



Mexico City, 18 September 2025

**Members of the Committee on Enforced Disappearances  
(CED)**

**REF.: Contributions regarding the  
procedure set forth in Article 34 of the  
Convention  
with respect to Mexico**

Dear Sirs and Madams,

The Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez Human Rights Centre (Centro Prodh), a Mexican non-profit civil association founded in 1988 with consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council, is writing to you in relation to the decision of the Committee on Enforced Disappearances (hereinafter "CED" or "Committee") to initiate the procedure provided for in Article 34 of the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (hereinafter "Convention") with respect to the situation of disappearances in Mexico.

In this regard, we would like to share with you information gathered from our experience in accompanying relatives of disappeared persons who are searching for their loved ones, including our work documenting cases of enforced disappearances, providing legal advice and representation before national and international bodies, and working in various educational settings with groups of relatives who are engaged in such search efforts.

**I. Introduction**

The CED stated that its decision to initiate the proceedings in question was based on information received through its various mechanisms, reports from the Mexican State itself, as well as its visit to the country in 2021 and its subsequent report; all of which, in its opinion, contain well-founded indications that enforced disappearances are committed in Mexico in a widespread or systematic manner.

In its request for information from Mexico under the procedure in question, the CED provided a detailed chronology of its cooperation with the State and its actions in the various procedures within its mandate. In response to the CED's decision, the Mexican government rejected the activation of Article 34, stating that it "does not consent to, permit or order the disappearance of persons as part of a State policy"<sup>2</sup>; and subsequently issued a statement insisting that there are no systematic and widespread disappearances by the State in the country, and that the State does not promote or tolerate enforced disappearance<sup>3</sup>.

Without prejudice to the Committee's analysis of the general or systematic nature of disappearances in Mexico in light of Article 34 of the Convention, and taking into consideration that it initiated the proceedings in question precisely because it considered that there were well-founded elements that would substantiate those elements, it is essential that its analysis, in addition to taking into account the complexity of disappearances in the country in a context of insecurity and violence in which criminal groups act with the acquiescence of the State at various levels of government and in a variety of ways, which occurs not only in a context of

<sup>1</sup> CED. 9 April 2025. *The UN Committee on Enforced Disappearances clarifies its procedure under Article 34 of the Convention.*

<sup>2</sup> Government of Mexico. *Fact Sheet 003. Committee on Enforced Disappearances.* 5 April 2025. Available at: <https://www.gob.mx/segob/prensa/tarjeta-informativa-394864?state=published>

<sup>3</sup> Government of Mexico. *Mexico rejects the claim that there are systematic and widespread enforced disappearances by the State in our country.* 24 June 2025. Available at: <https://www.gob.mx/sre/prensa/mexico-rechaza-que-en-nuestro-pais-haya-desapariciones-forzadas-sistematicas-y-generalizadas>

impunity, also review the steps forward in the proceedings, the latest changes in the current situation in Mexico regarding the lack of an effective state policy for the prevention and eradication of disappearances, including the search for and identification of missing persons, and the extraordinary mechanisms created and dismantled in recent years. We refer to both issues below.

## II. General considerations on disappearances in Mexico

Enforced disappearances continue to be committed by state actors in Mexico, as established in Article 24. In addition, the Mexican context presents a particular situation regarding state responsibility and the involvement of private actors in disappearances. Mexico has expressed to the CED its rejection of an "overreach" in the definition of acquiescence to disappearances committed by non-state agents, arguing that enforced disappearances imply the knowledge and will of the state, and that deprivation of liberty by private individuals constitutes a crime that it has a duty to investigate. This position ignores the fact that responsibility exists when private actors benefit from the inaction or permissiveness of state agents, which would even be proven in the existence of a pattern of action by said group or non-state agent even without the action of state entities, as the CED has confirmed in a Mexican case:

As the CED acknowledges, "acquiescence within the meaning of Article 2 exists when there is a persistent pattern of disappearances and the State has not taken the necessary measures to prevent new cases of disappearance and to investigate the perpetrators and bring them to justice." In such cases, it has established that it is incumbent upon the State to prove that there was no acquiescence on its part "and it must demonstrate that it has taken concrete measures and actions to prevent, investigate and punish the crime, and that such measures have been effective in practice."

The General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals and the National System for the Search for Persons (hereinafter "LGD")<sup>9</sup> of 2017 included the crime of disappearance committed by private individuals<sup>10</sup>, seeking to ensure that disappearances committed by private actors were also investigated and that appropriate search actions were carried out. Despite the importance of recognising the reality of the country through this regulatory framework, the classification of disappearances committed by private individuals may lead to investigations that address the different links and relationships between organised crime and the authorities being omitted.

The Declaration on Non-State Actors, issued by the CED in 2023, is essential for understanding the country's problems and defining the state's obligations in light of the definition of acquiescence and the various ways in which the state incurs responsibility within the meaning of Article 2 of the Convention. Acquiescence to disappearances committed by private individuals can be considered in the Mexican case even in a context in which, despite being aware of the widespread commission of disappearances in its territory, the State has not adopted public policies to eradicate and prevent them and find the victims. By failing to fulfil its duty to investigate and prevent disappearances in a context of high rates of disappearances, the State is in breach of an international obligation, thereby facilitating the commission of disappearances on its national territory. Within this framework, at the Prodh Centre, we analyse the broader situation of disappearances in the country.

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<sup>4</sup> Animal Político. 10 September 2025. UN demands Mexico locate José Juan and protect his family; he was beaten and disappeared by the military. Available at: <https://animalpolitico.com/sociedad/onu-mexico-localizar-jose-juan>

<sup>5</sup> Mexico's contribution to the draft Declaration on non-State actors and enforced disappearances. 2022.

<sup>6</sup> Report of the Committee on Enforced Disappearances on its visit to Mexico under Article 33 of the Convention, CED/C/MEX/VR/1, paras. 13 and 24.

<sup>7</sup> CED. Declaration on non-State actors in the context of the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance. CED/C/10, para. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., para. 7.

<sup>9</sup> General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals and the National System for the Search for Persons, published in the Official Gazette of the Federation on 17 November 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Articles 27 and 34 of the General Law.

