Maestro or Scapegoat? :
The role of Henry Kissinger in the depiction of USA foreign policy on Cyprus's occupation of 1974

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Abstract

The Turkish invasion in Cyprus created a watershed moment for the people in the island but also the international community. Following Fileleftheros', a Cypriot newspaper that was in support of Makarios, coverage of the events and the actors associated with them, it is identified a targeted rhetoric and tone towards then US secretary of State, Henry Kissinger. The newspaper's approach in depicting USA's foreign policy is mainly targeting Kissinger in contrast to US president as being responsible for the shortcomings and failures of the American negotiations to manage the crisis that jeopardized the security of Cyprus. This paradox is attempted to be analyzed by investigated the media framing of Kissinger in Fileleftheros newspaper. This article identifies the frequency, tone and particular references to both Kissinger and Ford, to test the formulated hypothesis that targeting Kissinger as the sole responsible would alleviate extreme responses towards the USA in a period of ongoing crisis. The findings, retrieved from both content analysis and critical discourse analysis between August 1974 to January 1975, validate the hypothesis formulated that Kissinger was framed as a scapegoat to not generate strong Anti-American sentiments amid the bipolar system and great powers competition.

Keywords: Kissinger, Cyprus, Phileleftheros, media framimg, targeting, American foreign policy

Introduction

Media serve as valuable source of information when it comes to political information. During the 1970s and 1980s newspapers were the most significant media of circulating information and in structuring the audience perspectives about the issues presented while also having the ability to shape opinions and presenting a specific version as reality. Their content is presented in accordance with their ideological intendments and in line with their audience's wider ideology. Same news can be represented in a different way in national or international newspapers.

The way information is transferred to the audience is 'framed' to meet the goals of the source. Media framing is the way in which information is circulated and presented to the audience. Generally, information is presented as 'schema of interpretation, collection of anecdotes, and stereotypes used in a particular way to shape mass opinion'[3]. While framing is an established practice in the depiction of news, [4]the source, motive and possible implications behind the frame require further research, particularly the ways political leaders are discussed in the media of a foreign country. The stance of political leaders has been studied in various ways regarding how they "never respond to the actual event or situation but instead to their own view of it'[5] but little research has been devoted on whether is used to create widespread bias.

After the 1974 Turkish invasion in Cyprus the role and involvement of great powers in the negotiation processes as well as on bilateral and multilateral agreements was featured daily in Cypriot media. A general overview of the period' newspapers from August 1974 to January 1975, provides a very interesting feature of a frequent reference to Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State and National Security Advisor instead of Gerald Ford as the president of USA in the designing and implementing USA foreign policy in the Cyprus matter.

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[3]   Margaret, Cissel, 'Media Framing: A Comparative Content Analysis On Mainstream And Alternative News Coverage Of Occupy Wall Street.' (2012) 3 (1) *The Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research in Communications* 67.

[4]   Among the scholarly work that indicate this approach are: Robert M. Entman, 'Media Framing Biases And Political Power: Explaining Slant In News Of Campaign 2008' (2010) 11 Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism.Tankard Jr, J. W. (2001). The empirical approach to the study of media framing. In *Framing public life* (pp. 111-121). Routledge P. D'Angelo, 'News Framing As A Multiparadigmatic Research Program: A Response To Entman' (2002) 52 *Journal of Communication*

[5]   Joseph de Rivera,*The psychological dimension of foreign policy,* (Columbus OH: C. E. Merrill Pub. Co, 1968) 31.

This study focuses on the role of media in portraying a political personality through an empirical method and a communication concept to further elaborate on the underlines behind this approach as well as to determine how Henry Kissinger was framed through frequent references and rhetoric conveyed to the public. The purpose of this research is to identify the general trend and uncover if there was a framing on the way then US Secretary of State was referred to. By establishing our main research question on why the depiction of American foreign policy is centered in the Secretary of State and not on the President of USA, the hypothesis to be tested is whether the tactic of scape goat was used to alleviate aggressive impulses and extreme anti-American manifestation against one the most powerful states, of then bipolar international formation USA and Soviet Union.

In order to explore the relationship between framing and its effects on the portrayal of the mentioned foreign political leaders in the Cypriot news, a content analysis was performed on articles of the newspaper *Phileleftheros* as the most widely circulated newspaper of the period and friendly succumbed to Cypriot President Makarios followed by a critical discourse analysis of the words selected to associate the two political figures. The period under analysis is August 1974 to January 1975 and for this six-month period a total of 1446 news stories were analyzed to examine the attribution of individual responsibility to Henry Kissinger in comparison to Gerald Ford as then US president. This time period was chosen because it represents the first months after the 1974 Turkish invasion in the island and the return of archbishop Makarios as President of the Republic in December 1974.

This article focuses on the media's portrayal of a political figure in an attempt to investigate through this case study, the use of framing in molding the image, personality and even reputation of politicians based on national, ideological or political perceptions.

The axiom of Secretary of State and Kissinger's term

According to the constitution of the USA, the President is the one who determines the foreign policy of the country. The Secretary of State is appointed by the President alongside the advice and consent of the Senate. The person selected acts as the President's main foreign affairs' advisor. The Secretary of State carries out the President's foreign policies through the State Department and the Foreign Service of the United States and is considered as the highest-ranking cabinet member.

