THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN CYPRUS AND THE GREEK-CYPRIOT PRESS: THE POSITIONS OF THE LEADING GREEK-CYPRIOT PRESS «ELEFTERIA» «O PHILELEFTHEROS» AND «HARAVGI» IN 1957-1960.

Euripides Antoniades

**Special Teaching Staff,
Department of Communication and Internet Studies**

**Cyprus University of Technology
Limassol - Cyprus**

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Abstract

Little is known about the relationship between the anticolonial movement in Cyprus and the role of the Greek-Cypriot press. This paper aims to fill a small gap by presenting the findings of a study on how the Liberation Movement of Cyprus (EOKA) was depicted through the Greek-Cypriot press. The period under study is 1957 to 1960, which is when the Liberation (EOKA) movement was active. 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. Findings suggest that the Greek-Cypriot press under the colonial regime presented the liberation and the «Enosis» (unification) movement more in its news-articles-reports and less in opinion articles and commentaries, while journalists were reluctant to take sides.

1.1 Introduction

This paper focuses on the positions of three newspapers, namely «Eleftheria», «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. It is a significant historical period for Cyprus that leads to independence, contrary to the initial national objective for Unification or «Enosis» with Greece.

The study recorded and represents the liberation movement through the Greek-Cypriot press. We studied the daily newspapers from 1957 to 1960.

1.2 Methodology

The role of the press is very important in ensuring that there are conditions that will allow citizens to receive adequate information and the media have proved extremely competent in communicating particular positions making them seem as the most important for the public. McCombs and Shaw (1972) stressed the skill of the media in 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.

In the research 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. 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.

First we identified the data relevant to the study. Then, we classified them into categories and converted the quantitative items into such form that makes computer processing possible so that they can be compared and described (ibid, 1998). During the last stage, we analysed the data. 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.

The selection of time periods is primarily determined by the working hypotheses and the material to be investigated. The period 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 by not restricting ourselves to a shorter period, we optimise the quantity of material required to support our arguments.

The selection of newspapers

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.

The working hypotheses are the following:

- The newspapers, due to the colonial regime, faced the liberation and "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

We selected the three newspapers on the basis of their political orientation. In total, 3,959 front-page publications as units of analysis from all three newspapers («Eleftheria» 2,095, «O Phileleftheros» 1,132, «Haravgi» 732).

«O Phileleftheros», this newspaper from January 1957 was selected because 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. A few points to consider about "O Phileleftheros" newspaper during the period under study are the following:

- Its circulation started during a difficult and crucial period of the recent Cypriot history 1955
- It was published during the first year of EOKA
- At that time it had the necessary technical equipment to carry out its reporting mission effectively.

«Eleftheria» newspaper was selected because during the period under study is the following:

- Is one of the most historical newspapers (established 1906-1974) in Cyprus with long journalist experience
- Disposition was clearly anti-British throughout the period under study.
- Ideologically, it is a conservative publication that supports "enosis".

During the period under study, a few points to consider with regard to «Haravgi» newspaper are the following:

- It is a newspaper owned by AKEL, a left-wing political party surving to the present day.

- Due to the strict censorship restrictions imposed by the English administration and the fear of its closure as was the case with «The New Democrat», the newspaper initially avoids frequent political articles and references to internal political situations, particularly during the first few years of the EOKA struggle (Sophocleous, 2011).
- It published anti-colonial positions

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. 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.
3. 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, Governor Foot, Greek Premier Karamanlis etc.

1.3 The positions of «Eleftheria», «O Phileleftheros» and «Haravgi»: aggregate results

Interestingly, the newspapers examined had more references to the countries involved (the UK, Greece and Turkey) rather than to EOKA and the Colonial Government, this can be explained since the paces of the events were directed by the three «protective powers» of the Island (Table 1).

TABLE 1 References in front-page news

Newspapers: "ELEFTHERIA", "O PHILELEFTHEROS", "HARAVGI"
Time period: 1957-1960

References	1957-1960	%	Eleftheria	O Phileleftheros	Haravgi
Liberation Movement in Cyprus	887	21%	477	251	159
Colonial Government in Cyprus	258	7 %	146	54	58
Countries Involved	2,683	69%	1414	788	481
Other anti-colonial movements of that era	131	3%	58	39	34
Total	3,959	100%	2095	1132	732

Note: based on their Sunday and Tuesday editions

«Eleftheria» continued to dynamically describe in its front page columns the political developments emanating from the activities of the liberation movement and of course the involvement of key countries. During these years significant liberation events take place, such as the armed activity of EOKA, the killing of members of the organization, the return of Archbishop Makarios from the exile and the subsequent

negotiations that   the agreement for independence to Cyprus. Political news has the primary role in «Eleftheria».

«O Phileleftheros» condemned the colonials for the unsettled situation and the bloodshed during 1955-1959. It was in favour of the unification movement, as was «Eleftheria» and supported Archbishop Makarios' handlings. Its reporters worked closely with the Ethnarchy Office which issued press announcements. The newspaper presented, in a dramatic way, the sacrifice of the EOKA fighters.

«Haravgi» newspaper emphasized the demands of the national struggles of universal movements, the interests of all social classes and on the need for educational and cultural development of Cyprus.

1.4 The positions of "Eleftheria"

Looking at Eleftheria (Table 2) we observe that:
- «Eleftheria», during the 1957-1960 emphasized Cyprus Greekness in its columns (Sofokleous 2003:131). The following conclusions can be drawn:
- «Eleftheria» supports the overturning of the British colonial rule. Phrases used such as «Britain must go, Greece never dies» (Eleftheria, 28 January 1955) are indicative.
- We observe partiality on behalf of the British in favour or the Turkish Cypriot Community.
- 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 67%, the liberation movement reaches 23% and the colonial government in Cyprus 7% and other anti-colonial movements 3%
- 50% of articles are unsigned and 48% are signed.
- As regards the type of publication, 35.5% are main articles and 50% are reportages-research.
- As regards the protagonists, references to Archbishop Makarios are the most with 35%, followed by references to Harold Macmillan, then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom with 9% due to the submission of the «Macmillan Plan» and Sir Hugh Foot, Governor of Cyprus, General Grivas 7% and Karamanlis, Prime Minister of Greece.