<sup>11</sup> CED. *Op. Cit.*, CED/C/10, para. 5.

### III. On the Mexican State's lack of effective response to the crisis of disappearances

The CED has repeatedly issued recommendations and calls to the Mexican State to address the situation of disappearances by taking concrete action, bringing these together after its visit to the country<sup>12</sup> in a National Policy for the Prevention and Eradication of Enforced Disappearances, outlining the minimum conditions<sup>13</sup> for it to be effective and efficient<sup>14</sup>.

Two events have led to concrete actions by the State on public policies regarding disappearances since the Committee's last review. On the one hand, the attention given to the findings made by relatives of disappeared persons in Teuchitlán, Jalisco in March 2025, and on the other, the decision of this Committee to initiate the much-cited procedure provided for in Article 34 of the Convention. In response to these events, the federal executive branch's primary response was to carry out reforms, particularly to the LGD, published in July 2025,<sup>16</sup> and changes in the ownership of search institutions. From our perspective, although there is always room for improvement, the crisis of disappearances is not related to a regulatory problem, but rather to the implementation, in particular, of the LGD.

Although the Ministry of the Interior (SEGOB) invited family members to a series of dialogue sessions on the initiative, once it was formally presented, various groups expressed their dissatisfaction because it did not comprehensively address their demands and needs. Thus, the recent reform does not represent substantive progress. From the outset, it was based on a mistaken assumption, as the initiative claimed that in the past, enforced disappearances were perpetrated by state agents, but "today, the commission of this crime has changed and disappearances are now linked to organised crime and committed by private individuals." This omits state responsibility for disappearances, particularly those committed with the consent or acquiescence of the authorities, as mentioned above, as well as the participation of authorities in arbitrary detentions or deprivations of liberty that still occur. Furthermore, the reform assumes that the crisis of disappearances is a matter of numbers that can be resolved through the interconnection of databases, as we will see below.

The reform created the Single Identity Platform (PUI), which will constantly monitor the Unique Population Registry Code (CURP) of missing persons, with the aim of identifying movements.

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<sup>12</sup> CED. Report of the Committee on Enforced Disappearances on its visit to Mexico pursuant to Article 33 of the Convention. Observations and second part of the recommendations. CED/C/R.9. Para. 1.

<sup>13</sup> CED. *Op. Cit.* CED/C/10, paras. 30-37.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* para. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Ávila, J. 13 March 2025. *Teuchitlán, mirror of horror and disappearance*. Where do the disappeared go? Available at: <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2025/03/13/teuchitlan-espejo-del-horror-y-la-desaparicion/>

<sup>16</sup> DOF. 16 July 2025. *Decree reforming, adding and repealing various provisions of the General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals and the National System for the Search for Persons, as well as the General Population Law, with regard to strengthening the search, location and identification of missing persons*. Available at: [https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/legis/reflxvi/decreto\\_01\\_16jul25.pdf](https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/legis/reflxvi/decreto_01_16jul25.pdf)

<sup>17</sup> Glorieta de las y los desaparecidos. Statement rejecting the draft law on disappearance. 24 June 2025. Available at: <https://x.com/GlorietaMx/status/1937604875728400641>

<sup>18</sup> Glorieta de las y los desaparecidos. 1 July 2025. X. Available at: <https://x.com/GlorietaMx/status/1940160707879678346>

<sup>19</sup> El País. *A hundred groups reject the reform of the law on missing persons in Mexico*. 26 June 2025. Available at: <https://elpais.com/mexico/2025-06-26/un-centenar-de-colectivos-rechaza-la-reforma-a-la-ley-de-personas-desaparecidas-en-mexico.html>

<sup>20</sup> Draft decree amending, adding and repealing various provisions of the General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals and the National System for the Search for Persons, as well as the General Population Law, with regard to strengthening the search, location and identification of missing persons. 27 March 2025. Explanatory memorandum. Page 2. Available at: [https://infosen.senado.gob.mx/sqsp/gaceta/66/1/2025-04-01-1/assets/documentos/Ejecutivo\\_Iniciativa\\_Ley\\_Gral\\_Desaparicion\\_Forzada\\_Personas.pdf](https://infosen.senado.gob.mx/sqsp/gaceta/66/1/2025-04-01-1/assets/documentos/Ejecutivo_Iniciativa_Ley_Gral_Desaparicion_Forzada_Personas.pdf)

<sup>21</sup> Centro Prodh. 1 July 2025. *Reforms to the General Law on Disappearances, without substantive progress*. Animal Político. Available at: <https://www.animalpolitico.com/analisis/organizaciones/la-lucha-cotidiana-de-los-derechos-humanos/reforma-ley-desapariciones-sin-avance>

<sup>22</sup> DOF. 16 July 2025. Decree reforming, adding and repealing various provisions of the General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals and the National System for the Search for Persons, as well as

or records that provide useful information for their search. When a CURP is registered, this monitoring will generate real-time alerts to the <sup>competent</sup> authorities. Thus, the Platform is established as a primary source of permanent and real-time consultation, which will be interconnected with databases or information systems with the National Registry of Missing and Unlocated Persons (RNPDO), the newly created National Investigation File Database (BNCI), the National Forensic Data Bank (BNDF), administrative records, and any private records or information systems that may be necessary for the <sup>search</sup>.

The incorporation of biometric data into the CURP, which is consolidated as a <sup>mandatory</sup> national identification document, as part of the PUI integration strategies generated by the much-cited reform of the LGD, as well as the General Population Law, has been considered a threat to privacy, security, and non-discrimination by organisations specialising in the defence of <sup>digital</sup> rights. They believe that these actions would create a centralised, massive and mandatory biometric database, which, due to its characteristics, creates incentives for it to be compromised through cyber attacks. With regard to its mandatory nature, the organisations warn that individuals are prevented from exercising their right to informational self-determination. It should be noted that the creation of this PUI is also a central part of the recently created National Investigation and Intelligence System Law, which allows all security institutions—including those of military origin—and investigation and intelligence agencies to access these databases without effective controls. In essence, these initiatives consolidate a massive, centralised database of the public activity of <sup>the entire population</sup>, raising justified alarm given the multiple documented cases of surveillance abuses in the country.