Henry Kissinger served as US National Security advisor and Secretary of State in the Nixon and Ford administrations between 1969 and 1977[6]. His dynamic presence in office during the Nixon term was even characterized as the 'Kissinger years'[7]. He was also voted as the most effective U.S. Secretary of State in the last 50 years according to a 2014 Ivory Tower survey in a collaboration between *Foreign Policy* magazine and the *Teaching Research and International Policy (TRIP) Project*.[8] There has been a significant amount of scholarly work focusing on the former Secretary of State. Some of them are concerned with the study of individuals[9] in the formation of strategies as well as their influence on decision making. Nathan and Oliver[10] for example argue that Kissinger was the driving force behind the development of Nixon administration's foreign policy and that the policy making process changed very little when Ford took office due to Henry Kissinger's continuous influence on foreign policy issues[11].

Henry Kissinger has been one of the most controversial diplomats of the 20th century according to Schwartz[12] and in his legacy is presented a realist approach in foreign policy by prioritizing national interest over international agreements.[13] Nonetheless, his ambivalent persona in the American politics has gained him supporters in theorists of realism, that praise for his services (Clinton[14], 2016), as well as strong opponents, describing him as the flawed architect of American foreign policy[15],and even being accused as a "world criminal"[16].

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[6]   David M. Wight, 'Henry Kissinger As Contested Historical Icon In Post-9/11 Debates On US Foreign Policy' (2017) 29 *History and Memory*.

[7]   Alastair Buchan, 'The Irony Of Henry Kissinger' (1974) 50 *International Affairs*.

[8]   Source https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/02/03/top-twenty-five-schools-international-relations/

[9]   Harvey Starr, 'The Kissinger Years: Studying Individuals And Foreign Policy' (1980) 24 *International Studies Quarterly*.

[10]   James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver, *United States Foreign Policy And World Order* (1st edn, Little Brown & company 1981).

[11]   Jussi M Hanhimäki, *The Flawed Architect* (Oxford University Press 2004 John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies Of Containment :A critical appraisal of American national security policy during the Cold War* (Oxford University Press 2005).

[12]   Thomas A. Schwartz, 'Henry Kissinger: Realism, Domestic Politics, And The Struggle Against Exceptionalism In American Foreign Policy' (2011) 22 *Diplomacy & Statecraft*.

[13]   James Edward Miller, 'Kissinger And Cyprus: A Study In Lawlessness By Gene Rossides' (2016) 34 *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*.

[14]   as found on Goldberg, Jeffrey.*The Lessons of Henry Kissinger*. The Atlantic (2016).

[15]   Jussi M Hanhimäki, *The Flawed Architect* (Oxford University Press 2004).

[16]   Christopher Hitchens, The *trial of Henry Kissinger* (New York: Atlantic Books Ltd, 2012).

A frequent reference during his term as a Secretary of state is his role during the military invasion of 1974 in Cyprus and his diplomatic maneuvers. There is even a prominent presence of him in folklore history in Cyprus with poems, songs and caricatures referring to him, let alone ironically. Kissinger was also a target of anti-American sentiment in both Cypriot and Greek media, with many newspapers implying his prior knowledge on the intended coup against Archbishop Makarios and his deliberate actions in favor of Turks during and after the invasion of 1974 in Cyprus. Henry Kissinger, was 'often depicted as the man behind-the-scenes enabler of the Turkish invasion'[17] or the linkage between sides to defuse the crisis. Kissinger himself in his memoirs[18] seems to try to avoid extensive reference on Cyprus attributing the crisis to the Watergate paralysis in Washington[19].Cypriots however hold Kissinger responsible, "not because the U.S. did too little, but because it never cared enough to do more."[20] However, William Mallinson and Vassilis Fouskas[21] have provided a systematic analysing of original documents, transcripts of calls in regards to Kissinger's role in Cyprus and indicate that the certain accusations and conspiracy theories of that period do not add up to the archival evidence presented. As indicated according to the axiom role of the Secretary of State this role is to provide advice but not to determine the state's foreign policy however, the way Henry Kissinger's role is presented in the Cypriot newspaper *Phileleftheros* raises questions on why it was attributed with more power and influence than he actually had according to his position. The frequent references in the newspaper headlines and even direct accusations against then Secretary of State regarding the formation of US foreign policy, and not against the US president himself, constitute our puzzle to be unraveled.

Moreover, certain references to his personality criticizing his credibility and communication skills constitute an individual dimension on the depiction of the person

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[17] William Mallinson 'US interests, British acquiescence and the invasion of Cyprus' (2015) *45*(2) *Balkan Studies, 273.*

[18] Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (Simon & Schuster trade paperbacks 2011).

[19] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig,*The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion (*London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1999).

[20] Unsigned Comment on O'Malley and Craig's The Cyprus Conspiracy, Cyprus Conflict. As found on Wenzke, Caroline, and Dan Lindley. "Dismantling the Cyprus Conspiracy: The US role in the Cypriot Crises of 1963, 1967, and 1974." History and Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame (2008) 79.

