

Greek Cypriot Capture of Turkish Villages in North-West Cyprus. - Intervention by Turkish Air Force. - Bombing Attacks on Greek Cypriot Villages. - Cease-fire by Turkey and Cyprus after security Council Meeting. - Increase in Greco-Turkish Tension. - President Makarios's Appeal for Soviet and Egyptian Military Aid. International and Internal Developments in Cyprus Problem. - General Grivas's Return to Cyprus.

After remaining virtually quiescent throughout July, the situation in Cyprus deteriorated from the beginning of August when bitter fighting broke out between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the north-western coastal area of the island centring on the villages of Kokkina and Mansoura. The apparent objective of the Greek Cypriot operations was to seize control of the only stretch of coast-line which was firmly under Turkish Cypriot control and which, according to the Greek Cypriots, had been extensively used for clandestine landings of arms and men from Turkey.

The Turkish Air Force intervened in strength on behalf of the Turkish Cypriots on Aug. 9, when 64 Turkish planes attacked Greek Cypriot targets in the north-west of Cyprus for several hours, causing a number of casualties. After a meeting of the security Council, appeals to the Heads of Government of Cyprus, Turkey, and Greece by the U.S. President and the British Prime Minister, and a Greek threat to resort to military action in support of Cyprus unless the Turkish air raids ceased, both Turkey and Cyprus agreed to cease fire following the adoption by the security Council of an Anglo-American resolution calling for "an immediate cease-fire by all concerned."

A spokesman of the U.N. Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) said on Aug. 6 that heavy fighting was in progress along a 16-mile front in north-western Cyprus to the west of Xeros. On the same day a Government (i.e. Greek Cypriot) spokesman in Nicosia said that the security forces had been under repeated "unprovoked attack" from Turks in the Kokkina, Mansoura, Lefka, and Ayios Theodoros areas, that these attacks had been repelled with "heavy losses," and that "many positions" had been captured. By the end of the first week of August the Turkish Cypriots had evacuated, or been driven from, Mansoura and three neighbouring villages but were holding out in Kokkina, though under strong Greek-Cypriot pressure. A U.N. Swedish unit in the Mansoura area was able to evacuate a number of Turkish Cypriot women and children, many non-combatants having sought the protection of the U.N. contingent. The Cyprus Government claimed on Aug. 7 that four

Sabre jets of the Turkish Air Force had strafed the coastal town of Pölli, a strong protest being made in Ankara.

In the morning of Aug. 9 extensive air attacks were made on Greek Cypriot villages and strongpoints in N.W. Cyprus by 64 jet planes of the Turkish Air Force using rockets, cannon, and incendiary bombs; according to the Cyprus Government, napalm (petrol jelly) bombs were also extensively used. The Cyprus Government also reported that shore positions in the Mansoura area were being shelled by Turkish destroyers. A Greek Cypriot patrol boat was set ablaze by Turkish air attack at Xeros, while one Turkish plane blew up in the air, its pilot subsequently dying in hospital after bailing out.

A Cyprus Government communique said that Turkish planes had made "indiscriminate attacks" on towns and villages in N.W. Cyprus from 8 a.m. onwards; that "hundreds" of casualties had been caused by napalm bombs, including the killing and wounding of many women and children; and that the U.N. were being asked for medical supplies and assistance in removing the dead and injured. In Nicosia, President Makarios threatened that every Turkish Cypriot village in the island would be attacked unless the Turkish air raids ceased by 5 p.m. During the early evening a squadron of Greek fighters flew low over Nicosia, apparently as a gesture of encouragement to the Greek Cypriot population.

In Ankara it was strongly denied that the civilian population had been indiscriminately attacked, a Foreign Ministry spokesman stating that the objectives had been strictly confined to Greek Cypriot military targets and positions. The spokesman said that the air attacks had the object of protecting Turkish Cypriot women, children, and old people who were threatened with "massacre" as a result of Greek Cypriot "aggression"; that the position of the Turkish community in the Kokkina-Mansoura area was "desperate," as they were outnumbered ten-to-one by heavily armed Greek Cypriots; and that the air operations would continue until President Makarios had stopped Greek Cypriot attacks on the Turkish community and given guarantees of physical security to the Turks in Cyprus. The Turkish air raids ended at 2 p.m., however, and it was stated in Ankara that they would not be renewed provided the Greek Cypriots stopped their attacks on Turkish Cypriots at Kokkina. Casualty figures in the raids were subsequently given in Nicosia as 33 Greek Cypriots killed and 230 wounded.

The Security Council met in the evening of Aug. 8 at the request of Turkey and Cyprus; after hearing statements by members, and after a prolonged recess, the President of the Council (Hr. Sivert A. Nielsen, of Norway) said that "no agreement has been reached on immediate Council action acceptable to all." The Council adjourned at 1.25 a.m. on Aug. 9 after a desultory debate, the time of the next meeting being left to Hr. Nielsen's discretion.

When Hr. Nielsen reconvened the Security Council later in the morning of Aug. 9 he announced that, at the request of Council members headed by the Ivory Coast, he had addressed urgent appeals to the Turkish Government "to cease instantly the bombardment and use of any kind of military force against Cyprus" and to the Government of Cyprus to "order the armed forces under its control to cease fire immediately." Hr. Nielsen's

initiative was approved by the Council, which went on to a debate lasting several hours but without a vote being taken. On several occasions the Cypriot representative, Mr. Zenon Rossides, asked for more time to telephone to Nicosia in view of the difficulty of communicating with his Government, while Mr. Morozov (Soviet Union) also asked for delay to enable Mr. Rossides to be present in the Chamber when a vote was taken.

Events in the security Council moved swiftly, however, after the Greek representative at the U.N., Mr. Bitsios, had announced that Greece would support Cyprus "with all military means" unless the Turkish air attacks ceased by 3 p.m. New York time. After the Greek ultimatum Mr. Rossides made a violent attack on the "ineptitude" of the security Council, pointing out that Turkish aircraft and warships were in action in Cyprus while he was speaking, that Greek Cypriots were being killed with napalm bombs, and that no international action was being taken against Turkey for breaking the peace. The Turkish representative, Mr. Orhan Eralp, dwelt on the intolerable position of the Turkish minority in Cyprus, alleged that it was being reduced to a "ghetto" status by President Makarios and the Greek majority, and said that Turkish action would cease when the pressure against the Turkish Cypriots at Kokkina was lifted.

On behalf of the U.S.A. and Britain, Mr. Adlai Stevenson presented a joint resolution which expressed concern at the deterioration of the situation in Cyprus; reaffirmed Hr. Nielsen's appeal to the Governments of Turkey and Cyprus; and called upon all concerned for " (1) an immediate cease-fire," (2) to co-operate fully with the U.N. Commander in restoring peace and security, and (3) to "refrain from any action that might exacerbate the situation or contribute to the broadening of hostilities." The resolution was adopted by nine votes to nil, the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia abstaining.

