

ZIMBABWE

Three EAAF members participated in two missions—in September and November 2000—to Zimbabwe as part of a collaborative arrangement between EAAF and the AMANI TRUST, a local human rights organization. In September, while seeking permission for exhumations in November, an alternative plan and a basis for future work were formulated in case permission was not forthcoming. During the second mission, EAAF continued to train a local team in forensic techniques, analyzed bone remains and participated in reburials and memorial services related to previous forensic missions. EAAF missions to Zimbabwe were funded by AMANI Trust, Zimbabwe; The Open Society Institute, USA; and, Misereor, Germany.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

War for Independence and Post-Colonial Period

Between 1970 and 1987 thousands of Zimbabweans died in political violence, first during the war against the white settler Rhodesian government (1970-1980), and then during a period of internal conflict (1981-87) following liberation. The suffering inflicted upon black Africans during the colonial period and the liberation war is well-recognized and documented, and Zimbabwe's government has made major efforts to assist the survivors. By contrast, most of the massive human rights violations that occurred after 1980 were not investigated or even officially recognized by the Zimbabwean government. Nationally and internationally, their existence remained virtually unknown, except to those who experienced them, until 1997 when the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) and the Legal Resources Foundation (LRF) in Zimbabwe published a detailed report on human rights abuses in Matabeleland and Midlands during the 1980s.¹

The independence war (1970-1980) against the white settler Rhodesian government was waged by two separate

forces. The larger of these was the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) and its armed wing, the Zimbabwean African National Liberation Army (ZANLA). The other was the Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU) and its armed wing, the Zimbabwean People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA). While the two forces cooperated in the struggle against the white settler government, there was also considerable animosity between them. This was due in part to the fact that the ZANU emerged from a split that occurred within ZAPU during the 1960s. It was also partially a consequence of differences in training and outlook: ZANLA had been trained by the Chinese and ZIPRA by the Russians, and the two armies employed somewhat different strategies and tactics. Finally, ZANU-ZANLA was associated with Zimbabwe's Shona-speaking majority and ZAPU-ZIPRA with the Ndebele-speaking minority, although each force included large numbers of members from both ethnic groups. In some cases, the tensions arising from these differences led to armed clashes between the two armies.



Sitezi, November 18, 2000. Members of the community, AMANI trust and EAAF members during a memorial ceremony for the victims of "Sitezi" detention center in the North Gwabdadistrict. photo by A.Ginarte/EAAF.

By April 1980 the liberation armies had decisively defeated the white settler government. In the subsequent national elections, the ZANU gained a large parliamentary majority in a national vote that fell predominantly along ethnic lines. ZANU and ZAPU entered into a coalition government, and efforts were made to join their armed forces into a single army. Relations between the two groups rapidly deteriorated, however, and the political situation in the country became increasingly tense.

In 1982 a number of so-called "dissidents" began staging attacks and robberies in various areas in the country. According to the CCJP report, these "dissidents" were not a unified group: some were former-ZIPRA combatants who felt they were not well treated within the new, integrated army; others had been secretly trained by South African agents to destabilize the new independent government; still others may have been "common" criminals. There is no conclusive evidence suggesting that the various dissident groups were part of a large-scale, organized plot to overthrow the Zimbabwean government. Nor were the "dissi-

dents" numerous; according to the CCJP-LRF report, probably no more than 400 of them were active at any one time.

The ZANU-dominated Zimbabwean government, however, responded as though the dissidents were mounting a major insurrection. It directed state security forces to take counter-insurgency measures, and to repress the Ndebele-speaking civilian population in the Matabeleland and Midlands regions of the country, where the dissidents were most active. The government justified the repression of civilians on the grounds that Ndebele-speaking civilians supported the dissidents, although there was very little substantial evidence to uphold this claim.