TABLE 2 The positions of 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	--	--	--
Total	568	568	%
Type of publication			
Main article/editorial	202	202	35.5%
Opinion article – analysis	3	3	0.5 %

Reportage	285	285	50%
Interview	6	6	1%
Announcement	2	2	0.3%
Letter	4	4	0.7%
Simple news report	66	66	12%
References to the protagonists			
Archbishop Makarios	386	386	35%
Georgios Grivas Digenis, EOKA leader	89	--	7%
EOKA	61	61	5%
Dr Fazil Kuchuk, Turkish Cypriot leader	52	52	5%
Menderes Adnan, Turkish Prime Minister	30	30	3%
Sir John Harding, Governor of Cyprus 1955-57	39	39	3%
Sir Hugh Foot, Governor of Cyprus 1957-60	108	108	9%
Harold Macmillan, British Prime Minister 1957-63	106	106	9%
Constantinos Karamanlis, Greek Prime Minister	78	78	7%
Other secondary protagonists	195	195	17%
References to the protagonists in total	1144	1144	100

1.5 The positions of «O Phileleftheros»

«O Phileleftheros» has the ability to mobilise the forces that have political, religious and social aspirations, even if it only facilitates their expression (Table 3). «O Philelftheros» did not hesitate to criticise the colonialists for the unruly situation and the bloodshed during 1955-1959.

Following the analysis made above for every type of variable separately, we observe that in «O Phileleftheros» newspaper:

- regarding references to the liberation movement at a rate of 23%, whilst references to the countries involved in front-page publications appear in 70% of the cases for the years 1957-1960

- 54% of articles are unsigned and 42% are signed.

- As regards the type of publication, 52% are main articles and 42% are reportages-research.

- With regard to the protagonists, Archbishop Makarios dominates contacts, negotiations and activities for the present and future of the island by a percentage of 35%, whilst the dynamics of the countries involved are shown, namely Greece at 14%, the colonial crown at 8%, Major Grivas at 8% and EOKA at 7%

TABLE 3 The positions of newspaper «O Phileleftheros» in 1957-1960

Drafting of published article	1957-1960	Total	%
Signed articles	144	--	42%
Unsigned articles	183	--	54 %
International News Agencies	7	--	2%
Particular correspondence	5	--	2%
Total	339	339	%
Type of publication			
Main article/editorial	178	178	52%

Opinion article – analysis	2	2	2%
Reportage	144	144	42%
Interview	8	8	2%
Simple news report	7	7	2%
References on the protagonists			
Archbishop Makarios	209	209	35%
Zenon Rossides, Archbishop's Advisor	11	11	2%
Nikos Kranidiotis, Secretary of the Ethnarchy	4	4	1%
Georgios Grivas Digenis, EOKA leader	52	52	8%
Mayors of towns	2	2	1%
Political parties representatives (AKEL)	2	2	1%
EOKA	47	47	7%
Dr Fazil Kuchuk, Turkish Cypriot leader	36	36	5%
Menderes Adnan, Turkish Prime Minister	21	21	3%
Sir John Harding, Governor of Cyprus 1955-57	10	10	2%
Sir Hugh Foot, Governor of Cyprus 1957-60	49	49	8%
Eden Antony, Minister of Colonies	1	1	1%
Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies	7	7	1%
Lord Radcliffe, Constitutional Expert	3	3	1%
Harold Macmillan, British Prime Minister 1957-63	18	18	2%
Dwight Eisenhower, US President	7	7	1%
Evangelos Averof, Greek Foreign Minister	76	76	14%
Constantinos Karamanlis, Greek Prime Minister	47	47	7%
References on protagonists in total	602	602	100

1.6 The positions of «Haravgi»

«Haravgi» which continues to this date to be the means of expression of left-wing political party AKEL, kept a distance from the EOKA liberation struggle. But it is worth noting that, according to our research, it covered the actions of the liberation movement during the period 1957-1960 approximately as much as the other two newspapers.

With respect to references in daily articles of «Haravgi» newspaper for 1957-1960, the countries that held the island's fate in their hands are mentioned in 66%, the liberation struggle are mentioned 23% and the colonial government in Cyprus are mentioned 8%.

- Unsigned articles account for 54% and signed articles account for 42%.

- With regard to the type of publication, 53% are main articles and 34% compared are reportages-research.

- A significant protagonist is Archbishop Makarios to whom 33% of publications, followed by the British Governor Sir Hugh Foot with 11% Moreover, General Grivas, as front-page a protagonist of «Haravgi», received 11%.

TABLE 4: *The* **positions of newspaper «Haravgi» in 1957-1960**

Drafting of published article	1957-1960	Total	%
Signed articles	104	104	42%
Unsigned articles	131	131	54 %
International News Agencies	5	5	2%
Particular correspondence	5	5	2%
Total	245	245	%
Type of publication			
Main article/editorial	130	130	53%
Opinion article – analysis	4	4	2%
Reportage	83	83	34%
Interview	12	12	5%
Letter	4	4	2%
Simple news report	10	10	4%
References to the protagonists			
Archbishop Makarios	152	152	33%
Zenon Rossides, Archbishop's Advisor	10	10	2%
Nikos Kranidiotis, Secretary of the Ethnarchy	1	1	0.1%
Georgios Grivas Digenis, EOKA leader	48	48	11%
Mayors of towns	12	12	2%
Political parties representatives (AKEL)	11	11	2%
EOKA	34	34	8%
Dr Fazil Kuchuk, Turkish Cypriot leader	31	31	6%
Menderes Adnan, Turkish Prime Minister	12	12	2%
Robert Armitage, Governor of Cyprus 1954-55	1	1	0.1%
Sir John Harding, Governor of Cyprus 1955-57	22	22	5%
Sir Hugh Foot, Governor of Cyprus 1957-60	47	47	11%
Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies	3	3	0.6%
Lord Radcliffe, Constitutional Expert	3	3	0.6%
Harold Macmillan, British Prime Minister 1957-63	19	19	4%
Dwight Eisenhower, US President	4	4	0.6%
Evangelos Averof, Greek Foreign Minister	22	22	5%
Constantinos Karamanlis, Greek Prime Minister	34	34	7%
References to protagonists in total	466	466	100