In turn, the reform mandates the creation of the BNCI, which must be available for the integration of information from <sup>the public prosecutor's offices</sup> by January 2026 at the latest and must contain data from the files or preliminary investigations initiated for crimes of enforced disappearance and disappearance committed by private individuals, whose operation falls to the Executive Secretariat of the National <sup>Public Security</sup> System. Disappearances reported to an authority must result in the opening of a file, which *de facto* leads to the elimination of the administrative report of disappearance, which was an alternative for family members who did not wish to file a criminal complaint for fear of reprisals, because they lived in regions controlled by macro-criminality, or because they were migrants, the latter most often in an irregular situation, and therefore without a CURP. Such reports were also recorded in the RNPDO prior to the reform, but both the promotion of its creation and its recording in it are now essentially nullified.

In addition, the reform creates the National Search and Location Alert protocol as a mechanism for disseminating search files nationwide, which will be sent to specialised prosecutors' offices and local search commissions and which, erroneously, as it has no implementation mechanism, seeks to overcome the obstacles imposed when the authorities do not want to receive complaints. Furthermore, the reform does not specify how it will be standardised or harmonised with the Standardised Search Protocol (PHB).

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of the General Population Act, regarding the strengthening of the search, location and identification of missing persons. Chapter Three. Available at: [https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/legis/reflxvi/decreto\\_01\\_16jul25.pdf](https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/legis/reflxvi/decreto_01_16jul25.pdf)

<sup>23</sup> Art. 12. Ter.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. Art. 12. Bis.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. Art. 91 Bis.

<sup>26</sup> Network in Defence of Digital Rights (R3D). 3 April 2025. *Mandatory biometric CURP and the Single Identity Platform would consolidate an authoritarian system of mass surveillance in Mexico*. Available at: <https://r3d.mx/2025/04/03/la-curp-biometrica-obligatoria-y-la-plataforma-unica-de-identidad-consolidarian-un-sistema-autoritario-de-vigilancia-masiva-en-mexico/>

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> DOF. 16 July 2025. Decree reforming, adding, and repealing various provisions of the General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals, and the National System for the Search for Persons, as well as the General Population Law, in matters of strengthening the search, location, and identification of missing persons. Art.

2.1. Ter. Available at: [https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/legis/reflxvi/decreto\\_01\\_16jul25.pdf](https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/legis/reflxvi/decreto_01_16jul25.pdf)

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. Art. 4. I Septies

The aforementioned reform does not include any extraordinary measures regarding the forensic backlog. For example, it does not incorporate any type of strengthening of the National Centre for Human Identification (CNIH) and ignores recommendations made by international organisations, particularly those made by the CED regarding the aforementioned National Policy. Nor does it include any reference to the need for additional funding to implement it; on the contrary, it states that the operation and functioning of the PUI, systems and records of the LGD will be carried out with the resources already allocated. In turn, the recently published 2026 Economic Package left attention to the crisis of disappearances and forensics out of its priorities; according to civil society organisations, the cuts in these areas indicate that budgetary policy is not focused on access to justice, the search for and identification of persons.

In light of the omissions and challenges observed in the creation and adequate implementation of the mechanisms, systems, and records prior to this reform, concerns arise in this regard regarding these new tools. In this context, we will now refer to the dismantling and weakening of some of the main state efforts in this area.

### 1. Weakening of the National Search System

As CED is aware, the design and evaluation of state actions related to the search, location, and identification of missing persons falls to the National Search System (SNB),<sup>32</sup> which is made up of individuals who are heads of and/or belong to various institutions.<sup>33</sup> Despite its importance in implementing actions related to the search for persons, the SNB has not met since 12 September 2024, when it held its last regular session, the third of the year.

The National Citizens' Council (CNC), a consultative body responsible for issuing recommendations and proposals for improvement regarding the actions of the SNB, has not been fully operational since 2024. For most of 2025, it did not have the members required by the LGD, so former councillors and organisations publicly demanded that the Senate initiate the public call for renewal, which did not begin until June 2025, with the call being published in July; and the members were appointed on 9 September 2025.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid. Transitory provisions. Third.

<sup>31</sup> Fundar. 12 September 2025. *Economic Package 2026: social progress and challenges for human rights*. Available at: <https://fundar.org.mx/paquete-economico-2026-avances-sociales-y-retos-para-los-derechos-humanos/>

<sup>32</sup> Chamber of Deputies. General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals, and the National System for the Search for Persons. Chapters Three and Four. Available at: <https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/LGMDFP.pdf>

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. Art. 45.

<sup>34</sup> National Commission de Search (CNB), "National System de Search." Available at: <https://comisionacionaldebusqueda.gob.mx/sistema/>

<sup>35</sup> CNC-SNB. 4 February 2025. "Press release: For the prompt renewal of the National Citizen Council of the National System for the Search for Persons." Available at: <http://www.consejonacionalbusqueda.org/por-la-pronta-renovacion-del-consejo-nacional-ciudadano-del-sistema-nacional-de-busqueda-de-personas/>

<sup>36</sup> Amnesty International Mexico, 5 April 2025. "Urgent Action: Mexican Senate must renew citizen council." Available at: <https://amnistia.org.mx/contenido/index.php/accion-urgente-senado-mexicano-debe-renovar-el-consejo-ciudadano/>

<sup>37</sup> CNC-SNB. 7 April 2025. "Press release: Four months without a National Citizen Council: The Senate must act now." Available at: <http://www.consejonacionalbusqueda.org/a-cuatro-meses-sin-consejo-nacional-ciudadano-el-senado-debe-actuar-ya/>; and CNC-SNB. 4 June 2025. "Statement: Half a year without citizen participation in the National Search System. The Senate continues to fail to comply with the law." Available at: <http://www.consejonacionalbusqueda.org/medio-ano-sin-participacion-ciudadana-en-el-sistema-nacional-de-busqueda-el-senado-sigue-sin-cumplir-la-ley/>

<sup>38</sup> Senate of the Republic. 27 June 2025. Political Coordination Board, "Agreement of the Political Coordination Board Issuing the Call for Applications and Establishing the Procedure for the Appointment of Honorary Councillors to the National Citizens' Council of the National System for the Search for Persons." Available at: [https://www.senado.gob.mx/66/documentos/convocatorias/Acuerdo\\_JCP\\_Honorificos.pdf](https://www.senado.gob.mx/66/documentos/convocatorias/Acuerdo_JCP_Honorificos.pdf)

