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**The Liberation Struggle in Cyprus and  
the Greek-Cypriot Press: The Positions  
of the Leading Greek-Cypriot Press in  
1957-1960. The Case of “Eleftheria”  
Newspaper**

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Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos  
President  
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**The Liberation Struggle in Cyprus and the Greek-Cypriot Press: The Positions of the Leading Greek-Cypriot Press in 1957-1960. The Case of “Eleftheria” Newspaper**

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**Abstract**

Little is known of the relationship between the anticolonial movement in Cyprus and the role of the Greek-Cypriot press. The lack of prior work is a major obstacle and a challenge for communication, media and/or social movements researchers who have no empirical knowledge-base on which to found contemporary studies. The archival material is vast, while at the same time the researcher is confronted with various problems, such as the choice of methodology and testimonials. In a bid to address this absence, this paper presents the preliminary findings of a study dealing with the Liberation Movement of Cyprus (EOKA) and how this was depicted through the Greek-Cypriot press. The period under study is 1957 to 1960, which is when the EOKA movement was active. Based on a content analysis this study investigates the positions of three leading Greek-Cypriot newspapers of that period and aims to present the positions of each newspaper at the level of policy towards the liberation movement. The study finds that each newspaper had its own political approach (agenda – settings), framework (framing) and mediation. Preliminary findings suggest that the Greek-Cypriot press under the colonial regime presented the liberation and the “enosis” movement more in its news-articles-reports and less in opinion articles and commentaries. The study further reveals that journalists’ articles were mostly unsigned. These observations illustrate that one consequence of the politically explosive situation in Cyprus was that journalists were reluctant to take sides for or against the leaders of the liberation movement.

**Keywords:** Press, Liberation Struggle, Cyprus

## **Introduction**

This publication focuses on the positions of three newspapers, namely “Eleftheria”, “O Phileleftheros” and “Haravgi” through their front-page publications on the Cyprus issue, during the period of the struggle of the Liberation Movement of Cyprus (EOKA). In particular, the period under study begins in 1957, a period of major local conflicts between the colonists and the natives and ends on 31 December 1960 when the first presidential elections were carried out in the independent Republic of Cyprus. The period was chosen because the armed, liberation struggle of EOKA led the country, through the developments, to independence, contrary to the initial national objective for unification or “enosis” of Cyprus with Greece.

## **Methodology – Working Hypotheses**

The purpose of this study is to record and represent the liberation movement in Cyprus through the Greek-Cypriot press. Towards that end, we studied the daily printed media from 1957 to 1960. More particularly, we examined the front-page publications of the newspapers “Eleftheria”, “O Phileleftheros” and “Haravgi” during the period from 1957 and 1960 and the way they presented the liberation movement to the public opinion.

The research involved recording the news of daily newspapers of island-wide circulation, determining the most important front-page news that indicate the extent to which the Cyprus issue was covered. In this case, the role of the press is very important in ensuring that there are conditions that will allow citizens to receive adequate information. In other words, the media have proved extremely competent in communicating particular positions or issues and making them seem the most important in the conscience of the public. This is what emerged from the research of McCombs and Shaw (1972), who stressed on the skill of attributing comparative significance to current (and other) issues and also on the ability of telling people not *what* to think but *about what* to think.

We recorded representations of ‘resistance’ collated via four categories of article focus: a) Liberation Movement in Cyprus, b) Colonial Government in Cyprus, c) Countries Involved and d) Other anti-colonial movements.

The method that we used is content analysis. It is a method of analysis that may be applied in all types of written speech such as texts, documents, interviews, news reports. This method helps with analysing the characteristics of the message of a text, the language and its type and includes five phases (Constantinidou, 1998):

1. The procedure of collecting empirical material
2. The isolation of items (recording units)
3. The classification of recording units into categories
4. The quantity conversion and measurement of items (codification)

5. Analysis and interpretation of items.

During the first stage, we identify the empirical material, namely the news report/s relevant to the study. During the second stage, we isolate the news reports that can be used. During the third stage, we perform the procedure of classification, which means that we separate the topics into categories. During the fourth stage, we converted the quantitative items into such form that makes computer processing possible so that they can be compared and described (ibid, 1998). During the fourth stage, the data is presented, analysed and interpreted. This is the final stage when conclusions are drawn. The thematic analysis helps us seek answers to questions such as what the image of the national liberation struggle of EOKA is and what the image of British colonists is, since opinions and ideas through front-page publications can be recorded and subsequently connected. Moreover, by classifying and categorising news reports we can identify the different positions/ views expressed in one place. In conclusion, *content analysis* is considered one of the most important approaches and techniques in the field of analysing texts and especially newspaper texts. It is an established methodological tool in social sciences as well as for the interpretive analysis of news reports. According to Krippendondoff (1980), content analysis is a systematic, objective and quantitative method for the studying of messages of mass media which allows for conclusions to be drawn with regard to the relationship between messages and their environment. It is worth noting that during content analysis, the researcher may develop different procedures of measurement, depending on the type of meaning recorded, since content analysis may be applied on any text (Iyengar and Simon, 1987).

