

PERU

At the request of the Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team (EPAF), the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR), the Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman, the Public Ministry, and the Human Rights *Coordinadora* (an umbrella of Peruvian human rights organizations), EAAF participated in an international forensic delegation to Peru, with the goal of providing support for the investigative process into human rights violations committed in Peru between 1980-2000. During its first trip, the delegation was led by Dr. Clyde Snow, US anthropologist. Members of the Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Foundation (FAFG), a Chilean anthropologist, and a genetics expert formed the rest of the delegation. Following this initial delegation, EAAF members worked in Peru on two additional missions. These missions were sponsored by the Open Society Institute, the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In May 1980, the Communist Party of Peru, Shining Path, began an armed struggle against the Peruvian state. Years later, another group, the MRTA (Revolutionary Movement Túpac Amaru), also entered into armed



Coffins of remains from the Los Totos case displayed during reburial ceremony in Ayacucho, Peru. August 2002.

conflict with the state. At this time, under the administration of President Belaúnde Terry, a systematic counter-insurgency campaign was initiated and conducted largely by security forces. This counter-insurgency war intensified during the governments of Presidents Alan García (1985-1990) and Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000.)



Photo courtesy of John Wriley.

The Peruvian National Police carried out counter-insurgency campaigns until 1982. However, by the end of that year, the government passed this responsibility to the armed forces. With the exception of Lima, the country was divided into military zones, some of which were declared under state of emergency. It is during this period that the majority of disappearances and extra-judicial executions took place.

Amnesty International documented more than 4,200 cases of forced disappearance between January and December of 1982, and the Working Group on Forced and Involuntary Disappearances of the United Nations registered 2,487 cases during the same period. Various

massacres and extra-judicial executions were also documented during this time, especially in the province of Ayacucho, where Shining Path originated. Until 1988, human rights violations were largely concentrated in the areas declared to be under state of emergency. Nevertheless, between 1988 and 1992, these patterns of abuse were spread throughout the country. According to the Ombudsman's office, the war in Peru left over 30,000 dead, more than 1,000 extrajudicial executions took place, at least 6,362 disappearances occurred and approximately 400,000 people were displaced.ⁱ These numbers have since been revised, reflecting significantly higher numbers of deaths during the entire twenty-year period. (Please see below.)

It is important to stress how much the Peruvian experiences of repression in these decades differed from regional patterns. In other countries, agents of the state have been almost single-handedly responsible for the majority of disappearances and massacres. In Peru, insurgent groups, in particular Shining Path, have also been responsible for executions, kidnappings, disappearances, and assassinations of the civilian population. Among the victims were members of peasant communities, mayors, community leaders, and local politicians who were believed to have supported the military or the central government.

Despite locating and documenting a number of graves containing the remains of victims who were executed by both the armed forces and Shining Path, very few have been adequately investigated by the Public Ministry or the judiciary. This has been a source of anguish and worry for families of the victims and local human rights organizations, and Peruvian society as a whole.

In 1995, two sweeping amnesty laws were passed by the Fujimori congress. These laws pardoned all members of security forces and civilian officials for their involvement in human rights violations and prohibited investigations into abuses committed between May 1980 through mid-June 1995. Although Fujimori specifically stated that human rights abuses committed after that date would be fully prosecuted, this did not occur.ⁱⁱ Different problems

arose in the prosecution of Human Rights violations committed by insurgents. Over 2000 prisoners, guerrillas, or those suspected of guerrilla activity were in prison until at least 2002, following convictions of terrorism or treason by “anti-terrorism courts,” where they were tried without legal representation by hooded judges in military tribunals.

The End of the Fujimori Period

In July 2001, after the brief reign of interim President Valentín Paniagua, Alejandro Toledo assumed the presidency after Fujimori was removed for, among other things, ‘moral incapacity.’ One of the first measures that Toledo took upon assuming office was the expansion and strengthening of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission established by Paniagua on June 2, 2001. Initially, the twelve-member commission was mandated to operate and present the results of their investigation in eighteen months, with the option of an additional six-month extension. Among its main objectives was to determine what happened to the dead and disappeared during the period 1980-2000. In June 2003, the Commission presented preliminary results of its investigation. One conclusion has been the dramatic increase in the estimate of the death toll, to between 40,000 – 60,000 dead and disappeared. Exhumation and analysis of the remains of the disappeared have been an important part of the objectives of the Commission, as it has been with other such groups.

