

Widespread and/or Systematic Enforced Disappearances Committed in Mexico

Report submitted to the United Nations Committee on Enforced Disappearances pursuant to Article 34 of the International Convention

An opportunity to protect all persons from enforced disappearances in Mexico.

Mexico, August 12, 2025

Submitted by:

Organizations of victims' relatives:

Armadillos Rastreadores, Lagos de Moreno; Buscador@s Zacatecas, AC; Buscando Vidas y Justicia por México, A. C.; Search for the Disappeared in Nayarit; International Caravan for the Search for the Disappeared AC; Veracruz Home; Minerva Bello Center for the Rights of Victims of Violence; Committee of Relatives of Detained and Disappeared Persons in Mexico, COFADDEM "Raising Voices"; Collective Love for the Disappeared, Tamaulipas; Collective Help Luis Alberto Calleja Return, AC; Collective Searchers Guanajuato, Mexico; Collective Searching with Love and Fighting for You, Veracruz; Collective Searching for Hearts; Collective Searching for Justice for Our People, Zitlala, Gro.; Collective Searching for Our Disappeared in Tamaulipas, AC; Collective House of Hope of Cuauhtémoc, Chihuahua; Collective of Relatives of Disappeared Persons October 10 of Parral, Chihuahua; Collective Wives and Relatives of State Security Agents Detained and Disappeared by the Military in 1977; Collective of Relatives in Search of María Herrera from Chilpancingo, Gro.; Guerrero No+ Desaparecid@s Collective; Hasta Encontrarte Collective, Irapuato, Guanajuato; Junax K'ontantik Collective, Chiapas; Madres Novias del Sol Collective Searching for their Children in the Papaloapan Basin; Pirasol Collective. Cd. Valles, SLP; Raúl Trujillo Herrera Collective; Following Your Footsteps Collective, Baja California; CRISDE Together Until We Find Them; Disappeared Justice AC. Querétaro; Desaparecidos Querétaro; En Búsqueda de Verdad y Justicia, Tepic, Nayarit; Familiares Caminando por Justicia, AC; Familiares en Búsqueda Michoacán; Familiares en Búsqueda, Xalapa; Familias Unidas en la Búsqueda y Localización de Personas Desaparecidas AC (FAMUN), Coahuila; Families United for Truth and Justice, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; United Forces for Our Disappeared in Coahuila and Mexico (FUUNDEC-M); United Forces for Our Disappeared in Jalisco (FUNDEJ); United Forces for Our Disappeared in Nuevo León (FUNDENL); Glorieta de las y los Desaparecidos; Victims for Their Rights in Action AC (VI.D.A) Laguna, Coah.; H.I.J.O.S. Mexico; Justice and Hope of San Luis de La Paz, Guanajuato; Women in Search of Their Disappeared; Women in Search, Nogales, Ver.; Platform of Victims of Forced Disappearance in Mexico; For Love of You, Until We Find You, Tampico, Madero, and Altamira, Tamaulipas; Rastreadoras de El Fuerte; Network of Mothers, Veracruz; International Network of Associations of Disappeared Persons (RIAPD); Sabuesos Guerreras ext Matías Romero Oaxaca; Sabuesos Guerreras Oaxaca; Sabuesos Guerreras, Sinaloa; We Are the Voice of Pablo and Our Disappeared; We Are All the Voice of the Disappeared; United by Pain, Culiacán, Sin.; United Always Searching; United for Peace, the Defense of Human Rights, AC; Uniting Hearts, Culiacán, Sin.; Uniting Crystals, AC; National Union and Network for the Search for Missing Persons (URNBPD); Voice Crying Out for Justice for Missing Persons, Coahuila.

Civil society

organizations: Citizens' Alliance for Peace; Apuesta Solidaria AC; Article 19, Office for Mexico and Central America; Assembly of Indigenous Peoples of the Isthmus in Defense of Land and Territory (APIIDTT); Guerrero Association Against Violence Against Women AC; Jalisco Association for Support of Indigenous Groups AC (AJAGI); Minerva Bello Center for the Rights of Victims of Violence; Human Rights Center - Spaces for Defense, Flourishing, and Community Support; Fray Francisco de Vitoria OP Human Rights Center, AC; Bartolomé Carrasco Human Rights Center AC (BARCA-DH); Tlachinollan Mountain Human Rights Center AC; Women's Human Rights Center (CEDEHM); Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas Human Rights Center AC (FrayBa); Paso del Norte Human Rights Center; Victoria Diez Human Rights Center, AC; Center for the Investigation of Atrocities, AC (CICA); Center for Justice, Peace, and Development (CEPAD); Fray Juan de Larios Human Rights Center AC; José Ma. Morelos y Pavón Regional Human Rights Defense Center AC Guerrero; Francisco Suárez SJ University Center for Dignity and Justice, ITESO; Lagunera Citizens for Human Rights, AC (CILADHAC); Citizens in Support of Human Rights AC (CADHAC); Shalom Collective, Torreón, Coah; Collective of Mexican Migrant Federations and Organizations (COLEFOM); Collective for Education for Peace and Human Rights AC (CEPAZDH), Chiapas; Impacta Cine Collective; Collective Yes to Life (General Cepeda, Coahuila); Collective We Are All Jorge and Javier; Zapotengo Collective, Pochutla, Oaxaca; Tehuacán Valley Human Rights and Labor Commission; Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights; Independent Human Rights Commission of Morelos AC; Tabasco Human Rights Committee, AC; Solidarity Consulting SC; Consultoría Promoción Humana AC; Defenders for Justice, Oaxaca; Eje de Iglesias y Espiritualidades; Frontera con Justicia AC (Migrant House, Saltillo); Foundation for Justice and the Democratic Rule of Law AC; Global Exchange; Global Rights Advocacy; Accompaniment Group for Families of Disappeared Persons (GAF-FLAD Mexico); Research Group on Social and Forensic Anthropology (GIASF); Mexican Institute for Human Rights and Democracy (IMDHD); Institute for Women in Migration (IMUMI); Justicia Pro Persona, AC; Transitional Justice in Mexico, Strategies against Impunity, AC; Lekil Kuxlejal AC; Mexico United Against Crime (MUCD); Free and Chosen Mobilities CoLibres; Movement for Peace with Justice and Dignity; National Citizen Observatory on Femicide (OCNF); Observatory on Public Appointments; Social Ministry, Anglican Church of Mexico; Platform for Peace and

Justice in Guanajuato; La Laguna Women's Network; Northeast Journalists' Network; National Network of Civil Human Rights Organizations "All Rights for All" (Red TDT); Network for Children's Rights in Mexico AC (REDIM); Resilientes MX; SAC Consultoría para la Construcción de Paz (SAC Consulting for Peacebuilding); Servicios de Inclusión Integral y Derechos Humanos AC (SEIINAC) (Comprehensive Inclusion and Human Rights Services); Sociedad Civil las Abejas de Acteal (Civil Society Las Abejas of Acteal) (Chiapas); Tejiendo Redes Infancia en América Latina y el Caribe (Weaving Networks for Children in Latin America and the Caribbean); Tequio Jurídico AC (Tequio Legal); Voces Mesoamericanas, Acción con Pueblos Migrantes (Mesoamerican Voices, Action with Migrant Peoples).

Relatives of missing persons:

Adriana Moreno Becerril; Alda Nelly Cruz Balderas; Aldo Nery Castillo Reséndiz; Alicia Solís Reyna; Alma Cecilia Salgado Santana; Amada Rocío Rebolledo Sotelo; Amelia Hernández Enamorado; Ana Cristina Solís; Ana María González Betanzos; Andrea Gorethy Robles Solís; Andree Méndez Tello; Angélica María Berrospe Medina; Araceli Rodríguez Deaquino; Armando Olmeda; Artemisa Ramírez Ortiz; Beatriz Torres Zuleta; Beatriz Zapoteco Neri; Bellarmina García; Benita Lara García; Berenice Gómez Montes; Bertha Patricia Valdez Ramírez; Bibiana Mendoza; Carolina Reséndiz Mata; Carolina Rodríguez Deaquino; Cecilia García Pacheco; Charbel Méndez Tello; Cruz María Helos Ortega; Daniel Durán Hernández; Delia García Luna; Diana Aguilar Parada; Diana Iris García; Dora Alicia Domínguez Cardón; Eder Christopher Sánchez Viesca Ortiz; Eliseo Rodríguez Gallegos; Erika Guadalupe Salas Ramírez; Erika Montes de Oca; Esther Barajas; Esther Deaquino Velázquez; Fabiola Alejandrina Orozco Romano; Felicitas Suárez Guerrero; Femini Rangel; Fernando Maldonado Medellín; Gerardo Calleja Martínez; Guadalupe Cepeda Aguilar; Guadalupe Lucina Solís; Irene Silos Silva; Ismael Rodríguez García; Ixchel Teresa Mireles Rodríguez; Jaime Galván; Javier Espinosa; Jean Michel Sánchez Viesca Ortiz; Jesús Antonio Ángulo Cárdenas; Jorge Verástegui González; José Alfredo Villagrana; José Antonio Robledo Chavarría; José Matilde Salas Espino; Juan Carlos Lozada Delgadillo; Juana María Castillo Gallegos; Julio César Arellano García; Karol Yuliana Rodríguez Cruz; Lázaro Ramírez Ortiz; Leticia Pinzón Medina; Lucía Baca Baca; Lucía Santana Román; Luz Elena Montalvo Velázquez; Ma de los Ángeles Rodríguez García; Ma. de los Ángeles Mendieta Quintana; Ma. del Refugio Montoya Herrera; Ma. Elena Salazar Zamora; Ma. Guadalupe Fernández Martínez; Ma. Salvadora Coronado Navarro; María Ascensión Flores; María de Jesús González Medrano; María de Jesús Lara García; María de las Mercedes Almaraz Fuentes; María de Lourdes Herrera del Llano; María del Carmen Bustamante Salas; María del Carmen García Samaniego; María del Pilar Arenas Navarro; María del Rosario Cano Mascorro; María del Socorro Calderón Ayala; María Esther Contreras de la Rosa; María Eugenia Guerrero Juárez; María Eugenia Padilla García; María Eugenia Zaldívar Padilla; María Guadalupe Pérez Ayala; María Luisa Lazarín Sierra; Marisa Arriola Reyes; Marisol Sotelo Adame; Martha Beatriz Vega Ruiz; Martha Montelongo; MaryCarmen Trejo; Mayra González Ángeles; Micaela González Heras; Minerva Zepeda Zepeda; Mireya Villarreal Salinas; Miriam Arrambide Jiménez; Misael Rodríguez García; Nora G Tello Santana; Nilvia Hernández Romero; Noemí Martínez Martagón; Nora Torres Rodríguez; Olivia Esmeralda Salgado Santana; Oralia Nájera Simizú; Oscar Flores Coronado; Oscar Sánchez Viesca López; Patricia López Rodríguez; Paulina Landaverde Martínez; Perla Damián Marcial; Rafael Rodríguez Balderas; Ramiro Bonilla Tudón; Raúl Reyes Covarrubias; Raúl Rivera Muñoz; Ricardo Salazar Castillo; Ricardo Ulises Téllez Padilla; Rocío Salas Ramírez; Romeo Mendoza Almaraz; Rosa Alma Delia Hernández García; Rosa Angélica García Saucedo; Rosa Angélica Lara García; Rosa Imelda Díaz Neris; Rosa María Guajardo Fuentes; Severina Fabiola Alarcón Serrano; Silvia Elida Ortiz Solís; Teresa de Jesús Medina Saucedo; Velia Aurora García Cruz; Yadira González Hernández; Yerin Rodríguez Zamora; Yolanda Montes Ortiz.

Academics, activists, and supporters:

Aarón Ortiz Santos; Adriana Jean Manuel (UABC-Colectivo Siguiendo tus Pasos); Alfredo López Casanova; Alma Rosa García Guevara; Andrea de la Serna (CIESAS-LAJUVI); Andrea Santiago; Arturo Carrasco Gómez, Anglican Priest; Camelia Muñoz Alvarado; Claudia Irasema García; Claudia Liza Corona de la Peña; Edith López Ovalle; Eleazar Cabello Palacio; Elena Azaola; Eliana García Laguna; Emiliana Cruz (also CIESAS-LAJUVI); Eugenia Allier Montaño; Federico Tatter, International Representative, FEDEFAM; Gloria Lizbeth Delgadillo Islas; Guadalupe Vázquez Luna; Inti Barrios Hernández; Jacobo Dayán; Jimena Lara Estrada; Jorge Javier Romero Vadillo; José Luis Manzo Ramírez; Laura Velázquez de León; Ma. Dolores Soto Álvarez; Manuel Olivares Hernández; María Elizabeth Navarro Jerónimos; María Eugenia Arriaga Salomón; María López de la Rica; Mariana Mora Bravo (CIESAS-LAJUVI); Martín Barrios Hernández; Matilde M. Domínguez Cornejo; May-ek Querales Mendoza; Mercedes Ruiz González; Merle Iliná; Michael W Chamberlin; Minerva Nora Martínez Lázaro; Pbro. Fernando Liñán Treviño; Pbro. Miguel Peón Navarro; Pilar Noriega García; R. Aída Hernández Castillo (CIESAS-LAJUVI and Eje de Iglesias y Espiritualidades de la BNB); Rafael Castelán Martínez; Raymundo Sandoval; Roberto Hernández Ramos; Sandra Estrada Maldonado (University of Guanajuato); Santiago Corcuera Cabeut; Víctor Manuel Cabrera Morelos; Yoltzi Martínez Corrales.

0. Index

1. Introduction	4
2. Enforced Disappearances as Crimes Against Humanity	6
3. Widespread and/or Systematic Enforced Disappearances Committed in Mexico: Elements for Analyzing its Expressions in the Territory and against Vulnerable Populations	11
3.1. Widespread Disappearances	11
3.2. Systematic Forced Disappearance	14
3.3. Analysis of Cases in Federal Entities	18
3.3.1. Nuevo León	18
3.3.2. Coahuila	19
3.3.3. Veracruz	20
3.3.4. Nayarit	21
3.3.5. Jalisco	22
3.3.6. Guanajuato	2
3.3.7. Tabasco	2
3.3.8. Morelos	29
3.3.9 Baja California	3
3.3.10 State of Mexico	32
3.4. Analysis by Differentiated Approaches	33
3.4.1. Childhood and Adolescence	33
3.4.2. Migrants	36
3.4.3. Women	38
3.4.4. Members of Indigenous Peoples and Afro-descendants	38
3.4.5. Journalists	40
3.4.6. Human rights defenders	40
4. Impunity	41
5. Records	44
6. Forensic crisis	46
7. Clandestine Graves	47
8. Conclusions	49
9. Requests to the Committee	50
10. Signatory Organizations and Individuals	50

1. Introduction

At various points in Mexico's recent history, serious human rights violations have been committed on a large scale by state authorities in order to confront those considered a threat to security. In the late 1960s and until the mid-1980s, the Mexican army and various police forces across the country disappeared, tortured, murdered, and arbitrarily detained thousands of people under a policy aimed at dismantling political opponents, mainly from the left, as well as guerrilla groups operating in various states of the Republic. This logic coincides with what was observed in Latin America during these decades as part of the strategy implemented by the School of the Americas.

Hundreds of people ²were victims of forced disappearances committed by members of the army, security forces, or paramilitary and parapolice groups, in a clear counterinsurgency strategy operating in the country, while military regimes in the Southern Cone ³welcomed exiles. The failure to prosecute these cases during this period and the resulting impunity allowed other acts of repression and new disappearances to take place.