2. Concluding remarks

«Eleftheria» was creating a climate of aspiration to freedom and democracy. It recorded meticulously Archbishop Makarios' activities at a rate of 34%-42% during 1955-1960 since it considered him a leading personality as well as a symbol of the political struggle for the liberation of the island from the British rule.

Basically, «Eleftheria» contributed significantly to the reliable provision of information to the Greek Cypriot people, while expressing their dreams, concerns and dilemmas. During the period 1955-1960, the EOKA liberation struggle and the actions undertaken by the protagonists of the Cyprus issue were often dealt with by its columnists.

On the other hand, «O Phileleftheros» was in favour of the unification movement, and like «Eleftheria» newspaper, supported Archbishop Makarios' handlings since reporters of the newspaper had a close relationship and collaboration with the Ethnarchy Office which issued announcements to inform the press. During the period of the liberation struggle, the newspaper presented, in a dramatic way, the sacrifice of the EOKA fighters, killed in exchanges of fire, detained or imprisoned and executed by hanging.

«Haravgi» supported the liberation struggle but not to the extent that the other two newspapers did. This conclusion, however, does not diminish its contribution to the liberation struggle as a newspaper of a political party, and even more so during a time when the Eastern Communist Bloc had reached the culmination of its dominance.

In conclusion, the Cypriot press justifiably played a significant role during the years of the liberation struggle and left its mark on all crucial matters, events, struggles, activities, assessments, opinions and situations mainly as regards the national issue, the handlings, the strategy and tactics, influencing those regulating the fate of the Cypriot people (Kannaouros, 1994).

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Positive Implications of Dark Tourism in a *de facto* Post-conflict Area

Katerina Antoniou
PhD Researcher
University of Central Lancashire Cyprus

Abstract

Dark tourism is an experience affiliated with negative emotions, such as grief and mourning (Lennon and Foley, 2000; Biran and Poria, 2012). Nevertheless, visiting a dark site can be an enlightening and educational experience (ibid.). This paper takes a new approach to dark tourism by evaluating the level of positive impact it generates through a newly identified niche tourist audience: conflict professionals as business tourists to post-conflict areas.

Little to no scholarly work has been devoted to conflict-related business tourism in post-conflict areas. There is therefore limited understanding on the sociocultural impact of foreign conflict professionals and no sufficient evaluation of the work they produce and the interactions they have. With Cyprus as a case study, this paper analyses data and interviews of foreign conflict professionals and local key stakeholders with regards to the activity of business tourism to post-conflict areas and the level of positive impact it generates.

Introduction

Dark tourism is a fairly recent and unexplored concept. It has been used predominantly to identify the macabre element of certain tourist destinations and to discuss the tourist incentives for visiting 'dark' sites. The concept of dark tourism has been distinctly defined as the attraction to sites of death, tragedy and disaster (Lennon and Foley 2000; Sharpley and Stone 2009), but also broadened to include sites with an indirect correlation to death and violence, including activities with a risk of death (Biran and Poria 2012; Robb 2009). The diversity of sites associating with death, disaster and the macabre provides a wide range of dark tourism attractions, with a higher or lower level of 'darkness', depending on their authenticity, the severity of the tragedy they depict and the level of sentimentality they provoke to their visitors.

Post-conflict areas are examples of dark sites, as they illustrate the authentic aftermath of a past war and are of great interest to professionals dealing with conflict – social scientists, journalists, conflict photographers and film-makers, policy-makers, practitioners, activists. Conflict professionals have a professional interest in visiting certain post-conflict sites and can be considered a distinct tourist audience under the dark tourism domain, a sub-category of business tourism that is specific to post-conflict areas.

The tourist audience of conflict professionals is noteworthy for two main reasons: first, conflict professionals who visit post-conflict sites for business do so not to satisfy their fascination with death, war and tragedy – recreational travel – but to satisfy a professional interest – necessary travel (Liutikas 2012). It is therefore an audience contradicting the negative connotation traditionally associated with dark tourism. In addition, post-conflict areas are dynamic, transitioning politically, institutionally and socially from a state of war to positive peace (Roberts 2008; Sewer and Thomson 2009). It is therefore important to examine whether the work of this niche audience, their publications, articles, photographs, trainings and contact with locals and key stakeholders has a notable impact on the post-conflict area's transition towards viable peace.