ACTIVITIES:

First Trip

A chief motive for the convening of the international forensic delegation was a conflict that emerged between EPAF, the Public Ministry, and the CVR that had practically paralyzed exhumations in Peru. The reasons for the conflict were at least partially expressed in press conferences and various press releases and interviews by the different parties to the conflict over the course of several months.

On July 14, 2002, in part as a result of this crisis, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Human Rights Ombudsman, the Public Ministry, and the *Coordinadora* acted to create a coordinating body to facilitate communication between those involved in the investigation of human rights abuses where forensic work is necessary. The *Plataforma Conjunta*, or Joint Working Group for the Investigation of Common Graves, as the group is called, included the shared planning of a large part of the forensic work in relation to the investigation of human rights abuses in Peru. Dr. Villavizencio, of the Prosecutor’s Office Specializing in Forced Disappearances, Extrajudicial Executions, and Exhumations of Clandestine Graves, and associates, represented the Public Ministry from the office of the Attorney General. Members of the Medico-Legal Institute, part of the Public Ministry in Peru, also formed part of the joint working group.

On the first trip between July 1st and 10th, the delegation was led by Dr. Clyde Snow, US anthropologist, and included: Fredy Peccerelli, anthropologist and President of the Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Foundation (FAFG); Cristian Orrego, a Chilean doctor in genetics working with the Justice Department for the state of California; Isabel Reveco, anthropologist and former member of the now-defunct Chilean Forensic Anthropology Group, now working as a forensic specialist with Judge Guzmán investigating human rights cases that occurred during the last military government in Chile; and anthropologist Mercedes Doretta of EAAF.

Dr. Snow functioned as a consultant to the Office of the High Commission for Human Rights of the UN, which covered his expenses. Trip expenses for other members of the delegation were covered by the Open Society Institute, New York.

Objectives of the Mission

The chief objective of the delegation was to help find a solution to the crisis that emerged between EPAF, the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, and the Public Ministry. Consequently, the mission was divided

into three distinct parts: to understand the causes of the conflict; to try to find solutions and consensus among the parties, including the reconstitution of working relationships among the different sectors involved; and to continue the forensic examination of human rights violations. The delegation met multiple times with each of the parties to the conflict and took into consideration the problems each group raised. Delegation members sought to identify the principle points of arguments and disputes, and to look for consensus in terms of solving them.



Psychologists from the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission interviewing relatives of the victims. Los Totos, Ayacucho, Peru. Courtesy of John Wriley.

To reach these objectives, the delegation focused in particular on elaborating a methodology that would guarantee:

- the continuation of forensic investigations performed in a manner corresponding to international forensic standards.
- the inclusion of independent forensic experts as expert witnesses in the human rights cases under investigation.
- clear and specific tasks and roles assigned to each one of the actors and institutions involved in the forensic work in human rights violation cases.
- communication with and respect for the families and communities of the victims at all times during the process.

Part of the crisis that emerged in Peru has to do with a problem that continually recurs in countries where massive human rights violations have taken place. On the one hand, there is frequently a lack of forensic training and experience in exhumations and analysis of remains.

On the other hand, conflicts of interest tend to be endemic when the state is accused of perpetrating the violations. In Latin America, most forensic specialists must work inside of the judicial system, public ministries and/or police forces; all of these institutions maintain degrees of autonomy, independence and objectivity that may be extremely limited or questionable under non-democratic regimes.

The UN Manual for the Prevention and Effective Investigation of Summary or Arbitrary Extra-Legal Executions, in the Introduction of its Model Protocol, refers frequently to this problem in terms of legislation, investigation, and other themes, signaling the importance of the independence of forensic experts: “Executions that are suspected to be extralegal, arbitrary or summary may be investigated with respect to local or national laws, in effect or culminating in judicial proceedings. Nevertheless, in some cases, the proceedings of an investigation may be inadequate owing to the lack of resources and knowledge or to the fact that only a partial investigation has been carried out by the responsible party. In the latter case, it is less likely that legal proceedings will be successful.”ⁱⁱⁱⁱ In the area of forensics,

the UN Manual recommends that forensic experts be "...objective, experienced, well-equipped and qualified, and independent from all political organizations or entities that may be implicated."^{iv}