[21] William Mallinson and Vassilis Fouskas. 'Kissinger and the Business of Government: The Invasion of Cyprus, 15 July-20 August 1974.'(2017) 29.1 *The Cyprus Review*

holding the axiom of secretary of state or any other. Nonetheless, decision makers "never respond to the actual event or situation", but instead to their own view of it.[22]

The concentration on the personality of key political leaders by examining what type of people hold high office, the nature of their backgrounds, their beliefs, their images and statements is a valuable approach to understand and predict the behavior of foreign policy decision makers[23]. Thus, in the proposed analysis we will consider the references in headlines as presented both the axiom of the secretary of state as well as the individual's personality.

Media Framing and Scapegoating

Media use a certain frame and tone to present key events while choosing which topics make the cut[24]. This selected and 'filtered'; process is called 'framing' and to a great degree is depended on the type of newspaper and its ideological background or the social class is addressing to. The usage of a certain rhetoric, catchphrases, metaphors, visual representations such as pictures, and other symbolic devices are tools of framing[25] considers frames to be 'manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements'. Additionally, Iyengar understood that the concepts of framing referred to 'subtle alterations in the statement or presentation of [...] problems'[26].

Media framing is a popular communication theory of the past 15 years according to Bryant and Miron[27], particularly on 'presenting images of reality in a predictable and patterned way"[28]. Even though there is still' observable a lack of

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[22]   Joseph de Rivera, *The psychological dimension of foreign policy,* (Columbus OH: C. E. Merrill Pub. Co, 1968) 31.

[23]   Richard E. Neustadt and Ernest R. May, *Thinking in time: the uses of history for policy makers* (New York: Freedom Press, 1986).

[24]   Patti M Valkenburg, Holli Semetko and Claes H. De Vreese '*The effects of news frames on readers' thoughts and recall' (1999),* 26(5) Communication research..

[25]   Sheldon Ungar 'Hot Crises and Media Reassurance: A Comparison of Emerging Diseases and Ebola Zaire' (1998) 49(1) *The British Journal of Sociology*; Robert M. Entman 'Media framing biases and political power: Explaining slant in news of Campaign' (2010)*11*(4) *Journalism, 52.*

[26]   Shanto Iyengar, 'Is anyone responsible?: How television frames political issues (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 11.

[27]   Jennings Bryant and Dorina Miron, 'Theory and research in mass communication' (2004), 54 (4) *Journal of Communicatio*n..

[28]   Denis McQuail,*The rise of media of mass communication. Mass communication theory: An introduction* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1995), 331.

conceptual clarity and consistency about what exactly frames are…"[29]. Gregory Bateson first introduced the concept of framing in 1972 and later Goffman studied and defined "framing" as "schemata of interpretation"[30] meaning how individuals perceive everyday life experiences. Among the most cited definitions is the one by Entman 'to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation'[31]. On the same vein Reese considers framing as the "interests, communicators, sources, and culture combined to yield coherent ways of understanding the world, which are developed using all of the available verbal and visual symbolic resources"[32] Moreover, in addressing the periodic and frequent appearances states that "frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world"[33] Nonetheless framing intends to shape or alter public's interpretations of evaluating preferences[34] or a political object[35].

Media framing of political figures mainly highlights inherent biases or partiality in the coverage of personalities[36] or using certain frames that reflect mainstream political viability on the character of individuals[37] However, the literature on media

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[29] Thomas E. Nelson, Rosalee A. Clawson and Zoe M. Oxley, 'Media Framing Of A Civil Liberties Conflict And Its Effect On Tolerance' (1997) 91 *American Political Science Review* 222.

[30] Erving Goffman,*Frame Analysis: An Essay on the organization of experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974).

[31] Robert M. Entman, 'Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm' (1993) *43*(4), Journal *of Communication, 51.*

[32] Stephen D. Reese et al., *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world* (New York: Taylor & Francis Inc, 2001),11.

[33] Stephen D. Reese et al, *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world* (New York: Taylor & Francis Inc, 2001*), 11.*

[34] Maxwell McCombs and Salma I.Ghanem, 'The convergence of Agenda Setting and Framing' in Stephen D. Reese et al *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world* (New York: Taylor & Francis Inc, 2001).

[35] Robert M. Entman 'Media framing biases and political power: Explaining slant in news of Campaign'(2010) ,*11*(4) *Journalism.*

[36] Brian L. Ott and Eric Aoki,'The politics of negotiating public tragedy: Media framing of the Matthew Shepard murder' (2002), *5*(3) *Rhetoric & Public Affairs.*

[37] Matthew R. Kerbel, Sumaiya Apee and Marc Howard Ross,'PBS ain't so different: Public broadcasting, election frames, and democratic empowerment' (2000) 5(4) Harvard *International Journal of Press/Politics.*

framing of individuals in politics is limited and abides on political discourse[38]. The framing of an individual is based mainly on the role or involvement in a case or an event that promotes a causal interpretation of responsibility. Holding individuals who hold office and organizations accountable is of significant importance in governance according to Tholen[39] Thus, framing is frequently used in structuring political debates and consequently influencing readers' opinion on policy responsibility[40] and the way political personalities are portrayed. This can either create positive or negative sentiments toward the politician. Individuals by holding a political axiom they are entitled with certain responsibilities. The responsibility frame has not produced any measurable indications on shaping public understanding of who is responsible for causing or solving key social problems[41].