<sup>39</sup> Senate of the Republic, Social Communication Coordination, 2 July 2025. "Call for applications to join the National Citizen Council of the National System for the Search for People." Available at: <https://comunicacionsocial.senado.gob.mx/informacion/comunicados/12297-emiten-convocatoria-para-integrar-consejo-nacional-ciudadano-del-sistema-nacional-de-busqueda-de-personas>

<sup>40</sup> Senate of the Republic. 9 September 2025. Senate approves appointment of honorary councillors to the National Citizens' Council of the SNBP. Available at: <https://comunicacionsocial.senado.gob.mx/informacion/comunicados/12713-senado-aprueba-nombramiento-de-consejeras-y-consejeros-honorificos-del-consejo-nacional-ciudadano-del-snbp>; and Aguilar, A. 9 September



A key institution in addressing the crisis of disappearances is the National Search Commission (CNB), which is responsible for determining, executing, and following up on actions to search for missing persons, including forensic searches for identification purposes. At the end of July 2025, the head of the CNB resigned amid ongoing demands for her removal by various search groups who claimed that not only was her appointment illegitimate, but her management of the institution was a step backwards, exacerbating the pain of families and hindering the search for their loved ones.

In the context of the appointment of the head of the CNB, human rights organisations such as Centro Prodh emphasised the importance of ensuring that the consultation process included the genuine participation of family members and that priority was given to a technical rather than a political profile for the position. The terms of reference for the public consultation for the appointment of the head of the CNB<sup>45</sup> were published by SEGOB<sup>46</sup> on 8 August 2025 and included the possibility for groups and organisations to submit comments on the proposed profiles.

On 11 September 2025, the new head of the CNB was appointed and took office the following day, without the work plan presented to SEGOB or the criteria used to justify and motivate the decision on the suitability of the selected candidate having been published, as required by the LGD.

With regard to the institutional capacities of the CNB, its weakening has been exacerbated by budget cuts over the last two six-year terms. According to civil society organisations, the budget allocated to the CNB has been reduced by between 3% and 8%. For its part, budget adjustments for the CNB have been reported to be down; in 2023 and 2024, the CNB spent 33.7% and 28.7% less than what was approved by Congress, respectively. According to documentation from civil society organisations, the resources that have not been exercised correspond to subsidies for federal entities, both for search and identification purposes.

For 2025 alone, the CNB has 47.8 million pesos less than the previous year, which is equivalent to 17% less than the previous year. The budget reduction, combined with the significant staff cuts that the CNB underwent, exacerbated its institutional weakening, leaving the Commission with little capacity to address the growing crisis of disappearances.

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2025. Senate elects mothers searching for their children to join the Citizen Council of the National Search System. Animal Político. Available at: <https://animalpolitico.com/politica/senado-madres-buscadoras-consejo-ciudadano-sistema-nacional-busqueda>

<sup>41</sup> Chamber of Deputies. General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals and the National System for the Search for Persons. Art. 50. Available at: <https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/LGMDFP.pdf>

<sup>42</sup> Nuño, A., Flores, L., Martínez, C. and Tzuc, E. 22 August 2025. *Reyes Sahagún: A string of failures at the CNB and rejection of his management*. Where do the disappeared go? Available at: <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2025/08/22/reyes-sahagun-suma-fracasos-en-la-cnb-y-rechazo-por-su-gestion/>

<sup>43</sup> Statement from various groups of relatives of disappeared persons. 30 July 2025. Available at: <https://x.com/brigadabuscando/status/1950560100101321139/photo/2>

<sup>44</sup> Animal Político. 29 July 2025. Organisations call for technical rather than political profile to be prioritised in appointment of new head of National Search Commission. Available at: <https://www.animalpolitico.com/sociedad/organizaciones-perfil-tecnico-politico-comision-nacional-busqueda>

<sup>45</sup> SEGOB. 8 August 2025. Terms of reference for the public consultation for the appointment of the head of the National Commission for the Search for Missing Persons. Available at: <https://basescnb.segob.gob.mx/>

<sup>46</sup> DOF. 8 August 2025. Notice announcing the terms of the public consultation for the appointment of the head of the National Commission for the Search for Missing Persons. [https://dof.gob.mx/nota\\_detalle.php?codigo=5765127&fecha=08/08/2025#gsc.tab=0](https://dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=5765127&fecha=08/08/2025#gsc.tab=0) <sup>47</sup> Nucamendi, M and Nuño, A. 15 September 2025. Amidst vote rigging and an opaque process, Martha Lidia Pérez Gumeindo is elected to head the CNB. Available at: <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2025/09/15/entre-acarreos-y-un-proceso-opaco-eligen-a-martha-lidia-perez-gumeindo-al-frente-de-la-cnb/>

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Arista, L. 18 March 2025. First they weaken the National Search Commission, now they want to strengthen it. *Expansión Política*. Available at: <https://politica.expansion.mx/presidencia/2025/03/18/primero-debilitan-la-comision-nacional-de-busqueda-ahora-quieren-reforzarla>

<sup>50</sup> Tzuc, E. 11 January 2024. *Mass layoffs at the CNB... and inexperienced officials are given leadership roles*. Where do the disappeared go? Available at: <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2024/01/11/acometen-despidos-masivos-en-la-cnb-y-dan-direcciones-a-funcionarios-sin-experiencia/>

One of the major shortcomings of the reform was the lack of provisions to strengthen search commissions and field searches. On the contrary, it further weakens search commissions vis-à-vis prosecutors by increasing the formalities required in the information to be provided to them.

In this regard, Local Search Commissions also face similar problems that prevent them from fulfilling their obligations regarding searches in the federal entities. According to reports from civil society organisations, in 2022 only 0.2% of state government budgets were allocated to Local Commissions. In addition to the reduced budget, the Local Commissions have misused it; they have returned the equivalent of 12.7% of the total resources transferred in 2023 to the Federal Treasury. States such as Querétaro, Jalisco, Puebla, Chiapas, and Veracruz have misused the allocated budget, either through cuts, opacity, or mismanagement.