This study is using the case of Cyprus in order to answer this question. Cyprus, a territory with a history of inter-state war and civil unrest, can be identified both as an intractable conflict as well as a *de facto* post-conflict territory. Under either scenario, Cyprus is a frozen conflict, whose inhabitants have been experiencing decades of attempted reconciliation and negative peace between its two main communities, the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. At the same time, Cyprus has been a tourist haven due to its picturesque landscape and warm, Mediterranean climate. With the tourist industry making up a considerable portion of the island's entire economy – approx. €2 billion for the Republic of Cyprus in the south and €343 million for the Turkish Cypriot industry in the north (Farmaki et. al. 2015) – the conflict professionals who have been visiting Cyprus due to their interest in its conflict and post-conflict development have been identified as members of wider tourist audiences and not as a niche audience in itself. By conducting a number of interviews with conflict professionals and related stakeholders, this study will present the conflict professional audience of Cyprus and assess its impact on the island's transition towards reconciliation and positive peace.
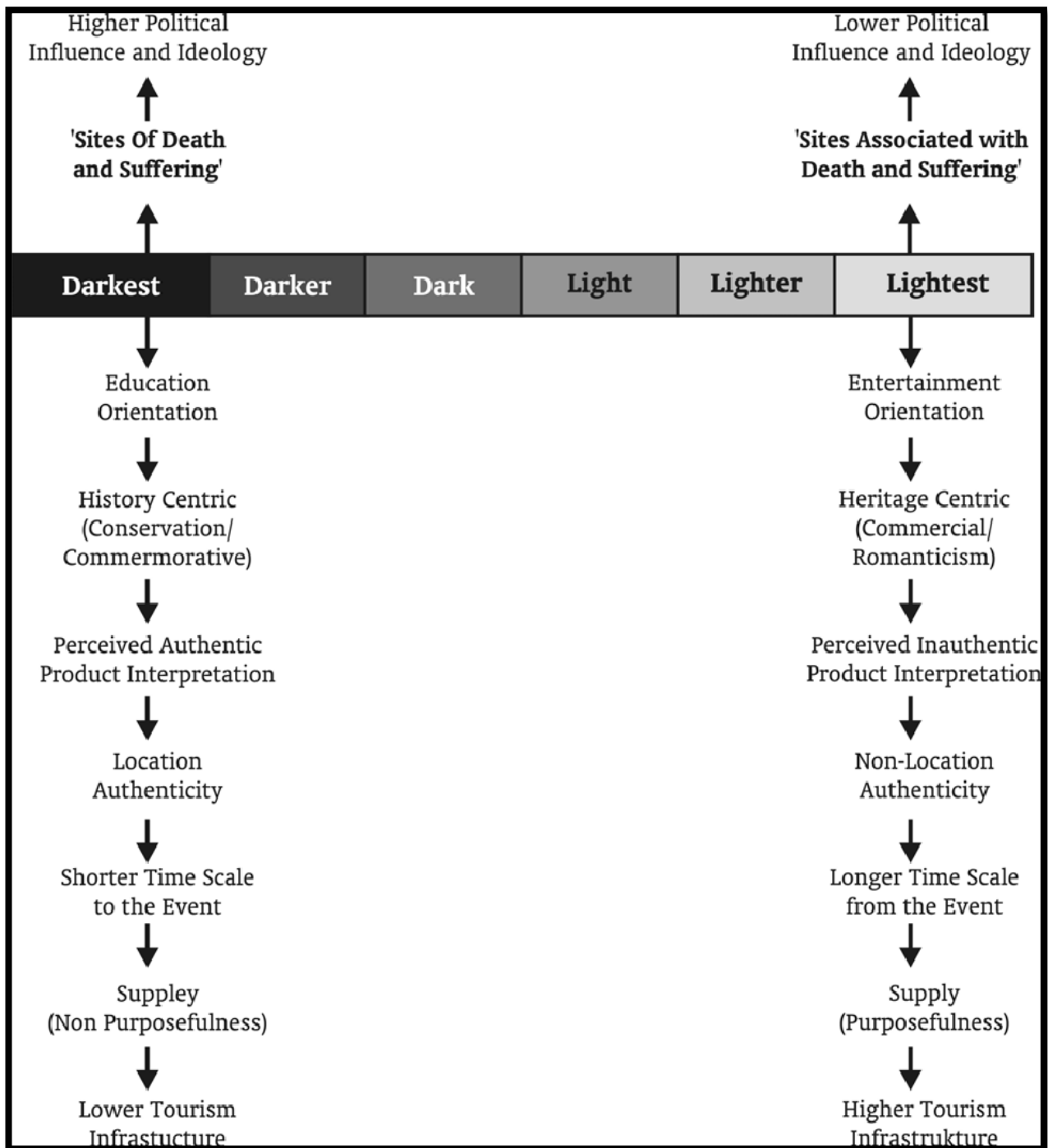
Reviewing the Literature

In order to identify the framework within which lies dark tourism, it is important to acknowledge the complexity associated with the concept of tourism. Burns and Holden suggest that identifying tourism as a product holds certain inaccuracies, as does the classification of tourism as an industry (1995: 5). Jafari (*ibid.*) identifies tourism as an experience and describes it from the perspective of the visitor, supporting that tourism is the activity of people away from their "usual habitat", making use of "a foreign industry of their interest, an activity with economic, social as well as environmental implications".

The act of travel can be divided into three basic categories: recreational, valuistic and necessary (Liutikas, 2012). Recreational travel refers to leisure tourism; valuistic includes traditional and modern forms of pilgrimage – such as religious and ethnic-based tourism to sites of value, as well as travels in support of a sports team – and necessary includes business and health tourism. This categorisation is derived from the motives of the travellers, either as individuals or as groups.

Dark tourism has been defined as "the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre" (Stone, 2006; 146). According to Collins-Kreiner (2010), dark tourism refers to the dark experience, one that is subjective to the visitor's perception. The dark element is therefore not an accurate characteristic for the site – which can combine dark, cultural, heritage, political and historical elements – or the traveller – who can be motivated by dark, cultural, recreational, emotional or other factors at the same time. One tourist experience at a dark site can be darker than another, according to Stone's "Dark Tourism Spectrum" (2006: 151):

FIGURE 1.2

Darkest	Darker	Dark	Light	Lighter	Lightest

Left column (Darkest):

- Higher Political Influence and Ideology
- 'Sites Of Death and Suffering'
- Education Orientation
- History Centric (Conservation/ Commermorative)
- Perceived Authentic Product Interpretation
- Location Authenticity
- Shorter Time Scale to the Event
- Suppley (Non Purposefulness)
- Lower Tourism Infrastucture

Right column (Lightest):

- Lower Political Influence and Ideology
- 'Sites Associated with Death and Suffering'
- Entertainment Orientation
- Heritage Centric (Commercial/ Romanticism)
- Perceived Inauthentic Product Interpretation
- Non-Location Authenticity
- Longer Time Scale from the Event
- Supply (Purposefulness)
- Higher Tourism Infrastrukture

Source: Stone, 2006, pg. 151 (ibid.)