On the lines of responsibility framing, scapegoating is a complimentary approach to put the burden or accusation on an individual for a crisis that has been unfolded or false handlings. The word 'scapegoating' is derived from religious practice aimed at taking away the sins of the world[42] In contemporary word the scapegoating can still generate hatred, but it is now directed toward a plethora of transitory victims'[43] (Brown and Stivers, 1998: 716). The socio-psychological tool of scapegoating is built upon a crisis, an accusation and a victim[44]. The scapegoat according to Girard, is an arbitrary victim: "The creature that excited [their] fury [,the grant,] is abruptly replaced by another, chosen only because it is vulnerable and close at hand"[45] attributing inordinate blame for a negative outcome to a target individual or group.

The scapegoating approach in media framing is strongly defined by both frequent reference and rhetoric. Rhetoric acts as a means of persuasion to build the

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[38]   Lance W. Bennett, Toward a theory of press-state relations in the United States' (1990) 40(2), *Journal of Communication.*.

[39]   Berry Tholen, 'Political Responsibility as a Virtue: Nussbaum, MacIntyre, and Ricoeur on the Fragility of Politics' (2018) *43*(1) *Alternatives.*

[40]   Donald R. Kinder and Roderick D.Kiewiet ,'Economic discontent and political behavior: The role of personal grievances and collective economic judgments in congressional voting' (1979) 23 (3). *American Journal of Political Science.*

[41]   Shanto Iyengar, 'Television news and citizens' explanations of national affairs (1987) *81*(3) *American Political Science Review.*

[42]   James George Frazer ,*The Golden Bough, V. VI*, *The Scapegoat* (London: Macmillan, 1919).

[43]   Lauren E. Brown & Richard Stivers, The Legend of" Nigger" Lake: Place as Scapegoat (1998) 28 (6) *Journal of Black Studies,* 716.

[44]   Rene Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, *trans*. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: 1977).

[45]   Rene Girard *Violence and the Sacred*, *trans*. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: 1977), 2.

case against a person or group while a frequent appearance in the media keeps the topic relevant and draws attention to the framing established.

Methodology, Content Analysis and Discource Analysis

In order to investigate the relationship between media framing and its effects on the portrayal of a political figure in the news we use both content analysis and critical on articles to achieve a more detailed depiction of both frequency, tone and rhetoric used.

Content analysis is a method to collect data determined by a keyword or phrase. It has been long used in political science and international relations to measure frequency, trends, patterns, rhetoric and tone. Among the first to use this method is Laswell's in examining propaganda in 1927. Neuman et al. explained that content analysis is a technique to collect and analyze text content based on the references of a word, picture, symbol, idea, theme, that could be used in communication[46] while Neuendorf characterized it as way to shorten and analyze quantitatively messages through scientific method.[47]

Content analysis is divided in both quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative originates in media research, as expressed in the frequency of the word/phrase set a code[48] Berelson defined it as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication"[49] while Krippendorff "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use "[50]. Content analysis is essential to locate the frequency and allows for a quantitative comparison of the code words provided. This frequency count is the basis of content analysis according to Holsti[51].

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[46] Russell W. Newmann, Marion R. Just & Ann N. Crigler, *Common knowledge: News and the construction of political meaning* (University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[47] Kimberly A. Neuendorf, *The content analysis guidebook* (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage, 2002).

[48] Bernard Berelson *Content analysis in communication research* (New York, NY, US: Free Press, 1952); Klaus Krippendorf 'Reliability in content analysis' (2004) *Human communication research, 411;* Kimberly A Neuendorf and others, *The Content Analysis Guidebook.*

[49] Bernard Berelson *Content analysis in communication research* (New York, NY, US: Free Press, 1952) 18.

[50] Klaus Krippendorf, 'Reliability in content analysis'(2004) *30*(3)*Human communication research* 18.

[51] Ole R. Holsti ,*Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities* (Reading. MA: Addison-Wesley, 1969).

According to Bullock et al[52] the news content analysis is an essential method to further identify the power of frames as unnoticed devices affecting the public's judgments. The application of content analysis is "the major task of determining textural meaning"[53] as well as being a tool to identity of frames in the media. As a method it holds an imperative way to outline the trends on an issue as well as to observe the continuity or differences in a chronological period which is the main approach adopted in this research as well.

Discourse analysis is characterized as a relationship between language and the various circumstances under which it is produced. Discourse analysis pays particular attention to the customs and practices of the society that produces and shapes the whole web of the behaviors of the society. By incorporating discourse analysis, the researchers investigate knowledge in relation to language and they envisage to go one step further beyond the phrases, words and sentences of a given situation. As a method it has been used widely in examining articles of newspapers in order to see what is the opinion that a particular newspaper holds for a political leader and how the various words and phrases that are situated inside the articles 'fit into both longer texts and also social contexts of use'[54]. By incorporating this method we try to uncover both the opinion of *Phileleftheros* newspaper on Kissinger and Ford and the special phrases and words used to describe the policies and the individuals.

