illiterate" "He gave the order of major operations such as the kidnapping of the twelve deputies, the kidnapping of Ingrid Betancourt and also attack in different towns of Colombia"
C	"There were no less than 62 arrest warrants, 12 security measures, 5 convictions, 2 extradition requests and 25 preliminary investigations for the crimes of: drug trafficking, terrorism, rebellion, homicide for terrorist purposes, kidnapping, constriction, injuries, personal, assault, extortion, conspiracy in drug trafficking activities and kidnapping, theft, illegal carrying of arms and many other crimes…!"	**D**	"It was precisely one of the orders that President Juan Manuel Santos had delivered on the day of his possession: We must put an end to the violence, we must put an end to terrorism and there must be an end to those who are part of the guerrilla groups"
E	"The air force carried out today this operation that gives an impressive news, a great news to the country, the Monojojoy in the Macarena would have been killed a few moments ago".		

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Box [2] represents two key moments in the transmission of the news. Following the theoretical model of Murray (1991), the news analysis presented in the box two moments: from letter [A] to [D] or the yellow boxes, evidence the discourses in which the media construction of the enemy, the justification for their annihilation and the creation of their life from the superficiality of the facts that strengthen the political interests take place. Letters [D] and [E] or the green boxes indicate the speeches in the production of leaders, in the authentication of the current power and the legitimacy of violent actions.

5.1. Construction of the enemy

Point [A] no doubt establishes the conceptual draft established by the state administration to legally justify the political-military action when enunciating military "casualty" and not murder or execution, the term is established within the margins of legality established in the Democratic Security plan (2003), an example of the above was the annihilation by FARC of seven soldiers in Palo Cauca on October 10, 2011, that same day, in the midday news of the RCN channel, the ex-Minister of Defense Juan Carlos Pinzón was broadcast announcing: "Seven members of the public force were attacked with explosives in a cruel way in a situation of defenselessness and murdered" (RCN newscast 10/10/2011).

If the previous citation is analyzed by the RCN channel, it can be contrasted that, a year before, the military forces carried out the same action, the use of aerial explosives attacking guerrillas while they were sleeping, but if the concepts are analyzed, they change from the top of the power, where the word "cruel" is used, this creates sensitivity to the fact, because "suffering highlights misery and finitude. The limitations of existence, helplessness, weakness and the need we all have for others, especially when things go wrong. In a word, contingency. The evil of others saddens, leads to commiseration and mercy, which are other names of compassion" (Camps, 2011, p. 133).

As Hoskins and O'Loughlin (2007) reinforce:

> Under the conditions of media renewal, however, there is the potential for an unrestrained connection to the distress of others. Audiences are subject to an array of catastrophes, conflict, and warfare, producing a glut of images of the distant suffering body. As we have suggested, this is mitigated to some extent as niche news channels and programmes disperse the terror of the world according to broadcasters' assumptions as to the political, cultural, and moral sensitivities of those presumed to be watching. However, knowledge of the potential horrors and fears of that which has not been fully exposed being just over the horizon or available in the ether in our living rooms does constitute an everyday presence, no matter how 'virtual'. Television news connects us with these daily terrors even and perhaps especially when it does not fully reveal them to us, i.e. in attempts at containment (p. 130).

Create sensitivity through images that favor violent actions towards interventionist political interests. In this sense, the former minister does not use the

term "casualty", but "murder", the conceptual change seems to purify some dead while condemning others, "casualty" is added to a replaceable pawn, "murder" frames the possible juridical ones and the humanization of "unjust" death giving the appearance of the victim.

Point [B] refers to attributes and actions of Monojojoy, constructing an imaginariness that does not materialize in argued references but in pre-established imaginariness that attributes transcendental traits, mentions that it was one of "the most radical and violent guerrillas" and, some minutes later, mentions: "Low academic level, almost illiterate", according to these statements it is understood that it is about building an enemy and not an adversary, "when an opponent is an enemy and not an adversary, what concentrates attention is not the process but the character of the opponent. Enemies are characterized by a trait or set of intrinsic traits that mark them as evil, immoral, twisted or pathological, and therefore as a continuing threat" (Murray, 1991, p. 80).

The enemy is built through their personality and not through their ideas, thoughts or expressions, their very existence is marginalized from the legal framework through their characterization of "radical and violent" implicitly ascribing that they do not open the possibility of dialogue or consensus, in essence their existence is presented through their political difference, like the Nazis with the Jews, by the mere fact of existing. The characterization that indicates "almost illiterate" wants to point out the irrationality of their actions, to divest them of the political meaning and to interpose bestiality to the antecedent of their military action, where a political objective is not demarcated, but a criminal pathology (Murray, 1991).