In 1994 and the years following the armed conflict between the Mexican Army and the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), the Mexican authorities implemented a counterinsurgency strategy that resulted in a high—though imprecise—number of serious acts such as torture, executions, sexual violence, forced displacement, and enforced disappearances, as detailed as confirmed by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in the "Chiapas 94 Campaign Plan" approved by the Ministry of National Defense⁽⁴⁾ and which "served as the basis for a series of actions that led to human rights violations." The majority of those affected were men and women who were not involved in the hostilities, i.e., the civilian population.

From the perspective of "irregular warfare," counterinsurgency operations aimed to remove or fragment the support provided by the local population in the area where subversive groups used to take refuge, turning the civilian population into a target of war. In September 1996, the Pentagon made available to the public the training manuals used by the

¹ *Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances*. (December 20, 2011) A/HRC/19/58/Add. 2, para. 9. https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session19/A-HRC-19-58-Add2_sp.pdf

² The Eureka Committee documented more than 500 cases nationwide during the period. (<https://archivos.juridicas.unam.mx/www/bjv/libros/15/7110/7.pdf>); although the number could be much higher, as in the state of Guerrero alone, the Truth Commission analyzed 512 cases in this locality. (https://sitiosdememoria.segob.gob.mx/work/models/SitiosDeMemoria/Documentos/PDF/Informe_Final_de_Actividad_es_Comverdad_Guerrero.pdf)

³ Mexico as part of a pattern of systematic disappearances in Latin America: https://penamiller.com/hijosmexico/index65f6.html?id_pag=16

⁴ The Inter-American Court in the case of Antonio González Méndez v. Mexico (Judgment of August 22, 2024), states: "162. Insofar as it is relevant to the case at hand, the Court notes that the activity of paramilitary groups in Chiapas at the time of Mr. González Méndez's disappearance was related to a specific State policy, embodied in the "Chiapas Plan," in which the State decided to use the civilian population to contribute to Army activities, create self-defense forces, and secretly organize civilian sectors to provide support in 'operations,' as well as to provide them with 'training' (supra para. 77). The National Search Commission stated that "the paramilitary [groups] were a fundamental tool of the counterinsurgency strategy," and their objective was "to destroy the EZLN and its supporters." It further asserted that the group "Peace and Justice," in particular, had "support from the Public Security Police, the Chiapas State Attorney General's Office, and the Mexican Army" and operated "thanks to resources provided by the federal government through productive programs." https://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_532_esp.pdf https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/Spanish/MilitaryReview_20151231_art009SPA.pdf

School of the Americas and publicly confirmed⁶ that the tactics conveyed in the manuals "violated US policy and principles."

Over time, the doctrine, its strategies, and methods were expanded to other contexts, such as counter-narcotics and counter-terrorism operations. Information shared by the US Department of Defense indicates that the *Building Partner Capacity* (or Strengthening Partner Capabilities) programs seek to improve the capacity to conduct counterterrorism, counterdrug, and counterinsurgency operations or to support US military and stability operations, multilateral peace operations, and other programs.

In December 2006, then-President Felipe Calderón announced the start of the so-called "War on Drugs," a policy characterized by levels of violence unprecedented in the country's recent history. This strategy involved the massive deployment of military personnel and federal, state, and municipal police forces, with the primary purpose of confronting, physically eliminating, and, to a lesser extent, arresting members of drug trafficking organizations. This policy, which resulted in hundreds of thousands of people becoming victims of crimes and serious human rights violations, continued during the administrations of Enrique Peña Nieto (2012-2018) and Andrés Manuel López Obrador (2018-2024). Under the pretext of combating armed criminal groups, authorities from all three levels of government engaged in arbitrary deprivation of liberty, acts of torture, executions, and enforced disappearances.

In the period 2006-2024, there was also a violent response from criminal organizations. Although in some cases the attacks were directed at security forces, the most frequent attacks were against the civilian population, with the apparent aim of consolidating the territorial control necessary to facilitate their criminal activities, including forced recruitment and human trafficking, as we will see below. In this context, crimes committed by members of criminal organizations and/or individuals have not been fully investigated or criminally punished. It is unclear whether the crimes were committed as a result of direct collusion between state and federal authorities and these groups; a strategy by criminal organizations to maintain or expand their political and economic power; a deliberate attempt to weaken rival criminal organizations; or a combination of these factors⁽⁸⁾.

These crimes, committed repeatedly using state resources—such as official vehicles, public facilities, and armed personnel—and in accordance with standardized operating procedures, have been ignored or downplayed by various authorities responsible for law enforcement and the administration of justice. In general terms, the facts have not been subject to criminal or administrative investigations or proceedings, and a situation of "almost absolute" impunity persists.

There has been little reflection on the nature of the crimes committed at these different moments in history. The dominant institutional discourse maintains that enforced disappearances, among other atrocities, when carried out by state agents, are acts committed outside the law.

⁶ <https://www.nytimes.com/1996/09/22/world/old-us-army-manuals-for-latin-officers-urged-rights-abuses.html>

⁷ Defense Security Cooperation Agency. <https://samm.dsca.mil/chapter/chapter-15>

⁸ There are numerous studies that have extensively documented these events, both by academia and civil society organizations. Suffice it to cite the information compiled by México Unido Contra la Delincuencia, Data Cívica, Causa en Común, México Evalúa, and A dónde van los desaparecidos, among others, as well as a large number of rigorous academic studies published in both Mexico and the US and countless articles published by various media outlets.

⁹ As reported by the CED in its report on its visit to Mexico pursuant to Article 33 of the Convention. See <https://hchr.org.mx/wp/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Informe-de-visita-a-MX-del-Comite-contra-la-Desaparicion-Forzada-abril-2022.pdf>

of official security policies, that these are isolated incidents and that the institutions responsible for investigating and punishing crimes—at both the state and federal levels—have the capacity and willingness to do so.

Based on the information analyzed, we believe that the enforced disappearances perpetrated since December 2006 by authorities, criminal organizations with or without authorization, support, or acquiescence from State agents cannot be understood as isolated incidents. We will present reasonable grounds to believe that there are well-founded indications that enforced disappearance is practiced in a widespread or systematic manner in Mexico, either by state agents, by members of criminal organizations with authorization, support, or tolerance from the state, or by the latter acting autonomously.

This report was coordinated by [Consultora Solidaria](#) with the participation of: Adriana Jean Manuel (UABC-Colectivo Siguiendo tus Pasos), Aída Hernández (CIESAS), Alejandra Nuño (ITESO), Andrea Horcasitas (Ibero Sta Fe), Andrea de la Serna (CIESAS-LAJUVI), Anna Chimiak (CEPAD), Elena Azaola (CIESAS), Fabienne Cabaret (FJEDD), Jacobo Dayan (CICA), José Antonio Guevara (CICA), Juan Martín Pérez (Tejiendo Redes Infancia AL), Mariana Mora (CIESAS), Mariclaire Acosta (JTMx), Marisol Méndez (FJEDD), Michael W. Chamberlin (Solidaria), Raymundo Sandoval (Plataforma por la Paz), Sandra Estrada Maldonado (University of Guanajuato), Santiago Corcuera, Tania Ramírez (REDIM), Víctor del Pozo (JTMx). Editing: Tania Ramírez (REDIM), José Antonio Guevara (CICA) and Michael W. Chamberlin (Solidaria). For any questions regarding this report, please write to contacto@consultorasolidaria.org

All information comes from open sources indicated in the footnotes. It is documentation from civil society organizations, journalists, and official data, which constitute *well-founded indications that enforced disappearance is practiced in a widespread or systematic manner in Mexico*. This situation must be confirmed or ruled out by an independent, impartial, and professional investigation in order to ensure justice, but also to establish mechanisms to prevent its recurrence. This should be the purpose of the application of Article 34 of the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance⁽¹⁰⁾.

2. Enforced Disappearances as Crimes Against Humanity¹¹

The International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (CED) defines enforced disappearance as "the arrest, detention, kidnapping or any other form of deprivation of liberty by agents of the State or by persons or groups of persons acting with the authorization, support or acquiescence of the State, followed by a refusal to acknowledge that deprivation of liberty or by concealment of the person, with the intention of removing him or her from the protection of the law."¹² It also provides that States have an obligation to take "[...] appropriate measures to investigate the conduct defined in Article 2 when committed by persons or groups of persons

¹⁰See <https://www.ohchr.org/es/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-convention-protection-all-persons-enforced>

¹¹ Parts of chapters 2 and 3 of this report have been taken from José Antonio Guevara Bermúdez and Lucía Chávez Vargas. "Las desapariciones forzadas cometidas en México entre 2006 y 2018: Un primer acercamiento desde la óptica de los crímenes de lesa humanidad" (Enforced disappearances committed in Mexico between 2006 and 2018: An initial approach from the perspective of crimes against humanity), in Michael Chamberlin (ed.). *Desapariciones en México. Análisis sociojurídico del fenómeno en curso* (Disappearances in Mexico. Socio-legal analysis of the ongoing phenomenon), Mexico City, Tirant Lo Blanch, 2021, pp. 15–42.

¹² Article 2 of the IACFP

acting without the authorization, support or acquiescence of the State, and to prosecute those responsible persons."¹³

Furthermore, the ICPF stipulates that enforced disappearance constitutes, "in certain circumstances defined by international law, a crime against humanity."¹⁴ Article 5 thereof establishes that "[t]he widespread or systematic practice of enforced disappearance constitutes a crime against humanity as defined in applicable international law and entails the consequences provided for by applicable international law."¹⁵

Furthermore, the CIDCP notes that, "[i]f the Committee [on Enforced Disappearances (CED)] receives information which, in its opinion, contains well-founded indications that enforced disappearance is being practiced in a general or systematic manner in the territory under the jurisdiction of a State Party, and after having requested from the State Party concerned all relevant information on the situation, it may bring the matter as a matter of urgency to the attention of the General Assembly of the United Nations through the Secretary-General of the United Nations."¹⁶

According to the Rome Statute establishing the International Criminal Court (hereinafter ER, adopted on July 17, 1998, and applicable to Mexico as of January 1, 2006), enforced disappearance is understood to mean "the arrest, detention or abduction of persons by a State or a political organization, or with its authorization, support or acquiescence, followed by a refusal to acknowledge that deprivation of liberty or to give information on the fate or whereabouts of those persons, with the intention of removing them from the protection of the law for a prolonged period of time."¹⁷ According to the Elements of Crimes of the ER, for the crime against humanity of enforced disappearance to be established, the following must be present:

- (i) the arrest, detention, or abduction of one or more persons;
- (ii) refusal to acknowledge the above or to provide information on the fate or whereabouts of such person or persons;
- (iii) the arrest is followed by a refusal to provide information;
- (iv) the perpetrator was aware of the detention and that it was followed by a refusal to provide information or that the refusal was preceded or accompanied by such refusal;
- (v) the arrest and refusal to provide information about it or about the fate or whereabouts of the person or persons concerned was committed by a State or political organization or with its authorization, support or acquiescence;
- (vi) the perpetrator intended to keep that person or persons outside the protection of the law for a prolonged period;
- (vii) the conduct forms part of a widespread or systematic attack against the civilian population;
- (viii) the perpetrator knew that the disappearance was part of such an attack.¹⁸

¹³ Article 3 of the CIDFP

¹⁴ Preamble to the CIDCP

¹⁵ Article 4 of the CIDFP

¹⁶ Article 34 of the CIDPF

¹⁷ Article 7(1)(i) of the Rome Statute (hereinafter RS)

¹⁸ Article 7(1)(i) Crime against humanity of enforced disappearance of persons, Elements of Crimes, ICC-ASP/1/3 and Corr.

For the purposes of understanding the elements that make up the definition of crimes against humanity under international law, in particular the widespread or systematic nature, the ER stipulates that crimes against humanity shall be understood to mean various acts, such as the enforced disappearance of persons, "when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population and with knowledge of that attack."⁽¹⁹⁾

An attack is defined as "a course of conduct involving the multiple commission of [...] [crimes such as the enforced disappearance of persons] against a civilian population, pursuant to a State or organizational policy to commit that attack or to further that policy."²⁰ The attack or the multiple commission of crimes must be of such a scale that it affects multiple victims. The ICC has referred to an attack as a course of conduct involving a series or flow of events, which are not a sum or aggregate of isolated events.

In this regard, "[...] it is required that the State or organization actively promotes or encourages an attack of this nature against a civilian population." Such encouragement may be carried out through deliberate actions or omissions to act to promote the attack by officials of a State or an organization. The International Criminal Court has indicated that the attack:

- "a) it must be carefully organized and follow a pattern of behavior; b) it must be conducted to promote a common policy involving public or private resources;
- c) it can be implemented by groups governing a given territory or by an organization with the capacity to commit a widespread and systematic attack against the civilian population; and d) it does not need to be explicitly defined or formalized, but it must be planned, directed, or organized, unlike sporadic and isolated acts of violence."²³

On the other hand, state (or organizational) policy may consist of a pre-established design or plan, or it may crystallize and develop through actions carried out by the perpetrators. In the latter case, the policy can be inferred from several factors, such as:

- (i) recurring patterns of violence and the improbability that they are isolated or accidental acts;²⁴
- (ii) collective preparations or mobilization orchestrated and coordinated by the State;
- (iii) the use of public or private resources to advance the policy;
- (iv) statements, instructions, or documents that condone or encourage the commission of crimes; and,
- (v) an underlying motivation. ²⁵

The term "population" refers to civilians as opposed to members of the armed forces or combatants actively participating in hostilities in cases where there is an armed conflict. The ICC has clarified that in a situation where

¹⁹ Article 7. 1 of the ER

²⁰ Elements of Crimes of the ER. ICC-ASP/1/3

²¹ ICC-01/21 ASPC, para. 75.

²² Elements of War Crimes. ICC-ASP/1/3

²³ Guevara, José, "Mexico and the International Criminal Court: An Initial Approach to Crimes Against Humanity Committed in the Context of the Security Strategy of the Felipe Calderón Hinojosa Administration (2006–2012)," in Javier Dondé Matute and José A. Guevara Bermúdez (eds.), *Mexico and the International Criminal Court*. Mexico, Center for Applied Research in Human Rights of the Federal District Human Rights Commission-INACIPE-Tirant Lo Blanch, 2014, pp. 79-151.

²⁴ ICC-01/21 ASPC, para. 80.

²⁵ ICC-01/21 ASPC, para. 78.

that there is no armed conflict, the civilian population is a collective, as opposed to individual civilians, which must also be the primary target of the attack. It has reiterated that the presence of non-civilians among the population does not deprive that population of its civilian character. It has recognized that to speak of the civilian population, it is necessary that they be exclusively persons (human beings).²⁶

State policy requires that it be orchestrated or promoted by public officials with government resources or by private individuals acting with the authorization, support, or acquiescence of the government. Politics does not necessarily require that it be formalized.

or acquiescence of the former. The policy does not necessarily require that it be formalized.

or conceived at the highest level of the state apparatus, as it can be adopted by local or regional authorities or bodies.²⁷ A policy can also be encouraged, orchestrated or promoted by non-state actors through an organization independently. Below are a number of indicative elements from which a plan or policy can be inferred:

- (i) the historical conditions and political context in which the criminal acts occur;
- (ii) the creation and implementation of autonomous political structures at different levels of government within a specific territory;
- (iii) the general nature of a political program, as can be inferred from documents or public statements of its promoters;
- (iv) the use of the media to spread propaganda;
- (v) the formation and operation of independent military structures;
- (vi) the deployment of armed forces;
- (vii) the conduct of repeated military operations, whether synchronized in time or coordinated in different regions;
- (viii) the scale of the acts of violence committed—in particular, killings and other acts of physical violence, rape, arbitrary arrests, forced displacement, or the destruction of non-military property.⁽²⁸⁾

For the International Criminal Court:

“The requirement of a ‘policy of a State or an organization’ implies that the attack follows a regular pattern. Such a policy may be determined by groups of persons governing a given territory or by any organization with the capacity to commit a widespread or systematic attack against the civilian population. It is not necessary that the policy be formalized [footnote deleted]. Indeed, an attack that has been planned, directed, or organized—as opposed to spontaneous or isolated acts of violence—would meet this criterion [footnote].”⁽²⁹⁾

With regard to the organizational element, the International Criminal Court has stated that: The

Statute is not clear as to the criteria by which a group could qualify as an ‘organization’ for the purposes of Article 7(2)(a) of the Statute. While some have argued that only organizations analogous to a State qualify [note deleted], the Chamber is of the view that the formal nature of a group and the level of

²⁶ ICC-01/21 ACP, paras. 72-4

²⁷ Guevara, José. “Principle VI (C). The following crimes are punishable as crimes under international law: crimes against humanity,” in Javier Dondé Matute (Coord) *The Nuremberg Principles: Development and Current Status*. Mexico City, Ed. National Institute of Criminal Sciences, Research Collection, No. 19, 2015, p. 364.