Both Turkey and Cyprus accepted the cease-fire and informed the President of the security Council accordingly on Aug. 10. On the same date the Secretary-General informed the Council that the cease-fire in Cyprus was in force, and that he had instructed the U.N. Commander to co-operate fully with all parties in making it effective. Following reports of Turkish reconnaissance flights over Cyprus, however, which were confirmed by the U.N. Commander, the security Council met again on Aug. 11 at the request of Cyprus and reached a consensus in which it requested full compliance with its resolution of Aug. 9 and the suspension of all flights over Cyprus in violation of that country's sovereignty. Further, the Council requested the U.N. Commander to supervise the cease-fire and to reinforce his troops in the zones where the recent military operations had occurred. On Aug. 12 Turkey informed the President of the security Council that reconnaissance flights over Cyprus had been discontinued.

Apart from the meetings of the security Council, there was also intense diplomatic activity in Washington and London; it was learned that both President Johnson and Sir Alec Douglas-Home had sent messages to President Makarios and to the Greek and Turkish Prime Ministers, Mr. Papandreou and Mr. Ismet Inonu, urging restraint on all parties. Personal messages were also exchanged between Mr. Papandreou and Mr. Inonu on the Cyprus problem.

In reply to a message from Mr. Papandreou on Aug. 9 calling upon the Turkish Prime Minister to stop air attacks on Cyprus, Mr. Inonu expressed his conviction on Aug. 11 that it would be possible to find a solution to the Cyprus problem "within a month" if the Greek Government "joins the efforts which the Turkish Government has never spared so far over this matter." For such an agreement, said Mr. Inonu, there were two desiderata: (1) the "immediate and complete" restoration of peace in the island; (2) the leaders of the Greek Cypriot community should be made to believe that "they cannot obtain results by a policy of *faits accomplis*."

Mr. Papandreou stated in his reply (Aug. 13) that Greece would give all assistance to the U.N. Mediator, Mr. Tuomioja, in his task of "reaching agreed solution between the interested parties"; should Mr. Tuomioja's attempts be unsuccessful, the only remaining peaceful solution would be recourse to the U.N. General Assembly. As regards the two points mentioned by Mr. Inonu, Mr. Papandreou stated (1) that Greece unreservedly agreed that peace should be restored "fully and immediately" in Cyprus; that there was no substance in the allegation that the Greek Cypriot leaders were trying to present Turkey with a *fait accompli*. In the latter connexion Mr. Papandreou said that it was the duty of the Greek Cypriots to organize their defence in face of the repeated threats of a landing by Turkey.

After the Foreign Minister of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou, had visited Athens for talks with political and military leaders it was announced in the Greek capital on Aug. 17 (a) that certain Greek Army, Navy, and Air Force units assigned to NATO would be withdrawn in order to enable Greece to "fulfil her commitments to support Cyprus against any Turkish attack," and (b) that the Greek echelon at NATO headquarters in Izmir would be withdrawn to Salonika. In announcing the withdrawal of units assigned to NATO, the Greek Government pointed out that the Turkish Government, "invoking the need to use part of her armed forces for reasons deriving from her treaties, had also withdrawn such forces from NATO command on Aug. 8. On Aug. 19, however, both Greece and Turkey once more placed at NATO disposal the units which they had temporarily withdrawn.

It was announced in Nicosia on Aug. 9 that President Makarios and the Cyprus Government had appealed to Russia and Egypt for military aid to protect the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Cyprus. In reply to this appeal, the Soviet Government stated on Aug. 15 that "if a foreign armed invasion of the Republic takes place, the Soviet Union will help Cyprus to defend her freedom and independence... and is prepared to begin negotiations on this matter immediately."

Mr. Khrushchev had previously sent messages on Aug. 9 to Mr. Inonu, President Makarios, and U Thant in connexion with "the attack by Turkish armed forces on the Republic of Cyprus."

In his message to the Turkish Prime Minister, Mr. Khrushchev called on Turkey to end military operations against a member of the United Nations and gave a warning of "the responsibility which Turkey is assuming in carrying out an armed attack on the Republic of Cyprus." To President Makarios he gave an assurance that the sympathies of the

Soviet Union were “on the side of the Republic of Cyprus, which is upholding its sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity.”

In his message to U Thant Mr. Khrushchev urged that the United Nations should do “everything possible to put an end to the bloodshed in Cyprus and thus prevent a development of events dangerous to the cause of peace.” He added that “the Cypriots and their Government must have the opportunity to settle their affairs themselves without any foreign interference whatsoever, with due consideration for the interests of both the Greek and the Turkish communities.”

In a speech at Frunze (Kirghizia) on Aug. 16 Mr. Khrushchev reiterated that the Soviet Union “cannot and will not remain indifferent to the threat of an armed conflict near our southern borders.” He warned the Turkish Government that its bombers “cannot drop bombs on Cyprus and destroy old people, women, and children with impunity,” adding that it was “advisable to remember that the damage you wanted to inflict may act as a boomerang.”

Recalling that Turkey was a member of NATO, Mr. Khrushchev said that “every sober-minded person understands that without a blessing Turkey would not have embarked on this dangerous military gamble.... Thus everything indicates that the secret threads of the attack on Cyprus lead to Washington and London. The imperialists, by fanning the contradictions between the Greek and Turkish communities, are trying to impose a new occupation of Cyprus, and with these imperialist ends in view are encouraging Turkey.” Mr. Khrushchev said that the “way to peace” in Cyprus lay in ending “interference in the island's internal affairs,” the withdrawal of British troops from the island, and Turkish respect for the sovereignty of Cyprus. The Greeks and Turks living in Cyprus would then “settle all questions of their relations in an amicable and fraternal way.”

President Nasser sent a message to President Makarios on Aug. 11 saying that the United Arab Republic,” while declaring its full support for the people of Cyprus against aggression, hopes that wisdom will prevail.”

Confirmation that Cyprus had approached the Soviet Union and Egypt for military help was given in London on Aug. 9 by the Cypriot High Commissioner, Mr. Antis Soteriades. After denying that the Turkish air attacks had been directed against military targets, and asserting that they had been made against “women, children, old people, and infants,” Mr. Soteriades said that Cyprus would make no concessions to the Turks “even if it means a third world war.” He was rebuked for this remark on the following day by the Duke of Devonshire (Minister of State) when calling at the Commonwealth Relations Office to complain about an article on President Makarios in a London newspaper.

A temporary step in the easing of communal tension was taken on Aug. 18 with the announcement in Nicosia of an agreement aimed at lifting economic restrictions to which the Turkish Cypriot community had been subjected for several weeks and which had in effect constituted a blockade of food and fuel supplies, leading to what Turkish Cypriot spokesmen called a “desperate situation” in the Turkish Cypriot areas. The agreement, to

which the Cyprus Government, the U.N. Force, and the International Committee of the Red Cross were parties, was achieved largely through the intermediation of U Thant's Special Representative in Cyprus, Dr. Galo Plaza (formerly President of Ecuador).

The provisions of the agreement were set out as follows by the Information Office of UNFICYP:

(1) The humanitarian aspect of the situation would be the concern of the International Red Cross, assisted by UNFICYP.

(2) The water supply would be turned on again in the Turkish quarter of Paphos, after having been cut off for 13 days [The water supply had been out off after a municipal dispute in which the Turkish Cypriots had refused to pay wate rates to the Greek Cypriot municipality.]

(3) Essential supplies of food and fuel would reach Turkish Cypriot markets. If free movement was allowed to all civilians, under UNFICYP supervision, in areas controlled by Turkish Cypriots, an adequate flow of food and fuel would be allowed into those areas. If these areas were not opened to normal civilian traffic, essential supplies would be allowed in only by the Red Cross and UNFICYP.