Sample and Coding

The selection of *Phileleftheros* newspaper as the only mean of analysis derives from certain elements such as its long history/ being the most widely circulated newspaper and its pro-government orientation and support to Makarios as it was referred in various sources[55] and the newspaper's official webpage[56]. The newspaper

[52] Heather E. Bullock, Karen Fraser Wyche and Wendy R. Williams ,Media images of the poor (2001) 57(2) *Journal of Social Issues.*.

[53] Robert M. Entman,, 'Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm'(1993) *43*(4) *Journal of communication, 57.*

[54] Michael Stubbs, *Words and phrases: Corpus studies of lexical semantics (*Oxford: Blackwell Publishers 2001).

[55] Motta, G. (Ed.),*Dynamics and Policies of Prejudice from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-first Century.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2018); United States. Central Intelligence Agency. Daily Report, Foreign Radio Broadcasts. Issue 26-30,1967 ,Emili Jüngling 'Perception of the facts about the coup in Cyprus (15th of July 1974) in the Cyprus daily press.' (2005) 2nd LSE PhD Symposium on Modern Greece:"Current Social Science Research on Greece, *London School of Economics, Hellenic Observatory,* London.

[56] ''Phileleftheros was closer to Makarios' ideology and politics than anyone else's and supported him

Phileleftheros was founded in 1955 in Nicosia and was the most popular newspaper in the years to follow. It was consisted from a variety of 25 to 45 articles of different length and the total page number of an issue was five to six on average. It was issued mainly every two days and featured articles of original contributions as well as articles translated from foreign media such as Reuters, CNN and other newspapers such as *Washington Post* or *New York Times*. To systematically and comprehensively code and analyze the media content, we used a quantitative content analysis across the whole sample for the period under analysis August 1974 to January 1975.Articles were categorized by title reference, subtitle reference, in text reference, photo and letter/satyr. Through a computational analysis of the articles uploaded the frequency of the code words. For this analysis the volume of articles examined reached a total of 1241. The material for the analysis was collected from the Cypriot National Library archive in Limassol and organized by establishing a detailed database electronically. The analysis was conducted in three steps with the collection of all the articles, then by measuring the frequency of our code words 'Kissinger' and 'Ford' and in the last part focusing on the tone and rhetoric of the articles' content. The key words were categorized according to their appearance on headlines (heading at the top of an article); on subtitle(subordinate title); in text references (in the main body of the article) visual references (photo or caricature) and letter(send by the audience to the editor of the newspaper or poems).

The critical discourse analysis tries to identify the tone (positive, negative or neutral) of the two main subjects under analysis and how the dominant frame is presented particularly with the use of phrases adjectives and comparisons. The newspaper contained a column ' called 'Philelefthera' where the journalists of *Phileleftheros* expressed the official views of the newspaper that is an important source of information to decipher the framing the newspaper used to describe US foreign policy and the actors involved in its making.

Results on frequency

According to the two code words set for the quantitative content analysis, Kissinger and Ford, the table 1 below illustrates the findings. It is apparent from this table that 'Kissinger's name reference is dominating the frequency in all categories with substantial differences to 'Ford' particularly in September and October having re-

during the Zurich-London Agreements, a time when the people of Cyprus were divided." Quoted in *Inception* section at https://phileleftherosgroup.com/the-group/

ceived a total of 67 and 68 references respectively. In contrast 'Ford' receives the highest of overall references in January 43 in total and October 42.

As Table 1 shows, there is a significant difference between Kissinger's name appearance in the headlines/titles of the articles. Since headlines give a compact summary and generate the interest on the reader who will decide whether to read the article or not the frequent reference of an individual frames accordingly its role, presence and responsibility on a matter. Headlines encapsulate both the content and the orientation of the article, thus the frequency of a code word in headlines indicates the proposed framing of the newspaper. In our sample the results on the frequency of the code word in headlines indicate an average of 7 titles per month indicating the word 'Kissinger' compared to 3 titles for 'Ford'. However, also on subtitles, accompanying the headlines with a short phrase Kissinger has his name being referred to 30 times while Ford has 12. In the visual representation either with a photo or a caricature Kissinger also has 5 in total and Ford only 2. Lastly on one of the columns the newspaper features letters of the public mainly addressing an issue or blaming the authorities for a public policy or a satyr in the form of a poem or prose by an artist or even a reader, in this section Kissinger has 15 letters or satirical poems dedicated to him and Ford only 1.

Table 1: Quantitative Content Analysis

	Title	Subtitle	Intext ref.	Letter/Satyr	Photo	Total
Kissinger						
August	5	7	40	2	0	54
September	8	6	42	8	3	67
October	12	5	48	2	1	68
November	7	2	39	1	0	49
December	5	5	32	0	0	42
January	7	5	48	2	1	63
Ford						
August	3	3	21	0	0	27
September	2	2	22	0	0	26
October	6	3	31	1	1	42
November	4	0	21	0	0	25
December	0	0	23	0	0	23
January	4	4	34	0	1	43

Source: *Phileleftheros* articles from August 1974 to January 1975

Results on rhetoric and tone

This part of the article evaluates both the rhetoric and tone used in the depiction of the two political figures Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger. From an in-depth analysis in all the articles for the period under examination the overall outcome concerning the tone is that the newspaper *Phileleftheros* adapts a negative view towards Kissinger whereas sees Ford in a very neutral way. From the evaluation of both the reference frequency and the tone that was used to describe Kissinger it is indicated that he holds a central role in USA foreign policy with an article even characterizing him as the 'new Metternich' due to his influence in the policy decision. Kissinger has been also characterized as 'manipulative', 'buccaneer' and 'murderer' while for President Ford there is no other reference except from his axiom, 'president of USA'.

