

- 1) One of the untouchable aspects of the perpetuation of the Cypriot issue is the absence of probe of the cases related to severe violation of human rights such as the perpetration of war crimes. In Cyprus a discussion has recently initiated about the constitution of one "Truth Commission for Cyprus". The issues that have arisen in the Cypriot community by not discussing this, the never-ending effort of negotiating in order to resolve the issue which until recently fails at an institutional level. There is a need in the society to discuss the issue, to inform the citizens about it, as well as the problems of constituting a "Truth Commission" after so many years. "Truth Commissions normally investigate mainly cases of violations of human rights and other crimes. They usually serve as substitutes of legal review or even trial, especially in cases where the legal proceedings might be difficult or even unwanted for practical, political or other reasons, and the individuals behind those actions might be under the protection of amnesty. Thus, instead of a trial, there might be a Truth Commission to register the cases. All the people involved testify including surviving victims of violations. Common experience shows that the truth commission can have positive and redeeming effects both on individuals for the victims and on society because knowledge of the cases is spread. There might be forgiveness or amnesty, trials depending on the cases and the significance of the crimes. So society moves forward. According to international player, it is clear that the framework which includes countries with truth commissions is broad and does not have a predefined *modus vivendi*. Especially in the Cypriot case where such a commission is still being established, the discussion is limited only in intercommunity litigations for the decade of 1963-64 up to the invasion of 1974. There is no documentation of the traumatic events taken place the previous decades under the authority of the British administration and in many cases violations were ordered by it. According to the research I conduct in the framework of my thesis the Cypriot case is a special circumstance in which the existing partition of the island is a product of many and various aspects. One of the most significant is the agitation formed in Cyprus in the 1950s and especially during the military offensive of Greek Cypriot organization EOKA. That period the British authority following metropolitan orders acted and these actions effected the indigenous population of the island violating repetitively human rights and in many cases causing death to those individuals opposing to the regime. I consider therefore a thorough investigation of that period in the framework of a Truth Commission and Reconciliation as a significant action. Understanding the past as a unity of small parts will help present in light of a better future. Especially, the investigation of hostilities and multidimensional mechanisms that affected Cyprus during the colonial era after 1031, the coexistence of heterogeneous populations and the rising of nationalism, created an explosive mixture that reached its pick during the 1960s.
- 2) In Cyprus case the dealing with the colonial past is more complicated and is differentiated in many factors that other examples. After the Zurich-London treaties in 1959 that marked the Cyprus independence and the formation of a new country the immediate issue was the proper application of the newly-established Constitution between the two largest communities of the island. Coexistence was not easy and disturbances had soon formulated, the most significant of those that produced the partition of the island and the clear violation of human rights by both communities during 1963-64.

Therefore it is reasonable that the colonial past pretty soon was obsolete and a collective oblivion was «imposed» upon the community for what had happened before the 1950s.

The society of the citizens is trying on both parts of the island to create the conditions of a framework in favour of the resolution that will bring the two communities closed with a view of a peaceful coexistence. The voices that speak of a Truth commission are becoming more intense. The immediate issue that needs to be addressed though is the traumatic past between the two communities during the decades of 1960-70s, whereas the colonial era is rarely addressed.

I consider that a constitution of a Commission about the Cyprus past is essential as far as the elaboration of the past prior and after the resolution at a political level, but it is also vital to examine the colonial past and the violations that took place during that time in Cyprus. The multimodal aspect will provide us with a better knowledge of the past, and of the intricate formation that was formulated. Especially, the period with the uplift of nationalism in the two communities and the “hard” way of dealing by the British administration.

- 3) The commemoration of the 1950 joint resolution has been recently approved by the Cypriot parliament at schools of the Greek Cypriot community, which had to do with the indemnity from the colonial regime and the unification with Greece. This gesture, which was supported by the ruling party, provoked a lot of reactions in the internal of the Greek Cypriot community, in the Turkish Cypriot and at international level. The underlying cause was that this gesture undermined the resolution. Cyprus has a traumatic past that unfortunately has not been elaborated sufficiently and during the attempt towards the convergence of the two communities it has to be transparency and sincerity between the two communities for what occurred at the colonial era. A lot of people believe that the pressing issue is the long-running controversy of the two communities and the mutual violations of human rights, which is valid, but no attempt will be successful unless the turbulent era of the pre-existing colonial era is added. The elaboration of memory and its constitutionalized politics during hard times is a sign of will by the constitutions as regards to what they really want to achieve, leaving behind or devaluating an important era, such as this of the British administration, is as if impeding society from understanding what exactly happened.

- 4) The situation in Cyprus since 1974 and the Turkish invasion which led to the de facto partition is in frail equilibrium of escalations and reassurances, depending on the politics and the connections of the guarantor powers (Greece, Turkey) and the two communities. During the 1990s there were cases of rallies that ended up with casualties.

During the 21st century, though, a relatively calm has been achieved at the communities without extremities and at that helped the attempts of resolution with the initiative of the UN in 2004 and 2017, unfortunately without successful outcome and there is one pending attempt yet to come in a few days under the auspices of the UN General Secretary Antonio Guterres. Moreover, a significant part for the improvement of the connections of the two communities played the raising of the roadblocks between the two sides of the island in 2003 and the praised work done by the Intercommunity Committee of Missing People with regards to the retrieval of missing people who were and still are a pressing issue and bias, which at times

undermined the attempts for compromise and reconciliation. None of the aforementioned actions included the colonial era and its crimes.

The basic factor I believe is the creation of another rivalry and competition for survival and power amongst the two communities. It is a wrong belief not to be included in the collective memory and attempt for understanding the past, events that occurred during the colonial era and the significant contribution of that condition in the evolution of the issue at present. The creation of mechanisms for the violations of human rights during the colonial era, by the constitution of remedial politics is likely to lead to a preliminary era and to a thorough investigation of the actions following the 1960s between the two communities. The mechanisms that will be formulated have to be solid and orientated towards the creation of a framework which will have the colonial era as a starting point.