(4) The Cyprus Government would allow Turkish Cypriots to leave the Kokkina area under UNFICYP supervision.

(5) The International Red Cross would advise the Cyprus Government of the food and fuel needs of all inhabitants in the areas concerned. With the assistance of UNFICYP, the Red Cross would supervise the periodic movement or supplies and their distribution.

At a further meeting on Aug. 20 it was agreed that the International Committee of the Red Cross, with the co-operation of UNFICYP, would advise the Cyprus Government on the periodical requirements of the population of the Turkish Cypriot quarter of Nicosia, and would make arrangements to transport food and fuel supplies into the Turkish quarter. President Makarios gave a specific undertaking that there would be no interruption of the water supply, the electricity supply, and the telephone service, and that suitable quantities of kerosene would be admitted for baking and home cooking purposes.

The agreement was reached after President Makarios and Greek Cypriot Ministers had had a two-hour meeting with Dr. Gale Plaza and General Thimayya, the U.N. Commander in Cyprus. [As stated below, general Thimayya had rreplaced his compatriot, General Gyani, as Commander of UNFICYP on July 8.] A U.N. statement said that the agreement would “greatly alleviate the precarious situation of the Turkish Cypriots involved, without in any way contributing to military build-up.”

Despite this agreement, a U.N. spokesman in Nicosia announced on Sept. 7 that the Greek Cypriot Government had decided to include Famagusta and Larnaca in the areas subject to economic restrictions, thereby making some 12,000 Turkish Cypriots in those

towns subject to food rationing. On Sept. 9, however, Dr. Galo Plaza announced that the Famagusta and Larnaca restrictions had been lifted by order of President Makarios, although the restrictions would continue to apply in the Turkish Cypriot quarter of Nicosia and in the villages of Lefka and Kokkina.

U Thant's Second Report to security Council on Cyprus Situation. - Three-month Extension of U.N. Force. General Thimayya becomes U.N. Commander in Cyprus.

Prior to the fighting during the first week of August culminating in the Turkish air intervention, the U.N. Secretary-General had presented a second report to the security Council on June 16 in which he reviewed the situation in the island; asked for a three-month extension of the U.N. Peace-keeping Force (as from June 27) "in view of its demonstrated usefulness"; and announced his intention of appointing General K. S. Thimayya, lately Chief of Staff of the Indian Army, as Commander of UNFICYP in succession to General Gyani, who for personal reasons would be unable to continue in the post beyond the end of June. On the question of financing, the Secretary-General said that the provisional estimate of the cost of the U.N. operation in Cyprus for the three months ending June 27 was \$5,430,000 (approximately £1,940,000), and its extension for a further three-month period would cost about \$7,300,000 (£2,600,000).

In a 40 page report U Thant pointed out that no military clashes of any significance had taken place in Cyprus during the period April 26 to June 8. Although the presence of UNFICYP had restrained both sides and discouraged recourse to arms, tensions had not substantially lessened, however, and both sides had taken advantage of the lull in the fighting to strengthen their military positions. The quantity of arms in the island had grown substantially through smuggling by both communities and from importation by the Government. Automatic weapons were in the hands of a large number of irregular fighters on both sides, and the Government on the one hand and the Turkish Cypriot leaders on the other appeared to have only tenuous control over most of these elements.

The Secretary-General reported that the Turkish Army contingent remained astride the Kyrenia Road, while the Greek Army contingent remained in its barracks outside Nicosia. There were indications that in recent weeks both these units had been involved in aiding the local forces of their respective communities, and their presence in the island posed a problem because of their obviously one-sided attitudes. The Greek Army contingent would readily place itself under U.S. command, remain in its barracks, and possibly withdraw from the island if a similar arrangement could be made with the Turkish Army contingent.

In the Secretary-General's view, the Turkish troops no longer served any imperative security purpose that the U.S. Force could not perform, nor could their continued deployment add greatly to the security of the Turkish Cypriots over and above the security that UNFICYP could give them. Moreover, the presence of the Turkish troops could not avoid acutely aggravating and agitating the Cyprus Government and the Greek Cypriot community. He therefore considered it reasonable to urge that the Turkish Army

contingent should either retire to its barracks and voluntarily remain there “or accept my long-standing offer to take the force under U.S. command.”

Commenting on political conditions in the island, U Thant said that the “recurrent threats of landings in Cyprus by Turkish military forces are most unhelpful to the efforts of the United Nations to restore normal conditions. . . . Such threats serve as well to make the Turkish Cypriot leadership less amenable to the acceptance of arrangements designed to contribute to a return to normality in the island.”

The question of missing persons (the report continued) remained one of the most serious causes of dissension and distrust between the two communities. The Secretary-General said in this connexion: “The practice of abducting people and holding them as hostages or killing them in retaliation is most reprehensible. It has been employed by both communities but. . . to a considerably greater degree by Greek Cypriots. Such killings have to be branded as cold-blooded murders.” As regards abductions, the total number of Turkish Cypriots missing was 483, compared with 52 Greek Cypriots. It was “a matter of particular concern that all efforts to obtain information concerning the fate of the 32 hostages taken by the Greek Cypriot irregulars after the Famagusta incident on May 11 [see page 20124-25] have failed,” and “little hope remains that they are alive.”

Discussing the Cyprus Government's decision to introduce conscription [see page 20125] the Secretary-General said: “This. . . might. . . contribute to an improvement in the discipline and definition of status of those bearing arms in Cyprus, and thereby increase control over the present irregulars. Nevertheless, in view of the actual circumstances in Cyprus, it may be questioned whether such a decision. . . could be considered to be consistent with the resolution of the security Council of March 4, with specific reference to its first paragraph” [see page 20119].

Similarly, it was also a question whether at the present time and in existing circumstances the import and manufacture of arms by the Cyprus Government was within the letter or spirit of the resolution of March 4. In this connexion U Thant strongly criticized the growing importation of arms and ammunition into Cyprus, saying that “the problem of arms is critical” and “may be the decisive factor in determining the ability of the U.N. efforts to succeed.” There was “no question that smuggling of arms, whether by Greek or Turkish Cypriots, is illegal” and that the U.N. Force was “entitled to try to check it.”

In asking the security Council to keep the U.N. Force in being for another three months, the Secretary-General warned that “an early resumption of fighting, which might well develop into heavy conflict,” would probably result if the Force were withdrawn on June 27—the end of its first three months. Although “no military clashes of any significance” had occurred of late, both sides had strengthened their military positions in Nicosia and its suburbs and had improved their ability “to undertake operations in the future.” Moreover, Greek and Turkish Cypriots were facing each other on the Kyrenia-Nicosia road, and there was considerable tension in north-west Cyprus. “It is unlikely,” U Thant added, “that there will be any relaxation of tension in these areas so long as there is no indication of any acceptable political solution in Cyprus.”

In conclusion, U Thant said that consultations with representatives of the States concerned “have revealed a general acceptance of the fact that an extension of the U.S. Force is necessary and desirable, and have indicated that if the security Council should decide to extend the Force on more or less the same basis that now exists, the States contributing contingents would be disposed to continue to provide them upon request.”