**Selecting the Time Periods**

The selection of time periods is primarily determined by the working hypotheses and the material to be investigated. 1957 to 1960 was chosen as the time period for analysis due to this corresponding with the activity of the pre-independence movement. The length of the period in question allows us to form an opinion about the various reflections of the image of the Greek Cypriot community which form and transform depending on the events taking place both internally, within the Cypriot community, as well as internationally. Moreover, by not restricting ourselves to a shorter period, we optimise the quantity of material required to support our arguments.

a) Numbering and recording two issues per week, on the first and last day of the week (Tuesday and Sunday since there were no issues on Monday) for the period of four years in the newspapers “Eleftheria”, “O Phileleftheros” and “Haravgi”. We chose Sunday because in the Sunday issue/ newspaper, we observe a greater range of news and topics as well as a more detailed analysis of the events that happened during the week.

b) From these issues, the material examined was selected from the front page because it contains a plethora of news, articles and analyses. Moreover,

the front page is dominated by news of high importance and current interest that aim at drawing readers' attention to purchase the newspaper.

### *Evolution of the Press through Time (Newspapers)*

As regards newspapers, we can reasonably argue that their milestones of evolution are directly connected to turning points of the political developments and important events of Cyprus history. The periods of evolution of the Press coincide, to a certain extent, with the phases of the Cyprus issue. Two issues of the first and last day of the week during the years 1957 to 1960 were examined and then the newspapers' positions in relation to historical events which describe liberation, nationalism and political period were recorded.

More particularly, the working hypotheses are the following:

- The newspapers, due to the colonial regime, faced the liberation and unification ("enosis") movement mainly by covering the events frequently and less by publishing articles and comments,
- The positions of newspapers during the colonial regime and the liberation movement can be detected mainly through the frequency and quantity of publications and less through the interpretations, titles and subtitles of texts, since the press was under an oppressive regime.
- Not all newspapers supported or were expressly in favour of the liberation movement.
- The style and accentuation of publications is dependent on the publication
- Due to the colonial regime and the liberation struggle, the authors may avoid signing their articles. Consequently, the positions of the newspapers might be expressed through editorials.

### **Selecting the Newspapers**

Selecting the material is a major problem because as many headlines as possible should be selected from the plethora of newspapers. If samples that are representative from a statistical point of view cannot be taken, then issues that are "representative" in the typological sense must be determined.

In this research, we selected the three newspapers on the basis of their political orientation. The research below was conducted for the period between January 1957 and December 1960. Overall, 3,959 front page publications as units of analysis from all three newspapers ("Eleftheria" 2,095, "O Phileleftheros" 1,132 and "Haravgi" 732) were scrutinised. In order to examine the front page publications, the following categories/variables were used:

1. The origin of every publication, namely the corresponding newspaper and date.
2. Whether the news report was placed on the right-hand or left-

hand side of the newspaper. The right-hand side is considered more conspicuous compared to the left-hand side at least when it comes to newspapers of a large shape (Demertzis, 1999).

3. The size of each publication.
4. The front-page publications classified according to their type as: Main Article, Opinion article – analysis – comment/ opinion – commentary, reportage-research, interview, announcement, letter, simple news report, other.
5. The title of each front-page publication was recorded and classified based on the ratings “positive”, “negative” or “neutral”.
6. In order to investigate the content of news, the number of certain references in each publication was recorded so that we could focus on the protagonists: Archbishop Makarios, Zenon Rossides, Harding, Foot, Karamanlis etc.
7. The news reports were recorded based on the source, origin of the source and draftsperson of the article (whether it is signed or not, international news agency, special correspondence).