## 2. National Registry of Missing Persons

As the Committee is aware, and as mentioned above, the LGD establishes the creation of the RNPNDNO, which centralises information from federal records of missing and unlocated persons. Although this body had highlighted progress in 2020 in raising awareness of the scale of disappearances in Mexico, thanks to a new consolidation of the RNPNDNO, setbacks occurred when, in June 2023, the then President of the Republic announced a "census" of missing persons "to be absolutely certain" of their number, which we have already referred to before the Committee in the past and which the Committee questioned the State about at the time.

In this context, it is important to highlight that recently, at the beginning of April 2025, the Secretary of the Interior declared that there is no real figure for missing persons in Mexico, casting doubt on the figures recorded in the RNPNDNO. These statements are in addition to those made by various authorities emphasising that forced disappearances do not occur in Mexico.

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<sup>51</sup> Elementa DDHH y Política Colectiva. 2023. In search of a budget: the investment of the Local Search Commissions in 2022. Page 15. Available at: <https://elementaddhh.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Informe-En-busqueda-del-presupuesto-2022.pdf>

<sup>52</sup> Gómez, C. 3 November 2024. State commissions for the search for missing persons leave 12.7% of the resources allocated in 2023 unused. Milenio. Available at: <https://www.milenio.com/politica/comisiones-estatales-busqueda-ejercen-recurso-asignado-2024>

<sup>53</sup> Sandoval, L. 15 June 2025. Querétaro among the five states with the lowest federal budget for searching for missing persons. Diario de Querétaro. Available at: <https://oem.com.mx/diariodequeretaro/local/queretaro-entre-los-cinco-estados-con-menor-presupuesto-federal-para-busqueda-de-personas-23214983>

<sup>54</sup> Ruiz, J. 12 May 2025. Jalisco has more disappearances, but receives less for search efforts. Milenio. Available at: <https://www.milenio.com/politica/comunidad/jalisco-comision-nacional-busqueda-otorga-11-mdp-para-colectivos>

<sup>55</sup> IDHIE, Ibero Puebla. 31 August 2023. Technical Analysis: Budget for the Search. Underexpenditure and opacity in the management of federal resources by the Puebla State Commission for the Search for Missing Persons. Available at: <https://repo.iberopuebla.mx/IDHIE/publicaciones/analisisTecnicos/presBusqueda.pdf>

<sup>56</sup> Pascacio, J. 20 January 2025. For five years, Chiapas received support for searches that were never carried out: Searching mothers. Avisa Midia. Available at: <https://avispa.org/por-5-anos-chiapas-recibio-apoyo-para-busquedas-que-no-se-realizaron-madres-buscadoras/>

<sup>57</sup> González, F. 25 December 2025. Cuts to the Search Programme in Veracruz affect families of more than 7,000 missing persons. Diario de Xalapa. Available at: <https://oem.com.mx/diariodexalapa/local/recortan-presupuesto-a-programa-estatal-de-busqueda-de-personas-en-veracruz-para-2025-20859452>

<sup>58</sup> CED. *Report of the Committee on Enforced Disappearances on its visit to Mexico pursuant to article 33 of the Convention Visit.CED/C/R.9 (Findings)*. 12 April 2022, paras. 50-53 and Government of Mexico. *Ministry of the Interior and the CNB present the report on the search, identification and registration of missing and unlocated persons*. 13 July 2020. Available at: <https://www.gob.mx/segob/prensa/gobernacion-y-la-cnb-presentan-el-informe-relativo-a-la-search-identification-and-registration-of-missing-and-unlocated-persons>

<sup>59</sup> Government of Mexico. Stenographic version. Press conference by President Andrés Manuel López Obrador on 9 June 2023 <https://www.gob.mx/presidencia/articulos/version-estenografica-conferencia-de-prensa-del-presidente-andres-manuel-lopez-obrador-del-9-de-junio-de-2023>

<sup>60</sup> La Jornada. Home Office: there is no actual figure for the number of missing persons in Mexico. 7 April 2025. Available at: <https://www.jornada.com.mx/noticia/2025/04/07/politica/gobernacion-no-existe-en-mexico-una-cifra-real-de-desaparecidos>

<sup>61</sup> Senate of the Republic. Senate rejects statements by the chair of the UN Committee on Enforced Disappearances. 8 April 2025. Available at: <https://comunicacionsocial.senado.gob.mx/informacion/comunicados/11522-senado-rechaza-aseveraciones-del-presidente-del-comite-contrala-desaparicion-forzada-de-la-onu> ; Senate of the Republic. Fernández Noroña denies that there have been forced disappearances at el gobierno de la Presidenta Claudia Sheinbaum. 9 de abril de 2025. Available at at: <https://comunicacionsocial.senado.gob.mx/informacion/comunicados/11544-niega-fernandez-norona-que-haya-desapariciones-forzadas-en-el-gobierno-de-la-presidenta-claudia-sheinbaum> ; and El Universal. Search engines symbolically shut down the Senate for denying the crisis of

With regard to the much-discussed reform of the LGD published in July 2025, this provides for new categories in the RNPDO. With regard to located persons, it incorporates categories such as "located person who was not the victim of any crime" and "located person who was the victim of a crime covered by this Law". With regard to missing persons, it adds the category referring to whether or not there is an investigation file or preliminary inquiry, and finally adds another category called "records with insufficient data for search or identification, pending update by the competent authority." These adjustments are clearly aimed at making the aforementioned National Investigation File Database the main instrument for counting the number of missing persons in Mexico, thus minimising the possibility of creating reports, as many families are unable to file complaints.

In parallel with the actions to weaken the institutions responsible for searching for and registering missing persons, forensic identification mechanisms have also undergone substantial dismantling, which will be discussed in more detail below.

### 3. Dismantling and dysfunctionality of extraordinary forensic identification mechanisms

The magnitude of the forensic crisis in the country requires extraordinary measures to address it. At the end of the previous six-year term, there were more than 72,000 unidentified human bodies in the state forensic services. The data show the persistence of the crisis, as there is a clear annual increase in the number of bodies received by the forensic services. In 2024, a total of 141,<sup>103</sup> corpses or human remains were received nationwide, a figure that represented a 5.4% increase in corpses alone compared to 2023. These figures are increasing exponentially each year, with at least 24,<sup>51367</sup> unidentified corpses and/or remains in state custody in the period 2023-2024, which explains the scale of the crisis that, as we will discuss below, has not been adequately addressed with extraordinary measures.