Various dissident groups allegedly committed a number of serious human rights violations, including rapes and murders of civilians. According to CCJP-LRF report, however, the human rights violations committed by the state security forces vastly exceeded those committed by the "dissidents." Security forces, particularly the notorious 5th Brigade, reportedly carried out arbitrary executions, forced disappearances, beatings, rapes, and torture of thousands of





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... in Ndebele culture, the unburied dead return as “a restless and vengeful presence, innocent yet wronged, aggrieved and dangerous to the living... People in mass graves are also culturally regarded as having aggrieved spirits, or as being in an unhappy state of “limbo.” It takes the tears of the living shed properly through a decent period of mourning, to release the soul and allow it to be at rest.”

(“Breaking the Silence”, CCJP-LRF Report)



(left-right) Magumbo, Matabeland South-July 1999. One member of AMANI Trust explains the process to relatives of the victims. During the excavation, it was determined that the site was a common grave of two individuals; both were handcuffed. photo by Ginarte & Fondebrider/EAAF

civilians. Zimbabwean and international human rights organizations estimate that between 3,000 and 5,000 persons were killed or “disappeared” by state security forces during this period. Zimbabwean human rights organizations have compiled a database of names of almost 1800 victims known to have been killed or disappeared during the conflict in the 1980s, and another, larger database of unidentified victims. They have also identified sites of a number of mass graves that allegedly contain the remains of victims of human rights violations.

The period of massive violence finally ended in 1987 with a general amnesty and the signing of a “unity accord” between ZANU and ZAPU leaders. The Zimbabwean government, however, has been slow to officially recognize the crimes committed by state security forces during this period. This is at least partially due to the impunity made possible through the Lancaster House Agreement, which officially ended the war with Rhodesia and emphasized the need for reconciliation. As a result, the Zimbabwean government granted amnesty for all acts perpetrated during the Independence war; a move seen as essential to ensure the support of the economically powerful white community. President Mugabe has not only upheld this agreement, but many feel that he has gone far beyond his Lancaster House obligations through his unwillingness to investigate past human rights violations, and by keeping human rights violators in crucial positions of power.²

Among the many consequences of the violence of the 1980s, one of the most significant is the fact that survivors of human rights violations could not find or properly bury and mourn the dead. In some cases this happened because the victims were buried in unofficial mass graves. In other cases the victims were “disappeared,” and the survivors never learned their fates, or state security forces killed victims in the presence of their relatives or neighbors and then refused to allow the survivors to bury or even mourn the dead. The 1997 CCJP-LRF report states:

It was a characteristic of 5th Brigade to insist that there should be no mourning for the dead. In some cases, the family of dead victims were themselves shot because they wept. In other cases, burial of any kind was forbidden: families had to watch the bodies of their loved ones rotting in the sun and being scavenged...

In some cases, survivors have experienced serious practical difficulties because they do not know the fate of their loved ones, or cannot prove to government authorities that their relatives are dead, leading to the loss of inheritance rights or other benefits.

Moreover, the survivors have experienced tremendous psychological suffering because they have not been able to bury and mourn their dead according to local customs. The CCJP-LRF report asserts:

The dead play a significant role in the well-being of the living in Ndebele culture, and the unburied dead return as “a restless and vengeful presence, innocent yet wronged, aggrieved and dangerous to the living”.

Not only those whose final fate and burial place is unknown are considered “missing.” People in mass graves are also culturally regarded as having aggrieved spirits, or as being in an unhappy state of “limbo.” It takes the tears of the living, shed properly through a decent period of mourning, to release the soul and allow it to be at rest.

RECENT UPDATE

Since 1995, violence by self-styled war veterans under the leadership of Chenjerai Hunzvi, a Polish-trained doctor who died on June 4th, 2001, has been a major problem in Zimbabwe. The veterans, dismayed that the better life they fought for in the 1970's has not come to pass, have conducted mass occupations and seizures of approximately 1800 white-owned farms, murdered with impunity, and have also been behind attacks on supporters of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the opposition political party.