²⁸ Case Matrix Network (2017) *Crimes Against Humanity*. Brussels, p. 40. <http://www.legal-tools.org/doc/66bb47/>

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 41

organization should not be the decisive criterion. Instead, as others have convincingly argued, the distinction should be drawn based on whether a group has the capacity to carry out acts that violate basic human values [note deleted].³⁰

To be considered an organization capable of implementing a policy, the International Criminal Court³¹ has held that one of the following requirements must be met:

- (i) it must be hierarchically structured;
- (ii) there is an effective system for ensuring compliance with rules and orders imposed by the command structure;
- (iii) it has a quasi-military section or wing or military training;
- (iv) it controls, provides, or supplies in some areas services that would correspond to the State, such as security.^{32p}

For acts such as enforced disappearance to be considered crimes against humanity, they must have been committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack. To this end, we must unravel the meaning of each of the concepts, without it being necessary for both elements to be present; that is, one of them must be present, but not necessarily both.

Under applicable international law, a widespread attack refers to acts committed on a large scale, massively, frequently, or seriously against multiple victims. It is a cumulative series of inhuman acts, such as enforced disappearances.

Systematic means that the acts of violence are organized and unlikely to occur *randomly, fortuitously, or occasionally*. Similarly, acts are systematic when criminal patterns are identified, i.e., similar atrocities that are repeated on a regular basis; that is, when the acts are not individual or random, but rather are carried out through "significant state action and when normal channels of command can be discerned."³⁵ When a systematic attack occurs, the possible existence of a policy is suggested.³⁶

To analyze whether an attack is systematic or widespread, aspects such as "[...] the consequences of the attack on the targeted population, the number of victims, the nature of the acts, the possible involvement of officials or authorities, or any identifiable pattern of crimes" must be considered.⁽³⁷⁾

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 44

³¹ See International Criminal Court. Pre-Trial Chamber. Situation in the Republic of Kenya. *Decision on the confirmation of charges pursuant to article 61(7)(a) and (b) of the ECPI. Case of the Prosecutor v. Francis Kirimi Muthaura, Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta, and Mohammed Hussein Ali*. (January 23, 2012) ICC-01/09-02/11, para. 228 (in Guevara, "Principle VI," p. 365).

³² *Ibid.*

³³ General Comment on enforced disappearances as a crime against humanity; Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, 2009. Document A/HRC/13/31.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 366.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 365.

³⁶ ICC-01/21 ASCP, para. 78

³⁷ *Ibid.*

3. Widespread and/or Systematic Enforced Disappearances Committed in Mexico: Elements for Analyzing their Manifestations in the Territory and against Vulnerable Populations

3.1. Widespread Disappearances

Various international human rights protection mechanisms have been explicit in pointing out that certain types of serious human rights violations have been committed on a widespread basis in Mexico. The Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment found during his visit to Mexico in April and May 2014 that:

"Torture and ill-treatment during the period following arrest and before bringing suspects before a judge are widespread in Mexico and occur in a context of impunity. The purpose is generally to punish or extract confessions or information. There is evidence of the active participation of police and ministerial forces in almost all jurisdictions and of the armed forces, but also of tolerance, indifference, or complicity on the part of some doctors, public defenders, prosecutors, and judges."³⁸⁾

Likewise, in his report, the Rapporteur learned of cases of enforced disappearance in which the victims had previously been tortured³⁹. For its part, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) stated that "[...] it agrees with other international bodies in noting that torture is widespread in Mexico and frequently occurs between the moment of arrest, which is often arbitrary, and before the detained person is brought before a judge."

The Committee on Enforced Disappearances (CED), on the other hand, referred to a "context of widespread disappearances throughout much of the territory of the (Mexican) State, many of which could be classified as enforced disappearances." The IACHR also noted that "the official figures provided, together with the information received from various regions of the country, show that disappearances are widespread in Mexico" (42)

Likewise, numerous studies and reports, some of which are mentioned below, have found that forced disappearances have been committed in a widespread and/or systematic manner in the country since December 2006. They have documented that the perpetrators of these crimes have been state agents from all three levels of government: federal, such as the Army, Navy, Attorney General's Office (formerly the Office of the Prosecutor General), National Guard (formerly the Federal Police), as well as municipal and state police.

³⁸ *Report of the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, Juan E. Méndez*. (December 29, 2014) A/HRC/28/68/Add.3, para. 76: <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/252/91/PDF/G1425291.pdf?OpenElement>.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, para. 27.

⁴⁰ Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. *Situation of Human Rights in Mexico*. (December 31, 2015) Washington, D.C. 2015, OAS/Ser.L/V/II.Doc.44/15, para. 11.

⁴¹ Committee on Enforced Disappearances. *Concluding observations on the report submitted by Mexico under article 29, paragraph 1, of the Convention*. (March 5, 2015) CED/C/MEX/CO/1 para. 10: https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CED/Shared%20Documents/MEX/INT_CED_COB_MEX_19564_S.pdf

⁴² Inter-American Commission. *Situation of human rights...* *Loc. cit.*

in the context of one or more security policies or strategies to combat drug trafficking or organized crime.⁴³

Similarly, they have found that certain criminal groups—in accordance with applicable international law—can be considered organizations and that, within the framework of their (illicit) economic and commercial policies, they have controlled territories through violence and have also committed widespread and/or systematic atrocity crimes, including enforced disappearances, against the civilian population.⁴⁴

Below, we will analyze public information in order to outline hypotheses on whether it is possible to consider that enforced disappearances have been committed systematically in Mexico since 2006.

In Mexico, there are 358,813 people officially registered as missing between December 1952 and April 28, 2025. Of that total, 231,335 (64.47%) have been located.⁽⁴⁵⁾ 127,478 people remain missing, representing 35.53% of the total number reported. According to the National Registry of Missing and Unlocated Persons (RNPD), there are 117,294 disappearances and 10,184 unlocated persons. These figures confirm the widespread nature of disappearances.

As can be seen in the graph below, most of the disappearances included in the RNPD were perpetrated in the context of the so-called "War on Drugs," during the six-year terms of Felipe Calderón Hinojosa (December 1, 2006 to November 30, 2012), Enrique Peña Nieto (December 1, 2012 to November 30, 2018), and Andrés Manuel López Obrador (December 1, 2018 to November 30, 2024).

It is unknown how many people were disappeared by authorities or by private individuals with their authorization, support, or acquiescence, or whether they were disappeared by members of criminal organizations or by private individuals without such authorization, support, or acquiescence. The RNPD figures also do not reflect the degree of impunity that prevails in the country.

⁴³ See, for example, José A. Guevara B., "México y la Corte Penal Internacional: una primera aproximación a los crímenes de lesa humanidad cometidos en el contexto de la estrategia de seguridad de la administración de Felipe Calderón Hinojosa (2006-2012)" [*Mexico and the International Criminal Court: a preliminary assessment of crimes against humanity committed in the context of the security strategy of the Felipe Calderón Hinojosa administration (2006-2012)*], in Dondé and Guevara (eds.), *México y la Corte Penal...* Op. cit., pp. 79-151; Open Society Justice Initiative. *Undeniable Atrocities. Confronting Crimes Against Humanity in Mexico*. New York, Open Society Foundations, 2016, p. 53 et seq., and; Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights and International Federation for Human Rights. *From Security Strategy to Crimes Against Humanity in Mexico (reports submitted to the International Criminal Court)*. Mexico City, CMDPDH, 2019.

This publication contains the following communications submitted to the International Criminal Court: FIDH, CMDPDH, and CCDH. (i) *Mexico. Report on alleged crimes against humanity in Baja California between 2006 and 2012*; (ii) FIDH, Fray Juan de Larios Diocesan Center for Human Rights, and United Families.

Mexico. Murders, disappearances, and torture in Coahuila de Zaragoza constitute crimes against humanity; (iii) FIDH, Fray Juan de Larios Diocesan Human Rights Center, CMDPDH, et al. *Communication pursuant to Article 15 of the Rome Statute establishing the International Criminal Court on the alleged commission of crimes against humanity in Chihuahua, Mexico between 2008 and 2010*.

⁴⁴ For example, see Leiden International Humanitarian Law. *The situation of drug-related violence in Mexico from 2006 to 2017: Is it an international armed conflict?*, Guadalajara, ITESO-CMDPDH-Universitet Leiden, Grotius Centre for International Legal Studies, 2019, p. 47 et seq.; Sergio Aguayo and Jacobo Dayán. *El Yugo Zeta. Norte de Coahuila, 2010-2011*, Mexico City, El Colegio de México, 2018; Open Society Justice Initiative. *Corruption that kills. Why Mexico needs an international mechanism to combat impunity*. New York, Open Society Foundations, 2018, p. 45 et seq.

⁴⁵ See <https://versionpublicaRNPD.segob.gob.mx/Dashboard/ContextoGeneral>



Graph taken from the RNPD: <https://versionpublicampdno.segob.gob.mx/Dashboard/ContextoGeneral>

It is important to mention that this total number of missing persons exceeds the official number of missing persons resulting from any situation of political violence, dictatorial regime, or armed conflict in the Latin American region, including the Colombian armed conflict that lasted more than fifty years, which resulted in 82,988 missing persons between 1958 and 2017.

There is also a huge information gap regarding who is responsible for the crimes (of disappearance) known to the various attorney general's offices in the country, i.e., it is unknown whether they are state agents or members of criminal organizations. The United Nations Working Group on Enforced Disappearances, which in 2011 found that:

[a] high number of abductions and crimes with similarities to enforced disappearances are committed by organized crime groups. However, not all disappeared persons appear to have been abducted by organized crime groups acting independently; on the contrary, State involvement in enforced disappearances is also present in the country. The Working Group received concrete, detailed, and credible information on cases of enforced disappearances carried out by public authorities or by criminal groups or individuals acting with the direct or indirect support of some public officials. ⁽⁴⁷⁾

⁴⁶ National Center for Historical Memory *In Colombia, 82,998 people were forcibly disappeared*. (February 23, 2018) <http://www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/noticias/noticias-cmh/en-colombia-82-998-personas-fueron-desaparecidas-forzadamente>

⁴⁷ *Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances*. (December 20, 2011) A/HRC/19/58/Add.2, para. 17.

The Working Group on Enforced Disappearances has clarified that, until impartial and independent investigations clarify the circumstances surrounding the disappearances committed in Mexico, the involvement of State agents cannot be ruled out in any case.⁴⁸ It is alarming, on the other hand, that despite official recognition of the existence of more than 120,000 disappearances, only a very limited number of cases have come to the attention of a judge and those responsible have been effectively punished.

In Mexico, only 373 convictions for enforced disappearance committed by private individuals have been handed down between 2017 and January 2025, according to information from state and federal judicial authorities provided to the media outlet Animal Político through transparency requests⁴⁹. Fourteen convictions by federal judges for cases of disappearance in the last nine years (40 convictions and 62 acquittals since 2006), without specifying how many cases were for enforced disappearance. Meanwhile, with figures revised as of March 21, 2025, the Registry of Missing and Unlocated Persons (RNPDO) added 66,389 cases of missing persons during that period. The number of convictions is equivalent to 0.56% of that total.

Of the total of 471 judgments handed down in the states between 2017 and January 2025, 359 were convictions and 90 were acquittals, while 22 judgments did not specify the outcome. There were 68 judgments for enforced disappearance, 201 for disappearances committed by private individuals, and 202 unspecified.

3.2. Systematic Enforced Disappearance

According to qualitative studies to be discussed later on disappearances committed in Nuevo León, Coahuila, Veracruz, Nayarit, and Jalisco, it is plausible to hypothesize that a significant percentage of disappearances may have been committed by state agents. A significant portion of the universe of disappeared persons in Mexico is due to the criminal actions of public servants at all three levels of government (federal, state, and municipal); however, the limited official information available makes it difficult to reach definitive conclusions.

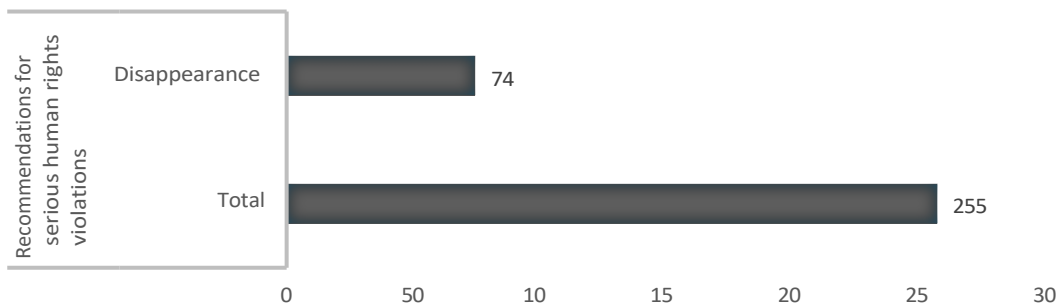
After reviewing the recommendations of the National Human Rights Commission (CNDH), several hypotheses can be drawn. An analysis prepared by the CMDPDH⁵⁰ shows that between December 2006 and December 2018, the CNDH issued 255 recommendations for serious human rights violations (torture, enforced disappearances, and extrajudicial executions) committed during the so-called "War on Drugs," mainly by authorities linked to security policy; namely the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of the Navy, the Federal Police, and the Attorney General's Office (now the Office of the Prosecutor General of the Republic). Of this total, 74 recommendations reflect acts of enforced disappearance in which 198 victims of enforced disappearance can be identified.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, para. 21.

