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THE SUNDAY TIMES

MH17: Russia in the dock

Missiles smuggled to Ukraine at night

Bojan Pancevski
DONETSK

COMPPELLING new evidence pointing to Russia's complicity in the downing of Malaysia Airlines flight MH17 was disclosed by Ukraine yesterday.

A senior Ukrainian security official said the evidence showed that a Russian military unit was directly involved in launching last Thursday's missile strike, in which all 298 passengers and crew on the Boeing 777 were killed.

The official told The Sunday Times that telephone intercepts revealed the missile launcher that shot down the passenger jet was smuggled into eastern Ukraine from Russia on the morning of the attack and hastily withdrawn back over the border hours after the tragedy.

The Ukrainian account is the most detailed version yet to emerge of the events that led up to the downing of flight MH17.

Some 80 children are now known to have been killed in the disaster. As emergency workers removed bodies yesterday from the smouldering crash scene, which is spread over eight square miles outside the village of Grabovo, official figures showed that the victims came from 11 countries and included at least 12 whole families.

The details emerged as David Cameron last night demanded action against Russia, calling on fellow European leaders to back tougher sanctions against Moscow.

In an article for The Sunday Times, the prime minister said: "We must turn this moment of outrage into a moment of action."

In a coded attack on Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, and other leaders who have blocked efforts to get tough with Vladimir Putin, Cameron said Europe must now "respond robustly".

He added: "For too long, there has been a reluctance on the part of too many European countries to face up to the implications of what is happening in eastern Ukraine."

MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS: 80 CHILDREN DIE IN DOWNED JET



Among the victims were – top row: Otis Maslin, 8, Kaela Goes, 21 months, Tess Trugg, 10, Liv Trugg, 7, Margaux van den Hende, 8, a son of Antoine van Veldhuizen. Second row: Marnix van den Hende, 12, Arjuna Paulissen, 5, Sri Paulissen, 3, Sem Wels, 7, Mo Maslin, 12, Yelena Huizen, 2. Third row: Afruz Jiee, 13, Afif Jiee, 19, Marsha Jiee, 15, Afzal Jiee, 17, Evie Maslin, 10, Piers van den Hende, 15. Bottom row: Julian Allen, Chris Allen, Wether Smallenburg, Carlijn Smallenburg, Amel Wals and Jinte Wals, 15

Cameron said the attack was a "direct result of Russia destabilising a sovereign state, violating its territorial integrity, backing thuggish militias and training and arming them".

Amid the unfolding diplomatic crisis, the Ukrainian security chief told The Sunday Times that intercepts from a Russian mobile phone showed that a Buk missile launcher

controlled by an all-Russian crew of between three and six men had crossed the Russia-Ukraine border at lam on Thursday near the village of Sukhodolsk.

It was tracked to the rebel stronghold of Donetsk and then escorted by rebel forces to the village of Pervomaiski in the battle torn area around Luhansk. Just after 4pm its

radar system detected a large aeroplane flying at 33,000ft.

According to the official, the Buk's Russian operator reported the size of the aircraft to his commander, a junior rebel officer, who gave the order to launch a missile, believing the target to be a Ukrainian cargo plane.

US and British intelligence officials are satisfied the air-

liner was downed by a surface-to-air missile fired by rebels, despite their denials.

One Whitehall official described the Ukrainian intercepts as credible. The insider said intelligence officials were seeking further conclusive evidence of Moscow's hand behind the attack.

Yesterday, the names of the last four British victims were

confirmed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

They include Robert Ayley, 29, a father of two living in New Zealand but originally from Guildford, Surrey. His family said yesterday that he had "touched many lives".

The others were John Allen, 44, a lawyer who died with his Dutch wife and their three young children; former RAF

search-and-rescue officer Stephen Anderson, 44, from Inverness; and Andrew Hoare, who was named on the Malaysia Airlines passenger list but for whom there were no further details.

The Ukrainian government accused pro-Russian militiamen of looting the site, trying to destroy evidence and removing 38 bodies.

This is an atrocity made in Moscow



DAVID CAMERON

LIKE the horror of Lockerbie in 1988 when I was a young man, the images of the burnt-out Malaysian plane, 298 victims and their personal effects strewn across the wheatfields and villages around Grabovo in eastern Ukraine will never leave me.

Ten of our own citizens died; we grieve for them this weekend. So too did 27 Australians, including members of a family who had previously lost relatives on flight MH370; 43 Malaysians and 192 Dutch citizens also died – a huge blow to our friends and allies. We stand shoulder to shoulder with those countries and with all those affected by this outrage.