The delegation believed that part of the solution to the problem, particularly in the long term, was not to seek direct assistance in the exhumations from regional or international teams, but rather to look for a consensual solution that includes the incorporation of currently available human resources in Peru in this area. This decision was taken because Peru currently finds itself in an exceptional situation with regard to the work of archaeologists and anthropologists, especially in relation to other countries that must confront this type of massive forensic work, including the exhumation of common graves and the analysis of remains. In the first place, Peru has a long trajectory in the development of biological anthropology and traditional archaeology due to the country's enormous archeological richness. Second, while it is true that there is not a long trajectory in the area of forensic anthropology, since the beginning of 2001 Peru has had a national anthropology team, the Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team (EPAF). The individual members of this team have wide experience in traditional biological anthropology and archaeology as well as its application to human rights work and investigations, especially in the Balkans. Third, based on the experiences of other countries affected by massive human rights violations, we realize that this work will continue for decades. Foreign teams can only dedicate limited amounts of time each year to work in a given country such as Peru because of the ongoing projects they are involved with in their own and other countries, and because of the enormous cost associated with bringing a forensic team to another country. Finally, we consider that professionals sharing the same language and cultural roots, or at least ones that are close, in principle have better

possibilities for comprehending local realities and better chances of understanding local institutions, and especially the families and communities of the victims. These last are particularly important factors in forensic work carried out in the area of human rights.

The delegation presented a document to the *Plataforma* outlining a number of recommendations that members should adhere to along general lines. It was initially requested that members of the forensic delegation work as expert witnesses in Peruvian forensic investigations and not simply as independent international monitors accompanying local experts, as the delegation and EPAF wished. As forensic work proceeds, the *Plataforma* stated,



Forensic experts from the Public Ministry and the CVR search for remains from Los Totos massacre under the direction of the Special Prosecutor on Forced Disappearances, Extrajudicial Executions and Exhumations of Clandestine Graves. The Ombudsman Office and human rights organizations were also present.

international delegation members will serve only as monitors during exhumations of mass graves.

In addition, there was consensus that at this historical moment in the functioning of the CVR, there was a particularly important opportunity to establish methodological and ethical bases for the forensic human rights work that will be occurring in the next number of years.

In addition, the CVR, the *Coordinadora*, and EPAF expressed interest in soliciting an outside opinion about the possibilities of applying genetic analysis in Peru in order to provide final identification of victims of human rights

violations. The delegation visited a number of sites where new equipment donated by Spain is in various stages of installation. Dr. Orrego held a number of interviews with geneticists working in Peruvian institutions and presented a report to the CVR on his conclusions.

MAIN CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE DELEGATION:

- the relevant bodies in Peru should recognize the fundamental importance of the unification of protocols of distinct areas of forensic work based on and adapted from international forensic protocols,



August 2002. Courtesy of John Wriley.

specifically the UN protocol contained in the Manual for the Prevention and Effective Investigations of Extralegal, Arbitrary or Summary Executions. The team of experts in the Public Ministry, as well as the experts working for or as part of the CVR, should hold meetings of technical experts to standardize protocols and procedures before beginning to work jointly.

- forensic investigations should yield one single report per case, co-written by forensic experts contracted by or part of the CVR and the forensic team of the Public Ministry. This refers to the reports produced at each stage of a forensic

investigation, including reports on the inspection and verification of burial sites, and the excavation and analysis of human remains and associated evidence. In cases where there are fundamental differences of opinion between experts pertaining to the interpretation and analysis of the evidence, the reports will include differing opinions.

- the forensic report should not be modified by individuals or institutions outside of the unified team of experts from the Public Ministry and from the CVR. Only the experts named in each case as expert witnesses have this authority.

- the relevant bodies should create a Forensic Advisory Committee, formed by national and international experts, who will work as advisors to the *Plataforma*. This committee will be composed of experts who are well known in the scientific community. The function of the committee will be to monitor protocols, procedures and technical decisions in forensic investigations.

• a group of international forensic monitors should also be created. This group will accompany the unified forensic team of *Plataforma* members during the processes of inspection, excavation, and laboratory work. The monitors will verify the observance of forensic protocols and procedures. They will endeavor to solve potential technical differences that may emerge during the forensic investigations. The monitors will submit a report to the forensic advisory committee after each monitoring effort. As procedures become increasingly standardized within the unified forensic team, the monitors will gradually make visits that are more sporadic and finally withdraw completely from the process.

- the monitors in this area should be independent forensic experts and members of the following regional Latin American teams that work in the area of investigation of human rights violations, including groups such as *Fundación de Antropología*

Forense de Guatemala (FAFG), *Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense* (EAAF), and investigators such as Isabel Reveco, forensic anthropologist from Chile.

More specifically, the international delegation requested the presence on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission forensic anthropology team of four members of EPAF. The CVR initially accepted three EPAF members as part of their team, but as CVR staff members and not as members of an independent team, as EPAF wished.