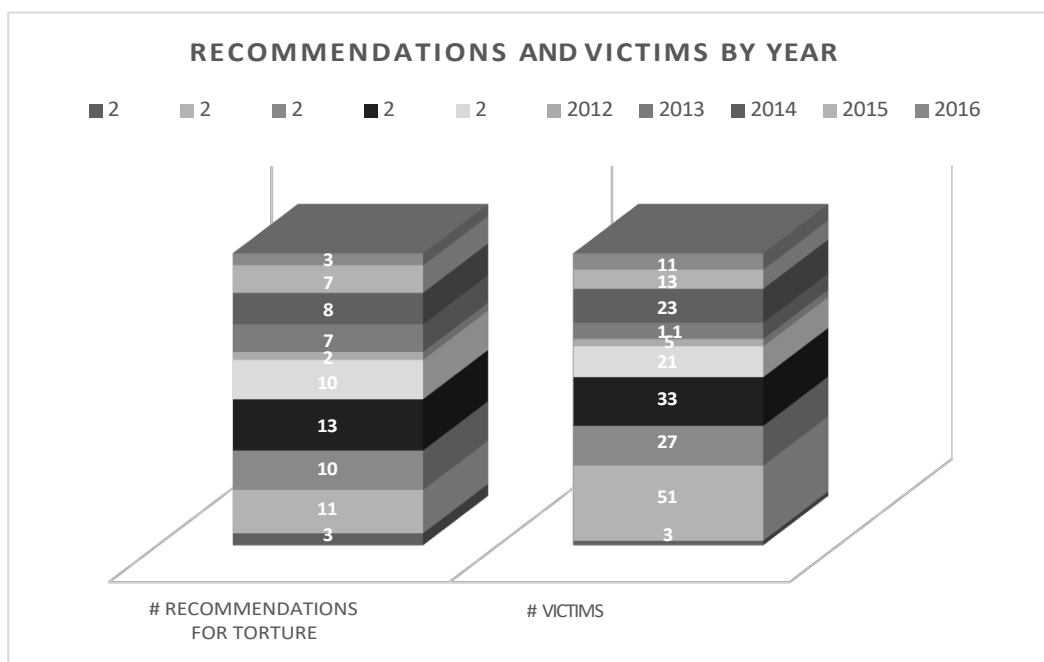
⁴⁹ <https://animalpolitico.com/verificacion-de-hechos/te-explico/en-los-ultimos-9-anos-66-mil-casos-de-personas-desaparecidas-en-mexico-y-solo-373-condenas-contr-responsables>

⁵⁰ The information presented here is based on a systematization exercise carried out by the Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights, using the *Investigation and Documentation System* (I-DOC) database of the Case Matrix Network.

⁵¹ It is important to clarify that both permanent and temporary disappearances were considered. This means that when entering data into the database, the I-DOC team reclassified human rights violations that had not been considered as such by the CNDH.

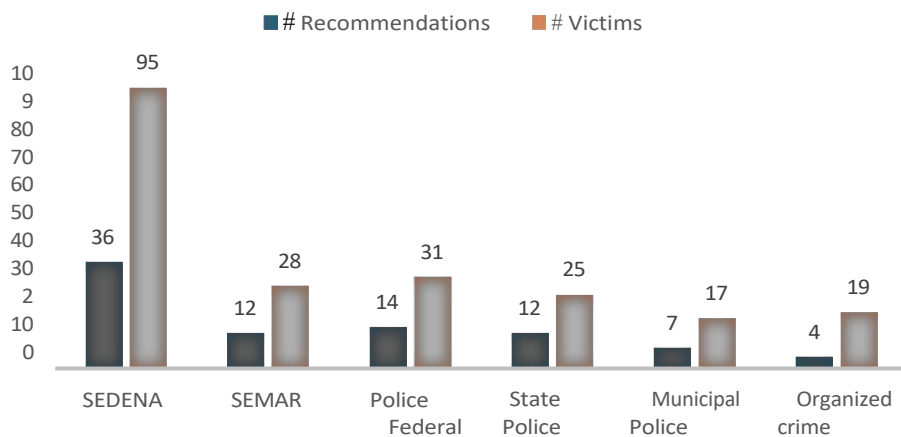


Graph 1. Source: I-Doc database. Prepared by CMDPDH.



Graph 2. Source: I-Doc database. Prepared by CMDPDH.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND VICTIMS BY PERPETRATOR



Graph 3. Source: I-Doc database. Prepared by CMDPDH.⁵²

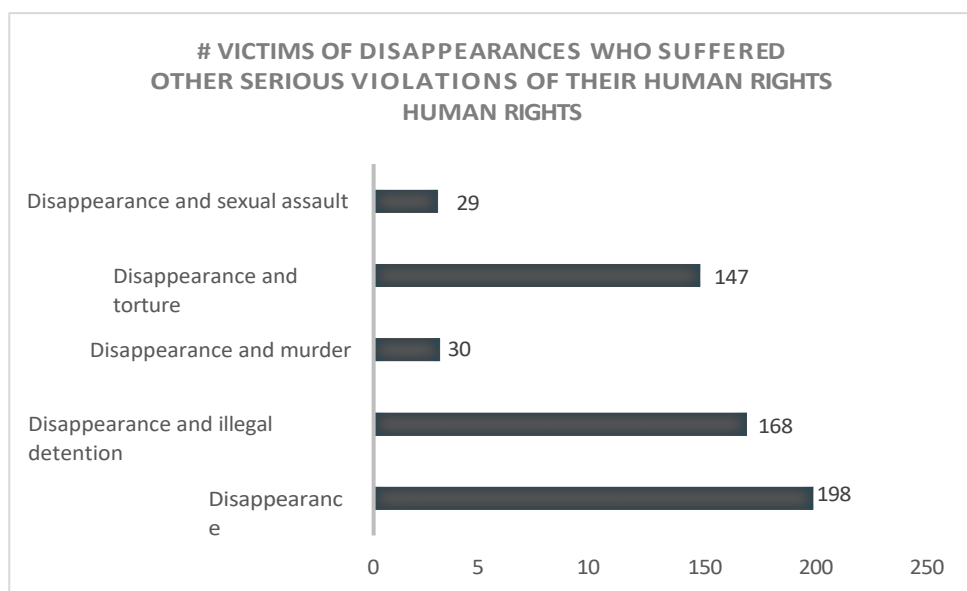
Several of the recommendations identify joint action between federal authorities, such as the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of the Navy, or the now defunct Federal Police (now the National Guard), with state or municipal police forces, as well as between the latter and organized crime organizations.

<i>Joint actions</i>	<i># Recommendations</i>	<i># Victims</i>
<i>SEDENA and Federal Police</i>	4	7
<i>SEDENA and State Police</i>	2	3
<i>SEMAR and State Police</i>	4	8
<i>Federal Police and State Police</i>	2	3
<i>State and Municipal Police</i>	1	1
<i>State Police and Organized Crime</i>	2	8
<i>Municipal Police and Municipal Organized Crime</i>	1	8

Graph 4. Source: I-Doc database. Prepared by CMDPDH

⁵² The total number of cases and victims seen by the units involved is higher than the total number of victims and recommendations, because there are cases in which more than one authority was involved in the crimes committed.

The analysis found that 174 of the disappeared persons were also victims of torture; 29 persons were also subjected to sexual assault,⁵³ and 30 persons were killed.



Graph 5. Source: I-Doc database. Prepared by CMDPDH

It is also illustrative that among the sites where victims of enforced disappearance were deprived of their liberty, military installations stand out, where 104 of the 198 victims remained.⁵⁴



Graph 6. Source: I-Doc database. Prepared by CMDPDH

⁵³ Acts classified as sexual assault are: rape (penetration and penetration with objects in the anus or vagina), touching of breasts and genitals, forced nudity, blows to the testicles, blows to the testicles.

⁵⁴ Understood as military bases or barracks.

It is surprising that 81 of the 198 people who were victims of enforced disappearance were charged with crimes such as crimes against health and carrying firearms for the exclusive use of the army.



Graph 7 Source: I-Doc database. Prepared by CMDPDH⁵⁵

These recommendations suggest that the forced disappearance of persons has been committed in an organized manner and is unlikely to occur *randomly, by chance, or incidentally*. Similarly, these disappearances are systematic because they involve the use of public resources, including military personnel and facilities, and criminal patterns can be identified. It is the same authorities who are involved in the disappearance of 198 people, and these disappearances are undoubtedly perpetrated as a significant state action within the framework of the trans-sexennial policy to combat criminal organizations in several states of the Republic. If the corresponding analyses were carried out, it would be possible to discern the chains of command within the various agencies of the Mexican Federal Executive involved in the atrocities.

3.3. Case Analysis in Federal Entities

Disappearances have been reported in all of the country's federal entities⁵⁶. This section provides a brief and non-exhaustive overview of the contexts of enforced, widespread, and systematic disappearances in some of these entities, based on documentation from organizations and the press. For further information, please refer to the footnotes.

3.3.1. Nuevo León

In a study by the Observatory on Disappearance and Impunity (ODIM) analyzing 548 cases of disappearance in the state of Nuevo León between 2005 and 2015,⁵⁷ and a review of newspaper articles on cases of disappearance between 2010 and 2016, it was found that in 46.7% of cases where information on the perpetrators was available, they were state authorities, while 52.1% were private individuals (of whom 46% were classified as criminals by the observatory and the remaining 7% as private individuals). Similarly, it found that the authorities involved in 26.1% of cases were federal, 24.6% state, and 49.2% municipal. In other words,

⁵⁵ It is important to clarify that the same person could have been charged with more than one offense.

⁵⁶ <https://imdh.org/redlupa/informes-y-analisis/informes-nacionales/informe-nacional-de-personas-desaparecidas-2025/>

⁵⁷ Observatory on Disappearance and Impunity. *Report on Disappearances in the State of Nuevo León with data from CADHAC*. https://www.flacso.edu.mx/sites/default/files/170616_resumen_informe_nl_vf.pdf. Cases documented by Citizens in Support of Human Rights in Mexico, AC

An analysis of data from the last two state governments shows that between 2016 and 2023, the incidence of disappearances almost tripled. According to this analysis, Nuevo León ranks fifth nationally in this area, behind Jalisco, Tamaulipas, the State of Mexico, and Veracruz. The increase in disappearances of women and female adolescents stands out in the state:

In another ODIM study that analyzed 729 cases of disappearances in the state of Coahuila committed between 2001 and 2017, it was found that in 26% of the cases, it was possible to identify the perpetrators of the disappearances as state agents, while in 74% of the cases, it was not possible to distinguish whether those responsible were state or non-state agents. Hypotheses have been put forward regarding the possible involvement of agents in these cases based on the clothing and equipment described in the testimonies of families who witnessed the moments when their loved ones disappeared.

To prepare the communication to the ICC, the organizations used information from open sources on the so-called "Allende Massacre" and on the crimes committed at the Piedras Negras Social Rehabilitation Center. Finally, they considered the testimony given by members of the Los Zetas criminal group in court proceedings held since 2013 in San Antonio and Austin, Texas, which reveal the active participation or support of state authorities and public security forces in the commission of these crimes.

[illegible]

⁶² The University of Texas at Austin. Control... over the entire state of Coahuila. An analysis of testimony in trials against members of the Zetas in San Antonio, Austin, and Del Rio, Texas. Human Rights Clinic, November 2017 <https://law.utexas.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/11/2017/11/2017-HRC-coahuilareport-ES.pdf>

Armas y Tácticas Especiales (GATE), Grupo de Armas y Tácticas Especiales de Monclova (GATEM), the State Elite Group, and the Metropolitan Operational Response Group of Saltillo (GROM). The report indicates that between 2009 and 2011/2012 there was direct and sustained collaboration between state authorities and Los Zetas, evidencing a relationship of collusion. From 2011/2012 until 2016, the atrocities reflected in the communication were committed by authorities responsible for public security in the state. ⁽⁶³⁾

3.3.3. Veracruz

A communication sent to the ICC Prosecutor's Office by various civil society organizations documents the direct involvement of state agents in enforced disappearances perpetrated in Veracruz between 2012 and 2016.⁶⁴ The report draws on figures from the National Human Rights Commission (CNDH), which indicate that of the total of 544 cases registered in the National System of Missing and Deceased Persons (SINPEF) up to 2018, 44% involved municipal, state, or federal authorities as alleged perpetrators.

The document focuses its analysis on 22 cases of enforced disappearance that occurred between 2011 and 2016, during the administration of then-Governor Javier Duarte de Ochoa, all in the city of Veracruz or nearby towns. These disappearances are part of a broader database of 41 cases with common characteristics in terms of the temporal and geographical context and the profile of the victims: men between the ages of 16 and 60, mostly under 40, with occupations such as students, taxi drivers, electricians, or mechanics, who were deprived of their liberty in their homes, businesses, or on public roads. In these cases, the Veracruz State Police was documented as having participated in 22 incidents, organized crime in 13, and federal forces, such as the Navy, in at least six, suggesting possible collusion between state agents and criminal actors.

Among the most notable cases is the clandestine grave in Colinas de Santa Fe, where the remains of seven victims of enforced disappearance were found, all with evidence of involvement by the Veracruz State Police, sometimes in collaboration with criminal groups. During a security operation involving state and federal authorities, 12 young men were arbitrarily detained, nine of whom disappeared. Witnesses identified members of the Veracruz State Police, the Veracruz Investigation Agency (AVI), and the Navy Secretariat as responsible. Another six documented cases refer to the involvement of the Ministerial Police of the State Attorney General's Office. All cases share patterns that reinforce the existence of a systematic and widespread attack against the civilian population, attributable to state institutions, which could constitute crimes against humanity. The report documents the discovery of 615 bodies between 2016 and September 2022 in "Colinas de Santa Fe" and "El Arbolillo," both near the Port of Veracruz, perhaps the largest clandestine graves in Latin America.

⁶³ International Federation for Human Rights, Diocesan Center for Human Rights Fray Juan de Larios and United Families. (2017) *Mexico: Killings, disappearances, and torture in Coahuila de Zaragoza constitute crimes against humanity. Communication pursuant to Article 15 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*, pp. 32-35

<http://www.cmdpdh.org/publicaciones-pdf/cmdpdh-comunicacion-coahuila.pdf>.

⁶⁴ FIDH, IDHEAS, Colectivo Solecito de Veracruz. "Hasta encontrarlos" (Until we find them): enforced disappearances committed by law enforcement officials in Veracruz are crimes against humanity, February 2022, pp. 20-21, 30-31.

https://idheas.org.mx/personas-defensoras-ddhh-periodistas/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/final_informe_veracruz_espanol.pdf

⁶⁵ Ibid.

3.3.4. Nayarit

Another communication sent to the ICC by civil society organizations documents that at least 47 enforced disappearances that occurred between June and September 2017 in Nayarit were allegedly carried out by officials of the State Attorney General's Office in collaboration with other state authorities.⁶⁶ Although this specific set of cases is analyzed, the facts are part of a broader context of between 120 and 300 enforced disappearances committed in the state between 2017 and 2019. The organizations believe, on reasonable grounds, that these disappearances were part of a systematic pattern of violence against the civilian population that could be classified as crimes against humanity under international criminal law.

The organizations point out that between 2011 and 2017, during the administration of Roberto Sandoval Castañeda and with Édgar Veytia Cambero at the head of the State Attorney General's Office, a criminal structure was consolidated within the government apparatus; it operated from within the Attorney General's Office and was involved in multiple atrocities, such as murders, torture, forced disappearances, dispossession, and extortion. During this period, both officials used their positions of power to benefit themselves illegally, using state resources to commit crimes and violate the rights of the population.

The analysis includes detailed information on cases that support the existence of a criminal pattern and identifies the direct participation of public servants or the use of state resources such as vehicles, weapons, and official uniforms. On many occasions, the perpetrators acted while wearing hoods. The evidence found led them to conclude that the disappearances were part of a systematic criminal policy carried out from within the state government.

In December 2022, the National Search Commission (CNB) conducted a context analysis of the relationship between the cases of disappearance contained in urgent actions issued by the Committee against Enforced Disappearance and other human rights violations committed in Nayarit between 2011 and 2017, during the term of Governor Roberto Sandoval, when Edgar Veytia served as attorney general. ⁽⁶⁷⁾

The report analyzes 63 cases of disappearances in the state and is based on interviews with family members, public information, and legal documents. Some of the main findings and results were that, during the period from 2011 onwards, a macro-criminal network was consolidated, involving state authorities, high-level officials, and drug trafficking cells. The CNB collected more than 2,000 testimonies that revealed the methods of terror used by this network: torture, threats, and property seizures carried out within the Attorney General's Office itself.