In this regard, international cooperation has been a useful tool for strengthening identification initiatives. However, these initiatives have been dismantled by the state, which has thus relinquished useful schemes for the families searching for their loved ones.

Such is the case of the Extraordinary Mechanism for Forensic Identification (MEIF), which has been evaluated on several occasions by the Committee. Initially, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) entered into a Technical Cooperation Framework Agreement with SEGOB, which would allow it to act as administrator of MEIF resources in order to maintain its autonomy while evaluating its performance. The development of the MEIF's work was characterised by significant delays, insufficient budget and institutional obstacles regarding its legal status, as well as inefficient coordination with the FGR in the context of its limited collaboration and links with the CNB.

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missing persons; demand to Noroña an apology for their statements. 10 of April of 2025. Available at: <https://www.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/buscadoras-clausuran-simbolicamente-el-senado-por-negar-crisis-de-desaparecidos-exigen-a-noroña-una-disculpa-por-sus-declaraciones/>

<sup>62</sup> DOF. 16 July 2025. Decree reforming, adding and repealing various provisions of the General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals and the National System for the Search for Persons, as well as the General Population Law, with regard to strengthening the search, location and identification of missing persons. Art. 12 Duodecies, 73 Ter. Available at: [https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/legis/reflxvii/decreto\\_01\\_16jul25.pdf](https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/legis/reflxvii/decreto_01_16jul25.pdf)

<sup>63</sup> Where do the disappeared go? *Six-year term ends with more than 72,100 unidentified bodies*. 24 September 2024. Available at: <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2024/09/24/cierra-sexenio-con-mas-de-72100-cuerpos-sin-identificar/>

<sup>64</sup> INEGI. *FORENSIC SERVICES AND FORENSIC MEDICAL SERVICE 2025*. 2 September 2025, p. 31. Available at: [https://www.inegi.org.mx/contenidos/saladeprensa/boletines/2025/cnpj/cnpje-f\\_2025\\_RR.pdf](https://www.inegi.org.mx/contenidos/saladeprensa/boletines/2025/cnpj/cnpje-f_2025_RR.pdf)

<sup>65</sup> 100,019 and 41,084, respectively.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* p. 31.

<sup>67</sup> This figure is the sum of the bodies and/or human remains stored solely in amphitheatres by the FGR and federal entities in 2023 and 2024.

<sup>68</sup> Health and Demography Research, S.C. for the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). 25 January 2023. Evaluation of the Extraordinary Forensic Identification Mechanism 2022. Available at: [https://mexico.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/29\\_01\\_23\\_eval\\_final\\_meif\\_vf.pdf](https://mexico.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/29_01_23_eval_final_meif_vf.pdf)

<sup>69</sup> Cortez, E. The Extraordinary Forensic Identification Mechanism: an unfinished project. IMDHD. Available at: <https://www.imdhd.org/comunicacion/blog/el-mecanismo-extraordinario-de-identificacion-forense-un-proyecto-trunco/>



This situation led to a lack of tangible results in terms of identification, and the MEIF was displaced by the CNB in the context of the creation of the CNIH. These actions led to the MEIF ceasing to function in March 2024 in a context of little political support, resignations of its members, and the non-renewal of contracts.

For its part, the CNIH was presented as a new alternative to address the accumulated forensic backlog. It was created in 2022 through a reform of LGD<sup>72</sup>. Unfortunately, after the changes in the ownership of the CNB referred to above, steps were taken that gradually dismantled the progress made in building the then newly created institution and, with it the proposal to generate mass identification schemes given the backlogs that the federal and state prosecutors' offices still have today.

At the end of 2024, according to information provided by the head of the CNB, despite the fact that in August 2022 a loan agreement was formalised for the transfer of the property where the CNIH was located in Xochitepec, Morelos, which it had partially occupied until September 2024, the donation of the property had not yet been finalised due to problems with paperwork and payments to the municipality. The dismantling of the CNIH was finally consolidated, thus abandoning the institutional commitment to the mass identification of bodies and remains at the national level. During 2024 it was decided to reduce the CNIH team to 33 specialists by April of that year and to strengthen the role of the public prosecutor's offices in forensic identification. This was partly due to the limited capabilities of the CNB with regard to identification, thus exacerbating the dependence on the public prosecutor's offices.

Other regional efforts that would have made significant progress, such as the Regional Human Identification Centre in Coahuila, which had a higher identification rate than the local prosecutor's office, have been impacted by changes in international cooperation, coupled with the impact of the Mexican State's dismantling of the national efforts mentioned above, which were also sustained or supported by international cooperation.

Another failure to comply with the provisions of the LGD is the creation and proper implementation of the BNDF, which is operated by the FGR. As CED is aware, due to the FGR's failure to create and implement the BNDF, an injunction was filed demanding its creation, which resulted in a court ordering that it be created. The ruling was confirmed in April 2023 and ordered the FGR to implement the Bank. In the same month, the FGR published in the Official Gazette of the Federation the

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<sup>70</sup> Tzuc, E. 26 February 2024. Farewell to the Extraordinary Mechanism for Forensic Identification; it closes in March. Where do the disappeared go? Available at: <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2024/02/26/adios-al-mecanismo-extraordinario-de-identificacion-forense-cierra-en-marzo/>

<sup>71</sup> Xantomila, J. and Laureles, J. 4 March 2024. Forensic identification, far from what was planned and with fewer resources. La Jornada. Available at: <https://www.jornada.com.mx/2024/03/04/politica/008n1pol>

<sup>72</sup> DOF. 13 May 2022. Decree reforming and adding various provisions to the General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals and the National System for the Search for Persons. Available at: [https://dof.gob.mx/nota\\_detalle.php?codigo=5651985&date=13/05/2022#gsc.tab=0](https://dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=5651985&date=13/05/2022#gsc.tab=0)