At the same point, he points out the military actions of Monojojoy, mentioning icons and political personalities that were victims of kidnapping and annihilation, events such as the kidnapping of Ingrid Betancourt and the twelve deputies were broadcast by Colombian television news from the beginning to its final outcome in Operation Check that allowed the release of Betancourt as well as the murder of the eleven deputies, the images of Betancourt kidnapped as proof of survival issued in November 2007 moved the country by its level of drama, this aspect was dramatic, not only because it reaffirms the violence of institutions, but also because it publicly sanctions the transgression of the prohibitions that society and its powers have declared inviolable and immoral (Balandier, 1994), recalling these events made it possible to justify through images and imaginations the "just execution" of the guerrilla leader.

In point [C], it not only wants to highlight the prescribed crimes of the guerrilla leader, but to maximize the list of aggressions, if that part of the speech is analyzed, it will be seen that it repeats kidnapping doubly and ends with the words "and many more crimes…", in that case, it molds an indescribable endless that does not enter the time limits of the broadcast (or that is what it wants to do implicitly). What it is trying to strengthen is the belief about "moral evil" (Casey, Calvert, French & Lewis, 2008) which means alias Monojojoy the sum of crimes are framed within the stereotype of legal margins and makes the viewer believe that he has freed himself from an evil that, although he did not experience it in his body, he lived it through the story of images, reminding him of images of kidnappings and attacks, making the past a political use for the present; as Hoskins and O'Loughlin (2007) argue:

> Television relies upon history and the past in reporting the present. Thanks to growing archives of footage, television can mix together images and stories from the past to instantly frame the present and indeed the future. In fact, stories from the past are increasingly stories from television's past. The history of the medium itself can be mapped onto the events that television news has reported. Such appropriation becomes constitutive of television's own 'memory'. As televisión announces, 'remember when we brought you this', it claims authorship as if to enhance its own credibility and legitimacy as an actor in those events. Critical to these operations are 'media templates', the principal mechanism of instant comparison and contrast that televisión news employs to reinforce or reshape past events as well as to interpret and direct those unfolding (p. 99).

The construction of political enemies is nourished by a background of their actions and characteristics of their personality that expands from the political conditions of the media, thus creating a personality idea that does not allow us to investigate deeper reasoning about the structure of their actions, the video-visibility of television is based on the cutting of the image and the narrations presented there, the collection of a selective and non-structural historical memory that included the causes of the conflict and the historical reasons of its actors. Political enemies are people who become identifiable through stereotypes of people who can be accused of perverse characteristics or actions. "What matters is not the damage, but the attribution" (Murray, 1991, p. 100).

5.2. Emergence of the leader

As we mentioned earlier, letters [D] and [E] are parts of the discourse that gave authenticity to the current political power, giving legitimacy to the military actions of the Colombian Armed Forces and projecting the triumph to civil society through television. . Here we ratify the model of Entman (2004), where the discursive force of the State through official information communicates to the media to adapt the message to the molds preset by the anti-terrorist policies (Democratic Security Policy) to legitimize the project of the current power and remind viewers who the enemies are (Ibid.) Point [D] mentions the words said by President Juan Manuel Santos to the military during his takeover in August 2010 and the broadcaster remembers it just for that moment: "Violence must be stopped, terrorism must be ended and those who are part of the guerrilla groups must be finished", the analogy from a critical perspective on the Democratic Security Policy was to put an end to violence through a greater increase in violence:

> We have both generosity to house those who desist from the violent path and firmness to defeat terrorism. Just as we will not pass out in order to defeat the last of the terrorists, those who want to make peace with the Colombian State have the opportunity to do so quickly, under the policy of demobilization (Ministry of Defense 2003, p. 7).

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In simpler words, the broadcaster spelled out in different terms the development of the policy and the message of President Juan Manuel Santos that seemed to be the continuator and heir of this politico-military model. The television media do not hesitate to constantly reaffirm the political positions of the presidential political power and to emotionally lead people to what they should feel about the statement of the news.

At point [E], when "this operation that gives an impressive news, a great news to the country" is mentioned, it frames viewers on the emotional frame in which they should be tuned with the joy at the appearance of "justice", "The feelings that served to move the behavior - because the reason is important for it - will end up being moved by justice, a justice that needs the State and institutions that oblige citizens to behave as such and to think about the beings that suffer most" (Camps, 2011, p. 138).

That is why it is fundamental, in this process of the politico-military actions of the State, to establish and renew the concepts as "justice" so that they adapt to the political needs of the State administrations to strengthen their legitimacy and violence; as Casey, Calvert, French & Lewis (2008) reinforces:

> Cultivation researchers have described television's influence on political attitudes as producing what they describe as a 'mainstreaming' effect. Television, they argue, operates within the fairly narrow confines of a political mainstream – usually defined as such by political elites – while celebrating the value of 'moderation' over 'extremism' (p. 66).