The issue of land reform has been pivotal in the formation of the contemporary Zimbabwean political landscape. As a problem inherited from colonialist regimes, when the majority of land belonged to the minority of white settlers, it was an issue that was central to the war for Independence. Although some land belonging to white commercial farmers has been redistributed under a government program, charges of corruption and irregularities, alleging that the beneficiaries were mostly associated with the ruling party rather than with the landless poor, are legion.³

Some observers suggest that although land reform is seen as a legitimate claim from the black population, since inde-



Wabayi, November 2000. Shari Eppel from AMANI Trust and community members at the site where remains were deposited: a small cave on a high-altitude granite hill. photo by Ginarte & Fondebrider/EAAF.

pendence, Mugabe seems to have manipulated the issue as a tool for crushing political opponents or to distract attention from other problems in his government.⁴ They propose that the recent war veterans movement has its root in the fact that for the first time, Zimbabwe has a strong and organized political opposition.⁵ Mugabe tries to discredit the MDC, despite its roots in the black unions, as a white movement or one that is directed by white settlers.

As the economic crisis deepens, respect for human rights and freedom of expression and association have deteriorated. In 1998, food riots in which several people were tortured and killed and many others were shot and tortured were brought about by increasingly exacerbated social tensions and the widening of the huge gap between rich and poor. Torture of criminal suspects has become widespread and two journalists, the editor and a senior reporter with *The Standard*, were arrested in 1999 and charged with “publishing a false story capable of causing alarm and despondency,” following an article about an alleged military coup.⁶ Both were tortured while detained by the mili-

tary. The cases that they filed remain pending. Attacks on the press continued in the following months, including the bombing of the editorial offices of the opposition newspaper *The Daily News* on April 26, 2000, and their printing press on January 28, 2001, in circumstances that are believed to be politically motivated.

On April 1, 2000, a peaceful march in Harare was broken up by some 200 alleged war veterans and supporters of ZANU-PF who attacked the marchers with sticks, stones and other weapons. According to Amnesty International, police officers ostensibly present to maintain order did not step in to prevent attacks or to arrest attackers. Some 15 marchers were reported injured, including some who needed medical treatment. Following this incident, reports of politically motivated violence were received almost every day, and ZANU-PF supporters broke up opposition party meetings.⁷

In an April 18, 2000 letter to President Mugabe on the twentieth anniversary of Zimbabwe’s independence, Amnesty International urged him to ensure the protection of human rights. The Zimbabwe government’s failure to



Zimbabwe, 2000. Trainees assembled by AMANI Trust for forensic training by EAAF extracting blood sample for identification purposes.

photo by Ginarte & Fondebrider/EAAF



Zimbabwe, 2000. EAAF anthropologist, Anahi Ginarte during a laboratory training session. photo by Fondebrider/EAAF.

condemn clearly and publicly acts of violence allegedly committed by government supporters has a drastic impact on Zimbabweans' fundamental rights to freedom of association and assembly. Police fail to enforce court rulings and to fulfill their duties in protecting all Zimbabweans regardless of race and political affiliation.

More than 30 people were killed during the campaigns leading up to the parliamentary elections in June and run-offs to two parliamentary by-elections, and the state intelligence police (CIO) were allegedly involved in several of the killings.⁸ There were reports of torture centers opening in various parts of the country, where war veterans were torturing actual or suspected supporters of the opposition with impunity. One such center was located in Hunzvi's⁹ medical offices. The vast majority of these centers appear to have closed after the elections. The Army apparently intimidated residents of provinces where the MDC had political support, and approximately 10,000 people were internally displaced by violence and terror unleashed in rural areas. In May and June, the MDC party headquarters in Harare provided shelter for fleeing supporters.¹⁰

In June 2000, a substantial challenge was posed to President Mugabe's Parliament. For the first time in Zimbabwe's 20-year history, opposition candidates contested all 120 parliamentary seats that were up for election and dozens of younger politicians defected from Mugabe's party to run as independent candidates—in a protest against corruption, violence and increasing poverty and shortages. The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), gained one-third of the seats, enough to keep the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) from unilaterally changing the constitution, as it had been doing for more than a decade.¹¹