### **The Positions of “Eleftheria”, “O Phileleftheros” and “Haravgi”: The Results**

The newspaper covers a variety of topics in the form of articles, studies, commentaries, news reports from within the island and abroad, news relating to art, the courts, correspondence from all districts and a variety of other information (Sofokleous, 2003:137). “Eleftheria’s” character was clearly anti-British throughout the period under study. Moreover, “Eleftheria’s” unchangeable objectives were to awaken the Greek Cypriots and promote the rights of Cyprus’ people. Ideologically, it is not an extreme newspaper. It is a conservative publication that supports Cyprus’s unification (“enosis”) with Greece but it never expresses its opinions in an intense or provocative manner. Its moderate articles aim primarily at informing readers using a sarcastic tone, therefore allowing it to castigate the ills of the country and promote its ideology tactfully.

The topics appearing repeatedly and consistently throughout the period under study in “Eleftheria” newspaper are the following:

- (1) the Greekness of Cyprus based on language, religion and history
- (2) by extension, “Eleftheria” supports Cyprus’s unification with Greece
- (3) the interventionism of the British administration in education matters and hence the effort to “de-Hellenify” Greek Cypriots, which means to make them less Greek
- (4) the high tax rates imposed by the British administration in combination with the adverse climate conditions, epidemics,

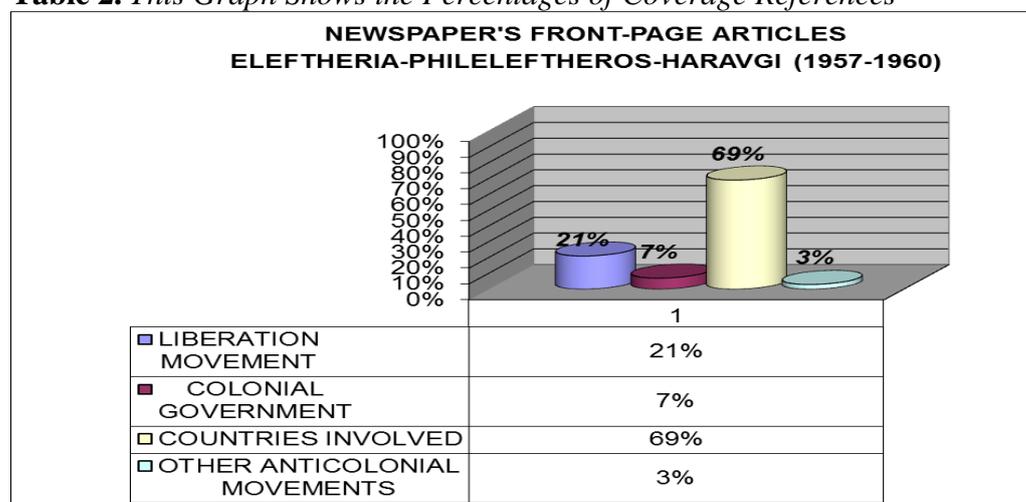
- increased crime and corruption of officials obstructing the island's development,
- (5) the partiality of the British in favour of the Turkish Cypriot community,
  - (6) the international conventions dealing with the Cyprus issue as well as all the statements about the island made by foreign leaders
  - (7) the statements of British, Greek and Turkish people regarding Cyprus.
- The selection of this newspaper from January 1957 is made for the reason that it is considered a significant source of information as regards the facts before the commencement of the EOKA liberation struggle against the Crown Colony. As typically stated by Rolandos Katsiaounis, “the most reliable newspaper of the era was ‘Eleftheria’ in Nicosia of Demosthenis Stavrinides” (Katsiaounis, 2000:21). At this point, it is worth noting that we located back issues “Eleftheria” newspaper at the archives of Limassol Municipality.

**Table 1. References in Front-Page News  
ELEFThERIA, O PHILELEFThEROS, HARAVGI 1957-1960**

References	1957-1960	Total	%
1	844	844	21%
2	258	258	7 %
3	2732	2732	69%
4	124	124	3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3958</b>	<b>3958</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>%</b>		<b>100</b>	

1. Liberation Movement in Cyprus
2. Colonial Government in Cyprus
3. Countries Involved
4. Other anti-colonial movements of that era

**Table 2. This Graph Shows the Percentages of Coverage References**



*The Case of “ELEFThERIA” 1957-1960*



We observed that during the years 1957-1960, “Eleftheria” newspaper continuously described the political developments emanating from the activities of the liberation movement and the involvement of certain key countries in the future of Cyprus. These years are critical since significant liberation events take place, such as the armed activity of EOKA which is particularly intense, the sacrifice of young men belonging to the organisation, political developments such as the return of Archbishop Makarios from the exile in Seychelles and the subsequent commencement of negotiations among the countries involved which ended with the agreement for independence and the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. Indeed, we noticed that political news have the primary role in “Eleftheria” newspaper due to the events and the tense situation and are preferred by the editors and editors in chief (Manning 2007:114).