Following the Secretary-General's report, the security Council unanimously adopted on June 20 a resolution, co-sponsored by five of the non-permanent members (Bolivia, Brazil, Ivory Coast, Morocco, and Norway), which (1) expressed “deep appreciation” to those States which had contributed troops, police, supplies, and financial support for the U.N. Force in Cyprus; (2) reaffirmed the Council's resolutions of March 4 and March 13; and (3) extended the term of the U.S. Force for three months, ending on Sept. 26, 1964.

Following the adoption of this resolution the Secretary-General formally appointed General Thimayya as Commander of the U.S. Force in Cyprus in succession to General Gyani (also of India). At the same time he requested the nine countries contributing military and police contingents to UNFICYP to keep them at the same strength as heretofore.

General K. S. Thimayya has had a distinguished military career in the Indian Army, from which he retired in 1961 after having served as Chief of Staff since 1957, and previously as G.O.C.-in-C. of Western, Southern, and Eastern Commands. He saw service under the United Nations as Chairman of the Neutral Nations' Repatriation Commission in Korea.

General Thimayya is the third Indian to be given command of U.S. forces, the other two being General P.S. Gyani and Brigadier K. A. S. Raja. A fourth Indian officer, General Rikhye, has been Chief Military Adviser to the U.S. Secretary-General since 1960.

On July 23 U Thant made representations to the Cyprus Government and to the Turkish Cypriot Vice-President, Dr. Kutchuk, expressing “growing concern” at matters affecting the status and functioning of the U.N. Force—in particular, the obstructions which were being imposed on its efforts to check the continued arms build-up and the clandestine importation of armaments into the island.

In his message to the Cyprus Government the Secretary-General pointed out that U.S. troops were being denied entry into the docks at Limassol, while UNFICYP observers continued to be seriously obstructed in their duties when lorry convoys left the docks at that port. There was also an increasing tendency for U.S. patrols to be refused access to “specific sensitive areas” and, in addition, an increase in the number of instances of U.N. vehicles and convoys being held up at road-blocks, and on occasion searched, in contravention of the Status Agreement. Asking that urgent steps be taken to put an end to such practices, U Thant said that freedom of movement for the U.N. Force was “a right absolutely essential to its proper functioning” and that any restriction of this right must have “dangerous effects and increase tensions and the risk of clashes.”

In his message to Dr. Kutshuk the Secretary-General referred to reports he had received of covert infiltration of arms and personnel into areas controlled by the Turkish Cypriot community. Some of these activities had been observed by U.N. patrols, while others had been reported on the strength of evidence which seemed incontrovertible. Pointing out that such activities were "a contravention of security Council resolutions as well as a contravention of the law of the land," he requested Dr. Kutshuk to do all in his power to put a stop to such activities.

The Cyprus Government maintained in its reply that the entry of UNFICYP into docks, ports, or other Government premises, or the stationing of U.N. units there, was not included in the term "freedom of movement" and that the Government's consent was a prerequisite for such entry. Moreover, when requirements of secrecy on matters of defence were involved, it was not possible to permit entry of U.N. patrols to specific "sensitive areas." Nevertheless, the Government was prepared to allow the U.N. Commander to visit any area in the island, together with the Minister of the Interior, if the Commander so requested. The importation of arms was essential for the defence of the island in face of "Turkish military aggression," and so long as Turkey continued to concentrate military forces in its ports near Cyprus the Government was bound to take all measures for the defence of the island.

Dr. Kutshuk said he would do all in his power to prevent members of the Turkish Cypriot community from resorting to any action that could worsen the situation. So far as he was aware, no Turkish military personnel had arrived in Cyprus, but a small number of Turkish Cypriot students had returned to the island. He agreed that importation of arms was contrary to the Island's Constitution, which prohibited the importation of war material without the consent of the President and the Vice-President, but said that the Constitution was already being violated by the Greek community "in every respect."

The first show of force by UNFICYP since its arrival in the island occurred in Nicosia on Aug. 20 when Canadian, Danish, and Finnish troops forcibly dismantled three sandbagged Turkish Cypriot positions which had been set up near the headquarters of the U.N. Force. For a fortnight previously the U.N. Force had attempted to persuade the Turks to remove the positions, which were considered an irritant "because of their nearness to U.N. headquarters, but without success.

The U.N. operation was carried out by a force of some 200 men comprising four scout cars and two detachments of recoilless and anti-tank guns of the Canadian Royal 22eme Regiment, four Danish scout cars, and a company of Finnish infantry in 10 armoured troop-carriers. While the Canadians and Danes covered a hostile crowd of Turkish Cypriots, the Finnish troops pulled the sandbags down and demolished the positions. Turkish Cypriots with rifles and Bren guns adopted a threatening attitude but did not attempt to interfere with the U.N. troops. The operation took place on the "green line" dividing the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, in one of the most sensitive areas of Nicosia.

As at Aug. 14 the strength of the U.N. Force in Cyprus was 6,037, comprising 1,130 Canadian, 1,034 British, 1,033 Irish, 986 Finnish, 985 Danish, 808 Swedish, and 66 Austrian troops. At the same date there were 174 U.N. police in the island-41 Danes, 40 Australians, 39 Swedes, 34 Austrians, and 20 New Zealanders.

A reduction in the British contingent from 1,800 to about 1,100 men had been announced on June 25 by Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, in a statement to the House of Commons. After pointing out that U Thant had invited Governments contributing to the Force to continue to do so [see above], Mr. Sandys stated:

“We explained that for reasons which were well understood the British Government were anxious if possible to be relieved of this duty. U Thant emphasized that British troops were playing an essential part not only by participating in the peace-keeping task but by providing logistic and other services for the Force as a whole. Their withdrawal would seriously weaken the effectiveness of the operation.

“U Thant informed us that he had consulted the other Governments concerned, including those who are also contributing contingents, as well as the Governments of Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus. It was the desire of all these Governments that Britain should continue to participate. In view of U Thant's strong representations and the importance we attach to the U.N. mission in Cyprus, we have agreed to contribute troops for a further three months.

“We propose to reduce the size of our contingent, which now numbers about 1,800, to between 1,100 and 1,200. This will be composed of one infantry battalion, a squadron of armoured cars, and a contribution towards H.Q. staff and the troops require to provide supporting services.”

General Gyani formally handed over command of the U.N. Force in Cyprus to General Thimayya in Nicosia on July 8. On the same day it was announced that Brigadier Colin Yeo had been appointed Chief of Staff of UNFICYP and commander of the British contingent in succession to Major-General Carver, who was returning to Britain to take over a divisional command. It was stated that General Carver's previous post of Deputy Commander of the U.N. Force would not be filled.

Greek and Turkish Premiers' Visits to Western Capitals. Discussions with President Johnson, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, and President de Gaulle.

At the invitation of President Johnson, the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey paid separate visits to Washington towards the end of June for talks on the Cyprus question. The President had previously sent personal messages to Mr. Inonu and Mr. Papandreou on June 6, when a Turkish landing in Cyprus seemed imminent, and had sent Mr. George W. Ball (Under-Secretary of State) to Athens and Ankara on June 10-11 for talks with them. It was understood that President Johnson had strongly impressed on the Greek and

Turkish leaders the imperative necessity of avoiding hostilities between the two countries, and had urged them to enter into direct negotiations on the Cyprus issue.