According to Amnesty International, President Mugabe declared an amnesty on October 6th for politically motivated crimes committed between January 1 and July 31, during political campaigns and immediately after the elections. Although murder, rape, and possession of arms were not covered by the amnesty, other crimes such as torture and abductions were encompassed by it.¹² On November 24, 2000, judges received death threats from war veterans who took over the Supreme Court, and journalists and NGO's were also threatened. As Anna Husarska commented in the Washington Post,

“When the judiciary tries to oppose the most outrageous actions by authorities, be it violating the law on airwaves, rigging elections or unlawfully occupying farms, the government ignores the Supreme Court rulings. It has even forced the chief justice to resign and packed the Supreme Court with three new judges.”¹³

On August 2, 2001, The Zimbabwe Democracy Act was passed by the U.S. Senate and will now be ruled on by the House of Representatives. This act imposes travel and economic sanctions “against those responsible for the deliberate breakdown of the rule of law, politically motivated violence and intimidation in Zimbabwe....and their associates and family.”

THE 2000 MISSIONS

EAAF conducted two missions to Zimbabwe in 2000 in order to continue the collaboration with AMANI Trust initially established in 1999 when we conducted the first work related to forensic anthropology in the region of Matabeleland South. AMANI is a non-governmental organization providing physical and mental health services to victims of human rights abuses throughout the country. They have accumulated many requests for exhumations and other assistance through their work and through other groups. The main objectives of our collaboration with AMANI are to continue forensic work and to train members of a future AMANI forensic anthropology team.

The political situation in Zimbabwe made obtaining national authorization for exhumations extremely difficult. Therefore, in agreement with AMANI, a short mission was conducted by team member Mercedes Doretti from September 3 through 15 in order to obtain government authorization for the exhumations to be carried out in November and to discuss alternatives with AMANI and OXFAM donors in case permission was not granted. The basis of a three-year plan for collaboration and training of a local forensic team, later concretized in November, was developed. Training a Zimbabwean team is particularly important because currently there is no expert exhumation team in Africa yet there are thousands of victims of human rights violations buried in graves that should be exhumed. In the neighboring countries of Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, there are

hundreds of mass graves. A Zimbabwean team will be an invaluable resource to the region as well as a significant development in the field of human rights. The training of the local team will take place not only in Zimbabwe, but will also include the participation of some trainees in EAAF missions conducted in other countries. In addition, EAAF intends to facilitate access to academic programs in forensic anthropology for some of the AMANI trainees. Other activities to be developed during the three-year program include collecting and systematizing pre-mortem and burial information about the victims and their possible killing and burial places in databases.

Finally, Doretta was present for a two-day seminar organized by AMANI on "Reparation: Every Torture Survivor's Right," and visited the burial sites to be exhumed in November.

The second mission took place from November 2 through 23rd and was conducted by EAAF members Anahi Ginarte and Luis Fondebriber. Because official authorization to conduct the exhumations was not given, Fondebriber and Ginarte continued training the local team, analyzed three sets of bone remains previously collected by the police in cases where only surface collection was required, and participated in reburial/funeral and memorial services from cases exhumed by EAAF during the 1999 mission.

DESCRIPTION OF THE NOVEMBER 2000 MISSION

Training Course in Techniques of Forensic Anthropology

From November 7-17, 2000 EAAF conducted theoretical and practical classes in forensic anthropology and archaeology, as well as in the preliminary investigation of individual cases, furthering the goal of creating a local group of specialists. Seven people participated in the courses; some had begun the training in 1999 and others started in 2000.

During this training, themes introduced in 1999 were approached in more depth and specific topics of preliminary research, forensic archeology, physical anthropology, osteology and laboratory analysis were covered during theoretical classes. Practical classes were held in the field whenever possible. With regard to preliminary investigation, particular topics covered included techniques on interviewing and filling out pre-mortem questionnaires -

containing physical information about the victims - as well as those forms specifically related to the creation of a "blood bank." Sample drops of blood obtained in chemical filter paper from relatives of the victims will eventually be used to extract DNA data for identification purposes. In the archeological part of the training, classes covered different sites and techniques to recover evidence using slides and samples from other countries. In addition, the trainees learned how to use a GPS (Global Positioning System - an instrument that provides precise latitude and longitude of a place by tracking a signal transmitted by satellite), how to fill in questionnaires concerning burial sites, and how to read topographic maps incorporating different scales.