According to Stone's outline of the Dark Tourism Spectrum, some dark sites can be darker than others, more authentic, more controversial, more political and more sentimental. The classification of a site as authentic, however, and the interpretation of its political weight can be subjective and therefore controversial when developed by conflicting local audiences. It is therefore a frequent phenomenon that such sites are subject to more than one interpretation.

Post-conflict areas can inspire unique types of dark tourism activity, because they combine the macabre element they portray (Timothy 2011) with the dynamic and continuously changing character they adopt due to their transitional nature (Serwer and Thomson 2009). This feature attracts tourist audiences beyond the traditional recreational tourist, and particularly conflict professionals, an audience of business tourists with a professional interest in post-conflict areas. As defined by Davidson and Cope (2003), business tourism refers to conferences, trainings, seminars and exhibitions; in the case of a post-conflict area, international conferences on conflict, reconciliation or related themes can attract foreign professionals, enable the development of new partnerships and develop knowledge products, such as conference publications and journals. The business tourism industry also consists of individual business tourism, taken by journalists, politicians, consultants, artists and other freelancers (ibid.). These professionals, when working on conflict, are prone to travelling to a post-conflict area for business.

Lennon and Foley (2000) argue that 'specialists' are not the biggest share of the dark tourist category. Even though conflict professionals can be a quantitatively negligible audience, their role as business tourists to post-conflict areas might have a substantial qualitative impact, through the work they produce and the interaction they have with local stakeholders. According to Liutikas (2012), business travel is classified as necessary travel, linked neither to the thrill offered by the dark site visited, not to the emotional connection of the traveller to the site in question. Conflict professionals have a professional interest – either personal or institutional – in visiting a post-conflict site and either producing a knowledge product for replication – an article, a book, a report, a collection of photos, audiovisual footage – or interacting with local stakeholders in their professional capacity.

A range of anthropological, psychological and sociological theories have developed to explain tourist motivation. Many tourists are motivated by a search for spirituality, contact with nature and a sense of freedom (Burns 1999), others by their search for authenticity and desire for pilgrimage (MacCannell 1976), while many engage in the visual consumption of new surroundings, an activity defined by Urry as the tourist gaze (1990). Nevertheless, following Liutikas' categorisation of travellers, tourist motivation has been developed more with regards to recreational travellers, less for valuistic, and even less so for necessary travellers. What is evident following this study's review of relevant literature is that there is little to no work devoted on the examination of necessary travellers, particularly business tourists in post-conflict areas. As a result, there is limited understanding on the sociocultural impact of their activity as travellers, and to a further extent, no sufficient evaluation of the work they produce, the interactions they have and the overall impact they generate.

Identifying the Gap

The audience of conflict professionals as business travellers to post-conflict areas fits the wider framework of dark tourism, which is important to further clarify. The dark element associated with certain destinations – an element that associates with post-conflict areas as well – is linked to negative emotions, such as grief and mourning (Biran and Poria 2012). At the same time, however, visiting a dark site can be an enlightening and educational experience (*ibid.*), which is a more accurate assumption for the case of conflict professionals. Consequently, the audience of business travellers to dark sites can be seen as an example of 'positive' dark tourism.

By examining the impact of foreign conflict professionals to dark sites, this study evaluates the extent to which dark tourism can be an enlightening and positive phenomenon, and therefore worth exploring further.

Analysing the Impact

Looking into this paper's case study, Cyprus is still in the process of identifying a viable political arrangement for its population's reunification. With reconciliation attempts having up to date failed to come through (Bahcheli and Noel 2005; Clerides 2007; Coughlan 2000), Cyprus continues to operate under the *de facto* partition that was established in 1974, with the Republic of Cyprus of Greek Cypriot constituents in the south and the Turkish Cypriot community in the north, operating under the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), a regime only recognized by Turkey (Berg 2007). The *de facto* partition, which has been in place for forty years, has enabled the institutional development of each community separately, with separate political and constitutional frameworks, separate economic markets and separate social discourse (Farmaki et. al. 2015).

The unique characteristics of Cyprus as a *de facto* post-conflict society have led to the development of two separate tourism industries on the island, yet at the same time the local civil society has developed a joint institutional structure dedicated to social development across communities. This structure has attracted a notable number of foreign conflict professionals to the island, and it could be catalytic in developing this niche form of tourism on an island-wide basis.

Foreign conflict professionals in Cyprus are mainly seen to interact with three categories of local stakeholders:
   a) Local conflict professionals, including primarily conflict management practitioners, civil society activists and social scientists,
   b) Decision-making officials: governmental officers, religious leaders, politicians, UN peacekeeping militants and police officers from both communities in charge of movement across the UN Buffer Zone
   c) Foreign local stakeholders: international civil servants working for international bodies such as UNDP, USAID, EU representation and embassies actively involved in peacebuilding activities

The interaction of foreign conflict professionals with each of these categories of local stakeholders is catalytic in the course of their work as, some stakeholders might have a positive effect by encouraging their visits and contribution, while others might have a more neutral or negative effect that could hinder their input into the area's post-conflict development. As observed by the interviews, the majority of local stakeholders are positive towards foreign conflict professionals coming to Cyprus and value their work and impact.