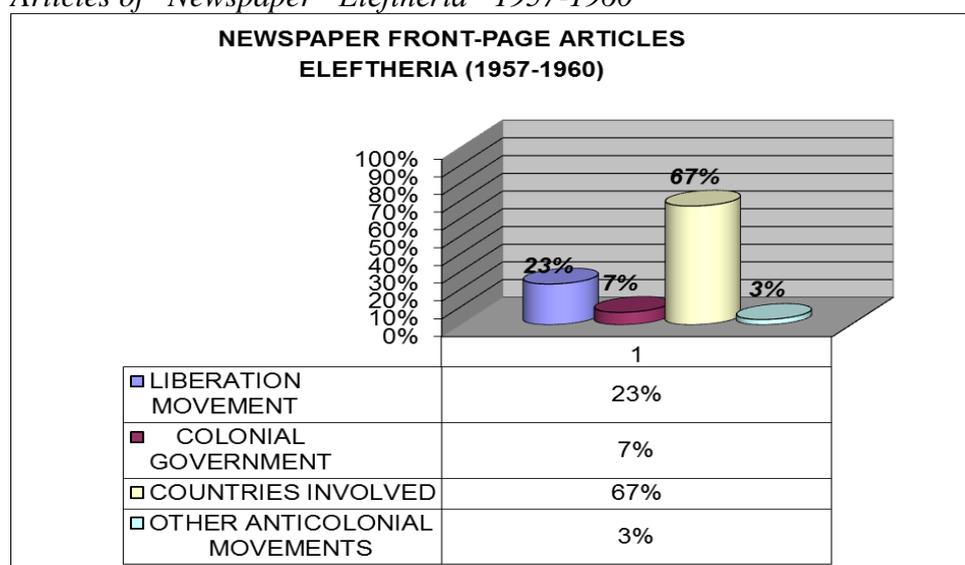
Next, the statistics for the newspaper and separate references in front-page news reports published on Sunday (end of week) and Tuesday (beginning of new week) dealing with the liberation movement in “Eleftheria” newspaper for the period 1957-1960 are presented.

**Table 3.** *References in Front-page Articles on Newspaper Eleftheria in 1957-1960*

References	1957-1960	Total	%
1	477	477	23%
2	146	146	7%
3	1414	1414	67%
4	58	58	3%
<b>Total</b>	2095	<b>2095</b>	100%
<b>%</b>		100	

1. *Liberation Movement in Cyprus*
2. *Colonial Government in Cyprus*
3. *Countries involved*
4. *Other anti-colonial movements of that era*

**Table 4.** Graph showing Percentages of Coverage References from Daily Articles of Newspaper “Eleftheria” 1957-1960



Looking at the variable drafting of published article (Table 5), signed articles account for a percentage of 48%. We observe an increased tendency for signed articles compared to previous years. At the same time, unsigned articles reach a percentage of 50%, while International News Agencies account for only 2%. It is worth noting that during all three years, no article with special correspondence was published.

**Table 5.** Drafting of published Article on Newspaper Eleftheria in 1957-1960

Drafting of published article	1957-1960	Total	%
Signed articles	275	--	48%
Unsigned articles	284	--	50 %
International News Agencies	9	--	2%
Particular correspondence	--	--	--
<b>Total</b>	568	568	%
<b>%</b>		<b>100</b>	100%

In the category type of publication (Table 6), we observe that in the 285 articles that we collected in total, the category “reportage – research” accounts for 50%; the category main article follows with 35.5% and simple news reports account for 12%.

**Table 6.** *Type of Publication on Newspaper Eleftheria in 1957-1960*

<b>Type of publication</b>	1957-1960	Total	%
Main article/editorial	202	202	35.5%
Opinion article - analysis	3	3	0.5 %
Reportage - research	285	285	50%
Interview	6	6	1%
Announcement	2	2	0.3%
Letter	4	4	0.7%
Simple news report	66	66	12%
<b>Other</b>	--	--	%
<b>Total</b>	568	568	%
<b>%</b>		<b>100</b>	100%

As regards the variable rating of publication (Table 7) of front-page articles of “Eleftheria” newspaper, the actions of the liberation protagonists are characterised positively. Namely, the actions of protagonists are rated positively at a percentage of 55%. 194 of the publications have negative content (34%) and neutral articles account for 11%. The views expressed by the protagonists who are also politicians are typical since each of them gives a different perspective and explanation.