The use of these forms and techniques were put into practice by students in the field. On November 15th and 17th, class participants and members of the EAAF traveled to Matabeleland South, to the communities of Mapane and Simbumbumbu, in order to conduct interviews with relatives of the disappeared, collect pre-mortem and historical information, and locate the position of mass graves using the GPS. The trainees also took DNA samples for the future "Blood Sample Bank of the Relatives of the Victims of Matabeleland." The samples will be used to compare the DNA in them with that extracted from the skeletal remains that are being exhumed. The methodology and storage needs to create a blood bank are straightforward. Capillary blood is drawn with an automatic lancet via a puncture in a fingertip. A few drops are applied to a sterile filter paper, which is kept in a special plastic envelope. Three samples are taken from each individual. The person who takes the blood must use sterile latex medical gloves to avoid contaminating the sample with DNA from her own epidermis. The relatives are also asked to sign an agreement stating their willingness to donate blood samples to this bank for the exclusive purpose of identifying the remains of their relative(s).

In the laboratory, the remains recovered from three sites (see below), were used to teach the trainees human osteology, how to establish age, ancestry, height, laterality, signs of pregnancy, pre-existing traumas and so forth from skeletal remains. Also, trainees were taught to separate human from animal bones and how to establish the minimum number of individuals present in a sample. Collaboration with other



Bhalagwe, November 11, 2000. Reburial ceremony for the possible victims of the Bhalagwe detention Camp, photo by Fondebrider & Ginarte/EAAF.

disciplines, how to set up a minimal laboratory, the writing of a report, and different international analytical protocols such as the ones used in Kosovo by the forensic team of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) were also analyzed in the training. Slides were used to illustrate many of these topics.

Analysis of Skeletal Remains from Three Cases

Although lack of government authorization made it impossible to conduct exhumations, EAAF was able to analyze skeletal remains from three different cases. Bones from two of the cases, “Bhalagwe” and “Kezi”, were analyzed in Bulawayo. Analysis of bones from the third case, “Wabayi,” required a trip to the site where the remains were deposited: a small cave on a high-altitude kopje,¹⁴ or small granite hill, from which we extracted the bones and later analyzed them.

“Bhalagwe”

The first set of bones analyzed by EAAF was found near the town of Bhalagwe. During the 1980’s, the 5th Brigade operated a detention center on the outskirts of this town (see CCPJ-LRF report “Breaking the Silence”). The bones had been exposed during the 1999 rainy season. The police picked them up and sent them to the hospital in Maphisa, where they were left in the morgue. They remained there without anybody knowing exactly what to do with them. Among the hospital personnel, there was a strong feeling that they should be buried correctly, with a ceremony, and not in a pauper’s grave. But they lacked the money to organize a ceremony and, in addition, given the difficulties of the pre-electoral climate, they were reluctant to do so. One of the nurses, who had participated in trainings in mental health and working with torture victims offered by AMANI Trust, notified the organization of the situation. Members of AMANI spoke to the doctor in charge, who subsequently authorized members of EAAF to analyze the remains as part of the autopsy report that was required.

The set of bones was analyzed on November 7th in Bulawayo. The bones were stored in a green plastic bag inside a large cardboard box. The plastic bag was labeled “Bones of three U/K people”. Also inside the bag and among the bones, there was another black plastic label with white letters, that said “SUN YET SEN MAIL”, which is the name of the police station in Maphisa. The set of bones was mixed and included four animal bone pieces and 23 pieces of human bone.