The delegation also believes it of fundamental importance that once the CVR mandate is over, work in the human rights area continue to be conducted with independent experts as well as forensic experts from the Legal-Medical Institute, as required by law.

The delegation also elaborated the following points regarding **forensic work and its relation to communities and families of the victims**:

The delegation firmly believes that forensic work in human rights cases should aim to:

- restore the dignity of the victims: rescuing their remains from clandestine cemeteries and delivering them to their families so that they may be given dignified burials in accordance with customs and traditions, thereby contributing to ending the cycle of suffering for relatives. Moreover, through this process the victim's death may be acknowledged publicly and legally acknowledged.
- facilitate psychological support for the relatives and members of the communities where the forensic investigation takes place, since it contributes to the possibility of reconstructing history at the personal, collective, and community levels, as well as opening spaces for participating in the reconstruction of community life.
- provide informative workshops directed to families and communities where forensic work will be conducted. Before beginning exhumations, we recommend that forensic experts conduct a workshop

in which members of the affected community are given an explanation of the work to be done. After exhumations, we recommend additional workshops describing the investigation's chief results.

The above-mentioned points and others were presented in a document accepted in general terms by the *Plataforma* and by EPAF members. EPAF released four of its members to work as independent experts for the CVR.

The delegation, together with forensic representatives from the Public Ministry and independent experts designated by the Truth Commission, spent three additional days in Peru to work on standardizing protocols. Among these independent experts were members of EPAF, although, at the request of the Commission, they were not representing EPAF at these meetings. During three intense days, the working group discussed and standardized the protocols previously designed mostly by EPAF and the Public Ministry together with protocols and commentaries contributed by the international delegation.

Second Trip

From August 21 to September 10, 2002, a forensic delegation composed of Luis Fondebrider of EAAF, Isabel Reveco, of Chile, and Mercedes Salado of the FAFG visited Peru with the objective of continuing to offer scientific assistance in ongoing human rights investigations.

This second visit of a delegation of regional forensic experts followed through on the agreements arrived at during the first mission in July, during which the *Plataforma* requested that foreign specialists return to Peru both to participate in the Los Totos case and to follow up on the agreements reached a month earlier.

As explained above, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and other sectors of the *Plataforma* considered it of vital importance that the foreign experts act as expert witnesses and not only as monitors. As happened before, the international delegation preferred to maintain a monitoring role. In response to the reiteration of this request on the part



Officials from Ayacucho and relatives of the victims listen to speakers at the memorial service for victims of the Los Totos massacre. August 2002. Courtesy of John Wriley.

of the aforementioned sectors, the delegation agreed to take part in the Los Totos case as expert witnesses. Seven members of the CVR team, including some former EPAF members, and four from the Public Ministry rounded out the team. Dr. Villavizencio, of the Prosecutor's Office Specializing in Forced Disappearances, Extrajudicial Executions, and Exhumations of Clandestine Graves, presided over the work, together with auxiliary prosecutor Dr. Barreda. Members of the CVR, the *Coordinadora*, and the Ombudsman office were also present. Psychologists from the CVR accompanied families of victims to the site where the forensic work took place. Members of the police force were also present.

This mission was possible through the financial support of the Open Society, USA and the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The Totos Case

In May 1983, a group of soldiers at the Los Totos military base in the province of Cangallo, Ayacucho, detained fifteen residents in Quispillaqta, Chuschi. After they were detained

for various days in the Chuschi police station, the detainees were removed by helicopter to the Totos base. Later, they were driven to Sancaypata, where they were reportedly executed and buried in two common graves that they had previously been forced to dig.

In April 1983, in a similar raid, another four residents were detained, held in captivity at the same military base and later taken to a place named Ccarpaccasa, located outside of Totos. The four were reportedly executed and buried in graves that had

previously been dug by the soldiers. In both cases, the captain nicknamed 'Chacal' from the Totos military base was allegedly responsible for these actions.

Several days later, family members found the graves and exhumed them, identified the bodies and later returned to rebury them. One year later, one family member returned, exhumed the body of his loved one, and brought it to the local cemetery. He also removed a cranium and buried it in another grave in the same cemetery.

Activities in which the delegation participated

Participation in the preparation of the case in Lima, including meetings with the unified forensic team of the *Plataforma*.

Work on the forensic investigation, exhumation and laboratory work in Totos and Ayacucho, at the burial site and morgue, respectively.

Preliminary evaluation of the completed work and recommendations to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.