<sup>73</sup> Government of Mexico. National Centre for Human Identification, a unique institution at the service of society. 9 August 2022. Available at: <https://www.gob.mx/segob/prensa/centro-nacional-de-identificacion-humana-institucion-unica-al-servicio-de-la-sociedad?idiom=es>

<sup>74</sup> CNB. Third Ordinary Session of the National System for the Search for Missing Persons 2024. 12 September 2024. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1wvAlm647DM> (min 50.00)

<sup>75</sup> Cruz, D. 18 April 2024. CNB returns forensic identification tasks to prosecutors; breaks with the path created during this six-year term. Where do the disappeared go? Available at: <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2024/04/18/regresa-cnb-tareas-de-identificacion-forense-a-las-fiscalias-rompen-con-ruta-creada-este-sexenio/>

<sup>76</sup> El País. The guardians of Mexico's bones. 26 October 2024. Available at: <https://elpais.com/mexico/2024-10-27/los-guardianes-de-huesos-de-mexico.html>

<sup>77</sup> Chamber of Deputies. General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals, and the National System for the Search for Persons. Arts. 119 and 120. Available at: <https://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/LGMDFP.pdf><sup>78</sup> Centro Prodh. Collegiate Court confirms FGR's obligation to create and operate the National Forensic Data Bank. 14 April 2023. Available at: <https://centroprodh.org.mx/2023/04/16/tribunal-colegiado-confirma-obligacion-de-fgr-de-crear-y-operar-el-banco-nacional-de-datos-forenses/>



State entity, is expensive and does not offer complete certainty. As highly reputable voices immediately pointed out, no identification method in science offers 100% certainty. Furthermore, although fingerprint identification is useful and relevant for recently found bodies, it cannot be proposed as the only way to address the forensic backlog, as there are numerous bodies related to long-standing disappearances for which it will no longer be possible to obtain fingerprints for comparison and because, as has unfortunately been noted, the country's forensic crisis includes the failure to identify thousands of body fragments or <sup>bone</sup> pieces. In light of what has been presented in this section, it is clear that the various initiatives to address the forensic crisis have been dismantled or weakened, abandoning the option of a comprehensive strategy that should be marked by institutional coordination and in line with international standards.

Other initiatives that have benefited from international technical cooperation and have been recognised by the families of missing persons and civil society organisations have also been stifled by the State. Instead of these experiences being useful in setting precedents in this area that could subsequently be used for other cases, the Mexican authorities have closed the channels of communication and advice, refusing to allow the processes of searching for the disappeared and accessing justice to receive international technical assistance.

#### 4. Obstacles faced by *ad hoc* mechanisms for investigating and clarifying cases of disappearance

In the broad overview described *above*, it is necessary to refer to specific examples which, due to their magnitude and relevance at the national level, illustrate the Mexican State's lack of capacity to respond effectively to enforced disappearances, even in contexts where extraordinary mechanisms have been designed for this purpose.

In this regard, and given that a discussion has arisen in Mexico about the type of hybrid or international mechanisms that may be required if the Committee continues with the procedure provided for in Article 34, we would like to present some considerations on the obstacles faced by the efforts derived from the case of the enforced disappearance of 43 students from Ayotzinapa and, on the other hand, the general situation with regard to the disappearances committed during the period known as the "Dirty War," recent experiences with hybrid schemes and with the participation of international technical assistance.

##### a) *On measures to investigate the disappearances of 43 students from the Isidro Burgos Rural Teachers' College*

In the case of the disappearance of 43 students from the Isidro Burgos Rural Teachers' College in Ayotzinapa, in the state of Guerrero, which occurred between 26 and 27 September 2014, in which, as CED is aware, Centro Prodh, together with other organisations, is acting as representative of the families of the young people, we highlight some elements of the State's response and its ineffectiveness in locating the missing students.

On the one hand, the participation of international bodies in collaboration with state authorities stands out. This Committee granted Urgent Actions CED-UA MEX (10-52) and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) granted precautionary measures <sup>409/2014</sup><sup>88</sup>. As is known to the CED, within the framework of the precautionary measures, the Interdisciplinary Group of Independent Experts (GIEI) was established in 2015—an unprecedented mechanism in the Inter-American System—with the aim of providing international technical assistance with a human rights perspective in the investigation of the students' disappearance. and in 2016, the Special Mechanism for Follow-up on the Ayotzinapa Case (MESA) was created to follow up on the precautionary measures and recommendations of the GIEI, as well as to provide <sup>technical</sup> advice. International technical assistance played an important role in clarifying the facts during that first mandate, in particular by dismantling the version

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<sup>87</sup> Centro Prodh. Forensic backlog: false dilemmas. 22 January 2025. <https://www.animalpolitico.com/analisis/organizaciones/la-lucha-cotidiana-de-los-derechos-humanos/rezago-forense-falsas-disyuntivas>

<sup>88</sup> IACHR. *Resolution 28/2014*. 3 October 2014. *Precautionary Measure No. 409-14. Students of the rural school "Raúl Isidro Burgos"* regarding the State of Mexico.

<sup>89</sup> IACHR. *Resolution 42/16. Follow-up resolution to precautionary measure No. 409-14* of 29 July 2016. Available at: <https://www.oas.org/es/cidh/decisiones/pdf/2016/MC409-14-ES.pdf>

official version presented as a “historical truth” that had no scientific basis and outlining lines of investigation that had not been addressed internally.

In 2018, with a new federal administration, a new phase began, anchored in three central components: a figure who embodied the political will to clarify what had happened, which in this case took the form of the Presidential Commission for Access to Justice in the Ayotzinapa Case (COVAJ); a new special prosecutor's office, which led to the creation of the Special Unit for Investigation and Litigation in the Ayotzinapa Case (UEILCA); and, finally, the return of the GIEI experts who had participated in the case. During the first years of the six-year term, some progress was made in this phase: the “historical truth” was recognised as insufficient; perpetrators of torture were arrested and sent to prison; commanders who were in charge of the investigation began to be held accountable for manipulating the inquiry; and, most importantly, the remains of two of the missing young people were identified in a location other than the one that had been postulated as their final resting place, which was reported to their families through dignified and respectful processes. In addition, knowledge of the macro-criminal environment in which the events took place was deepened.