Following his visit to Washington, Mr. Inonu visited London and Paris for talks with the British Prime Minister and the French President before returning to Ankara. Mr. Papandreou also visited Paris for talks with General de Gaulle before returning to Athens, and subsequently visited London for discussions with Sir Alec Douglas-Home at the invitation of the British Government.

Mr. Inonu's Visits. A brief communique issued after Mr. Inonu's visit to Washington on June 22-23 stated that the talks had "covered ways in which present difficulties might be adjusted by negotiation and agreement," and underlined the "urgent necessity" for such accords aimed at a permanent solution of the Cyprus question. The communique stressed the validity of the 1959 treaties which led to the Island's independence and stated that President Johnson and Mr. Inonu had "considered ways in which their countries could strengthen the efforts of the United Nations with respect to the safety of the communities on Cyprus."

After talks in London on June 28-29 with Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Butler, a communique was issued which said in part: "Basing themselves on the continuing validity of the existing treaties and the Constitution, and having regard to the responsibilities of the two Governments under the Treaty of Guarantee, the two Prime Ministers agreed on the urgent necessity for attainment of a lasting solution to the problems of Cyprus. They discussed ways in which the present difficulties might be resolved by negotiations and agreement."

Mr. İnönü had a two-hour meeting in Paris on July 1 with President de Gaulle, and also conferred with the NATO Secretary-General, then Dr. Stikker, the French Prime Minister, M. Pompidou, and the Foreign Minister, M. Couve de Murville.

Mr. Papandreou's Visits. After Mr. Papandreou's talks in Washington with President Johnson on June 24-25, a brief communiqué was issued stating that there had been a "sincere and useful exchange of views" on the Cyprus situation and adding: "Both [the U.S. President and the Greek prime Minister] expressed full support of the efforts undertaken by the Security Council and the U.N. Secretary-General for the establishment of peace in the island and for rapidly finding a permanent solution. The Greek Prime Minister explained in detail the Greek position on the problem. He emphasized that a permanent solution should be based upon the principles of democracy and justice. The two leaders reiterated their determination to make every effort to increase the understanding among allies."

At a news conference in Washington on June 25 Mr. Papandreou said that Greece was opposed to direct negotiations with Turkey on the Cyprus issue because he believed that neither side was ready for them, and also because of what he described as the continuing persecution of Greek citizens by the Turkish authorities in Istanbul [see 20167 B]. He said that "no one is more competent than the U.N. Mediator to carry on the negotiations,"

adding that” so long as there is a mediator I do not see what services other people could offer.”

Mr. Papandreou broke his return journey to Athens for talks in Paris on June 30 with President de Gaulle; like Mr. Inonu, he also saw Dr. Stikker and the French Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

Owing to previous engagements, Mr. Papandreou was unable to visit London on his return from Washington, but visited Britain on July 20-21 for talks with Sir Alec Douglas-Home and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Butler.

A brief communiqué said that Sir Alec and Mr. Papandreou had reaffirmed that the Cyprus problem should be solved within the framework of the United Nations, and reiterated the importance of their joint membership of NATO. At a press conference in London on July 21, however, Mr. Papandreou said that Greece wanted “unrestricted independence” for Cyprus, with the full right of self-determination for the people of the island.

In view of the diametrically opposed viewpoints of Greece and Turkey, said Mr. Papandreou, there would be no point in a personal meeting between himself and Mr. Inonu. Should such a meeting fail, it would “encourage the extremist elements in the island to take action; they would consider the rift definitely confirmed and instead of peace we would have war.” Only the exercise of self-determination by the people of Cyprus would break the “vicious circle” of threats, unrest, and crises, and a solution should be sought on the following lines: (1) the Cypriot people should be given “full independence” enabling them to exercise the right of self-determination; (2) the U.N. Mediator should continue with his task; (3) the three guarantor Powers—Britain, Greece, and Turkey—should bind themselves to ban the use of armed force; (4) there should be the fullest safeguards for the Turkish minority.

The North Atlantic Council, at its ministerial meeting in May at The Hague [see 20255], empowered the retiring Secretary-General of NATO, Dr. Stikker, to use his good offices to prevent a worsening of Greek-Turkish relations over (Cyprus. It was stated on May 14 that Dr. Stikker would visit Athens and Ankara for exchanges of views with Greek and Turkish leaders.

International Negotiations. - Mr. Tuomioja's Mediation Efforts. - Sudden Illness and Death of Mr. Tuomioja. - Mr. Dean Acheson's Geneva Mission.

Meanwhile the U.N. Mediator, Mr. Sakari Tuomioja, assisted by a small staff, had been holding consultations in Geneva with members of the Cyprus Government and other representatives, official and non-official, of the Greek and Turkish communities in the island, and had also visited Athens, Ankara, and London for governmental consultations. His efforts resulted in the appointment on July 7-8 of special Greek and Turkish governmental representatives in Geneva for a new round of negotiations—Turkey being represented by Professor Nihat Erim, chairman of the foreign relations committee of the

National Assembly, and Greece by her Ambassador in Belgrade, Mr. Dimitri Nikolareizis.

It was announced in Geneva on Aug. 11 that Mr. Tuomioja would leave within a few days for Athens, Ankara, and Nicosia to have discussions with the Heads of Government of Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus. On Aug. 16, however, a few hours before he was to have left on this mission, Mr. Tuomioja was suddenly taken ill and admitted to a Geneva hospital. The U.N. Mediator, who was reported to have suffered a stroke, underwent a tracheotomy on Aug. 17 to improve his breathing, but two days later a medical bulletin said that his condition had deteriorated because of pulmonary complications and was causing anxiety. Signor Pier Spinelli (Italy), Director of the U.N. European Office, was authorized by U Thant on Aug. 18 to direct the Office of the U.N. Mediator for Cyprus during Mr. Tuomioja's illness.

The U.S. State Department had previously announced on July 3 that Mr. Dean Acheson (Secretary of State in the Truman Administration), at the request of President Johnson, was leaving immediately for Geneva" where he will be available on behalf of the U.S. Government to provide any assistance that may be appropriate in helping to resolve the Cyprus crisis."

U Thant visited Geneva from Aug. 28-31 for talks on the Cyprus situation with Greek, Turkish, British, U.S., and Soviet representatives. Before returning to New York the Secretary-General said that an agreed solution of the Cyprus problem was "out of the question," at least for the moment, and that in his view the problem should be tackled on the following lines: (1) the retention of the U.N. Force in Cyprus for three more months beyond Sept. 26, and (2) the appointment "as early as possible" of another Mediator in place of Mr. Tuomioja, in view of the latter's serious illness.

In addition to meetings with the above-mentioned Greek and Turkish representatives, U Thant also had discussions in Geneva with Lord Hood, of the British Foreign Office, whom H.M. Government had seconded to Geneva to be available for consultations on the Cyprus issue; Mr. Acheson, the U.S. special negotiator on Cyprus; and Mr. Tsarapkin, Soviet representative at the Geneva disarmament talks.

Mr. Tuomioja died on Sept. 9 in Helsinki, where he had been flown from Geneva. He was 53.

A lawyer and economist, Sakari Tuomioja was Governor of the Bank of Finland from 1945 to 1955, and during the same period held the posts of Minister of Trade and Industry (1950), Foreign Minister (1951-52), and Prime Minister (1953-54) in a non-party capacity. In 1955 he was appointed Ambassador to Great Britain, but left London in 1957 to become executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe, a post he held from 1957 to 1960. It was while holding that post that the late Dr. Hammarskjold sent him twice to Laos as his personal representative. In 1961 he became Ambassador to Sweden, and in March 1964 was chosen by U Thant as U.N. Mediator in Cyprus. As stated above, he carried out this function from Geneva, aided by an international staff.