Officials from Ayacucho and relatives of the victims listen to speakers at the memorial service for victims of the Los Totos massacre. August 2002. Courtesy of John Wriley.

In five work sessions carried out in Lima, the final agreements and logistical procedures were defined, and technical planning and fieldwork operations were agreed upon. International delegation members acted as mediators at the meetings for the attainment of the formal agreements.

The results of the forensic investigation constitute a part of the ongoing legal case that has been brought by the Truth Commission and as a result, cannot be released here.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Upon completing laboratory work, the three delegation members met in Ayacucho with *Plataforma* affiliates in order to evaluate the work performed on the case and elaborate a series of recommendations for future work, which follow here:

Future cases that are selected for forensic investigation should take into account the results of preliminary archaeological inspection, since the Totos graves showed signs of having been tampered with. Tampering can make finding reported bodies in a specific case less likely and can complicate the identification process of the ones that are recovered.

When forensic experts visually inspect the sites at the first stage of the fieldwork, we suggest that groups of family members and eyewitnesses of the burial be included. In this way, consensus can be reached about the location of the burial sites before exhumations take place.

A central goal of many Truth Commissions has been to prove in very short periods of time patterns of repression through representative high-impact and geographically

representative cases that involve the main perpetrators in a given conflict. The *Plataforma* should consider these criteria in choosing future cases, balancing the humanitarian need of identifying the bodies with the judiciary aim of considering cases where the chain of command is clearly proven.

The *Plataforma* should work to improve the pre-mortem interview process, and as we have noted, should address problems in interpreting answers and comments of interviewees. It is necessary to clarify functions, that is, to explicitly name the people who conduct the interviews with families and provide further training for them for this work.

For future exhumations, it is important to try to rely on legal or official documents — birth certificates, identity cards, etc. — of the alleged victims, before morgue work takes place.

Coordination between members of the *Plataforma* should be improved in a manner that allows for a more fluid circulation of data and facilitates logistics, without duplication of roles.

The *Plataforma* should implement the appointment and training of staff skilled in obtaining blood and bone samples for DNA analysis.

To facilitate decreasing participation of international monitors, a plan was elaborated for the delegation of tasks among local professionals.

Continue to incorporate members of EPAF into the CVR forensic team (even though they will be incorporated as independent experts and not EPAF members), recognizing their training and experience in the field of forensic anthropology, and the real and central contributions that they will make to the currently unfolding process.

In response to the request by members of the Public Ministry, we recommend a training workshop for them and their personnel prior to the next exhumation.

Third Trip

At the request of the *Plataforma*, between October 27-November 20, 2002 a forensic delegation including Luis Fondebrider of EAAF and Mercedes Salado of FAFG returned to Peru with the objective of continuing to provide scientific assistance in another case involving human rights violations, Lucanamarca.

During the field investigation phase of this case, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was called upon to respond to a case in Cruz Pata, in the municipality of Huancasancos. The Commission simultaneously carried out legal work and obtained necessary papers for both cases.

Background for the Lucanamarca and Cruz Pata (Huancasancos) Cases

In the first four months of 1983, a series of Shining Path attacks and counter-insurgency operations by the Peruvian security forces were carried out. Local authorities and members of the community were systematically sought and killed for allegedly collaborating with the security forces, most of them after capture and mock trials by Shining Path armed units. On April 3, 1983, Shining Path carried out an attack on the

community of Santiago de Lucanamarca and surrounding areas in the department of Ayacucho. According to the investigation carried out by the local non-governmental organization Human Rights Commission (COMISEDH), Shining Path columns advanced through the towns and environs of Muylacruz, Yanacollpa, Llacchua, Ataccara, Asuncion de Erpa, San José de Julo, Santa Rosa de Qocha and Lucanamarca, executing sixty-nine men, women and children with axes, machetes, rifles and shotguns. This act, for which Shining Path leader Abimael Guzmán claimed responsibility, is the biggest massacre committed by the organization during the internal conflict in Peru.^v

Subsequently, surviving family members buried their loved ones in the cemeteries of some of the settlements, while others were buried in the peaks of Puna. Some of the bodies were subsequently moved to the tombs where they were still located when this investigation took place. During preliminary inspection, all of the graves were found correctly marked and local residents cooperated with and took a strong interest in the investigations.