**Table 7.** *Rating of Publication on Newspaper Eleftheria in 1957-1960*

<b>Stance of publication</b>	1957-1960	Total	%
Positive	309	309	55%
Negative	194	194	34%
Neutral	65	65	11%
<b>Total</b>	568	568	%
<b>%</b>		<b>100</b>	100%

Regarding the protagonists (Table 8), Archbishop Makarios and his Archbishopric Office receive an overall percentage of 40%, John Harding, the British Governor of Cyprus receives a low 3% from 23% that he had in 1956. The first appearance of the EOKA leader, General Georgios Griva Digenis is noticeable since he gets 8%. This proves that “Eleftheria” newspaper has access to the EOKA leader’s military staff.

**Table 8.** *Focus on the Protagonists On Newspaper Eleftheria in 1957-1960*

<b>Focus on the protagonists</b>	1957-1960	Total	%
Archbishop Makarios	386	386	40%
Zenon Rossides, Archbishop's Advisor	26	26	3%
Nikos Kranidiotis, Secretary of the Ethnarchy	4	4	0.3%
Bishops of towns	--	--	--
Georgios Grivas Digenis, EOKA leader	89	--	8%
Mayors of towns	--	--	--
Political parties representatives (AKEL)	--	--	--
Pan-Rural Union Cyprus	--	--	--
EOKA	61	61	5%
Mufti in Cyprus	--	--	--
Dr Fazil Kuchuk, Turkish Cypriot leader	52	52	5%
Menderes Adnan, Turkish Prime Minister	30	30	3%
Robert Armitage, Governor of Cyprus 1954-55	1	1	0.1%
Sir John Harding, Governor of Cyprus 1955-57	39	39	3%
Sir Hugh Foot, Governor of Cyprus 1957-60	108	108	10%
Eden Antony, Minister of Colonies	1	1	0.1%
Alexandros Papagos, Greek General	1	1	0.1%
Winston Churchill, British Prime Minister 1951-55	--	--	--
Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies	25	25	2%
Lord Radcliffe, Constitutional Expert	8	8	0.6%
Harold Macmillan, British Prime Minister 1957-63	106	106	10%
Dwight Eisenhower, US President	9	9	0.8%
Constantine King of Greece	--	--	--
Stefanos Stefanopoulos, Greek Deputy Prime Minister	--	--	--
Archbishop Spyridon	--	--	--
Evangelos Averof, Greek Foreign Minister	20	20	2%
Constantinos Karamanlis, Greek Prime Minister	78	78	7%
<b>Total</b>	1144	1144	%
<b>%</b>		<b>100</b>	100%

Two other important variables are the origin of sources (Table 9) and origins of publication (Table 11). In our study, we observe that there is an alternation in the percentage of source origin. London continues to dominate with 39%, followed by Athens (29%), which demonstrates the paramount role that Britain has as a colonial power.

**Table 9.** *Origin of Sources on Newspaper Eleftheria in 1957-1960*

<b>Origin of Sources</b>	1957-1960	Total	%
Anonymous	107	107	19%
Greece	163	163	29%
Cyprus	1	1	0.1%
Britain	222	222	39%
Turkey	2	2	0.4%
International Agencies	21	21	3.5%
Other	52	52	9%
<b>Total</b>	568	568	%
<b>%</b>		<b>100</b>	100%

Regarding the variable origins of publication (Table 10), it appears that 44% of front-page publications state in their column that the source of publication is one, 35% state that the sources are two and 15% have three sources. Source of publication is the place from where the news occurred.

**Table 10.** *Sources of Publication on Newspaper Eleftheria in 1957-1960*

<b>Sources</b>	1957-1960	Total	%
0	--	--	--
1	246	246	44%
2	200	200	35%
3	83	83	15%
4	25	25	5%
5	6	6	0.4%
6	4	4	0.3%
7	1	1	0.1%
8	3	3	0.2%
<b>Total</b>	568	568	%
<b>%</b>		<b>100</b>	100%

A further variable is the accompanying visual material of publication (Table 11) that the newspaper presents during the four-year period from 1957 to 1960. 102 photographs are published in its columns. 22 of them belong to the newspaper issues of the four months of the years 1955 and 1956. The second semester of issues of the newspaper in the years 1955 and 1956 is unfortunately not available at the archives of Limassol Municipality.

**Table 11.** *Accompanying Visual Material on Newspaper Eleftheria in 1957-1960*

<b>Accompanying visual material of publication</b>	1957-1960	Total	%
Photographs	102	--	100%
Charts	--	--	%
Graphics	--	--	%
Editorial cartoons	--	--	--
	--	--	%
<b>Total</b>	102	102	%
<b>%</b>		<b>100</b>	100%

Regarding the variable position of publication on page (Table 12), 31% of the articles are published on the left-hand side of the newspaper, while we have a high percentage of 68% on the right-hand side. Full-page publications are only 4 and account for 0.7%.