According to the RNPd, between 2011 and 2021, more than 1,000 people were reported missing in Nayarit. A document produced by JTMX in 2023⁶⁹ warns that this state is one of the most affected by mass disappearances in Mexico. The report concludes that the disappearances are a reflection of the terror instilled during Sandoval's administration, which underscores the seriousness of the collusion between the state and organized crime, as well as the impunity that has allowed it to continue.

⁶⁶ FIDH, IDHEAS, Strategic Litigation in Human Rights. *Mexico. Criminal structure in the Nayarit State Attorney General's Office and crimes against humanity*, June 2021: <https://www.idheas.org.mx/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/FIDH-IDHEAS-Informe-Nayarit-Español.pdf>

⁶⁷ See: https://jtmexico.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/JTMX_Cuadernillo03_Analisis-de-contexto-1.pdf

⁶⁸ See <https://aristeguinoticias.com/2306/mexico/nayarit-ordenan-eliminar-informe-sobre-desapariciones-forzadas-por-amparo-a-exgobernador/>

⁶⁹ See <https://jtmexico.org/2023/08/18/areas-y-unidades-de-analisis-de-contexto-del-snbp/>

This assertion is based not only on the number of cases recorded, but also on the systematic nature and magnitude of the phenomenon, which has been made possible by a state structure that, far from preventing or combating these crimes, has been an active or passive accomplice in their perpetration. The report emphasizes the fact that, instead of having strengthened institutional capacities to address the crisis, state agencies exhibit a pattern of opacity, disorganization, and negligence. A report by Aristegui Noticias (April 14, 2023)⁷⁰ reveals that the Nayarit Attorney General's Office destroyed key evidence related to cases of enforced disappearance, raising serious questions about its handling of the investigations. According to official documents, the agency eliminated physical and digital evidence—including files, videos, and records—that could link authorities to crimes committed during the administration of Roberto Sandoval (2011–2017) and the office of prosecutor Édgar Veytia.

Meanwhile, the discovery of clandestine graves has revealed the magnitude of the violence. Between 2021 and 2024, at least 52 bodies were exhumed in municipalities such as Xalisco, many with signs of torture and execution. Collectives and relatives of victims say these crimes are directly linked to the Sandoval-Veytia era. However, the institutional response has been insufficient: in 2024, as mentioned above, it was revealed that the Nayarit Attorney General's Office destroyed key evidence, such as files and videos, under the pretext of "lack of space," raising suspicions of a deliberate cover-up.

3.3.5. Jalisco

Currently, Jalisco is the state in Mexico with the highest number of missing persons, according to the RNPd, with a total of 15,479.⁷³ The RNPd has documented at least one disappearance in each of the state's municipalities over the last 20 years.⁷⁴

As of the same date, there are 5,025 deceased persons who have not been identified, according to the Registry of Unidentified Missing Persons maintained by the Jalisco Institute of Forensic Sciences (IJCF).⁷⁵ The Jalisco Deputy Prosecutor's Office for Missing Persons (VPDJ) has reported that, from December 2018 to June 2025, it has processed 205 clandestine burial sites located in 19 municipalities, accounting for 1,956 deceased persons, of whom 1,054 have been identified.⁷⁶

A problem shared by other regions of the country is the lack of detailed records that account not only for the type of victims who are disappeared and the reasons for their disappearance, but also for

⁷⁰ See <https://aristeguinoticias.com/1404/mexico/desaparecer-toda-prueba-la-fiscalia-de-nayarit-destruye-evidencias-y-ahonda-dudas/>

⁷¹ See https://repositorio.colmex.mx/concern/press_releases/1z40kx015

⁷² See <https://aristeguinoticias.com/1404/mexico/desaparecer-toda-prueba-la-fiscalia-de-nayarit-destruye-evidencias-y-ahonda-dudas/>

⁷³ National Search Commission, RNPd: <https://versionpublicaRNPd.segob.gob.mx/Dashboard/ContextoGeneral> (information as of July 21, 2025). In addition, Jalisco has a state registry (<https://version-publica-repd.jalisco.gob.mx/>) whose figures do not match the national figures (as of July 21, it reported 15,728 missing persons) and which suffers from various problems, including: lack of real-time updates (figures are shown monthly), baselines with different years in which information begins to be reported (depending on the category, the year changes), lack of age disaggregation (age groups are shown), and lack of disaggregation of crimes (at least forced disappearance and disappearance committed by private individuals).

⁷⁴ Information obtained from the RNPd.

⁷⁵ For more information, see Jalisco Institute of Forensic Sciences. Registry of Unidentified Deceased Persons. Available at: <http://consultas.cienciasforenses.jalisco.gob.mx/>. With the note that this registry only includes findings or data from the PFSI as of September 2018, leaving out hundreds of records of corpses and human remains prior to that date that remain unidentified.

⁷⁶ Jalisco Deputy Attorney General's Office for Missing Persons. Clandestine burial sites: <https://fiscaliaenpersonasdesaparecidas.jalisco.gob.mx/registro-estatal-de-fosas-clandestinas/>

the perpetrators. However, public information that has come to light in recent years shows the direct involvement of state agents in the disappearance of persons.

In recent years, the Deputy Attorney General's Office reported the arrest and/or indictment for enforced disappearance of municipal police officers in Acatitán,⁷⁷ Ciudad Guzmán,⁷⁸ La Barca,⁷⁹ Ocotlán⁸⁰, San Ignacio Cerro Gordo,⁸¹ Sayula,⁸² Tala, Tlaquepaque, Tlajomulco, and Zapopan.

The infiltration of organized crime into security structures in Jalisco allows disappearances and crimes to continue, guaranteeing impunity. There are some very high-profile cases that illustrate this. For example, on June 5, 2020, more than 80 young protesters disappeared after being detained by more than 200 members of the Jalisco State Attorney General's Office's Investigative Police and municipal police officers from Guadalajara and Zapopan, who were dressed in plain clothes.⁸⁷ and after several days of intense media pressure and widespread outrage, the state police took control of the municipal police⁸⁸ and the then governor of Jalisco, Enrique Alfaro, declared that the State Attorney General's Office was infiltrated by organized crime⁸⁹ and pledged to clean up the institution, which never happened. The existence of these links has led to more than 22 municipal police forces in Jalisco having to be intervened since 2014 due to their links to organized crime and their involvement in forced disappearances.

In a sample based on 160 confirmed cases or cases with strong indications of enforced disappearance, it was found that most of the victims were young men (between 21 and 30 years old), who disappeared mainly in urban and densely populated areas such as

⁷⁷ See <https://fiscalia.jalisco.gob.mx/comunicacion-social/boletines-de-prensa/boletin-632---20240314>

⁷⁸ See <https://jalisco.gob.mx/es/prensa/noticias/123375>

⁷⁹ See <https://fiscaliaenpersonasdesaparecidas.jalisco.gob.mx/por-la-desaparicion-de-tres-personas-fepd-logra-la-vinculacion-a-proceso-de-siete-policias-de-la-barca/>

⁸⁰ See https://fiscalia.jalisco.gob.mx/comunicacion-social/boletines-de-prensa/boletin-201--20240124-?fbclid=IwAR3MHmm5A3PHmML5r-c_0YDsO1xVVZFuNPv4Yh61V177GgpRSJSG0jTTiC0

⁸¹ See <https://fiscaliaenpersonasdesaparecidas.jalisco.gob.mx/la-fiscalia-especial-en-personas-desaparecidas-detiene-a-cuatro-elementos-de-la-comisaria-de-san-ignacio-cerro-gordo-y-a-un-ex-servidor-publico-municipal-por-su-posible-responsabilidad-en-la-desaparec/>

⁸² See <https://fiscaliaenpersonasdesaparecidas.jalisco.gob.mx/por-el-delito-de-desaparicion-forzada-de-personas-fe-obtiene-vinculacion-a-proceso-contraseis-policias-de-sayula/>

⁸³ See <https://www.infobae.com/mexico/2025/03/31/ex-policias-de-tala-enfrentan-proceso-por-desaparicion-forzada-en-jalisco-senalando-presunto-vinculo-con-caso-teuchitlan/>. (This is the only case in which the information does not come from the Prosecutor's Office because the investigation is being conducted by the FGR).

⁸⁴ See <https://fiscaliaenpersonasdesaparecidas.jalisco.gob.mx/fepd-imputa-a-cinco-policias-de-san-pedro-tlaquepaque-por-su-probable-participacion-en-la-desaparicion-de-un-hombre/>

⁸⁵ See <https://fiscalia.jalisco.gob.mx/comunicacion-social/boletines-de-prensa/boletin-557--20240305>

⁸⁶ See <https://fiscalia.jalisco.gob.mx/comunicacion-social/boletines-de-prensa/comunicado-89-20250219>

⁸⁷ For several days, hundreds of people had protested in Guadalajara against the arbitrary detention, torture, and murder of Mr. Giovanni López in the municipality of Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos. The victim had been arrested on the night of May 4, 2020, by municipal police officers for not wearing a face mask. The next day, his relatives went to the municipal jail and were told that he had been transferred to the Civil Hospital of Guadalajara, where they informed the family that he had died in police custody as a result of a traumatic brain injury. See BBC News Mundo. Giovanni López: "Justice for Giovanni," the case of police brutality that has shocked Mexico. June 5, 2025: <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-52935685>.

⁸⁸ El Sol de México. Jalisco takes control of Ixtlahuacán police after Giovanni López case. June 5, 2020: <https://oem.com.mx/elsoldemexico/mexico/jalisco-toma-control-de-policia-de-ixtlahuacan-de-los-membrillos-tras-caso-giovanni-lopez-15931652>

⁸⁹ La Jornada. Crime infiltrates the state prosecutor's office, suspects Governor Alfaro. June 7, 2020: <https://www.jornada.com.mx/2020/06/07/politica/007n1pol>

⁹⁰ El Informador "A total of 22 police officers have been arrested in the last decade in Jalisco." October 10, 2023 <https://www.informador.mx/jalisco/Seguridad-en-Jalisco-Suman-22-Policias-intervenidas-en-la-ultima-decada-20231010-0031.html>

Guadalajara, Zapopan, and Tlajomulco⁹¹. Of the public servants identified as perpetrators, municipal police officers topped the list (85 cases), followed by agents of the Attorney General's Office (47 cases), showing a broad distribution of responsibility among different levels of government and security forces.

The modes of operation reveal repeated patterns: illegal arrests without warrants, disappearances after victims are released, or direct handover to criminal groups. In many cases, people were arrested by police, taken to municipal or state detention centers, and released under suspicious circumstances, only to disappear shortly thereafter, often in front of their families. This "indirect handover" seeks to simulate a legal procedure to cover up the responsibility of state agents and maximize the chances of impunity.

Similarly, documentation of forced recruitment camps such as those found in Tala and Teuchitlán reveals a new dimension of enforced disappearance: deprivation of liberty for the purposes of slavery, criminal training, and violent subjugation. Young people from different municipalities in Jalisco and even from other states in the country were lured with false job offers and subsequently recruited against their will by organized crime groups, subjected to armed training, and forced to participate in acts of extreme violence.

These camps, such as the one recently documented at Rancho Izaguirre, operated for years in plain sight, without any action being taken by the authorities, despite complaints from community groups and communities. The current context of the discovery has demonstrated the active participation of the municipal president in the operation of the municipality, who allegedly supported the Jalisco New Generation Cartel (CJNG) with patrols, weapons, and municipal machinery⁽⁹⁶⁾. With this collaboration and protection, the forced recruitment of people in the Rancho Izaguirre case was guaranteed to continue permanently and in broad daylight. Satellite images and news reports show that there has been intense activity since at least 2014, while the arrest of former police officers linked to these facilities confirms direct institutional involvement. This situation constitutes an enforced disappearance under the terms of the International Convention: deprivation of liberty incommunicado, state participation or permissiveness, and refusal to acknowledge the detention.

⁹¹ Gutiérrez, et. al., "Forced Disappearance in Jalisco: More than Just Cases, the Driving Force Behind the Missing Persons Crisis," University Committee on Disappeared Persons, January 2025

⁹² Ibid Gutiérrez, et. al. 2025

⁹³ Marcela Turati, "Teuchitlán forma parte de un circuito desaparecedor" (Teuchitlán is part of a disappearance circuit), A dónde van los desaparecidos, March 19, 2025, <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2025/03/19/teuchitlan-forma-parte-de-un-circuito-desaparecedor/>

⁹⁴ Alejandra Guillén and Diego Petersen, "The return from hell; the disappeared who are alive," El Informador, February 4, 2019, <https://www.informador.mx/El-regreso-del-infierno-los-desaparecidos-que-están-vivos-l201902040002.html>

⁹⁵ Luz Borja, "Harfuch reveals how young people were recruited and taken to the Teuchitlán ranch," El Informador, March 24, 2025, <https://www.informador.mx/mexico/Teuchitlan-Secretario-de-Seguridad-revela-como-reclutaban-a-jovenes-para-llevarlos-a-rancho-Izaguirre-20250324-0060.html>

⁹⁶ Proceso. After a 10-hour hearing, the mayor of Teuchitlán is charged in connection with the Izaguirre ranch. May 10, 2025: <https://www.proceso.com.mx/nacional/estados/2025/5/10/tras-10-horas-de-audiencia-vinculan-proceso-al-alcalde-de-teuchitlan-por-el-rancho-izaguirre-350894.html>

⁹⁷ Animal Político Editorial Team, "Satellite images of the Teuchitlán ranch reveal periods of intense activity on the land since at least 2014," Animal Político, March 15, 2024, <https://animalpolitico.com/estados/imagenes-satelitales-rancho-teuchitlan-actividad-2014>; Pablo Ferri and Zedryk Raziel, "'High concentrations of ash' and gasoline: evidence pointing to clandestine crematoriums at the Teuchitlán ranch," El País, March 28, 2024,

In municipalities hit hard by insecurity, it has been shown that organized crime had access to strategic municipal information. ⁹⁸ Such is the case in Teocaltiche, where, following the disappearance of eight municipal police officers and their driver in February 2025, two municipal corporations were ordered to intervene ⁽⁹⁸⁾ and it was confirmed that organized crime groups had direct access to video surveillance systems ⁽⁹⁹⁾ which had already happened two years earlier ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

However, this pattern has been going on for years in the state and shows that the lack of preventive measures affects young people in need who are enslaved to carry out different types of forced labor, whether in bus stations municipalities near the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area or in the highlands of Jalisco.

3.3.6. Guanajuato

Guanajuato entered the scene of disappearances in Mexico in 2017, a late entry compared to the northern states or neighboring Jalisco. However, in this short period, the number of missing persons, search groups, and clandestine graves has grown dramatically. The multiple we have reached is 8, meaning that in seven years, the number of missing persons has grown eightfold, from 621 cases in April 2018 to 4,855 in April 2025. Without downplaying the numbers, what is most disturbing is the speed with which this problem has grown in the state, as well as the simultaneous increase in crime indicators that have kept Guanajuato in first place nationally in homicides since 2018.