However, halfway through the six-year term, momentum for the process ceased and institutional obstacles that had been thought to have been overcome reappeared. Three factors worked against clarification. First, the investigation was subject to the timetable of politics. As before, this meant that witnesses of dubious credibility and unverified technological sources were used. The second factor was the military's reluctance, which was undoubtedly decisive in the context of the alarming empowerment of the military that we are currently witnessing. This resulted in the military's failure to hand over relevant documents, which led to the departure of the GIEI. The third factor was the ineffectiveness of the Public Prosecutor's Office. Ayotzinapa continues to show that the Mexican justice system is broken and that this is a consequence not only of dysfunctional judicial powers but, above all, of criminal investigation bodies that succumb to political pressure and investigate complex criminal phenomena typical of the 21st century using 19th-century techniques.

*b) On the obstacles to clarifying the forced disappearances committed during the so-called Dirty War*

With regard to long-standing disappearances, particularly those that occurred during the period known as the “Dirty War” in the 1960s and 1990s, to which the CED has referred, the ineffectiveness of state actions is also evident, particularly the obstacles to clarifying the facts and determining the whereabouts of the victims.

In 2021, the State created the “Commission for Access to Truth and Historical Clarification and Justice for Serious Human Rights Violations Committed between 1965 and 1990” (COVEH), which will remain in operation until September 2024. As part of this Commission, the Mechanism for Truth and Historical Clarification (MEH) was created with the mandate to investigate serious human rights violations committed during that period and issue a report, as well as a Committee for the Promotion of Justice and a Special Search Plan, headed by the CNB. This opened up an opportunity—unique due to the time that had elapsed since the events, as recognised by a group of victims—to promote concrete actions to achieve its objective.

Since the issuance of the decree creating COVEH, some concerns have been raised, which we referred to the Committee at the time. Even so, the initial actions were accompanied by significant steps: Military Camp No. 1 was opened to victims in a first event—in which the head of SEDENA himself claimed, citing presidential support, the legitimacy of the outdated doctrine of “due obedience”—and subsequently other military bases were opened for the work of the MEH; significant actions were initiated to review archives that had not been made public, among other things.

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<sup>90</sup> DOF. Decree creating the Commission for Access to Truth, Historical Clarification and the Promotion of Justice for serious violations to human rights committed from 1965 to 1990. 6 of October of 2021. Available at: [http://dof.gob.mx/nota\\_detalle.php?codigo=5631865&date=06/10/2021](http://dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=5631865&date=06/10/2021). See also: Segob. Press release. Commission created for access to truth and justice for serious human rights violations during the Dirty War. 7 October 2021. Available at: <https://www.gob.mx/segob/prensa/se-crea-comision-para-acceso-a-la-verdad-y-justicia-por-violaciones-graves-a-derechos-humanos-durante-guerra-sucia?idiom=es>

However, two factors are similar to the Ayotzinapa case in terms of the impossibility of advancing access to justice and truth. On the one hand, although the responsibility of members of the Armed Forces for the serious human rights violations committed at that time is fully documented, the lack of access to the archives of these institutions was a constant feature. On the other hand, the mechanism created to promote actions before ministerial authorities was insufficient in the face of the FGR's determination not to collaborate or provide the necessary resources for investigations into the events, as already reported by the CED.<sup>91</sup> Finally, the weakening of the CNB referred to above had an impact on the search projects that had been promoted.

In June 2024, three commissioners delivered the collection: "It Was the State 1965-1990" from the MEH Final Report to SEGOB, and on 11 July of the same year, another commissioner delivered the report "Undeniable Truths. For a Mexico without Impunity," thus completing the work of the MEH. These reports were made public in August 2024. The first of the reports clearly highlighted the "factors of persistence" that exist to this day—including the presence of armed forces in security tasks and the absence of civilian controls, lack of accountability, and impunity—as well as the multiple obstacles they faced in carrying out their work, including lack of access to information from the Armed Forces and other security and intelligence forces. The culmination of the COVEH and MEH mandate was marked by the State's failure to acknowledge the findings of multiple human rights violations committed at the time.

Thus, it is possible to see how efforts to guarantee access to justice and truth in emblematic cases or specific periods of the country's history, which could be extremely useful in addressing the crisis of disappearances, end up being thwarted due to state obstruction, particularly by the armed forces, and the weakness and continued subjugation of law enforcement institutions to political interests, as described in the cases referred to above. The above may be useful for the definitions made by the Committee once it determines the characterisation of disappearances in Mexico.

#### IV. Conclusions

The imminent response by the State to the CED's request for information will undoubtedly be fuelled by the legal and institutional changes that have taken place in recent months and which, as we have presented here, are not sufficient to address the scale of a crisis that has led the Committee to seek to initiate one of the last procedures at its disposal. In this context, we cannot fail to reiterate that this has been a sustained effort throughout the multiple evaluations of the Mexican State by the CED Committee, taking a series of partial and poorly coordinated actions among institutions that do not constitute the national policy that the country requires.

Thus, given the Mexican State's position, which is based on a restrictive interpretation of enforced disappearances in the context of acquiescence and which evades its responsibility for the crisis in this area; coupled with the weakening and dysfunctionality of the efforts we have described, and the lack of a policy to prevent and eradicate this phenomenon, it is essential that the Committee's decisions in this proceeding take into consideration the need to open up spaces for international collaboration and cooperation that will allow for the creation of schemes and actions of the magnitude required by a crisis of the dimensions facing Mexico.

For further information, please contact us at: [internacional@centroprodh.org.mx](mailto:internacional@centroprodh.org.mx).

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<sup>91</sup> Available at <https://www.meh.org.mx/comunicados/pronunciamento-sedenaabretusarchivos/>

<sup>92</sup> CED. 12 October 2023. *Concluding observations on the supplementary information submitted by Mexico under Article 29, paragraph 4, of the Convention*. CED/C/MEX/OAI/2, para. 19 (b) and (c)

<sup>93</sup> El País. *Key points and difficulties in preparing the final report on the Dirty War in Mexico*. 18 August 2024. Available at: <https://elpais.com/mexico/2024-08-19/claves-y-dificultades-en-la-confeccion-del-informe-final-de-la-guerra-sucia-en-mexico.html>