But alongside our sympathy there is also anger. Anger that this could happen; anger that a conflict that could have been stopped by Moscow has been fomented by Moscow; anger that some in the West, instead of finding the resolve to deal with this issue, have simply hoped it would go away.

We must establish the full
Continued on page 2 >>>

OVERSEAS PRICES NEWS 2
WEATHER NEWS 28
LETTERS NEWS 24
SUDDOKU NEWS REVIEW 9
TV&RADIO CULTURE 41



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A last message: I'm worried

Parents and 3 children lost in atrocity

THE BRITISH VICTIMS

George Arbuthnott, Hannah Summers and James Gillespie

A BRITISH man died with his wife and three children when the Malaysia Airlines plane was shot down over Ukraine, it emerged yesterday.

John Allen, 44, a lawyer with the Dutch firm NautaDutilh, was with his Dutch wife Sandra and their sons Christopher, Julian and Ian, when flight MH17 was brought down.

NautaDutilh paid tribute to Allen, saying: "He was a person with many talents and in addition to his professional contribution... he generously shared his musical and athletic abilities with us. All of us... came to know him as a kind, down-to-earth and humorous man."

Allen, who specialised in intellectual property law, was made a partner of the firm in 2007. He qualified at Erasmus University in Rotterdam before going on to study at the University of Amsterdam and King's College London. Photographs of Allen included one of him sitting astride a motorbike.

His sister wrote on Facebook: "I lost my whole family, my only brilliant brother and his beautiful wife and three magnificent children."

Allen, who lived in Hilversum, Holland, was one of the last of the 10 British victims to be identified. Andrew Hoare was also named yesterday.

Poignant details of the last hours of the Britons who perished on MH17 last Thursday emerged.

Robert Ayley, 29, originally



British victims — top row: Cameron Dalziel, Stephen Anderson, Ben Pocock; middle row: John Allen, Glenn Thomas, John Alder; bottom row: Liam Sweeney, Andrew Hoare, Richard Mayne. Above, Robert Ayley with wife Sharlene, who did not survive the crash.



from Guildford, Surrey, had spent Wednesday in Amsterdam looking at rottweiler dogs for potential import to his home in New Zealand, before spending the night at a Schiphol hotel. In a final email to his wife, Sharlene, and their two sons he said he was "ready to come home".

Ayley was a nervous flyer and his business partner, Bill Patterson, 62, who had returned on an earlier flight,

had been worried when he crossed Ukraine on the inbound journey.

"I thought, 'What the hell are we doing flying over here?' I knew they had shot down a cargo plane and helicopter a week before," he said.

Ayley was more worried by mechanical issues and in a final message to Patterson admitted: "I am a little concerned about the flight, but I will be OK."

Liam Sweeney, 28, had left

his sixth-floor flat in the Westgate Court tower block in Newcastle upon Tyne at 3.30am on Thursday to take a taxi bound for the airport. Waiting inside was John Alder, a 63-year-old from Gateshead and fellow Newcastle United supporter. They were heading to New Zealand to watch their team play two pre-season friendlies.

"Liam was excited," recalled Sweeney's housemate, Michael Cheetham.

Barry Sweeney, Liam's father, said: "He was only 28. I [spent] all night hoping that one of the Britons wasn't my son."

Alder, nicknamed "The Undertaker" for his refusal to wear anything other than a dark suit when watching football, had missed only one Newcastle game since 1973.

Glenn Thomas, 49, from Blackpool, who worked as a media officer for the World Health Organisation (WHO) in Geneva, posted a message on Facebook reading, 'A long day's journey into night', before he left to catch an Air France flight to Amsterdam.

Thomas had worked at the BBC and the UN before joining the WHO. His twin sister, Tracey Withers, born two minutes before him, said she was "crying in limbo" after hearing of the crash.

Her son, Jordan, 22, said: "There were a couple of hours



OH GOD, WE WERE PRAYING OUR SON HAD FALLEN ASLEEP AND MISSED HIS FLIGHT

when we got our hopes up thinking he might have missed the plane. He had missed so many before, he was so laid back that he was always cutting it fine."

In Leicester, student Richard Mayne was driven to the airport by his father, Simon, for the short flight to Holland. A

plea from his sister, Scarlett, to delay the start of his year in Australia because she was planning to visit the family came too late. Too much planning had gone into Richard's trip to change.