The diversity of work that conflict professionals produce in relation to post-conflict areas would unsurprisingly result in a diverse impact over the area and its inhabitants. According to Christopher (category c) (2015, pers. comm.) foreign conflict professionals have instigated social impact both on a personal and a communal level, have contributed to the scholarly recording of the conflict/post-conflict discourse and the production of widely disseminated knowledge products and, although to a lesser degree, have shifted the dynamics of the protracted political process towards reconciliation.

According to the local stakeholders' feedback, there are three main phenomena to which foreign conflict professionals – across disciplines – appear to have notable positive impact:

1. The conflict's portrayal/narrative
2. The capacity-building and effectiveness of local stakeholders
3. The promotion of reconciliation across the general public

The reproduction of the conflict's narrative through foreign conflict professionals can offer new perspectives to the involved communities and potentially new approaches to its understanding. At the same time, both structured and informal interaction with local stakeholders, either on peacebuilding or organizational/logistical practices, is welcomed as beneficial to the capacity-building of local organizations, institutions and individuals. Lastly, the physical engagement of foreign experts with intercommunal activity has been seen as the physical manifestation of support to the otherwise marginalized local peace activists and of intercommunal contact.

One cannot argue accurately whether local civil society attracted foreign conflict professionals, or whether their presence enabled it to establish its presence. Nevertheless, a relationship between local experts and their foreign counterparts has developed due to their mutual desire to share best practices for conflict resolution. Local NGOs such as the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR 2014) and the Cyprus Community Media Centre (CCMC 2014) have arguably increased their legitimacy and scope of influence by hosting foreign conflict professionals for local conferences, presentations, lectures, exhibitions and trainings.

Conclusion

The niche audience of business tourists that is unique to post-conflict areas is a clear illustration of the positive implications of dark tourism. In addition to the area's potential for development and reconstruction through tourism, this study touches upon the impact of this audience on the area's social development and political progress towards reconciliation. Conflict professionals interested in Cyprus were able to engage international audiences in the country's post-war transition and at the same time engage local civil society in taking the lead for the establishment of viable peace.

This paper addresses a literature gap regarding business tourism to post-conflict areas, presents the positive implications of dark tourism by identifying a new niche tourist audience and outlines how this audience can affect the socio-political transition of a post-conflict area towards reconciliation. In conclusion, the study of conflict professionals as business tourists in relation to the positive implications of their work can be a valuable tool for the development of business tourism in post-conflict areas and the effective utilization of foreign expertise for post-conflict development.

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The Projection of the Small State, Smallness, Powerhood, Security; The Case of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) for the Instance of the Sovereign Base Areas (SBA's)

The 7th Biennial Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium on Contemporary Greece and Cyprus
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Melissa Mavris
hkm@aber.ac.uk
Department of International Politics, Aberystwyth University,
Penglais, Aberystwyth, SY23 3FE Wales

A small state is a *de facto* limited entity and its smallness undoubtedly restricts its power projection. This paper seeks to clarify what is meant by power in terms of the small state. Subsequently, the paper will link the powerhood notion to the case of the sovereign base areas (SBA's) in Cyprus. The paper seeks to elucidate that, considering power limitations, smart or soft strategies might assist in the re-envisioning of security hazards for the small state. All these aspects collide in the microcosm of the SBA's. One must critically evaluate, how the Republic of Cyprus (RoC's) smallness and seemingly lack of power thereof, perpetuates security qualms. The SBA's were established under the 1960 Treaty of Establishment as British overseas territory. The desire of the de-militarization of the island, a post-colonial footprint, is depicted under UN Security Council Resolutions like 1251 (1993). Spaces like the SBA's portray a blurred power image.

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The purpose of this paper has manifold objectives. At the conceptual construction stage for my PhD thesis, I have delved in to the small state literature (fourth generation in particular).[1] Following from the conceptual framework I have been constructing. I further researched the power asymmetries and power disparities that a small state faces in relation to larger states. This should not be conceptualized as powerlessness for the smaller player however.[2] Genuinely caring for my subject matter and the fact that my empirical case study (object of study) is the Republic of Cyprus (RoC), part of what my thesis is (and which I am addressing in this paper as well), is that power is not only hard (which might be in fact irrelevant for the small actor), but there are numerous soft[3] and ultimately smart strategies for which a small state can draw upon to carve its foreign policy strategy. The RoC is particularly interesting, to attempt to merge the power distortions, security qualms and perpetuating 'backward' political discourses that dominate the island life. As a post-colonial remnant, the Sovereign Base Areas (SBA'S) in Cyprus are an 'idiomorphic case'[4], I therefore argue that they do not allow Cyprus to reach the foreign policy 'status' of other successful, small yet smart small states (i.e. Scandinavian states, Austria, Switzerland). They are merely 'reactive players'.[5] What matters is not the size of the unit but the types of relationships forged with greater states, due to the perceived 'inevitable deficits of power'.[6] These disparities can translate into capabilities, by understanding the depth and limiting scope of one of the most distorted international politics concepts in relation to size; that of power. It can also be seen as one of the most important links in relinquishing some of the grasp bigger powers have on the small. Cyprus is lagging behind in realizing the utility potential small state strategies or niche strategies can offer to its foreign policy course.