Although the cities with the highest number of missing persons are located in the industrial corridor, such as Celaya, Irapuato, León, and Salamanca, the cases in small municipalities such as Juventino Rosas, Uriangato,

⁹⁸ El Universal. Eight police officers disappear; two municipalities intervene. February 20, 2025:

<https://www.eluniversal.com.mx/estados/desaparecen-ocho-policias-intervienen-dos-municipios/>

⁹⁹ Organized crime controlled illegal cameras and C2 monitoring center in Teocaltiche, Jalisco. February 21, 2025:

<https://www.nmas.com.mx/guadalajara/crimen-organizado-controlaba-camaras-ilegales-y-centro-de-monitoreo-c2-en-teocaltiche/>;

¹⁰⁰ Aristegui Noticias. Criminal groups videovigilaban Teocaltiche, Jalisco, con un C2. October 2, 2023:

<https://aristeginoticias.com/0210/mexico/grupos-delictivos-videovigilaban-teocaltiche-jalisco-con-un-c2/>

¹⁰¹ Where do the disappeared go? Forced recruitment and disappearance, a debt owed to Mexican youth. December 12, 2024: <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2024/12/12/reclutamiento-forzado-y-desaparicion-una-deuda-pendiente-a-las-juventudes-mexicanas/>

¹⁰² INFOBAE. More than 50 people are missing from the Nueva Central Camionera bus station in Tlaquepaque; they are believed to have been recruited by the CJNG. September 22, 2024: <https://www.infobae.com/mexico/2024/09/22/suman-mas-de-50-desaparecidos-en-la-nueva-central-camionera-de-tlaquepaque-serian-reclutados-por-el-cjng/>.

¹⁰³ Quinto Elemento Lab. The return from hell; the disappeared who are alive. February 4, 2019:

<https://quintoelab.org/project/regresodelinfierno>

¹⁰⁴ Aristegui Noticias. Five young people from Lagos de Moreno may have been victims of forced criminal recruitment: Saucedo. August 13, 2023: <https://aristeginoticias.com/1708/aristegui-en-vivo/entrevistas-completas/cinco-jovenes-de-lagos-de-moreno-pudieron-ser-victimas-de-reclutamiento-criminal-forzado-saucedo/>.

¹⁰⁵ This figure includes the 167 cases recorded in the RNPDO prior to 2012 and the 4,688 reports recorded by the Guanajuato State Attorney General's Office.

¹⁰⁶ Lorusso, F. (May 29, 2025). *Rancho Nuevo del Llanito, Salvatierra, and the mass graves of Guanajuato*. La Verdad investigative journalism <https://laverdadjuarez.com/2025/05/29/rancho-nuevo-del-llanito-salvatierra-y-las-fosas-masivas-de-guanajuato/> See also Where do the disappeared go, "Puro pa' adelante porque no vamos a dejar a ninguno" (Straight ahead because we won't leave anyone behind). Disappearance of persons, forensic crisis, and resistance in Guanajuato, October 25, 2022 <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2022/10/25/puro-pa-adelante-porque-no-vamos-a-dejar-a-ninguno-desaparicion-de-personas-tesis-forense-y-resistencia-en-guanajuato/>

¹⁰⁷ Jiménez, E. (April 2, 2025). How many years passed before Guanajuato had a day with zero intentional homicides? Infobae. <https://www.infobae.com/mexico/2025/04/03/cuantos-anos-pasaron-para-que-guanajuato-tuviera-un-dia-con-cero-homicidios-dolosos/>

Apaseo el Alto, Villagrán, and Pénjamo have maintained high rates. In particular, the latter two remained among the top six municipalities in both absolute and weighted numbers, at least until 2024¹⁰⁸. As in other regions, enforced disappearances in Guanajuato are linked to the activities of criminal groups with a presence in the state, including local cartels such as Santa Rosa de Lima in the Laja-Bajío region and areas bordering Michoacán, and other groups active in several states, such as the Jalisco New Generation Cartel ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. However, the sustained impunity during the more than 15 years that Carlos Zamarripa was State Attorney General is particularly significant in the increase in cases, as the complaint the sustained impunity during the more than 15 years that Carlos Zamarripa was State Attorney General, as the complaint maintained by relatives has been first the concealment of information and then multiple omissions and opacity in both field searches and forensic findings and identification processes that are required by law but not complied with in everyday practice.

Regarding the concealment of information, for example, the existence of clandestine graves was systematically denied until 2020, when the discoveries at the Rancho Nuevo site in Salvatierra and Cerro del Toro in Acámbaro (each with more than 50 exhumed bodies) were driven by the demands of families already organized into collectives, leading to their recognition⁽¹¹¹⁾. According to the monitoring carried out by Ibero León in its Data Center there are 723 clandestine graves between 2009 and March 2025, with some 1,352 bodies recovered. Also according to these figures, Irapuato is the municipality with the most clandestine graves and bodies found, followed by Salamanca, Juventino Rosas, Acámbaro, Celaya, Villagrán, and Salvatierra.

It should be noted that these findings have often been the result of independent searches, as there are several groups that, in addition to the searches called for by the State Search Commission, carry out their own investigations. For example, the *Independent Brigade*, which is part of the *Hasta Encontrarte* collective, has managed to recover more than 230 bodies¹¹³; considering the figure of 995 bodies exhumed from clandestine graves between 2020 and June 2024.

As in other states, the lack of identification is a debt that reflects chains of unfulfilled responsibilities in the relevant authorities, since as of August 2024, 929 bodies or identified remains were still held in the state prosecutor's forensic morgue, of which 907 had not yet been identified¹¹⁴. Even more serious are the administrative disappearances, which refer to remains handed over to relatives who do not

¹⁰⁸ Lorusso, F. (2024) Report on the situation of disappearances, clandestine graves, and mass graves in Guanajuato (2009-June 2024). Universidad Iberoamericana León

¹⁰⁹ IMDHD Mexican Institute for Human Rights and Democracy (2025) Guanajuato Report

<https://imdhd.org/redlupa/informes-y-analisis/informes-estatales/region-bajio/personas-desaparecidas-guanajuato/>

¹¹⁰ Estrada, S. (2024). Madres buscadoras de Guanajuato: Resistencia y memoria en contextos de violencia [Thesis doctoral, Autonomous Metropolitan Metropolitana].

<https://bindani.izt.uam.mx/concern/tesiuams/ws859g373>

¹¹¹ Ávila, A. (December 8, 2020). Search for graves continues in Acámbaro; activists demand dignified treatment from the Attorney General's Office. Zona Franca.

<https://zonafranca.mx/politica-sociedad/ddhh/continuan-busqueda-de-fosas-en-acambaro-activistas-piden-trato-digno-a-fiscalia/>

¹¹² Clandestine and common graves in Guanajuato <https://www.iberoleon.mx/centro-de-datos>

¹¹³ Reyes, G. (November 11, 2024). Amid threats, Independent Brigade makes more than 250 discoveries in two years. Noticias en Línea. <https://noticierosenlinea.com/estado/2024/nov/11/entre-amenazas-logra-brigada-independiente-mas-de-250-hallazgos-en-2-anos-44854.html>

¹¹⁴ Lorusso, F. (2024) Report on the situation of disappearances, clandestine graves, and mass graves in Guanajuato (2009-June 2024). Universidad Iberoamericana León; see also <https://www.iberoleon.mx/centro-de-datos>

corresponded to the identity of their missing person¹¹⁵ and the years of delay in identifying and returning a body to its relatives¹¹⁶

Since 2021, the Platform for Peace and Justice in Guanajuato has submitted 25 requests for urgent action under Article 30 of the Convention. Of these, at least 18 remain open¹¹⁷ and others were closed because the disappeared persons were found dead¹¹⁸. In these cases, the Platform submitted information to the Committee during its 2021 visit and has twice sent collective reports on compliance with the recommendations made in the cases involved. These reports highlight that, although the recommendations have been fundamental in establishing comprehensive search plans, they are losing momentum as the Mexican State dilutes its search obligations. We can therefore affirm that the recommendations relating to the search, investigation, care, and participation of victims, as well as their protection, are systematically violated by the Mexican State. Despite this, the Urgent Actions have made it possible to locate the remains of 30% of the active cases (¹¹⁹) and have allowed for the recognition of structural phenomena such as extortion, organized crime, and internal displacement associated with disappearances. In recent years, the Urgent Actions have played a vital role in protection.

It should be noted that despite this, we went from three search groups at the beginning of 2019 to more than 25 in 2025, most of which were formed between 2020 and 2023 and are present in practically the entire state of Guanajuato. As in other regions, these groups are made up almost entirely of women: mothers, wives, sisters who tend to participate actively despite the violence that has made this state the most lethal for searchers(¹²⁰). In this regard, as of 2025, there are four known cases of missing searchers and six murdered(¹²¹). In recent years, female searchers have emerged as leading social actors, filling the media space and constantly challenging state and federal authorities by firmly demanding their right to search and the right of every missing person to be searched for.

3.3.7. Tabasco

The disappearance of persons in Tabasco has increased significantly since 2018, with an exponential increase in 2024 and 2025.

1. Evolution and context

¹¹⁵ Zona Franca. (July 16, 2025) "Five years later, they tell me it wasn't my daughter": Prosecutor's office exhumes misidentified body from grave in Apaseo. Zona Franca. <https://zonafranca.mx/politica-sociedad/cinco-anos-despues-me-dicen-que-no-era-mi-hija-fiscalia-exhuma-cuerpo-mal-identificado-en-fosa-de-apaseo/>

¹¹⁶ Correo, (July 24, 2025). Isaac Aarón's family searched for him for four years, but the Guanajuato Prosecutor's Office always had his body. Correo newspaper. <https://periodicocorreo.com.mx/seguridad/2025/jul/24/familia-de-isaac-aaron-lo-busco-por-4-anos-pero-la-fiscalia-de-guanajuato-siempre-tuvo-su-cuerpo-133680.html>

¹¹⁷ Ref: 2063/2025, 2004/2025, 1985/2025, 1984/2025, 1983/2025, 1937/2024, 1936/2024, 1693/2024, 1620/2023, 1623/2023, 1603/2023, 1614/2023, 1526-2022, 1476/2022, 1475/2022, 1453/2021, 1452/2021, and 1414-2021.

¹¹⁸ 1008/2021, 1399/2021, 1400/2021, 1565/2023, 1566/2023, 1567/2023, and 1568/2023

¹¹⁹ Source: Platform for Peace and Justice in Guanajuato

¹²⁰ Estrada, S. (2024). Madres buscadoras de Guanajuato: Resistencia y memoria en contextos de violencia [Thesis doctoral, Autonomous University Metropolitan Metropolitana]. <https://bindani.izt.uam.mx/concern/tesiuams/ws859g373>

¹²¹ Article 19. (June 12, 2025). Statement: We demand immediate action to find the missing father José Francisco Arias Mendoza. Article 19. <https://articulo19.org/exigimos-acciones-inmediatas-de-busqueda-en-vida-del-padre-buscador-jose-francisco-arias-mendoza/>

- From 1952 to January 2024, the RNPDO recorded 270 missing persons¹²². The increase began in 2014 and peaked in 2018 with 118 cases. The numbers then temporarily declined¹²³.
- Between 2019 and 2024, 55% of the disappearances of the last two decades occurred (144 cases)¹²⁴. In 2021, 142 disappearances of minors were reported¹²⁵. By 2023, there was an 80% increase compared to 2022¹²⁶.

2. Increase in 2024-2025

- In Centro alone, between January and May 2024, 309 disappearances were reported, more than double the previous year. From November 2024 to March 2025, cases rose from 1,338 to 2,718, an increase of 100%.
- In May 2025, the state total was 3,952 disappearances, an increase of 87% over the previous year. In the municipality of Centro, cases rose by 600% in one year.

3. Most affected populations

- Between 21% and 22% of disappearances of women and girls involve adolescents aged 15 to 19, with 1,215 cases reported by 2025¹³¹.
- Between 1981 and October 2024, 299 disappearances of minors (207 females) were reported¹³².
- There are also 102 missing migrants, mainly from Honduras, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

4. Risk factors

- The increase is associated with the dispute between the CJNG and La Barredora, especially in Centro, Huimanguillo, and Cárdenas. Territorial control and sex trafficking are linked to many disappearances.

5. Institutional response

- The state government claims that Tabasco remains at the bottom of the national incidence rankings and highlights the creation of the Search Commission and coordination with the FGE¹³⁵.

¹²² See <https://www.diariopresente.mx/tabasco/270-desaparecidos-o-no-localizados-en-tabasco/395416>

¹²³ See <https://imdh.org/redlupa/informes-y-analisis/informes-estatales/region-sureste/personas-desaparecidas-tabasco/>

¹²⁴ See <https://www.elheraldodetabasco.com.mx/local/cuantos-desaparecidos-hay-en-tabasco-11261116.html>

¹²⁵ See <https://www.elheraldodetabasco.com.mx/local/cuantas-desapariciones-de-menores-han-ocurrido-en-tabasco-12690636.html>

¹²⁶ See <https://imdh.org/redlupa/informes-y-analisis/informes-nacionales/informe-nacional-2024/>

¹²⁷ See <https://imdh.org/redlupa/informes-y-analisis/informes-estatales/region-sureste/personas-desaparecidas-tabasco/>

¹²⁸ See <https://www.infobae.com/mexico/2025/03/22/crisis-de-desaparecidos-en-mexico-casi-8-mil-victimas-mas-en-5-meses/>

¹²⁹ See <https://www.posta.com.mx/mexico/tabasco-the-state-with-the-most-disappearances-of-girls-and-women-in-mexico/vi2063108> See also <https://imdh.org/redlupa/informes-y-analisis/informes-nacionales/informe-nacional-de-personas-desaparecidas-2025/>

¹³⁰ See <https://www.posta.com.mx/mexico/tabasco-el-estado-con-mas-desapariciones-de-ninas-y-mujeres-en-mexico/vi2063108>

¹³¹ See <https://www.posta.com.mx/mexico/tabasco-the-state-with-the-most-disappearances-of-girls-and-women-in-mexico/vi2063108> and <https://imdh.org/redlupa/informes-y-analisis/informes-nacionales/informe-nacional-de-personas-desaparecidas-2025/>

¹³² See <https://www.elheraldodetabasco.com.mx/local/cuantas-desapariciones-de-menores-han-ocurrido-en-tabasco-12690636.html>

¹³³ See <https://www.elheraldodetabasco.com.mx/local/cuantos-desaparecidos-hay-en-tabasco-11261116.html>

¹³⁴ See <https://www.posta.com.mx/mexico/tabasco-the-state-with-the-most-disappearances-of-girls-and-women-in-mexico/vi2063108> See also <https://www.infobae.com/mexico/2025/03/22/crisis-de-desaparecidos-en-mexico-almost-8,000-more-victims-in-5-months/>

¹³⁵ See <https://tabasco.gob.mx/noticias/tabasco-el-estado-con-menor-incidencia-de-desaparecidos-en-mexico-del-rivero> and <https://tabasco.gob.mx/noticias/tabasco-lugar-31-del-pais-con-el-menor-indice-de-personas-desaparecidas>

- However, the CNDH has reported serious failures on the part of the local prosecutor's office, while search groups led by women are filling the gap left by the lack of official action¹³⁶.

Disappearances in Tabasco have grown alarmingly, especially in the last two years, with girls and young women as the main victims. Although there are institutional efforts, impunity, corruption, and alleged collusion between authorities and organized crime persist. Notable are the allegations against Hernán Bermúdez Requena, former Secretary of Security (2018-2024), who is allegedly linked to organized crime under the government of Adán Augusto López. This suggests state acquiescence in enforced disappearances:

3.3.8. Morelos ¹⁴⁰

Morelos has been a key state in documenting enforced disappearances, as it was there that the clandestine use of state-run mass graves to hide bodies was discovered. The cases of Tetelcingo and Jojutla revealed the direct involvement of forensic institutions in the illegal concealment of human remains, leading to the coining of the term "state-run clandestine graves," used by search groups to denounce these practices.