President Makarios's Visits to Greece and Egypt. - Rejection of "Acheson Plan" for Cyprus.

President Makarios paid a three-day visit to Athens on July 28-30 for discussions with the Greek Government during which he had meetings with Mr. Papandreou, Mr. Kostopoulos (the Foreign Minister), and Mr. Garoufalias (the Defence Minister). On July 29 the Greek Cypriot Minister of the Interior and Defence, Mr. Georghadjis, and the Commander of the Cyprus National Guard, Lieut.-General Karayannis, arrived in Athens to take part in the talks; they later conferred with Greek military chiefs.

In a joint communique Mr. Papandreou and President Makarios said that their talks had "reaffirmed the full identity of views on the Cyprus problem"; that the problem had been considered in all its aspects and decisions taken on its handling; and that the two Governments would exhaust all means under the U.N. Charter to ensure the "full and unrestricted independence that will afford the Cypriot people the right to decide freely on its future." The communique emphasized that the solution of the Cyprus problem within the framework of the United Nations remained the basic policy and common purpose of both Governments.

At a press conference in Athens (July 30) President Makarios said that the forthcoming session of the U.N. General Assembly would be asked to authorize the right of Cyprus to "unrestricted independence, on the basis of which the people of Cyprus will be able to determine their future." He did not know what the result of the mediatory efforts in Geneva would be, but he considered it "unlikely that the procedure followed in Geneva will have positive results." He explained that while he had the greatest respect for the U.N. Mediator, Mr. Tuomioja, there were also in Geneva "certain other self-invited mediators who... have worked out unacceptable plans for the solution of the Cyprus problem."

President Makarios's reference to the "unacceptable plans" of "serf-appointed mediators" was an allusion to a plan which was understood to have been drawn up by Mr. Dean Acheson and presented to the Greek and Turkish Governments for consideration some days earlier. Although no details were made public in Geneva or Ankara, a Greek Government spokesman disclosed that Mr. Acheson had made the following proposals for a solution of the Cyprus problem: (1) the union of Cyprus with Greece; (2) the cession by Greece to Turkey of Castellorizo, the easternmost of the Dodecanese Islands, lying off the Anatolian coast; (3) establishment of a Turkish military base in "Greek" Cyprus; (4) the formation of two "cantons" in Cyprus under Turkish Cypriot administration; (5) payment of compensation to Turkish Cypriots wishing to emigrate.

Confirmation that President Makarios and the Cyprus Government had rejected the "Acheson plan" was given in Nicosia on Aug. 12 by Mr. Glafkos Clerides, president of the Cyprus House of Representatives. Mr. Clerides said that the United States had "dared" to submit a plan which had been "rightly rejected because its acceptance would have meant a betrayal of the whole of Hellenism."

President Makarios again flew to Athens on Aug. 25 for a four-hour conference with Mr. Papandreu in which the Foreign and Defence Ministers of the two countries also participated (Mr. Kostopoulos and Mr. Garoufalias for Greece and Mr. Kyprianou and Mr. Georghadjis for Cyprus). The President of Cyprus was received by King Constantine during the visit. A communique announced that Greece and Cyprus had agreed to take the Cypriot problem to the forthcoming session of the General Assembly, and reaffirmed the “complete identity of views on the course to be followed” in reaching a solution of the Cyprus question.

The absence from the communiqué of any reference to the right of “self-determination” for Cyprus was regarded as significant by foreign commentators, particularly as it had been stressed during President Makarios's earlier visit. An indication that the solution envisaged was *enosis* (union of Greece and Cyprus) was provided in a semi-authoritative Athens commentary to the effect that in the event of a Turkish attack on Cyprus the defence of the island would be undertaken jointly by Greece and Cyprus “in the name of a united and independent Greece.” The source also stated that the Greek Government had received assurances that Mr. Kyprianou would not be going to Moscow to pursue negotiations for a bilateral agreement between Cyprus and the Soviet Union.

[As stated above, Cyprus had appealed for Soviet military assistance after the Turkish air attacks, and the U.S.S.R. had responded favourably. It was understood, though not officially confirmed, that Mr. Kyprianou was to have visited Moscow to discuss aid to Cyprus, and that the Greek Government took an view of the development of possible close Cypriot Soviet constants.]

Accompanied by Mr. Kyprianou, President Makarios arrived in Alexandria on Aug. 28 for talks with President Nasser. A joint communiqué (Aug. 31) said that the U.A.R. would give the Government of Cyprus “all possible aid in its effort to defend its country against foreign aggression”; expressed the support of President Nasser and the Egyptian people for the “struggle of the people of Cyprus in maintaining their territorial integrity and their full right to self-determination”; and stated that both Presidents had “emphasized their respective attitudes towards foreign bases,” which constituted “a direct threat to world peace and to the security of the [eastern Mediterranean] area.”

Although not specifically stated, the criticism of “foreign bases” in the communique was understood to reflect the U.A.R.'s opposition not only to the existing British bases in Cyprus but also to any possible NATO base which might be established on the island in the event of a solution to the Cyprus problem based on *enosis*. At a press conference before leaving Alexandria, President Makarios said that he would never agree to the retention or installation of bases in Cyprus as a condition for union with Greece. Asked if he intended to resume negotiations with Russia for aid, he replied: “We must secure assistance from any country willing to help us, Western or Eastern, provided such assistance is unconditional.”

General Grivas's Return to Cyprus. - Assumption of Command over Greek Cypriot Forces.

The presence in Cyprus of General Grivas, the former Eoka leader, was officially confirmed by the Greek Government on June 22 and in Nicosia on the following day. The Athens announcement said that the General had gone to Cyprus “on his own initiative and as an ordinary civilian,” with the intention of “contributing to the peaceful restoration of normal conditions and the old peaceful coexistence of the two communities of the island.” The Nicosia announcement said that General Grivas's presence in the island had not been previously announced at his own wish, because he wanted to “avoid manifestations in his honour by the Greek Cypriot people” in view of the situation prevailing.

General Grivas had been in Cyprus for about a week before his presence in the island was officially made public. The following comment on the General's return to Cyprus was brought by the Nicosia Correspondent of *The Times* on June 23:

“The events which precipitated his coming to Cyprus seem to have been those between June 5 and June 7, when on the one hand Turkey was on the verge of landing forces and on the other two British soldiers of the U.N. Force disappeared on the island. In both situations, but for different reasons, General Grivas would to some people be the man to call in.

“When the latest Turkish threat of intervention arose... Archbishop Makarios sent for the three senior military and civilian U.N. representatives then in Cyprus.... He is thought to have said in effect that if Turkish forces landed in the next few hours what would the United Nations do?... The U.N. men obviously could give no clear immediate answers. Possibly it was then that Archbishop Makarios decided that he must agree to General Grivas's returning to try to consolidate the Greek Cypriot forces and positions.

“That is one side of the picture. The other is the necessity, brought home equally grimly to the President by the abduction or murder of the U.N. soldiers, Major Edward Macey and Driver Leonard Platt, on June 7, of imposing control on the separate and sometimes rival extremist bands within his Greek Cypriot community....”