When examining the Post-Cold world era, small state scholars are arguing that small states are becoming increasingly prominent in terms of security. The causes are many and are beyond the scope of this paper, but the most important assumption is the fact that great power's desire to impose their wills upon the smaller actors has waned in a non-polar international system. Actually it has been debated that the international system has no functionality for the small state anymore. Western European states (including Cyprus) represent 'archetypes' of small states, highly developed economically, resilient administrations, are legitimate wielders of power inside their borders and are only weak in terms of their military might as Knudsen argues.[7] I will take it a step further and argue that this is the case, if small states become conceptually aware and perceive the potential expertise levels which they can reach.[8]

Security focus no longer lays on minimalist conceptions of military aspects; there is an ever increasing prominence of non-military aspects whose scale varies significantly (environment migration, economic security et.al).[9] The view that small states are weak and lack in capability is up-kept due to the tunnel vision mode which dominates the political sphere. As a starting point of analysis, it must be taken as a given that a small power is only relatively weaker in relation to greater powers. This changes the scope of analysis, rather than merely treating themselves as inferior or as an end goal. Small powers are and can be much more

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[1]Ingebritsen, 2002:pp.11-23; Baldacchino, 2008; Cooper & Shaw, 2013.
[2]Neumann & Gstohl, 2006:pp.3-36.
[3]Nye, 2004; Lindell and Persson, 1986:pp.79-97.
[4]Theodoulou, 2014 in Kontos, Theodoulou and Alexandrou:p. 57.
[5]As Handel, 1981 characterizes small states.
[6]Primarily to resist coercion, Mouritzen, 1997:pp.101-106.
[7]Knudsen, 1996 in Bauwens, Clesse and Knudsen:pp. xv-xvi.
[8]Bauwens, Clesse, Knudsen, 1996:pp.3-20.
[9]*Ibid.*

than that, argues Rothstein. *"Small powers are something more than or different from great powers writ small"*.[10] Great and small power debates are not merely the outcomes of relative power ratios. Small powers are much more than simply weaker states. To unravel this, another fact must be considered (despite alternations in the international system) which is related to small power behavioural traits that persist and condition small state behaviour.

The security-dilemma of small states refers to the fact that in order to survive, external, 'ambiguous' support/assistance is needed by an outside power. European history teaches small states valuable lessons in relation to this fact, primarily that external support arrives either late, in return of spoils or acting on its own behalf. The security of a small power is an absolute necessity for its own self and it cannot increase its power base enough to shape results but exercise mere 'transitory effectiveness'. Therefore, a small state is perpetually stuck with a 'peripheral control'. A threat by a greater power is always a threat to a small state's 'independent existence'. The weaker state view in relation to a bigger state, is that, a small power is a state which recognises that it cannot obtain security primarily by use of its own capabilities.[11]

Though smallness and islandness, with a small population density, allows space for a 'creative political economy'[12] and 'norm entrepreneurship',[13] Cyprus does not utilize these factors. 'Design initiatives', including geo-strategic military zones, are security threats for the host state.[14] Small powerhood is defined as, *"the potential for enhanced international authority, influence and prestige"*.[15] It is argued that, small states can also gain EU benefits and enhance their respectability, prestige and international footing. The way in which Melakopides utilizes the notion of powerhood, presupposes that the foreign policy of member states will obtain soft power capabilities eventually, as the EU gains diplomatic prominence as 'positive proxies'. In other words, the EU is a vehicle for enhancing the small state's power. By soft power in this context, what is meant is gaining more prestige and influence, via the adoption of EU norms, thus in Melakopides understanding overall power will increase for all small states that follow this formulaic conceptual tool. Cyprus should embrace small-powerhood as a conceptual and practical tool of foreign policy making, in order to 'punch above its weight' as a small state empowered. Cyprus needs a 'metamorphosis' and needs to stop using carrots but utilize Cypriot 'diplomatic sticks'. In pursuing this policy, Cyprus can actively seek support, from like-minded states espousing the EU's 'moral politik'.[16]

The debate of the link amongst power, security and smallness has not been exhausted. However, the bedrock of conceptualization has been discussed so let us now turn to the role of the SBA's in Cyprus. According to Mallinson, Britain's role has always been as one of a junior partnership/European proxy of the US, regarding defence matters.[17] Moreover, Britain is behaving 'anachronistically' by hanging on to its SBA's in Cyprus (3% of the country at

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[10]Rothstein 1968:p.1; Knudsen, 1996:p.3.

[11]Studying the relations of small states dominance and submission power relations, on aspects of imperialism, dominance, interdependence and hegemony are, Moon, 1983; Ray, 1981; Tomlin and Dolan, 1981.

[12]Baldacchino, *op cit*.

[13]Ingebritsen, *op cit*.

[14]Agamben, 2005; Baldacchino, 2010:p.4.

[15]Melakopides, *op cit*:p.169.

[16]States that oppose Turkish full EU membership, support liberty and justice and wish to strengthen Cypriot commercial and communications sectors in becoming a hub in the Eastern Mediterranean.

[17]Malinson, 2010:p.91 from Leigh, David and Norton-Taylor Richard, *We are Now a Client-State*, The Guardian, 17th July, 2003.

Akrotiri and Dhekelia in Cyprus– not formally part of the EU).[18] According to the White Paper, UK 2012,[19] issued by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth the SBA's are 'an integral part of Britain's life and history'. The main goals of the strategy are several. Two of the most key aspects include the creation of valued partnerships with the realm, as well as, to defend the territories and necessitate for their security, from externalities and to upkeep the right of self-determination. The utility of the strategically located bases is still to support the UK and its allies in security related outposts.[20]

There are two crucial points to highlight when holding a discussion on the SBA's in Cyprus, firstly whether they are indeed sovereign and secondly if they are a colonial remnant or not. The UK might have violated its obligations under the Treaty of Establishment[21] and the Treaty of Guarantee[22] by applying the principle of international law *rebus sic standibus*. This principle is a tacit condition attached to all treaties to the effect that they will no longer be binding as soon as the state of facts and conditions upon which they were based changes to a substantial degree.[23] Furthermore, sovereignty is not absolute and is limited only to military purposes (excluding exploration for gas and oil reserves as well)[24] and constrain freedom of action; the SBA's do not constitute a state, nor do they have their own territorial sea. Furthermore, the UN General Assembly Resolutions 2555/1969 and 2621/1970 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples prohibit the existence of colonies not listed with the UN. Though the UK has expressly stated that the SBA's are not a colony,[25] however they are not independent either.[26]