According to the RNPd, as of July 25, 2025, there were 1,662 people missing in Morelos, 315 unaccounted for, 4,518 found alive, and 449 dead¹⁴¹. As in other regions of the country, these disappearances are linked to organized crime and the complicity of state forces. The state's involvement in disappearances dates back to the governorship of Jorge Carrillo Olea (1994-1998), a former military officer who allowed the Juárez Cartel to enter the state. During his administration, the Anti-Kidnapping Unit was created, made up of forces trained in Colombia, institutionalizing kidnapping as a form of extortion. It is estimated that some 300 hitmen from the Juárez Cartel were incorporated into the local security forces. This period marked the beginning of a structure of disappearances carried out by the state apparatus, which has continued to the present ^{day}.

The case of Oliver Wenceslao Navarrete Hernández, kidnapped in May 2013 in Cuautla, highlighted this practice. His body was identified by his family at the Forensic Services, but was then illegally buried in a mass grave on an irregular plot of land known as El

¹³⁶ See <https://www.cndh.org.mx/documento/cndh-emite-recomendacion-la-fiscalia-de-tabasco-por-desaparicion-forzada-de-victima-y> See also <https://www.es.amnesty.org/en-que-estamos/blog/historia/articulo/desapariciones-forzadas-quien-sabe-donde-en-mexico/>

¹³⁷ See <https://imdhd.org/redlupa/informes-y-analisis/informes-estatales/region-sureste/personas-desaparecidas-tabasco/> See also <https://imdhd.org/redlupa/informes-y-analisis/informes-nacionales/informe-nacional-de-personas-desaparecidas-2025/> and <https://www.posta.com.mx/mexico/tabasco-el-estado-con-mas-desapariciones-de-ninas-y-mujeres-en-mexico/vi2063108>

¹³⁸ See <https://www.proceso.com.mx/nacional/2025/7/22/trevilla-justifica-silencio-en-caso-bermudez-no-se-puede-informar-algo-que-no-esta-comprobado-355336.html> and <https://www.proceso.com.mx/nacional/2025/7/22/trevilla-justifica-silencio-en-caso-bermudez-no-se-puede-informar-algo-que-no-esta-comprobado-355336.html>

¹³⁹ See <https://www.infobae.com/mexico/2025/07/22/amlo-recibio-multiples-alertas-sobre-herman-bermudez-y-sus-presuntos-nexos-criminales-en-tabasco/>

¹⁴⁰ The situation of the disappearance in Morelos was taken from the book *Exhumar la Esperanza* (2025) by R. Aída Hernández Castillo.

¹⁴¹ See Statistical Tables of the RNPd <https://share.google/ZSFInObXqSLJIN7Bh>

¹⁴² A reconstruction of the links between state security forces and organized crime in Morelos can be found in Fernández Menéndez, Jorge (2002) *El otro poder. Las redes de la política, la violencia y el narcotráfico en México*, Mexico, Aguilar. And Fernández, Menéndez, Jorge (2022) "Narcopolítica en Morelos: historia de dos décadas" (Narco-politics in Morelos: a two-decade history), *Excélsior*, "Opinion," available at <https://www.excelsior.com.mx/opinion/jorge-fernandez-menendez/narcopolitica-en-morelos-historia-de-dos-decadas/1493926>

Maguey. When he was exhumed, 150 black bags were found alongside him, some containing incomplete bodies, without proper forensic protocols. Many of the bodies showed signs of torture, were tied up and had personal belongings or weapons, in violation of forensic standards. In Tetelcingo, 117 bodies were found, of which only 44 had registered genetic profiles⁽¹⁴³⁾.

This discovery revealed the state's responsibility for the disappearance and mishandling of bodies. Oliver's case was instrumental in exposing the irregular use of mass graves as a means of cover-up by the state, echoing the cry of the Ayotzinapa families: "It was the state!"

Subsequently, families from Jojutla reported that graves were also being used to hide bodies in the Pedro Amaro cemetery. Witnesses reported seeing black trucks dumping bodies at night. Thanks to the efforts of local groups, who brought the case before the UN, these graves were opened.

In Jojutla, where 30 bodies had been officially reported, 141 bodies were found, along with 83 pieces of forensic evidence that have not yet been identified. These findings were made during four exhumations supervised by collectives and independent experts: in 2017 (85 bodies), 2022, 2024 (42 bodies), and 2025 (the 83 pieces of evidence)⁽¹⁴⁴⁾. These exhumations confirmed the systematic nature of the state's irregular burial practices.

Many people buried in Jojutla have been disappeared three times: first by the violent acts that ended their lives; then by their illegal transfer to state graves without protocols (no autopsies or genetic sampling); and finally by being reburied without identification ¹⁴⁵. This triple disappearance reveals structural revictimization and a pattern of institutional impunity.

The findings in Tetelcingo and Jojutla confirm the existence of a "disappearance mechanism" operated by the state, through the use of clandestine mass graves, in violation of legal and forensic standards. This situation has forced the expansion of forensic and human rights language to name these practices as "state clandestine graves," a category that denounces the systematic concealment of bodies and evidences the active role of the state in the disappearance and concealment of persons.

3.3.9. Baja California

In Baja California, expressions of violence are remarkably diverse and, in recent years, have reached critical levels, leading to multiple and systematic human rights violations. Among these, the disappearance of persons stands out, a phenomenon that has been exacerbated by its convergence with other dynamics of structural violence, such as forced displacement, drug trafficking, homelessness, and human trafficking for sexual exploitation, all of which are persistent in the state.

¹⁴³ For an analysis of all the irregularities found in the Tetelcingo graves, see *the report Clandestine Graves in Tetelcingo* <https://centroprodh.org.mx/2017/12/11/informe-fosas-clandestinas-de-tetelcingo-interpretaciones-preliminares/>

¹⁴⁴ For an analysis of all the irregularities found in the Tetelcingo graves, see *the report Clandestine Graves in Tetelcingo* <https://centroprodh.org.mx/2017/12/11/informe-fosas-clandestinas-de-tetelcingo-interpretaciones-preliminares/>

¹⁴⁵ Source: The Morelos Attorney General's Office reports preliminary results of the fourth phase of exhumations in the mass grave at the "Pedro Amaro" cemetery in Jojutla | Morelos State Attorney General's Office <https://share.google/EL2tUQtK4enXTiikt>

To date, official data report the existence of 4,426¹⁴⁶ missing persons in the state. However, collectives and relatives of missing persons have pointed out that this figure does not reflect the true magnitude of the phenomenon. In this regard, a study by Elementa DDHH (2022) indicates that the State Attorney General's Office reported, through requests for access to information, the existence of 17,306 open investigation files for the crime of disappearance. In contrast, during the same period, the National Registry of Missing and Unlocated Persons documented only 2,302 cases. The following table shows the distribution by municipality according to both sources.

Municipality	Files opened for disappearance in the State Prosecutor's Office	Missing persons according to the RNPDPN
Ensenada	3,62	19
Mexicali	5,708	548
Rosarito Beaches	1,204	95
Tecate	1,231	90
Tijuana	5,540	1,370
San Quintín	No data	9
Unknown	No data	49
TOTAL	17,306	2,360

Source: Prepared by the author using data from Elementa DDHH, provided by the FGEBC, and data from the National Registry of Missing and Unlocated Persons.

This disparity in figures is due to the failure of the State Attorney General's Office to fulfill its obligation to periodically update the National Registry of Missing and Unlocated Persons, as established in Article 105 of the General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons. Faced with the magnitude of the phenomenon, state authorities under the administration of Marina del Pilar Ávila Olmeda have maintained a narrative that minimizes the crisis by arguing that most disappearances are voluntary and that there is no certainty that the disappeared persons, or even the bodies and remains that have been located, are the result of crimes⁽¹⁴⁸⁾.

This lack of transparency is compounded by the forensic crisis. According to data from Elementa DDHH (2025), between October 2009 and March 2025, 415 clandestine graves were found in the state.

¹⁴⁶ National Registry of Missing and Unlocated Persons as of August 5, 2025.

<https://versionpublicarnpdno.segob.gob.mx/Dashboard/ContextoGeneral>

¹⁴⁷ These figures correspond to the period from December 1, 2006, to December 31, 2022. Elementa DDHH (2025).

Desaparecer en Baja California. Mexico City, Mexico. See <https://desaparecerenbc.elementaddhh.org/>

¹⁴⁸ NMás. (2024, February 13). *In Baja California, only 10% of disappearances are related to crimes, according to the State Attorney General's Office*. N+ Local. Retrieved August 5, 2025, from <https://www.nmas.com.mx/nmas-local/programas/las-noticias-tijuana/videos/desapariciones-baja-california-solo-10-por-ciento-son-relacionadas-delitos/>

In addition, between 2010 and March 2025, 14,378 unidentified bodies were reported to have been buried in mass graves in the municipalities of Mexicali, Tijuana, and Ensenada.

Regarding the profiles of missing persons, the Elementa DDHH study (2022) indicates that the age group with the highest number of reports for women is 12 to 18 years old, while for men it is 26 to 35 years old. This trend coincides with data published by Red Lupa (2025), which indicates that 54.68% of cases of missing and unaccounted persons are concentrated between the ages of 15 and 39⁽¹⁴⁹⁾. Elementa DDHH also points out that the disappearance of women is linked to the different forms of violence perpetrated against women.

This refusal to provide clear and responsible information can be interpreted as part of an institutional mechanism that enables and perpetuates the disappearance of persons. Added to this is evidence of the involvement of public officials in this crime. In March 2025, six members of the Ensenada Municipal Public Security Secretariat were arrested for their alleged responsibility in the disappearance of several young people, and there are currently arrest warrants in force against at least twelve more municipal police officers⁽¹⁵⁰⁾.

Taken together, these elements support the argument that disappearances in Baja California are not an exceptional or isolated phenomenon, but rather point to a systematic practice involving institutional omission and the participation, through omission or collusion, of state actors.

3.3.10 State of Mexico

According to the RNPdNO¹⁵¹, as of August 4, 2025, the State of Mexico had 14,434 missing and unaccounted persons, representing 22.85% of the total number of disappearances in the country.

The State of Mexico borders several entities (Michoacán, Puebla, Hidalgo, Morelos, and Mexico City). Its proximity to Mexico City means that the urban area of the State of Mexico forms a vast urban periphery, plagued by great inequality in access to services and resources compared to Mexico City.

The rural areas of the State of Mexico, especially in the south, have been severely affected by violence and organized crime. In June 2014, a massacre took place in the municipality of Tlatlaya, where at least 22 people were extrajudicially executed by the military. According to the Centro Prodh, it was the first documented massacre in which an express order was given to "kill" civilians⁽¹⁵²⁾. The municipality of Atlautla, in the southwestern part of the state, has the highest number of reported disappearances: 1,860 people.

In terms of the urban area of the State of Mexico, the municipality of Ecatepec de Morelos ranks second in the state with the highest number of disappearances: 1,143 people reported missing. Ecatepec is crossed by the Great Drainage Canal and the Deep Drainage Canal, as well as other types of sewage and wastewater channels (such as the Canal de la Draga) and former rivers that are now channeled (such as the Río de los Remedios). All of the above have the

¹⁴⁹ Mexican Institute for Human Rights and Democracy. (n.d.). *Missing persons in Baja California*. Red Lupa. Retrieved August 5, 2025, from <https://imdh.org/redlupa/informes-y-analisis/informes-estatales/region-norte/personas-desaparecidas-baja-california/>

¹⁵⁰ Lamas, L. (2025, June 10). *Investigation continues against 20 municipal police officers in Ensenada for disappearance*. ZETA Tijuana. <https://zetatijuana.com/2025/06/sigue-investigacion-abierta-contra-20-policias-municipales-de-ensenada-por-desaparicion/>

¹⁵¹ National Registry of Missing and Unlocated Persons (2025). All figures on disappearances are taken from: <https://versionpublicarnpdno.segob.gob.mx/Dashboard/Index>

¹⁵² Centro Prodh. All documented information on the Tlatlaya case can be found at the following link: <https://centroprodh.org.mx/casos-3/tlataya/>

function of draining Mexico City of sewage, wastewater, and rainwater and transporting it to the state of Hidalgo and, at least since the 1980s, to hide human bodies in its waters.

In January 1982, the bodies of between twelve and fourteen people were found in the Tula River, in what became known as "the Tula River massacre." The investigation carried out by the Mechanism for Truth and Historical Clarification attributed this massacre to the Jaguar Group, a team of police officers led by Arturo *El Negro* Durazo. The bodies were thrown through the manhole ⁽¹⁵³⁾ 8 into the flow of the Central Emissary of the Deep Drainage System ⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ .

In 2014, the bodies of at least sixteen girls and young women who had been sexually assaulted and murdered since 2012 were found in the Grand Canal. Subsequent investigations revealed that the perpetrators were a femicide gang involved in organized crime, which included municipal and state police officers, as well as military personnel. No convictions were ever handed down.

Since 2020, the group "Uniendo Esperanzas" (Uniting Hopes) from the State of Mexico, along with other groups from the area, have conducted numerous searches in different parts of the Grand Canal, as well as in other sewage canals. Human remains are found frequently: there has not been a single search that has not yielded at least one positive result. However, there are still no identifications of these skeletal remains, nor is there a firm search plan by the state to locate the people whose bodies were hidden in this large "water grave."

All of the above shows that there is historical and spatial continuity in the *modus operandi* of enforced disappearances in urban areas of the State of Mexico.

In addition, the State of Mexico has two Gender Alerts. The first was in 2015, and the second in 2019, due to the rise in femicides and gender-based violence in the state.

Finally, as documented by Daniel Vázquez and his team, macro-criminal networks operating in the State of Mexico are involved in the crime of enforced disappearance and by private individuals¹⁵⁶.

3.4. Analysis by Differentiated Approaches

3.4.1. Children and Adolescents

There are complex patterns of risk, disappearance, recruitment, and other heinous crimes against children, adolescents, and young people, many of which are intrinsically linked to organized crime and the actions and omissions of the State. Obtaining reliable data on the scale and *modus operandi* of these crimes and those responsible for them is extremely difficult and risky. Government information underestimates the true levels of victimization, and the failure to collect data could be intentional (linked to the government's insistence on denying that disappearances are widespread or systematic) or associated with particular stigmas, as in the case of adolescents. In such cases, the authorities' inaction often amounts to a failure to carry out an immediate search, based on stereotypical notions of impulsiveness, rebelliousness, or troubled relationships, ignoring the fact that trafficking and forced recruitment are often a motive behind their disappearances.

¹⁵³ Lumbreras are vertical access points to the tunnels of the Deep Drainage System, which are used to operate them.

¹⁵⁴ Ministry of the Interior. *It Was the State (1965-1990). Final Report of the Mechanism for Truth and Historical Clarification, Volume 2, Part 2*. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3H81qan>

¹⁵⁵ Lydiette Carrión. *La fosa de agua (The Water Pit)*. Mexico City: Debate. 2018.

¹⁵⁶ Daniel Vázquez (ed.). *Macro-criminal networks, criminal governance, and disappearances*.