Regarding the rhetoric Kissinger is depicted in a negative way with the use of unflattering adjectives and even caricature photos while there is even detestation expressed in satyr letters. There is clearly a stronger negative narrative compared to Ford who is depicted in a more neutral way and with no negative references on his personality. That is widely depicted on the satirical and letters section, signed anonymously by columnists of the newspaper or send by the public, for example on the edition published on 10th November[57], the relevant article is entitled *'Thief'* and refers to Kissinger by name, mentioning that he needs to know that Turkey is a thief state. Once again Kissinger role's is highlighted and fall under the newspaper's particular framing.

Concerning the framing of Kissinger's responsibility in US foreign policy, from the aforementioned analysis of the articles, he is presented in a more negative light and seems to be given a disproportionate responsibility on foreign policy decisions compared to President Ford. As an example, an article analyses the positions of several Greek newspapers about the Turkish invasion and the subsequent crisis in Cyprus.[58] In the title of the article 'CIA is responsible for what has happened according to Athenian newspapers' is indicated that CIA is responsible for the Turkish invasion in Cyprus and in the subtitle[59] 'Kissinger is accused for deceiving Greece'

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[57]   Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Thief', 6th page, 10 November 1974.

[58]   Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'CIA is responsible for what has happened to Cyprus according to Athenian nwespapers', 4th page, 7 August 1974.

[59]   Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'CIA is responsible for what has happened to Cyprus according to Athenian nwespapers', 4th page, 7 August 1974.

is referred that Henry Kissinger has deceived Greece in relation to the Cypriot problem. More specifically there are mentioned the views of two Greek newspapers *Athenian News* and *Acropolis* where they explicitly state that CIA planned the Turkish invasion in Cyprus and that CIA and Kissinger purported to support the revolutionary regime in Cyprus to overthrow President Makarios.

On another occasion the newspaper *Phileleftheros* hosts the views of an important American commentator Mr. Jack Anderson about the fundamental role of Kissinger in the Turkish invasion and the subsequent huge crisis in Cyprus.[60] Among other things this commentator had emphasized the fact that Henry Kissinger has not proceeded to any actions in order to put pressure on the Turkish government in order to stop the Turkish invasion and to restore the independence of Cyprus.[61]Additionally the same commentator argues that not only Kissinger has become inactive in relation to the Turkish invasion but that he has secretly encouraged the Turkish military forces to stabilize its positions in the island. It is also mentioned that the Greek and Cypriot public opinion were against the American stance towards the Turkish invasion in Cyprus. Many Greek and Cypriot organizations located in USA, had sent hundreds of telegrams of protest to the American government, personally to the Secretary of State Dr. Kissinger and to the members of the American Congress and of the Senate.

On the issue of 6th September 1974 on page 3 the newspaper published an article under the title 'For Kissinger' signed by a refugee.[62] In this particular letter a refugee protests against the American stance towards Cyprus and recounts the dramatic moments that the Cypriot refugees had to suffer because of the Turkish invasion due to the inactivity of the American troops blaming the then Secretary of State. More specifically the refugee when he speaks about Kissinger refers to him using the phrases 'without shame', 'without a sense of feeling', 'without even a pity that the powerful feel for the powerless'. The author of the letter even characterized him as 'shameless','brazen-faced', 'rude'[63].

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[60]   Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Fileleythera - The powerful and (the countries) which can proceed to actions', 3rd page, 10 August 1974, 3rd paragraph.

[61]   Newspaper *Phileleftheros* ,'Not only it does not hold but it encourages the Turks the American politics', 4th page, 11 August 1974, 5 Newspaper 'Phileleftheros ' 'Not only it does not hold but it encourages the Turks the American politics', 4th page, 11 August 1974, 1st column.

[62]   Newspaper 'Phileleftheros ' 'Responsible CIA for what has happened, that is what was written in the Athenian Newspapers - Kissinger has been accused for the receipt of Greece', 4th page, 7 August 1974.

[63]   English terms used here are direct translation from Greek terms found in the original article.

In one of the most important articles of *Phileleftheros,* published on the 1st of October there is a clear indication on the framing of Kissinger and the power he seemingly exercised on American politics. The article refers to an important decision made by then President of the United States Gerald Ford to retain Kissinger to his positions as Secretary of State and director of the National Security.[64] Although in the article it has been pointed out that many journalists and public officials have suggested the removal of Henry Kissinger from the position he held, President Ford had made a public statement denying that such suggestions were ever made.[65] Moreover the newspaper uses public statements of a high ranking public official stating that Henry Kissinger is a very clever person but extremely selfish and this combination is even worse and certainly cannot produce beneficial results.[66] Moreover in the same lines of thought the newspaper adds that the previous president Richard Nixon due to Watergate scandal had left Henry Kissinger the absolute control over the national affairs. Lastly, according to the same article Gerald Ford had envisaged a close relationship with Henry Kissinger even before he becomes a President of the United State of America having been doubtful over the qualifications of other candidates for the position of external affairs such as Slessinger.[67]