**Table 12.** *Position of Publication on Page on Newspaper Eleftheria in 1957-1960*

<b>Position of publication in page</b>	1957-1960	Total	%
Left-hand	178	178	31%
Right-hand	386	386	68%
Full-page	4	4	1%
<b>Total</b>	568	568	%
<b>%</b>		<b>100</b>	100%

Regarding the variable of position of publication on front page (Table 13), 73% of publications are positioned on the upper part of the front page and 27% are positioned on the lower part of the front page.

**Table 13.** *Position of Publication on Front Page on Newspaper Eleftheria in 1957-1960*

<b>Position of publication on front page</b>	1957-1960	Total	%
Upper	415	415	73%
Lower	153	153	27%
<b>Total</b>	568	568	%
<b>%</b>		<b>100</b>	100%

Our last variable deals with the size of the publication (Table 14). Large publications account for 4%, medium-size publications account for 66% (marking an increase compared to 36% of 1956) and small-size publications reach 30% compared to 19% in 1956.

**Table 14.** *Size of Publication on Newspaper Eleftheria in 1957-1960*

<b>Size of publication(cm<sup>2</sup>)</b>	1957-1960	Total	%
Small	171	171	30%
Medium	374	374	66%
Large	23	23	4%
<b>Total</b>	568	568	%
<b>%</b>		<b>100</b>	100%

### **Concluding Remarks**

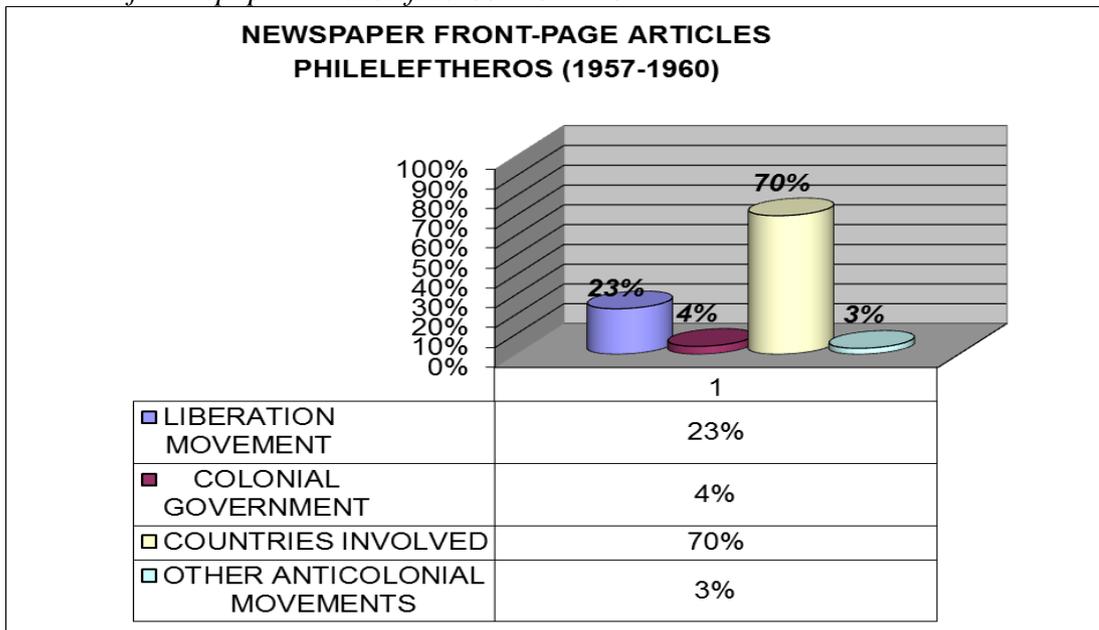
According to the research plan (see pattern of codification of publications), front-page publications with news reports referring to the liberation movement were chosen as units of analysis from the three newspapers mentioned above. The issues of Sunday and Tuesday during the years 1957-1960 were used. In total, 3,959 front-page publications were examined as units of analysis from all three newspapers (“Eleftheria” 2,095, “O Phileleftheros” 1,132, “Haravgi” 732). From the analysis of data, it occurred that “Eleftheria”, during the 1957-

1960 describes the Greekness of Cyprus in its columns (Sofokleous 2003:131) based on its topics and framework. The following conclusions can be drawn:

