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Title:

Handwritten radio script regarding foreign policy and Cyprus.

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D.A.D. 3452
SKA. A.L.P.
30/1/61.

ALP 30/1/61

Good evening

RECORDED

In talking of foreign policy it is often a good idea to look back at the last few years I see just how the attitudes taken by various parties in Australia were justified by the events. When a tense and critical situation in foreign affairs occurs quite often neither the newspapers nor the Govt are willing to tell the Australian people the facts, but strike emotional attitudes which are not ill adjusted to the realities.

From 1955 to 1959 the island of Cyprus was much in the news.

We were told of the possible activities of terrorist gangs, we were told that the Archbishop of Cyprus, Makarios was the mastermind directing the evil work of the terrorists, and we were told that British Govt was being entirely reasonable in that (a) it was looking after the Empire defence (b) it was in Cyprus protecting the Turkish minority from a holocaust which would overtake it in the event of union with Greece occurring. I union with Greece was said to be the sole aim of the Archbishop & his supporters.

That picture was untrue. The newspapers had the printed information available to them, & the Government, had a handbook to read the publications of the Registrar's Stationing Office.

The fact was that in Cyprus there was a population far better educated & far more able to govern itself than many other peoples to whom self-government had been granted. Few-fifths of the population

was Greek-speaking, one fifth Turkish.

They had had a Legislative Council with some elected members making ordinances for the colony until 1931, when all members of the Legislative Council who were not Government servants combined to reject the budget which the Governor proposed. The Governor then imposed the budget by decree, ~~and~~ without the consent of the Leg. Co., & proceeded to collect his taxes by force. This led to severe protest riots, & the constitution was then abolished.

Since that time the Governor had ruled as a military dictator, and a whole series of harsh & repressive ordinances had been promulgated which made the lot of those seeking self-government a very difficult one.

The struggle in Cyprus was not a struggle for union with Greece, or for partition of the island between Greece & Turkey - these were political catch cries of the moment merely characterising extreme positions - the struggle was to obtain for Cyprus, an effective say in their own government & their future.

But the reasonable demands of the Cypriot people for this were not met, and then the disastrous announcement was made in London in the House of Commons by a Conservative minister that because of defence & strategic requirements, Cyprus could never have the principle of self-determination applied to it.

It was that word never which produced violence in Cyprus. It should have been expected. Whenever we deny to peoples the

the rights to which we have subscribed in the United Nations Charter, history might now to have taught us not only that we are grossly & morally wrong to do so, but that we can expect that the people concerned will endeavour to assert their rights by every means to hand.

A state of emergency was proclaimed in Cyprus, people were not allowed to hold meetings, the possession of weapons or ammunition was punishable by death even for juveniles, there were wholesale arrests and hundreds of people were held in detention without charge or trial. Brutal tactics of security policies & the proud use of third-degree methods were ~~used~~ ^{exercised} by the Governor who said that you could not expect men whose friends had been shot to Argenteo & who brought out a special decree which prevented ~~the~~ Cypriots from bringing cases to prove brutal treatment before the courts.

While all this was going on the Governor asked the Cypriot church, Archbishop Makarios, for his proposals. These proposals, next published in Australia, although available to every newspaper, were for Britain's retention of foreign affairs & defence powers and the right to use bases in Cyprus, & for a constitutional self-government of Cyprus for its internal affairs under a reasonable constitution & with full guarantees of protection & participation in government for the Turkish minority.

The ~~British~~ Governor did not agree to these proposals, but merely made the request of outlines of proposals for some ^{limited} measure of self-government in the future.

When the Archbishop said he was going to Athens to consult with the metropolitan Church, he was arrested - without charge or trial - conveyed to the Seychelles islands & kept in prison behind barred wires for over a year.

He was then accused in the absence & without proof which could be examined by any tribunal, of complicity in terrorist activities, & the Advertiser published libellous cartoons of him of the most disgraceful kind.

Again, the people of Australia were not told the facts I have set forth above either by the Government or its newspapers. Indeed, the Government of Australia was before the United Nations Organisation, vociferous in its support of the British Government's repression of the legitimate demands of the Cypriot people.

Eventually, the British Government tired of the campaign in Cyprus, & against the wishes & advice of Field Marshal Lord Haldane released Archbishop Makarios, who was able after a time, to participate in an accord arranged between the Turkish & Greek Governments for a constitution for Cyprus. Under this proposal there is a Greek President & Turkish vice-president who jointly exercise ~~of~~ a number of executive powers. There is a Legislature with responsible ministers, with a due proportion of Turks. The Turkish & Greek communities are separately responsible for communal & religious matters. The Turks, though only one in five of the population, are guaranteed 30% of the public service posts & 40% of the

armed forces. Britain is allowed to retain certain bases in Cyprus, but otherwise has no rights in the island which has become an independent republic.

Now this settlement is less favourable to Britain than the one which it could have obtained on Archbishop Makarios' original proposals, & could have obtained without bloodshed, without repression, without the denial of almost all the things for which we proudly claim the British Commonwealth stands.

When the Labor party pointed out the wrongness of the course being followed by British Government in Cyprus it was assailed by the Advertiser & conservative opinion. I myself wrote the subject of uninteresting reports in that newspaper.

But now what do we find. The arch-foe of yesterday's newspaper has become the respectable statesman of today's. Archbishop Makarios, the new president of Cyprus is pictured accompanying Her Majesty the Queen aboard the island in peace & high favour.

All is forgiven & forgotten. But we shouldn't forget you know. Our newspaper & our Government endeavored to conceal from us & misrepresent ^{to us} a grievous wrong ^{done to the people} to us in of Cyprus. ~~Arms~~.

And as they were willing to do it on that occasion, & as they did prevent a massacre of Turks and loss of British bases, if the Cypriot people got ordinary & reasonable self-government just did not happen - we might be pardoned for being a little suspicious of them in the future. Goodnight.

ALL

Script

Mon 30/1