From the human bones, we determined that the minimum number of individuals present (MNI) was four, calculated by the number of femurs. All the bone pieces belonged to adult individuals. On the basis of the maximum diameter of the femur head, it was determined that there were two men and two women; on the basis of the characteristics of the skull, EAAF determined that there were at least one female and one male; on the basis of the characteristics of the coxals, it was determined that there were at least two males. In sum, at least four individuals were represented in this set of skeletal remains of which at least two correspond to male individuals and possibly two others to women. At least two of the bone pieces had peri-mortem wounds in the long bones and skulls, and one had a post-mortem fracture, making it impossible to clearly see the peri-mortem fracture.

We were not able to positively identify the four individuals because there was no way to gain information about their families. During the Matabeleland events, many individuals who disappeared from the community of Balagwe and were subsequently transferred to Balagwe Camp were never seen again. In addition, people from throughout the region were often brought to Bhalagwe camp, another reason why it's almost impossible to hypothesize about the identities of the skeletons. Finally, we are not sure exactly where the remains appeared. Although positive identifications are not possible in this case, it is likely that these remains correspond to the victims of the events in the 1980s.

"Hlababomun, Kezi"

The second group of bone remains analyzed corresponds to a skeleton found by the police near the community of Hlababomun, Kezi. Like the skeletal remains from Bhalagwe, they were taken to the hospital in Maphisa and AMANI was advised of the situation. These bones were also analyzed on November 7th. We concluded that the skeleton belonged to a male, between 42 and 52 years old, between 1.75 and 1.81 m. in height and, according to anthropometric determinates, belonging to the Negroid racial group. There were no visible peri-mortem lesions on the bone remains, so it was not possible to determine cause or form of death. There was a considerable amount of clothing and personal belongings associated with the remains, suggesting that the man may have been moving or traveling from one location to another. No one is sure who he is. We are not sure if these remains are related to the political violence or not.

"Wabayi":

Soldiers from the 5th Brigade kidnaped Japhet Moyo from his house in 1984. Together with a neighbor and other people who had also been detained, he was taken by truck to Bhalagwe Camp. During the ride to the camp, the detainees were severely beaten. Japhet Moyo was beaten so brutally that the soldiers did not think he was capable of enduring the ride to the detention camp. Because they feared their commander's reaction if Moyo died, they decided to "get rid of the evidence" and kill Japhet. They took him to the top of a kopje (granite hill common to the area). The other prisoners heard gunfire, and then the soldiers returned without Japhet.

Japhet's neighbor survived his detention at the Bhalagwe Camp. Once free, he tried to find his friend's remains. The residents of the area pointed out a place where dogs had retrieved Japhet's ID card: a small cave on top of a kopje. His remains were inside the cave, unburied, and therefore dismembered by animals. The neighbor was also able to recognize fragments of the clothing Japhet was wearing at the time of his kidnapping. He then notified Japhet's relatives about the location of the remains. The relatives requested the assistance of AMANI Trust. Because of the location of the body, and despite the prohibition on exhumations on the part of the government, it was decided that it was necessary to analyze the case before animals continued to destroy the remains.

On November 14th, EAAF traveled to the location. Three granite rocks formed the cave. It was 1.5 m. deep and no more than 50 cm high. It was not possible to lay down a grid because there was no ground space. There was not enough time to build another type of measurement structure. The bone remains were found disarticulated at the end of the cave. EAAF was forced to extract them with the help of a stick, because they were impossible to reach with a scoop. The small amount of sediment extracted with the bone fragments — a mixture of leaves and dirt — was sifted.

The skeleton was laid out on a cloth outside of the cave, and analyzed on the spot. It was concluded that it belonged to a male, between the ages of 30 and 40. According to anthropometric measurements, it belonged to the Negroid racial group. It was not possible to calculate height, due to the post-mortem damage to the long bones.

The majority of the bones were marked by animal bites. Many of the bones were absent post-mortem, and were most probably carried away by animals. The skeleton had several important peri-mortem fractures on the right side of the jaw, on the middle third of the diaphysis of the left humerus and on the body of the left scapula. All these fractures are consistent with those produced by gunshots.

After analyzing the bones, they were placed once again in the cave. The relatives later informed the police about the discovery of the bones. They were authorized to extract them and to bury them. The police never went to the site and the only requirement made to the family was that they inform the chief of the community what had happened. Japhet's remains were buried on Wednesday December 6th, 2000, in a ceremony in which the entire community participated.