For this reason, television carries out the process of demonstrating the demarcations of the social problems generated by the enemies of the State. The construction of the enemies is the crucial task of TV newscasts, as we have seen with the case of Monojojoy, no premeditated analyses are established about the structural processes that led that man to war, but rather, there is insistence on pointing out his characteristics and actions as irrational and apolitical functions; therefore, the emergence of the leader is crucial in TV newscasts, the image of President Juan Manuel Santos is the demarcation of the other side of the conflict: the promotion and emergence of a leader, to do so, the alliance with the media is fundamental in four terms: Define effects and conditions as problematic, identify causes, transmit moral judgments and support solutions and improvements (Entman, 2004), without doubt these four actions feed the emergence of a leader who promulgates the improvements of problems through actions as long as it is promoted by media advertising, when the journalist mentions the words of President Juan Manuel Santos: "We must put an end to violence" undoubtedly he frames a concept of violence that is not that of the State, but that of its enemies, its military actions want to be relayed as a just action that practices violence as a form of political and territorial domination (Weber, 2014 [1922]). The TV newscast frames the actions of the State as a necessary action that does not frame it conceptually as violence, even though he repeats the word "finish" as evident synonymous to erase the existence of political difference, to eliminate antagonisms and liquidate anyone that was part of the FARC organization.

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The creation of leaders, problems and political solutions is necessarily rooted in the media, they are the ones that expand the image-translated speeches and concepts of the leaders to the peripheral areas of political centrality, it is an intrinsically necessary alliance so that the cascade model of Entman (2004) works fully, using resonant concepts and images that demarcate the differences, but, above all, that exalt the political leaders:

> The words and images that make up the frame can be distinguished from the rest of the news by their capacity to stimulate support or opposition to the sides in a political conflict. We can measure this capacity by cultural resonance and magnitude. "Those frames that employ more culturally reso- nant terms have the greatest potential for influence. They use words and images highly salient in the culture, which is to say noticeable, understand. able, memorable, and emotionalbycharged". Magnitude taps the prominence and repetition of the framing words and images. The more resonance and magnitude, the more likely the framing is to evoke similar thoughts and feelings in large portions of the audience (Entman, 2004, p. 6).

For this case, the concepts were redefined by the broadcaster of RCN TV news in which the construction of the enemy was allowed, as a political justification dictated from the presidency of the republic, he also announced to viewers because they should feel that they were before "great news for the country", because, in the first place, he set the antecedents to remind viewers who Monojojoy was from the interpretative perspective of RCN, and secondly, he enunciates implicitly from the preconceived concepts of institutionality and from State policies, who the protagonists were in this news story.

The propagation of Juan Manuel Santos as leader of the operation against the enemy lies in the ability of TV news to promote him as a strategist that solves dilemmas and threats to security because of terrorist actions, "strong" leaders" typically obtain their reputation with policies that cause risks, suffering, or death to a large number of people. If the desire for security and protection creates leaders, they do more than their part to build threats to well-being and keep those aspirations alive [through the media]" (Murray, 1991, p. 48). To quote the words of the president in the first information of "Breaking news" wants to demarcate his action as a public good maintained by an informative tradition of 8 years of media fight against terrorism, this fight was demarcated by the fixed antecedents of annihilation and violent acts of this guerrilla and one of its leaders: Víctor Julio Suárez Rojas, aka Jorge Briceño Suárez (Monojojoy).

6. CONCLUSION

Although it seemed that the social propagation of the Internet would forever displace television, what is reaffirmed is that this medium and its news content is in force as the main form when it comes to information, as a consequence, this is still the main means used by politicians to promote and legitimize their State policies.

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According to its technical essence as a means of simple passive reception of information, the discursive formats of the news take advantage of it and redefine the social and political reality according to the interests agreed with the governments of the day (Entman, 2004, Casey, Calvert, French & Lewis 2008) without being questioned by any viewer (unlike the Internet and social networks with their interaction), this allows them to select certain events that strengthen the rejection against the "enemies" of the government and its state policies, as well as to effectively highlight the actions of the main government representatives.

One of the crucial tasks of TV newscasts is to continue strengthening the problems selected as a priority on the agenda of State Administrations (Entman, 2004), their task is to see a single perception of the conflict. There they do not ask themselves about the origin of the conflict as a media way to promote social demands that lead governments to seek efficient solutions to the origins of the problems, TV newscasts take part of the problem and that selection becomes an unquestionable whole, in this same way, every attribute and negative characterization of the enemy adds to the social construct of the enemy (Hoskins and O'Loughlin, 2007).

The just death of the enemy does not offer any structural explanations to the audience because it would lose its spectacular nuance defined by moral roles between *the good* and *the bad* (Casey, Calvert, French & Lewis 2008, Hoskins and O'Loughlin, 2007), this characterization is fundamental because it demarcates the very legitimacy of the violence exerted by the "good" and "heroic" actor that, through the television scene of his speeches, demonstrates he seeks the common good with his policies that reflect his apparent rationalization of the conflict, projecting dynamism among the policies and actions (Murray, 1991) there arises the relevant figure that dictates rational orders, in our case the mention by RCN broadcaster of the constant citation of President Juan Manuel Santo as "the first outstanding action of his government". This rationalization of the solutions is obviously the opposite of the irrationality or "illiteracy" mentioned by the broadcaster when he spoke about Monojojoy.

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