In a broadcast over Cyprus Radio on June 24, General Grivas said that Greek Cypriots would not accept a compromise solution and that Cyprus must decide her future through a referendum within the shortest possible time. He said that he had returned to the island, after an absence of five years, with three objectives: (1) unity and reconciliation between the Greek Cypriot people; (2) the restoration of “harmonious and peaceful coexistence” with the Turkish Cypriots; a just solution to the Cyprus problem through the holding of a referendum.

Calling for a “united, disciplined, fighting Cyprus,” General Grivas said that he had returned to his native country “not to pour oil on an already explosive situation but with the standard of the fighter-peacemaker.” After saying that the present deadlock had been bequeathed by the London and Zurich agreements, he declared: “When the great Powers impose on small peoples regimes against the will of the majority; when they give promise of solutions to questions involving the existence of peoples; when the written and

unwritten moral law is trampled upon, then explosive situations are created which, with the first spark, disturb peace and lead to calamities....”

The first of his objectives, he continued, was to achieve unity and reconciliation among the entire Greek Cypriot people, since it was not possible for a people torn by internal strife to achieve great deeds. “Being the first to set an example,” he declared, “I have extended my hand to everybody and with the President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, we will march resolutely towards victory.” As regards his second objective, he said that he harboured sincere friendship for the Turkish community, and recalled that in his boyhood Greeks and Turks had lived harmoniously together in Cyprus. Asking the Turks to “rely on the word of an honest soldier,” he said that nobody threatened the lives of the Turkish Cypriots, “which we will protect as if they were our own.” Finally, justice demanded that Cyprus should have the right, which had been accorded to other peoples and which constituted a basic principle of the United Nations, to decide on her own future through a referendum in the shortest possible period.

Dr. Küтчük sent a telegram to U Thant on June 25 protesting at General Grivas's return to Cyprus, and asking the Secretary-General “to judge whether condoning or permitting the return to Cyprus of a person who has led a long terrorist campaign... is an act ‘likely to worsen the situation’” [a reference to the Security Council's resolution of March 13 urging all parties in the Cyprus dispute to refrain from acts likely to worsen the situation—see 20120, second column]. He also complained that the Secretary-General had spoken of the “importation” of arms by the Greek Cypriots but of “smuggling” of arms when referring to Turkish Cypriot arms imports, adding that the U.N. was “honour bound” to apply the same yardstick to both sides.

With reference to General Grivas's broadcast, and specifically to his appeal for harmonious communal relations, a Turkish-Cypriot spokesman said on July 24: “Grivas speaks of friendship and harmonious relations, but it is obvious that the type of friendship he contemplates is something like the friendship between slave and master. This we reject with all our might. We are determined to die for our freedom and our right of self-determination rather than yield to Greek domination.”

In his first public appearance since his return, General Grivas repeated his call for self-determination before an enthusiastic crowd of 10,000 Greek Cypriots in Nicosia on June 28. The open-air rally in Venizelos Square was attended by President Makarios, Greek Cypriot Ministers, and the Greek Ambassador in Nicosia; only Greek flags were flown, the meeting concluding with the Greek national anthem after General Grivas had ended his speech with the words: “Long live tomorrow's Greek Cyprus!”

General Grivas said that he had returned to the island at the call of “duty to Cyprus, duty to Mother Greece, duty to the whole of Hellenism and to the fallen.” Reiterating that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots should live together in “peaceful coexistence,” he regretted that Dr. Kutchuk had not accepted his offer of friendship, but said that “he will repent because I do not believe right-minded Turks will follow him.” General Grivas added that Dr. Kutchuk's attitude reminded him “of Harding and Foot [Field-Marshal

Harding and Sir Hugh Foot, the two former British Governors], who, when I offered my hand for a peaceful solution of this problem, replied with insults, helicopters and tanks....” As regards the Turkish Cypriot spokesman's comment that the relationship he envisaged between the two communities was that of “slave and master,” General Grivas said that the history of Greece spoke for itself and “so far as minorities are concerned there are no masters and no slaves.” He reiterated that the only solution in Cyprus was “the solution dictated by justice—that is, the solution of self-determination.”

General Grivas made a triumphal entry on July 5 into Famagusta, after a 40-mile drive through villages bedecked in his honour; addressing 5,000 Greek Cypriots in the main square, among them many former Eoka fighters, he declared that he had returned to Cyprus as “the apostle of union with Mother Greece.” On the following day he addressed a special session of the Cyprus House of Representatives, attended by all 35 Greek Cypriot members but boycotted by all Turkish Cypriot members (none of whom had taken their seats since the outbreak of communal violence in December last). As in Famagusta, General Grivas said he had returned not as a politician but as “an apostle of the national ideal.” After urging that all ideological differences should be set aside for the sake of this ideal, and that all Greek Cypriots should “march hand-in-hand for the realization of *enosis*,” General Grivas declared: “As to the tactics of the struggle, I believe we should follow the road of peaceful means. We must fight to obtain the right of self-determination with the help of international organizations. If the great Powers do not recognize our right of self-determination we shall accept war and we shall emerge victorious.”

General Grivas flew to Athens on Aug. 5 for conversations with Mr. Papandreou, Mr. Kostopoulos, and Mr. Garoufalias, returning the following day to Nicosia. On Aug. 13 it was announced that General Grivas had succeeded Lieut.-General Karayannis as Commander of the Cypriot National Guard and the security forces in the island. General Karayannis (a Greek officer) returned to Athens the same day with a copy of a letter which he had addressed to President Makarios explaining the reasons for his resignation; these were not officially made public but were understood to have been caused by differences with General Grivas.

Internal Developments in Cyprus.

Recent important internal developments in Cyprus are described below under cross-headings.

Abduction of Major Macey and Private Platt. The entire U.N. Force in Cyprus was alerted on June 8, as well as the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot police, after two British members of the U.N. Force had been officially listed as missing—Major Edward Macey (46), of the Royal Army Ordnance Corps, and his driver, Private Leonard Platt (29). Major Macey was senior liaison officer at the Nicosia office of Dr. Kutchuk, the Turkish Cypriot leader, and travelled widely over the island on his official duties. He and Pte. Platt had last been seen in a Land Rover at Galatia, in the north-east of the island, and widespread searches by spotter planes, helicopters, and U.N. Irish troops had failed

to disclose any trace of them. For some time previously Major Macey had been bitterly attacked in Greek Cypriot newspapers on the grounds that he was allegedly familiar with Turkish “terrorists” and that he was a Turkish “collaborator.”

A sharply-worded statement directed largely at the Cyprus Government was issued by the U.N. Force on June 17, after ten days’ intensive searches and investigations had failed to reveal any trace of the missing men. The statement said that “it can only be concluded that extremist elements known to the Cyprus Government have, as in the past, been responsible for another case of abduction.... The U.N. Commander does not accept that it is impossible to discover the whereabouts and fate of the two U.N. soldiers, and he expects the Government and the Cyprus police to pursue the investigations vigorously.”

A few hours later an additional statement was issued saying that the U.N. Commander “wishes to emphasize that there was no intention to suggest that the Government of Cyprus has any responsibility in the affair. However, both the Government and the U.N. Force in Cyprus are aware of the fact that extremist elements are to blame. The Cyprus Government has co-operated with the Force in the investigations and the Commander feels it must continue to pursue this course vigorously.”