Kissinger therefore in many occasions has been presented as a vital actor in US foreign policy let alone implying that he influenced the conduct of policies. Accordingly in an article published on the 8th of October it was mentioned that Kissinger, despite having envisaged to address the Cypriot crisis, in his meeting with Archbishop Makarios in New York on the 2nd of October 1974, he did not present any specific plan neither did he exchange any ideas with Makarios in relation to this topic.[68] Moreover during his talks with the Minister of External Affairs of Turkey, Mr. Guness and the Greek delegate United Nations Mr. Tziounis, Kissinger only expressed the imminent interest to reach a resolution for the Cypriot.[69] This par-

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[64] Newspaper 'Phileleftheros ' 'President Ford has to take a decision - Slessigker or Kissinger', 3rd page, 1 October 1974.

[65] Newspaper 'Phileleftheros ' 'President Ford has to take a decision - Slessigker or Kissinger', 3rd page, 1 October 1974, 2nd paragraph, 1 to 24 lines.

[66] Newspaper 'Phileleftheros ' 'President Ford has to take a decision - Slessigker or Kissinger', 3rd page, 1 October 1974, 4th paragraph, 1 to 15 lines.

[67] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'President Ford has to take a decision - Slessigker or Kissinger', 3rd page, 1 October 1974, 6th paragraph, 1 to 23 lines.

[68] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'From the meetings of Makarios', 1st page, 8 October 1974, 1st paragraph, 1 to 11 lines.

[69] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'From the meetings of Makarios', 1st page, 8 October 1974.

ticular focus on Kissinger being the one to address or provide solutions instead of President Ford further reinforces the framing of the newspaper and the usage of scapegoating in order to alleviate strong Anti-American opinion towards the public by revolving all important decisions only on Kissinger and not on US president.

Interestingly, concerning the stance of the newspaper in regards to President Ford there is one article published on 10 October 1974 entitled 'Smack against Ford' making reference to a compiling bill being proceeded by American Senate in order to terminate immediately the sending of military help to the Turkish government.[70] It should be also stressed out at this point that although the title of this article had not mentioned the name of Kissinger, in its main body it says that the Senate's decision is considered a powerful smack (slap) both for Ford and Kissinger who reacted against the termination of help towards Turkey.

On the front page article of the paper published on the 15th of September 1974, *Phileleftheros* hosts an article of the newspaper *Times of New York*.[71] In this particular article the American newspaper makes some complaints against the government of the USA for not having stopped sending military help to Turkey after the invasion and the tragic events that have occurred thereafter.[72] Moreover in one of the paragraphs of this important article and more specifically in the last paragraph of the article the author states that we should congratulate the stance of the senator Ingleton and other members of the Congress in relation to the Turkish invasion and the fact that they are against Kissinger who has not condemned nor has proceeded to any action to stop the Turkish military troops in Cyprus.[73] In other words one can observe here that there is a distinction between the senator Ingleton and many members of the Congress who do not agree with the Turkish invasion and Henry Kissinger who is the man who has tolerated the Turkish invasion and the Turkish hostilities in Cyprus. The American newspaper implies that Henry Kissinger is the main actor determining the foreign policy of USA.

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[70] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* ' And from the American Senate SMACK AGAINST FORD, although his stubbornness it had been decided the termination of help towards Turkey, Thursday, October 10, 1974, page 1.

[71] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Illegal the continuance of the American Help towards Turkey', Sunday, September 15, 1974, page 1.

[72] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Illegal the continuance of the American Help towards Turkey', Sunday, September 15, 1974, page 1, 1st paragraph, 1-7 lines.

[73] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Illegal the continuance of the American Help towards Turkey', Sunday, September 15, 1974, page 1, 6th paragraph, 1-6 lines.

In the same vein *Phileleftheros* on 17ᵗʰ September 1974 has the following title in the front page 'Kissinger is responsible for the coup in Chile, says Mrs. Ort.Aliente'[74] featuring the public statement that was made by the widow of the ex-President of Chile Mr. Salvador Aliente as reproduced from Reuters. More specifically Mrs. Aliente had argued that the coup in Chile had not been a conspiracy only of C.I.A. but it was a conspiracy of one man that had been both politically and ethically responsible and this man was Henry Kissinger.[75]

Phileleftheros on the 7th of November 1974 published an interview of Archbishop Makarios to Italian journalist Oriana Falacci.[76] In an important part of the interview Makarios expressed his concerns and his condemnation of Henry Kissinger about the way USA had dealt with the Turkish invasion.[77]Makarios further stresses out the fact that Kissinger never envisaged to explain in full detail the actions he had followed to resolve the issue. Additionally, the journalist Fallaci said that many analysts were of the opinion that Kissinger's responsibility went far beyond the Turkish invasion. From the analysis it can be observed that both Makarios and the Italian journalist shared the opinion that Kissinger had a more prominent role in the US foreign policy and the events of the period both military coup that resulted in the overthrow of Makarios from Cyprus presidency and to the Turkish invasion.