The second case, according to information provided by COMISEDH, occurred in 1984, during which period an army base was established in the primary school in Cruz Pata, in Huancasancos. On July 16, 1984, a resident was detained and transported to the base. Following ten days of detention, his family members heard nothing from or about him until August 2002, when a local farmer came upon human bones while removing soil from the site formerly occupied by the base. A shawl with the initials 'MSA' was found with the remains, which made the farmer suspect that they belonged to the victim. For this reason, family members requested that the remains be exhumed.

Activities carried out by monitors

The work carried out in Lima before the fieldwork investigation phase centered on coordinating meetings with the Forensic Investigation Team of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Dr. Villavicencio, of the Prosecutor's Office specializing in Forced Disappearances, Extrajudicial Executions, and Exhumations of Clandestine

Graves, resigned from his position and no one was appointed in his stead, complicating legal aspects of the case. Dr. Barreda, provisional prosecutor of the second criminal court of the province of Huamanga, was appointed as coordinator of the activities Dr. Villavicencio had previously been responsible for while the forensic work was carried out. Prosecutor Sanchez of Huancasancos was in charge of the investigation at Cruz Pata.

Ten specialists from the forensic unit of the CVR, four specialists from the Public Ministry and three international monitors participated in the forensic work of these two cases. Members of the *Coordinadora*, the Ombudsman Office, the CVR, and a group of psychologists from the CVR were also present.

Because both of these cases are still under investigation, no further information can currently be provided.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

After the Lucanamarca and Cruz Pata cases, the CVR decided not to carry out further exhumations. However, in order to construct a record of the graves of victims of human rights violations that is as complete as possible, the CVR continues to make site inspections of reported burial sites around the country.

At the beginning of 2003, the Public Ministry started to perform exhumations outside of the *Plataforma* agreements; but severe public criticism, both from a scientific and procedural standpoint, eventually led to the cessation of this practice. The Medical Legal Institute that works under the Public Ministry has a new director who is concerned with the formation of a specialized, well-trained forensic unit.

The CVR final report was released at the end of August 2003. It is unclear yet how the forensic work regarding human rights violations will continue, and what the roles of the Public Ministry and civil society organizations will be if and when this work continues.

At the time we went to press, a new organization, Centro Andino de Investigaciones Antropológico Forenses (CENIA) had been formed in Peru. This non-governmental and non-profit organization was formed by previous members of EPAF and others.

With three consecutive missions to Peru in mind, and with special consideration of the last two, the international monitors recommend the following:

A clear and unequivocal position by the Public Ministry regarding its participation and active collaboration with the *Plataforma* in future cases.

The naming of a new Prosecutor with experience and support specializing in Forced Disappearances, Extrajudicial Executions, and Exhumations of Clandestine Graves who can devote attention exclusively to the themes and interacting coordination of the *Plataforma*, as well as with regional prosecutors of whom investigations are requested. A representative of the Prosecutor's office empowered to make decisions should be assigned to attend *Plataforma* meetings.

The validation and incorporation of the forensic protocols for field and laboratory work, now successfully used in Los Totos and Lucanamarca, so that from now on they are the standard procedures used in the work of specialists in this area.

That the methodology used in analyzing remains as well as the composition of teams of specialists, be subject to incorporation of international standards expressed in the above-mentioned protocols and already agreed upon by specialists from different Peruvian institutions involved in this work.

That the *Plataforma* initiate a training program in forensic archaeology and forensic anthropology, with special emphasis on the analysis of human remains.

To maintain in future exhumations, whenever possible, the same forensic teams that worked in previous cases, so that their experience may be taken into account.



Procession of coffins of victims of the Los Totos massacre passing a square in Ayacucho, Peru. August 2002.
Courtesy of John Wriley.

That the recommendations made by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in its final report make special mention of the need to establish a national plan for exhumations, with all corresponding guarantees, including an independent, non-governmental forensic team that works with state and judiciary institutions and enjoys explicit support from the Peruvian state. The idea of a National Exhumation Plan was strongly advocated by the EPAF and was endorsed by the international delegation.

FOOTNOTES

- i. Human Rights Ombudsman Office, "La Desaparición de Personas en el Perú (1980-1996), Lima, Perú, 2000.
- ii. Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), "Human Rights and Democracy Trends in Peru." Paper presented to the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, US House of Representatives, June 30, 1999, p.1
- iii. United Nations Manual for the Prevention and Effective Investigation of Summary or Arbitrary Extra-Legal Executions, Model Protocol, Introduction, New York, 1991
- iv. Ibid, Autopsy Model Protocol, Introduction.
- v. AI: Peru: Human Rights in a Time of Impunity, Feb 1996. AI Index:AMR 46/01/96