Going back in time, the FCO had realized that the SBA's and British facilities, were only in existance due to 'Cypriot good will', as Mallinson characterizes it, since the British strategic interests had waned in the early 1970's. In fact, without US pressure Britain could have totally abandoned the SBA's, *"The US Government are firmly attached to the view that withdrawal from our bases in Cyprus would have a destabilizing effect upon the Eastern Mediterranean with implications for the Middle East…".*[27] Yet the Kissinger ideology of up-keeping a 'British square on the Chequer board' as a *sine qua non* condition unfortunately prevailed across time coupled by other strategic purposes like intelligence gathering.[28] *The Future of the SBA's*, stipulates that when the British decide to relinquish the bases, it will be done free of charge.[29] The SBA's constitute a '*black hole*', for international law, but this is a

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[18]Mallinson, W. *Britain's Elginism and the Evolution of its Attitude Toward the SBAs: A Historical Overview*, Defensor Pacis, Issue 18, July 2006, Athens.

[19]The Overseas Territories: Security, Success and Sustainability, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, October 28, 2012:pp.5-123, found at: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/goverment-publishes-white-paper-on-the-overseas-territries last accessed on the 1st May 2015.

[20]*Ibid.*

[21]Annex B, Part II- The British wanted to retain sovereignty due to the SBA's strategic importance, Theodoulou, *op cit*:p.59.

[22]The Cypriots did not have a chance to vote on the preservation of the BMBC's. Derogations on the RoC's territorial integrity exist as well, i.e. GA Resolution 1514 (XV) on the 'True obligation to decolonize', violating the principle *uti possidetis juris* for territorial unity post-clonization and Article 185 of the Cypriot Constitution.

[23]Lissitzyn, 1967:pp.895-922.

[24]Baroness Warsi statement, found at: http://www.theyworkforyou.com last accessed on January 30th, 2013.

[25]The Declaration by the UK Government regarding the Administration of the Sovereign Base Areas (Appendix O to the Treaty of Establishment).

[26]Under Appendix R, the British are obliged to pay an extent of money to the RoC, which has stopped post-1965 due to community so-called equitable problems.

[27]Mallinson, *Op cit*:p.92.

[28]*Ibid*:pp.92-93; Theodoulou, *op cit*:p.57.

[29]Appendix P of the Treaty of Guarantee. This is a further limiting sovereignty factor for the British.

subject for another paper.[30] There are innovative proposals laid out about the future of the SBA'S, particularly for the ROC to unilaterally denounce the 1960 Treaties, *"...if the treaty has been concluded to last in perpetuity..."*.[31] Moreover, the irregular situation of not attaining joint utility of the bases cannot proceed, if the UK does not show good intentions and give back to the RoC the part of the territories of the BMBC's not used for military purposes.[32] This is where the re-conceptualization of Cyprus can truly take prominence under the critical investigative foci of the small state conceptual tools and powerhood.

If power is taken to mean in the domain of international politics, the *"ability and capacity to influence the behaviour of others to achieve a desired outcome"*[33] then the RoC needs to rid of the anachronistic grasp of the SBAS's weighing it down; not allowing for smart diplomacy to prevail. Arguably, *"small powers are not defined but rather are the weaker states in any given situation"*[34] and this unfortunately translates directly to the case of the RoC in its foreign policy stance. Construing that smart power is the combination of hard power of coercion and the combination of persuasion and attraction converted into effective strategies in varying contexts. In the microcosm of the SBA's (hard power), a re-thinking of the soft mechanisms at the small state level could promote certain alternatives previously not thought of.[35] Theophanous and Trikides, have made the argument that the mere presence of the military bases on Cypriot soil, is illustrative of the 'lack of reciprocity' toward the UK.[36] Utilizing the data gathered from the public perceptions of the Greek-Cypriots in Theophanous and Trikides survey, 80% of the respondents answered that only a few perceived benefits from the prolongation of the SBA's on the island are to be expected. Moreover, very few responded positively toward a collective security structure between the British and the Cypriots. Overall Greek-Cypriots on the majority view the British bases as 'an unfair arrangement'.[37] As, Pace has argued, from a small state perspective, Cyprus can overcome its peripheral, insular and divided position, by being linked to European politics gaining from ready [38]made prescriptions, focusing more on issues of direct relevance, specialisation, re-focus on the Mediterranean, initiate policies, whilst exploiting to the fullest the Commonwealth assistance[39]and enhancement its diplomatic scope. As a closing remark, it's important to remember that in 2004, Britain explicitly reiterated that, it might be willing to release part of the base areas, but only if the two sides agreed to a settlement. In 2009 the British government confirmed this offer, in light of a peace deal.[40] Unfortunately as a small state it remains a particular one, where soft and smart strategies can only be stretched up to a certain breaking limit.

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[30]Theodulou, *Op cit*;pp.58-60. A legal re-evaluation of the status of the BMBC, would include the Vienna Convention on the Law of the Treaties (VCLT, 1969, the violation of *jus cogens* (Articles, 53, 64 on the nullity of treaties and the determination of the people's) and the violations of appendices, O & R.

[31][31]Elias, 1974:p.105.

[32]Theodoulou, O*p cit*:pp.65-66.

[33]Nye, 1990:p.154.

[34] *Ibid*: p.21.

[35]Nye, 2011:p.xiii-xvii.

[36]Theophanous & Trikides, 2007:p.13.

[37]*Ibid*:pp.109-115, mistrusting the British foreign policy and being concerned about harms towards the environment with the installation of antennas and the interrelated health hazards.

[38]Pace, in Stefanou, 2005:pp.238-255.

[39]i.e. The Commonwealth Action Group on Cyprus, in Coufoudakis, 2007:p.230.

[40]Ker-Lindsay, 2011:p.92.

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