- “Eleftheria” supports the overturning of the British colonial rule
- We observe partiality on behalf of the British in favour of the Turkish Cypriot Community
- Through the publications, we establish that in international meeting dealing with the Cyprus issue, the main protagonists were Britain, Greece and Turkey.
- The most important news reports are placed on the upper part at a percentage of 73%
- 66% of news reports of the newspaper are medium-sized publications
- We note that 100% of visual material constitutes photographs
- Britain and Greece are the main sources of origin of publications with 39% and 29% respectively due to the presence of a reporter in these countries
- As regards the protagonists, references to Archbishop Makarios are the most with 40%, followed by references to Harold Macmillan, then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom with 10% due to the submission of the “Macmillan Plan” and Sir Hugh Foot, Governor of Cyprus, General Grivas 8% and Karamanlis, Prime Minister of Greece.
- As regards the type of publication, 35.5% are main articles and 50% are reportages-research.
- 50% of articles are unsigned and 48% are signed.
- Regarding references in “Eleftheria” articles on the first and last day of the week for the years 1957-1960, the countries involved dealing with the future of Cyprus reach 69%, the liberation movement reaches 21% and the colonial government in Cyprus 5% and other anti-colonial movements 5%.

As regards “Phileleftheros” newspaper, 52% of its sources originate from Greece and 17% from Britain. As far as the protagonists are concerned, Archbishop Makarios with 35% dominates the contacts, negotiations and activities for the presence and future of the island, while the dynamics of the countries involved are evident with 14%, the colonial crown with 8%, General Grivas with 8% and EOKA with 7%. Main articles take up 52% in the category type of publication with the Cyprus issue being the focal point among the topics dealt with by the newspaper. Lastly, the newspaper (Table 15) makes references in its articles to the liberation movement 23% while the contribution of the countries involved in front-page articles for the years 1957-1960 reaches a high 70%. The colonial government receives 4% and the other anti-colonial movements get 3%.

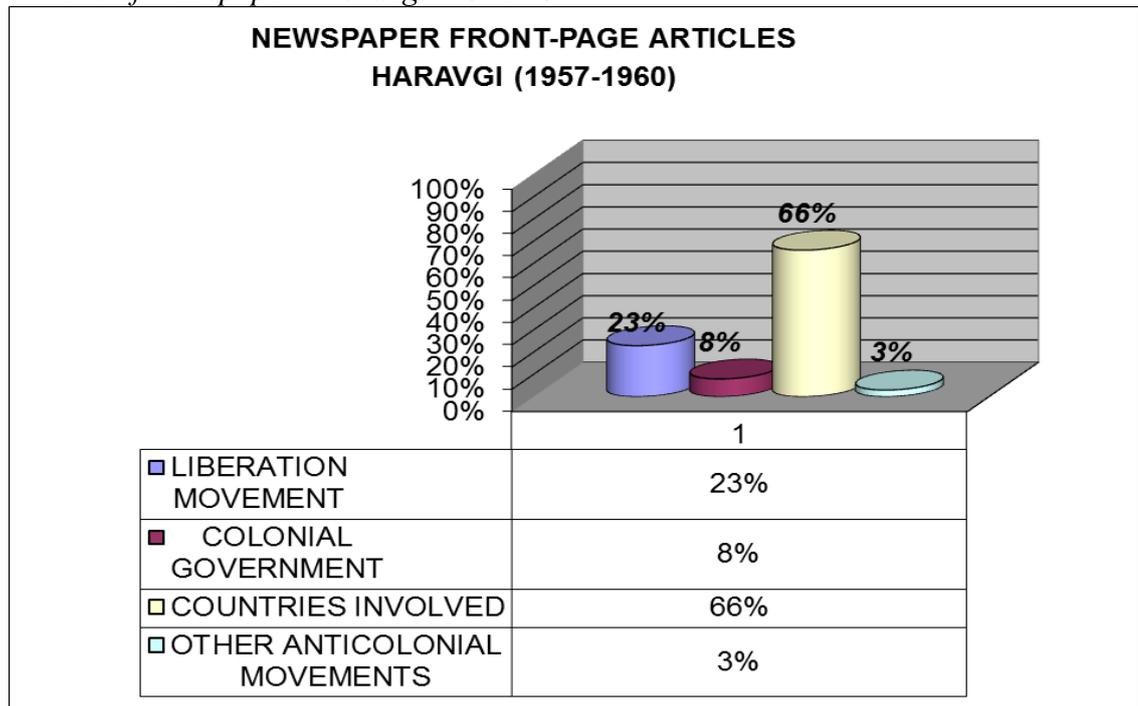
**Table 15.** Graph showing Percentages of Coverage References from Daily Articles of Newspaper “Phileleftheros” 1957-1960