In the column 'Philelefthera' journalists expressed the view that had Democrats won the American elections (in relation to the members of the House Representatives) it would had been extremely beneficial for the Cypriot problem and the Cypriot government[78]as the democratic party was considered to be more friendly inclined to Cypriot issues. Additionally, they stressed the fact that Henry Kissinger is the most important actor for the making of the external foreign policy of the USA but he needs to change its political direction and to act in a way that takes into account the American public opinion.[79]

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[74] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Kissinger is responsible says Mrs Ort. Aliente', 1st page, 17 September 1974.

[75] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Kissinger is responsible says Mrs Ort. Aliente', 1st page, 17 September 1974, 3rd paragraph, 1-9 lines.

[76] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'For Kissinger', 6th page, 7 November 1974, 3rd paragraph, 1-8 lines.

[77] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'For Kissinger', 6th page, 7 November 1974, 3rd paragraph, 1-8 lines.

[78] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Philelefthera - The win of the Democrats', 3rd page, 8 November 1974, 1st paragraph, 1-8 lines.

[79] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Philelefthera - The win of the Democrats', 3rd page, 8 November 1974, 2nd paragraph, 1-11 lines.

Nonetheless on the framing of Kissinger's personality, on several occasions the Cypriot newspaper tried to dismantle the personality of Kissinger. The most prominent examples that prove this observation is when the newspaper published the opinions of important public figures such as Tito and Osaria Aliente who shared the opinion that Kissinger was a malevolent person without any ethical values, a person that created coops in several places, such as the coups in Chile and in Cyprus in order to promote the American interests in the whole world. Moreover, on other occasions *Phileleftheros* doubts about Kissinger's personal integrity since the journalists of the paper argued that Kissinger had supported the Turkish invasion in Cyprus in order to operate factories that would (produce) opium in the occupied Cypriot regions.

The newspaper occasionally also hosted articles and opinions from foreign newspapers that attacked Kissinger because he had accepted bribes from the well-known banker Rothchild, and he had failed to explain under what circumstances he had received this large amount of money. Kissinger was depicted as a person who refused to listen to the opinion of the American citizen and to abide to the decisions that had been made by the American Senate and the American Congress. One notable example had been the discontinuance of the American military help that had been offered to Turkey. Although both the Senate and the House of Representatives had shared the opinion that the American government needed to stop immediately to offer military help to Turkey Henry Kissinger did everything that he could possibly do in order to retain and extend this military help to Turkey for an indefinite period of time.

On the contrary, *Phileleftheros* avoided attacking directly the President of the USA Gerald Ford. For instance in the column 'Philelefthera' a journalist of the newspaper uncovered a letter to Rolant Elliot who was an advisor of Gerald Ford, as sent to him by Doctor L. Dimitriades, who resembles Kissinger to Pontius Pilatus, since the American advisor argued that USA can have only a secondary, ancillary role in relation to the Turkish invasion and the Cypriot problem.[80] The Greek Cypriot journalist who commented on this answer argued that USA along with the Soviet Union are two superpowers which control the fate of the world and certainly such an answer is hypocritical and shows that USA is not ready to adopt a decisive and truthful stance to the Cypriot problem.[81] Of course this example demonstrates the

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[80] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Philelefthera - 'Reminds of Pilatus', 3rd page, 12 January1975, 1st to 3rd paragraph, 1-15 lines.

[81] Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Philelefthera - 'Reminds of Pilatus', 3rd page, 12 January1975, 3rd paragraph, 1-5 lines.

position of the newspapers since once again it avoided to directly accuse President Ford for the negative stance that USA demonstrated to the Cypriot Republic and instead it chose to attack one of the closest advisors of Gerald Ford.

Additionally in one of the articles of the column 'Philelefthera' the journalist of the newspaper criticized Kissinger for his public statements in relation to the Arabian states that in the case that the Arabian states decide to stop sell oil and gas to USA and to the Western countries the American Army is ready to attack them in order to restore this problematic situation.[82] Additionally the column seems to treat Ford in a more favorable manner since it says that the President of the USA has done nothing to mitigate the negative impressions that had been generated to the whole world from Henry Kissinger's wrongful statements.[83]

Conclusion

This paper has argued that the 'paradox' of addressing Kissinger's role, as more prominent than that of US president in US foreign policy, serves an intentional framing of *Phileleftheros* newspaper. The present results are significant in at least two major respects that they do unravel the extensive frequency in Henry Kissinger when addressing USA foreign policy and they identify a particular framing of the newspaper on how he is presented and his involvement and responsibility in the matter of Cyprus. The findings further illustrate *Filelefteros'* portrayals of Henry Kissinger and Gerald Ford that verify our hypothesis that the newspaper built a negative image of Kissinger and blamed him for US inaction during the Turkish invasion in an attempt to not provoke extreme Anti-American feelings and opinion in a time of crisis and continuous national developments. In conclusion, there is an obvious media framing of Kissinger as a scape goat by being presented more frequently and criticized as the Grand Maestro of US foreign policy during the period.

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82 Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Philelefthera - 'Unacceptable mentality', 3rd page, 7 January1975, 1st to 2nd paragraph, 1-18 lines.

83 Newspaper *Phileleftheros,* 'Philelefthera - 'Unacceptable mentality', 3rd page, 7 January1975, 2nd paragraph, 1-5 lines.

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