PARTICIPATION BY EAAF MEMBERS IN CEREMONIES

During the November mission in Zimbabwe, members of EAAF participated in three ceremonies conducted by individual communities and AMANI TRUST.

"Balagwe Camp"

Although it was not possible to identify any of the four individuals represented in the first set of bones analyzed on November 7th, the community of Bhalagwe expressed the need to conduct a funeral, due to the large number of persons disappeared from the community. The ceremony was held on Friday, November 11. Many members of the community participated, in addition to local authorities, the Maphisa police, members of AMANI and members of the EAAF. The remains were all buried in the same coffin, near another grave, in an area close to where the Bhalagwe detention camp had operated.

Memorial Ceremony for the Victims of "Sitezi"

On Saturday, November 18th, a memorial ceremony was held for the victims of "Sitezi", a detention center in the North Gwanda district where the 5th Brigade Unit was based during the curfew of 1984, at the request of some relatives that were unable to attend the first ceremony in 1999. Participants included community members, members of AMANI Trust, and members of EAAF. During the ceremony, relatives had the opportunity to express their feelings and opinions, as did the chief of the community and the members of AMANI Trust.

Memorial Ceremony for Edwell Ndlovu

At the request of the relatives of Edwell Ndlovu, an individual whose remains were exhumed and identified by EAAF and AMANI trainees in 1999, a memorial ceremony was held on Tuesday, November 21st. Participants included his relatives, community members, representatives from AMANI Trust, and members of EAAF.

Ndlovu was 22 when the 5th Brigade assassinated him in 1984. His body was left in an existing hole made by an ant-bear. Villagers were warned to leave his body in the hole, even as the village dogs scavenged his remains. This grave became a source of great concern not only to Edwell's fam-

ily but also to the entire village. They believed that his spirit could not rest until it was properly buried. The memorial and reburial of the remains was a tremendous relief to all concerned, especially to Ndlovu's son, Darlington, who said he has been much more at peace since it occurred. He is currently preparing to study at the university level.

Assessment of the 2000 Missions

The AMANI Trust invited EAAF to return to Zimbabwe in 2001. Subsequently, EAAF conducted two missions there, continuing to train the forensic anthropology team. The trainees are very interested in further training, in starting to adjust questionnaires and forms to the local situation, and in computerizing the data collected during forensic work. One member of the Zimbabwe team will accompany us on a mission to El Salvador in October 2001. Other plans and activities started in 2001 include the development of a data bank for information about graves, and, within the limits set by the political situation, further exhumations of a number of graves from both the War for Independence and the period of repression that followed. In addition, we helped to organize an International Workshop in Bulawayo that concentrated on issues critical to the region at this juncture: truth commissions, forensic work and psychological counseling for survivors of torture. Further information on these missions will be available in the EAAF 2001 annual report.

FOOTNOTE

1. A few international organizations and media publications investigated these human rights abuses: a handful of journalists provided coverage of events as they occurred, Amnesty International documented rights violations, and the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights published a report in 1986 entitled "The Wages of War." However, none of these documentary efforts succeeded in focusing international attention on this issue.
2. Report on Zimbabwe, The Center for Reconciliation and Violence, UK, 1996
3. Amnesty International Report on Zimbabwe, 2001
4. Alec Russell, *Big Men, Little People*, Pan Books, London, 1999
5. Russell, 1999
6. Amnesty International, Report on Zimbabwe, 2001
7. Amnesty International, Letter to President Mugabe, April 18, 2000
8. Amnesty International, Report on Zimbabwe, 2001
9. Former head of the war veterans
10. Amnesty International, Report on Zimbabwe, 2001
11. New York Times, June 28, 2000
12. Amnesty International, Report on Zimbabwe, 2001
13. "Ground Zimbabwe's Jet-Setting Despots," by Anna Husarska, The Washington Post, August 21, 2001
14. The Zulu name for hill-like granite formations that are common to this zone.