As regards the newspaper “Haravgi”:

- The most important news reports are placed on the upper part at a percentage of 88% (1957-1960)
- The news reports of the newspaper consist of a medium-sized publication at percentage of 89%
- We note that news reports in “Haravgi” include graph charts at 69%
- Anonymous sources account for 48%
- The most important protagonist is Archbishop Makarios with 33% compared, followed by the British Governor Sir Hugh Foot with 11%. Moreover, General Grivas is referred to in the front-page of Haravgi at a rate of 11%.
- As far as the type of publication is concerned, 53% are main articles and 34% are reportages-research.
- Unsigned articles account for 54% and signed articles account for 42%.
- Lastly, when it comes to references of daily articles of “Haravgi” newspaper for 1957-1960, the countries involved dealing with the fate of the island are referred to at a rate of 66%, the liberation movement at 23%, the colonial government in Cyprus at 8% and the other anti-colonial movements account for 3% (Table 16)

**Table 16.** Graph showing Percentages of Coverage References From Daily Articles of Newspaper “Haravgi” 1957-1960



### Concluding Remarks

A comparison among the three newspapers shows that “O Phileftheros” and even more so “Eleftheria” were more evidently in favour of liberation and unification with Greece compared to “Haravgi”. At this point, it might be worth noting the essence of the positions that “Haravgi” and “Eleftheria” had during the Zurich agreement. “Haravgi”, in its article titled Big Words on 7 August 1960, after reproaching Ploutis Servas, the “trotskyists” etc for passionately declaring against Zurich, goes on to express the view that “it would be non realistic to put the people in the position of having to reject the agreements”. It appears that “Haravgi” sets the problem on a very different level compared to the other newspapers. It is supported that the “the completion of people’s independence” will occur once the Treaty of Guarantee and the Treaty of Alliance are repealed and once the British military bases are abolished. It is further noted that the struggle is hard because our opponents are “Karamanlis’ Government, the Turkish Government, the Americans, the NATO and Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot rebels”.

It is noteworthy that “Eleftheria” seems somewhat more objective when it comes to presenting the news. No labels and no feature whatsoever that would indicate the attitude expressed in the commentaries. As regards the new state, the general position is that it should be a new beginning and not a stop in history. It is argued that efforts should be made to sustain the new entity, not to keep it as it is but to use it as a means for something better. Not all newspapers

offered the same coverage and this probably suggests that they had different views regarding the events and turmoil of that era. As noted by Papathanasopoulos (2004: 39-40), in the Mediterranean countries, the profession of journalists consisted, to a large extent, of aristocrats, clergy and people of letters. In Cyprus, the clergy, being closely connected to Greece, played a decisive role. By looking into the articles of “Eleftheria” newspaper, we identified a group of educated people belonging to the Greek-Cypriot elite, comprising theologians, teachers, members of scientific academics that had a strong and significant presence of the clergy.

Another aspect that we looked into was the writing style of the publications. For example, when the rebellious actions that lead to conflict against the colonists emerged, people got the impression that, with the support of the Church of Cyprus, they had the power to organise and put into effect the 1955-1959 struggles. The writing style used in such articles is of particular interest. There is general rejoicing with superlatives embellishing the texts. At the same time, a series of logical arguments are put forward that attempt to convince the readers of some newspapers that Enosis is the only viable and attainable solution advocated by Greeks and foreigners. A similar effect can be observed in the description of events from the same newspapers under study. Turkey, the Turkish minority, Britain, the USA, UN, NATO are against the vision of the Greeks of Cyprus for union with Greece and this promotes the tendencies mentioned above for prejudice, nationalism, racism and so on.

However, what constitutes the axle of exaggeration is the myth about the “omnipotence of our people”. People are presented in the newspapers “Eleftheria” and “O Phileleftheros” as having the power to crush all the great powers such as the Turkish, the British, the Americans, and NATO etc. The latter are presented as having agendas that are considered unfavourable for the interests of Cyprus and are constantly presented as conspiring, drawing up “satanic plans” and aspiring to the destruction of Cyprus. But they are always hindered by the people’s desire.

This myth regularly oversees certain devastating realities that are a thorn in the “People’s sovereignty”. It oversees the fact that Turkish Cypriots are left out, it oversees the control exercised by the Turkish Cypriot leadership on a part of the territory of the Republic and the consequences that this situation would have in the long run.

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