Mayne, 20, was heading to the University of Western Australia in Perth to study for a year. His father, Simon, said he heard the news of the plane crash and thought, "Oh, God, Oh God" — I couldn't believe it. We were hoping and praying he had fallen asleep and missed his flight."

Another student, Ben Pocock, 20, of Bristol, was also heading to the University of Western Australia to start his third year of an international business degree from Loughborough University.

His excitement and anticipation echo poignantly from the tweets he sent before leaving. "Didn't fail my exams.

Still going to Australia," he wrote. Two days later he added: "Should be in bed #Recovering but I haven't packed yet and I leave in 18 hours."

It emerged yesterday that Stephen Anderson, 44, from Inverness, who spent 23 years with the RAF including running the search and rescue team at Lossiemouth, was also on MH17. He moved to Penang in Malaysia four years ago with his wife Joanna, 37, where he worked as a technician.

Cameron Dalziel, 43, a dual South African/British national, was travelling to Malaysia where he had moved with his wife Reine and two sons.

He worked as a helicopter rescue pilot. His brother-in-law, Shane Hattingh, said: "He's flown thousands of hours and had accidents through no fault of his own and survived them. Then he gets in a plane and gets shot down."

David Cameron: Just one chance for Russia

Continued from page 1

facts of what happened. But the growing weight of evidence points to a clear conclusion: that flight MH17 was blown out of the sky by a surface-to-air missile fired from a rebel-held area.

If this is the case then we must be clear what it means: this is a direct result of Russia destabilising a sovereign state, violating its territorial integrity, backing tuggish militias and training and arming them.

We must turn this moment of outrage into a moment of action. Action to find those who committed this crime and bring them to justice. But this goes much wider than justice.

In Europe we should not need to be reminded of the consequences of turning a blind eye when big countries bully smaller countries. We should not need reminding of the consequences of letting the doctrine of "might is right" prevail. We should not need to be reminded of the lessons of European history.

But we do. For too long there has been a reluctance on the part of too many European countries to face up to the implications of what is happening in eastern Ukraine. Sitting around the European Council table on Wednesday evening I saw that reluctance at work again.

Some countries, with Britain at the forefront, have consistently pushed for action

that reflects the magnitude of the long-term threat. They tend to be the countries with the closest physical proximity to Russia and the most direct experience of what is at stake. Their own independence and nationhood have come at a high price. They never forget it. But others seem more anxious to make this a problem to be managed and contained, not a challenge to be met and mastered.

Elegant forms of words and fine communiqués are no substitute for real action. The weapons and fighters being funnelled across the border between Russia and eastern Ukraine; the support to the militias; the half-truths, the bluster, the delays. They have to stop.

Some international crises are insoluble. Not this one. If President Vladimir Putin stops the support to the fighters in eastern Ukraine and allows the Ukrainian authorities to restore order, this crisis can be brought to an end. Of course there must be proper protections for Russian-speaking minorities. These issues can be addressed. But the overriding need is for Russia to cease its support for violent separatists.

If President Putin does not change his approach to Ukraine, then Europe and the West must fundamentally change our approach to Russia. This is not about military

action, plainly. But it is time to make our power, influence and resources count.

Our economies are strong and growing in strength. And yet we sometimes behave as if we need Russia more than Russia needs us and the access we provide to European markets, European capital, our knowledge and technological expertise.

We don't seek a relationship of confrontation with Russia. But we must not shrink from standing up for the principles that govern conduct between independent nations in Europe and which ultimately keep the peace on our continent.

So let us be clear about what needs to happen.

First, there must be immediate access to the crash site and the crime scene must be preserved. The remains of the victims must be identified, treated with proper respect

and dignity and returned to their families. There must be a ceasefire. And there must be a full investigation into what happened. Russia will have plenty of information about these events which it must make fully available — and straight away.

Second, Russia must immediately halt supplies and training for the rebels. They do not represent the people of Ukraine. Without Russian support they will wither.

Finally, we must establish proper long-term relationships between Ukraine and the European Union; between Ukraine and Russia; and, above all, between Russia and the European Union, Nato and the wider West.

What form that relationship takes rests on how Russia responds to this appalling tragedy. Russia can use this moment to find a path out of this festering, dangerous crisis. I hope it will do so. But if that does not happen then we must respond robustly.

Nearly 25 years ago Britain hosted the Nato summit that ended the Cold War and began the process of ushering Russia back into the councils of the world.

In six weeks' time Britain will host a Nato summit in Wales at which the relationship with Russia will again take centre stage. It is up to Russia which path that relationship now takes.



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