The first U.N. statement said that there was still no evidence of what had happened to Major Macey and Pro. Platt after they had left the village of Galatia in the direction of Ayios Theodoros to the south, probably at about 3.10 p.m. on June 7. Searches had failed to reveal any physical clues, nor had it been possible to obtain evidence from people in the area. Pointing out that there had been rumours in Famagusta [which is near Galatia] two days before the disappearance that a British major had been shot and that threats to Macey's safety were being made, the statement said: “These rumours, taken together with the fact that there had recently been articles in the local press making severe and unjustified accusations against Major Macey, give rise to the grave suspicion that the disappearance of Major Macey and Driver Platt is the work of an extremist group.”

It would normally be inconceivable (the statement continued) that two members of the U.N. Force could be abducted probably on a public road, and certainly in broad daylight, without the local population and the authorities knowing something about it. There must have been people who saw the missing men in the area where they probably disappeared and who could throw some light on the affair, “but perhaps have kept silent because of fear or intimidation.” After pointing out that the U.N. Secretary-General and the Commander of the U.N. Force had several times drawn attention to the dangers involved in “the continued impunity with which irresponsible and uncontrollable elements operate in Cyprus,” the statement said that the disappearance of Major Macey and his driver was the latest instance of “the general lawlessness and anarchy which only harm the country and negate its Government's expressed intention to respect and guarantee the safety of all U.N. personnel.”

Despite appeals to the population by President Makarios and Dr. Kutchuk to give every possible assistance to the investigations into the abductions, and despite a reward of £2,000 offered by the British Government for any information, no trace of the missing

men was found. In a statement on July 16 to the British House of Commons, the Minister of Defence for the Army (Mr. Ramsden) said that information had come to hand "from which it appears virtually certain that the two men are no longer alive." Mr. Ramsden added that this information had been communicated to the U.N. and to the Cyprus Government and that "urgent investigations" were in progress.

The Marley Case. A British airman, Senior Aircraftman Keith Marley (24), was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment in Nicosia on July 6 after being found guilty on five charges involving the carrying of arms and explosives for Turkish Cypriots. His wife, Flora Marley (22), was fined £100 for aiding and abetting her husband. Both S.A.C. Marley and Mrs. Marley pleaded "guilty" to the charges.

Marley and his wife had been arrested on May 26 while travelling from Xeros to Nicosia, on a charge of smuggling arms for the Turkish Cypriots. The Minister of the Interior (Mr. Georghadjis) stated the following day that when Marley's car was intercepted by the police for a routine check, they had found in it two mortars of U.S. manufacture, one of which bore a plate with words in Turkish, two frogmen's suits, and a letter from the Turkish Cypriot leader in Mansoura to the Turkish leaders in Nicosia. When arrested Marley was wearing civilian clothes and not R.A.F. uniform, and his car bore a "Press" label as used by foreign correspondents. Mr. Georghadjis said that the evidence indicated that Marley had been engaged in transmitting information between the Turkish leaders, as well as in transporting arms and military equipment, and that the arms had recently been smuggled in from Turkey and landed at a small bay near Mansoura.

During the subsequent court proceedings Marley made a written statement describing how on seven occasions he was paid £25 by a Turkish Cypriot in Nicosia to drive from the north-west coast with military material which included rifles, Bren guns, and quantities of ammunition. He and his wife were sent for trial on June 23 on charges of "conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the Republic," conspiracy to levy war against the Cyprus Government, preparation of warlike undertakings, using armed force against the Government, and possession of firearms. These charges, however, were subsequently dropped and replaced by three specific charges of carrying arms, one of carrying explosive substances, and one of possessing arms "with intent to enable other persons by means thereof to endanger life or cause serious injury to property." The accused, as stated, pleaded "guilty," Marley being sentenced to seven years on a charge of carrying arms on April 19 and eight years for a similar offence on May 10, the sentences to run consecutively; on three other charges he received concurrent sentences of five, five, and three years.

Asking for the severest sentence to be imposed, the prosecuting counsel cited the case of George Blake, who had been sentenced in Britain in 1961 to three sentences of 14 years' imprisonment for spying, to be served consecutively [see page 18145.] The British barrister defending Marley, Mr. Alan Garfitt, denied any analogy with the Blake case and described Marley as "nothing more than a common criminal... without any political thought in his mind... a man doing something for money." The presiding judge accepted

that Marley had no political motives but pointed out that the carrying of arms in Cyprus was a very serious offence punishable by long terms of imprisonment.

The Military Secrets Bill. The Greek Cypriot House of Representatives unanimously approved on July 30 a Government Bill providing for three years' imprisonment for anyone publishing military information without proper authority, and a similar sentence on anyone who "approached" any prohibited area without authority. The legislation—the Military Secrets Bill—said: "Any person who without legal authority publishes, or announces to other persons not specifically authorized, any plan, form, note, document, thing, information, or report related to any fortifications or defence works, camps, or military stores, or other premises occupied or used by or for the needs of the armed forces of the Republic, or relating to the stationing, gathering, movement, deployment, or action of the forces, is committing an offence punishable with three years' imprisonment."

[The Nicosia Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* commented that "foreign correspondents will be affected by the new measure, which is so widely phrased as to make one's task almost impossible." For instance, "if the law were interpreted rigidly, any reporter could be charged with a crime if he reports, for instance, a dash between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, if the Government did not wait such a dash reported."]

Revision of Cyprus Judiciary. A Bill revising the island's judicial system, described as a "temporary measure," was passed by the House of Representatives on July 9 by the votes of the Greek Cypriot members and in the absence of the Turkish members. Since the communal disturbances of December 1963 many of the courts established under the Constitution—including the Supreme Constitutional Court, the High Court, and the Appellate Court—had ceased to function, and the revised system was introduced so as to make it "possible for justice to continue to be administered unhampered by the present anomalous situation."

The principal changes were (1) the establishment of a Supreme Court vested with the jurisdiction hitherto exercised by the Supreme Constitutional Court and the High Court; (2) and the abolition of the communal requirements in the composition of the lower courts [i.e. the requirements that Greek had to be tried by Greek Turk by Turk, and mixed cases by a mixed bench]. The senior judge in the island—Mr. Mehmed Zekia, a Turkish Cypriot—became *ipso facto* president of the Supreme Court under the new arrangements.

The Turkish Government sent a Note to Cyprus on July 13 protesting strongly at the judicial changes, in particular at the abolition of the Supreme Constitutional Court and the High Court and their replacement by a Supreme Court. Although the Note was not published, it was stated in Ankara that the Greek Cypriot law was considered a "flagrant breach of the Cyprus Constitution" and without legal validity. Copies of the Turkish Note were sent to Great Britain and Greece as co-signatories with Turkey of the Cyprus treaty of guarantee, and to the United States as an "interested party."

A Bill extending the territorial waters of Cyprus from three to 12 miles was passed on Aug. 3 by the House of Representatives with the support of the Greek Cypriot members and in the absence of the Turkish members.—(Times - Daily Telegraph - Guardian - New York Times - U.N. Information Centre, London) (*Prev. rep. Cyprus, 20113 A.*)

© 1931- 2008 Keesing's Worldwide, LLC - All Rights Reserved.