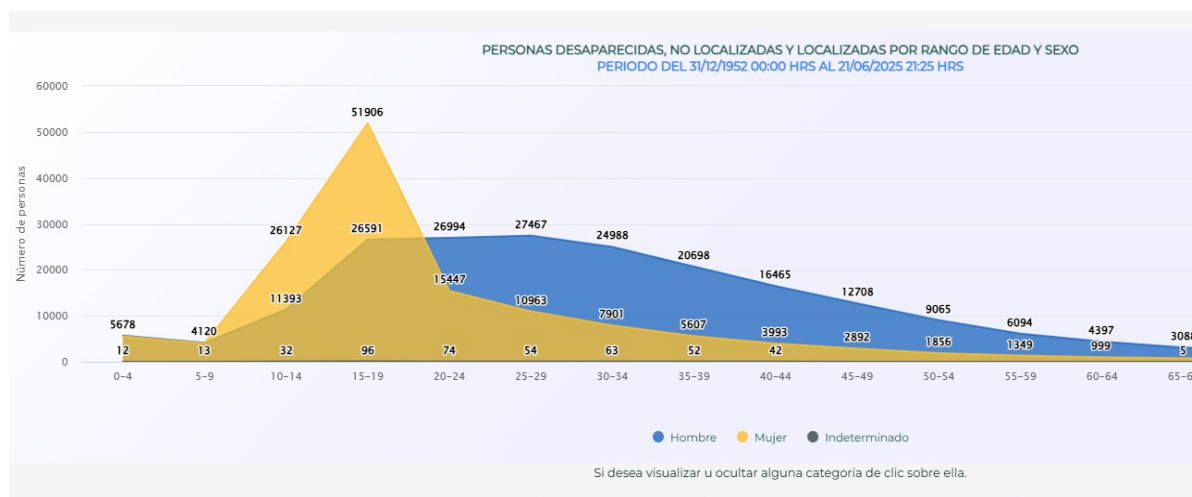
UNAM, Heinrich Böll Stiftung. Available at: <https://archivos.juridicas.unam.mx/www/bjv/libros/16/7597/13.pdf>

According to the RNPd analysis as of March 14, 2025, 28 children and adolescents were reported missing every day during 2024. Since records began, 112,579 children and adolescents have been reported in this situation, and one in six of these individuals remained missing or unaccounted for (17,349 in total).⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

The recruitment and use of children and adolescents by criminal groups is a crime that has become increasingly serious. Studies are revealing new features and magnitudes based on the risk and vulnerability factors experienced by children and adolescents, as well as operational and strategic changes in some criminal organizations. For example, in addition to large cartels, there are also criminal families and gangs that directly involve children in criminal activities. It is estimated that between 145,000 and 250,000 children and adolescents are at risk of becoming victims of this criminal practice. The involvement of children and adolescents is seen as a kind of "investment" by criminal groups, taking advantage of their need to belong, their search for protection, power, drugs, and other luxuries.

The disappearance of adolescents could be the result of forced recruitment and the exploitation to which they are exposed. Fear and threats of being recruited by criminal or organized crime groups can be a causal factor in children migrating irregularly or experiencing forced displacement.

Human trafficking is also linked to the disappearance of this population group. Although Mexico has a law, regulations, and even programs to prevent, punish, and address this problem, according to official data, 2,935 children and adolescents were victims of this crime between 2015 and 2025. While children and adolescents represent around 30% of the average population, they account for 36% ⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ of all victims of trafficking. When analyzing the RNPd data by gender and age, it can be seen that the group that stands out the most is adolescent girls between the ages of 14 and 19.



Graph taken from the RNPd: <https://versionpublicampdno.segob.gob.mx/Dashboard/ContextoGeneral>

¹⁵⁷ See <https://blog.derechosinfancia.org.mx/2025/03/14/ninez-y-adolescencia-desaparecida-en-mexico-a-14-de-marzo-de-2025/>

¹⁵⁸ REDIM-ONC; *Recruitment and use of children and adolescents by criminal groups in Mexico. Approaches to a complex problem* (2021) <https://derechosinfancia.org.mx/v1/reclutamiento-y-utilizacion-de-ninas-ninos-y-adolescentes-por-grupos-delictivos-en-mexico/>

¹⁵⁹ See <https://blog.derechosinfancia.org.mx/2025/06/16/trata-de-personas-de-ninas-ninos-y-adolescentes-en-mexico-a-mayo-de-2025/>

It is essential to emphasize that the forced recruitment of young people—and of people in general—is a planned and systematic strategy employed by members of organized crime, which demonstrates the existence of an organizational policy aimed at capturing and subjugating individuals in order to forcibly integrate them into their structures. This practice necessarily involves their disappearance, as individuals are deprived of their liberty and subjected to training to carry out illegal activities such as acting as hitmen, working in crop fields, or in clandestine laboratories. Various testimonies and findings have documented that, if those recruited are not found to be "useful," they are killed and their bodies hidden in clandestine graves, burned, dismembered, or dissolved. These practices not only reveal systematicity, planning, and multiplicity, but also constitute crimes against humanity. Added to this is the responsibility of the State, not only when its agents participate directly in these acts, but also when they do so through authorization, support, or acquiescence. In this regard, the United Nations Committee on Enforced Disappearances⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ has established that State responsibility exists when disappearances are committed by private individuals or organized groups with the consent, support, or acquiescence of the State, or when the State fails to take reasonable measures to prevent them, investigate them, and punish those responsible. According to the Committee⁽¹⁶¹⁾:

"5. "Acquiescence" means that the State knew, had reason to know, or should have known of the commission or the real and imminent risk of commission of an forced disappearance by persons or groups of persons, but that one of the following circumstances applies:

- a) The State has accepted, tolerated, or consented to that situation, even if implicitly;*
- b) The State, deliberately and with full knowledge, by action or omission, has not taken measures to prevent the crime and to investigate and punish the perpetrators;*
- c) The State has acted in collusion with the perpetrators or has completely disregarded the situation of the potential victims, facilitating the actions of the non-State agents who commit the act;*
- d) The State has created the conditions that allowed it to be committed.*

6. In particular, 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 further disappearances and to investigate and bring the perpetrators to justice.

7. In such cases, the burden of proof lies with the State to demonstrate that there was no acquiescence on its part, and it must show that it has taken concrete measures and actions to prevent, investigate, and punish the crime, and that such measures have been effective in practice.

¹⁶⁰ United Nations Committee on Enforced Disappearances, *Concluding observations on the report submitted by Mexico under article 29, paragraph 1, of the Convention*, CED/C/MEX/CO/1, April 12, 2022, para. 11. See also the *International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Forced Disappearance*, Article 2.

¹⁶¹ Committee on Enforced Disappearances, *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. 5

8. *The circumstances referred to in article 2 apply, inter alia, to so-called “paramilitary groups” [note deleted], “civilian patrols” [note deleted] and private security companies [note deleted]. They may also apply to persons involved in organized crime [note deleted], in particular groups of traffickers or smugglers, and extend to any person or group of persons, including informal groups or networks, from the moment they receive authorization, support, or acquiescence from a State authority.*

During its visit to Mexico in 2023, the Committee itself found that “[...] organized crime has become a central perpetrator of disappearances, with various forms of collusion and varying degrees of participation, acquiescence, or omission on the part of public officials.”¹⁶² This contradicts the official narrative that current disappearances are the exclusive work of organized crime, exempting the State from all responsibility. While contemporary disappearances are not identical to those perpetrated by the State in past decades, this does not mean that they do not constitute enforced disappearances or that the State can evade its obligations under international human rights law and accountability under international criminal law.

3.4.2. Migrants

From 2003 to date, the RNPD has recorded 265 migrants who are missing or unaccounted for. However, various international organizations have estimated the magnitude of the phenomenon to be much greater. For example, the Missing Migrants Project of the International Organization for Migration (PMDOIM) has acknowledged that from 2014 to the present, at least 4,924 migrants have been reported missing or dead while transiting through Mexican territory to the United States.

For their part, committees of relatives in Honduras documented 887 cases of migrants who disappeared while transiting through Mexico.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, the Association of Relatives of Missing Migrants from Guatemala (AFAMIDEG) has documented 40 cases, while the Committee of Relatives of Deceased and Missing Migrants from El Salvador (COFAMIDE) documented 300 cases.¹⁶⁶ Between 2010 and February 2025, the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF) documented 2,351 cases of migrants who disappeared in Mexico and the United States.¹⁶⁷

The Hope Border Institute and the Jesuit Refugee Service, for their part, report on the findings of a survey of 177 migrants in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, on the impact of migration policies on the physical and mental health of migrants. The results show that more than 50% of the respondents had been

¹⁶² Report of the Committee on Enforced Disappearances on its visit to Mexico under Article 33 of the Convention, [CED/C/MEX/VR/1 \(Findings\)](#), para. 13

¹⁶³ National Search Commission, RNPD, <https://versionpublicaRNPD.segob.gob.mx/Dashboard/Sociodemografico>, accessed on May 15, 2025. Filtered by migrants regardless of their immigration status. You can also filter by foreigner and migrant, which gives a total of 251 missing and unaccounted persons. If you filter only by foreigner, the registry gives a total of 3,976 missing and unaccounted persons.

¹⁶⁴ International Organization for Migration (IOM), Missing Migrants Project, https://missingmigrants.iom.int/region/americas?region_incident=4076&route=3936&incident_date%5Bmin%5D=&mp:incident_date%5Bmax%5D=, accessed on May 15, 2025.

¹⁶⁵ Report for the Fourth Cycle of the Universal Periodic Review, Honduras. Foundation for Justice and Committees of Relatives of Missing Migrants (). April 2025.

¹⁶⁶ See <https://www.bu.edu/law/files/2021/11/Migrantes-Desaparecidos-de-Centroam%C3%A9rica.-Informe-BU-Espa%C3%B1ol.pdf>

¹⁶⁷ Frontera Project <https://eaaf.org/proyecto-frontera/>.

victims of robbery during their migration, 35% had been victims of extortion and 20.4% had been victims of kidnapping. In 30% of the kidnappings, Mexican authorities were involved.¹⁶⁸

In its 2022 Special Report on Disappearances and Clandestine Graves in Mexico, the CNDH notes that the country faces a structural problem in addressing disappearances, highlighting the combination of impunity, violence, insecurity, corruption, and collusion between public officials and organized crime as factors that aggravate the situation.

Migrants are particularly vulnerable to being victims of enforced disappearance at different stages of their journey through the country, when they are detained by immigration authorities, and during or after deportation proceedings. Enforced disappearances have both individual and collective effects. They involve arbitrary detention, incommunicado detention, and lack of access to adequate defense. There are no records or transparency mechanisms to check whether a migrant is detained in immigration stations and temporary administrative detention centers, in internment or international transit areas (airports), during (mass) hot returns, and forced transfers.

The case of the "clandestine graves of San Fernando, Tamaulipas" (2011) is emblematic of the systematic enforced disappearances of migrants, based on a defined and sustained *modus operandi* that has not disappeared over time: removing migrants from trucks and handing them over to organized crime for forced recruitment, death, or disappearance. This situation has been repeated over time, as can be seen in Recommendation 44VG/2021 of the CNDH. Nineteen bodies were found on a property in that location, and 17 alleged municipal police officers were subsequently arrested. However, the accusations

¹⁶⁸ *The Hope Border Institute* and the Jesuit Refugee Service. "I am physically and mentally exhausted." Migration policies and health at the US-Mexico border. February 2025.

https://www.hopeborder.org/_files/ugd/e07ba9_ace6c56b089a413c8b50b459c3f99826.pdf?emci=7a9f7b81-94fb-ef11-90cd-0022482a9fb7&emdi=ea000000-0000-0000-0000-000000000001&ceid={{ContactsEmailID}}

¹⁶⁹ CNDH. Special Report on Disappearances and Clandestine Graves in Mexico (2022).

<https://www.cndh.org.mx/documento/presenta-cndh-el-informe-especial-sobre-desaparicion-de-personas-y-fosas-clandestinas-en>.

¹⁷⁰ The Foundation for Justice (FJEDD) has filed 123 complaints of migrant disappearances with the External Support Mechanism for Search and Investigation. See FJEDD, Report to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights following up on the recommendations contained in its report "Situation of human rights in Mexico" of December 31, 2015, Mexico, 2022. Available at: <https://www.fundacionjusticia.org/informe-para-la-comision-interamericana-de-derechos-humanos-en-seguimiento-a-las-recomendaciones-contenidas-en-su-informe-situacion-de-los-derechos-humanos-en-mexico-del-31-de-diciem/>; See FJEDD, Report to the Committee on Enforced Disappearances (CED) on the occasion of its first visit to Mexico, Mexico, 2021. Available at: <https://www.fundacionjusticia.org/informe-para-el-comite-contra-la-desaparicion-forzada-ced-con-motivo-de-su-primera-visita-a-mexico/>; See FJEDD et al., "En la boca del lobo" (In the lion's den), Mexico, 2020, p. 59 et seq. Available at: <https://www.fundacionjusticia.org/informe-de-investigacion-en-la-boca-del-lobo-2/>.

¹⁷¹ With regard to individual effects, the aim is to prevent migrants from "hindering" immigration control functions by claiming their rights or filing appeals. It also seeks to cover up the violence suffered by migrants until their expulsion is carried out (in many cases, in violation of the principle of non-refoulement). The collective effects are repressive in nature: they seek to spread fear among migrants in order to discourage continued migration. These effects (deprivation of legal protection and repression) are common to forced disappearances in general ().

¹⁷² For more information, see FJEDD, "Contributions to the Committee on Enforced Disappearances (CED) and the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (WGED) for the draft joint declaration on short-term enforced disappearances," August 2023. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrbodies/ced/cfis/short-term-disap/submission-short-term-ED-CED-WGEID-cso-fjeddmx-sp_1.pdf.

¹⁷³ See https://www.cndh.org.mx/sites/default/files/documentos/2021-08/RecVG_044.pdf

did not refer to the crimes of disappearance and murder of the victims, but only to the existence of a situation of organized crime.

The presence of authorities (military or police) in the vicinity of where migrant victims were found has been repeatedly reported. In the case of San Fernando, as well as in the massacres of 72 migrants (2010) in Cadereyta (2012) and Güémez (2014), the murders and disappearances took place in areas with a high police and/or military presence, and the discoveries were reported by those authorities, who claimed to have found the bodies by chance or following "anonymous" phone calls.

3.4.3. Women

Women, often young and from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds, disappear without a trace, amid the indifference and negligence of the country's authorities, while their families and various associations fight tirelessly to find them and obtain justice. These disappearances remain largely invisible, overshadowed by media attention focused on the war on drug trafficking, but also by the silence, collusion, and corruption of local authorities with organized crime.

According to Red Lupa, from May 2024 to May 2025, there was an increase in the number of cases of missing women in all 32 states of the country. In nine states, this increase was more than 20%⁽¹⁷⁵⁾. The age range in which most cases of missing girls and women are concentrated continues to be 15 to 19 years old. This age range accounts for 21% of cases of missing girls and women. In 2024, this age range accounted for 22% of cases of missing girls and women. Gender-based violence and ageism operate to impose this form of violence, subjugation, exploitation, or erasure of women and female adolescents. Femicide and human trafficking could be two crimes hidden behind the disappearances of women, *adolescents*, and girls.

In Mexico City, the proportion of missing women is significantly higher than in other states. According to an analysis by anthropologist Elena Azaola¹⁷⁶, based on data from the RNPDO, there were 11,520 missing persons in Mexico City between February 1990 and February 2023. Of these, 55% are men and 45% are women.

3.4.4. Members of Indigenous Peoples and Afro-descendants

The RNPED does not have disaggregated data on the disappearance of members of indigenous peoples or the Afro-descendant population, which in itself is further evidence of the racism and exclusion that marks the life and death of this population. However, experts who have analyzed the phenomenon of disappearances in indigenous and Afro-descendant areas have documented how indigenous identity is a factor that doubles the likelihood of suffering violence in a racist and racialized society such as Mexico's.

To date, there is no specific text referring to the disappearance of the Afro-Mexican population, although the states of Guerrero and Veracruz, where this population is concentrated, have been deeply affected by disappearances¹⁷⁷. In the case of the indigenous peoples

¹⁷⁴ See https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/fidh_policybrief-femmesmexique_sp.pdf

¹⁷⁵ See <https://imdhd.org/redlupa/informes-y-analisis/informes-nacionales/informe-nacional-de-personas-desaparecidas-2025/>

¹⁷⁶ Azaola, Elena, 2024. The disappearance of people in Mexico City: Who are they? Where are they? El Colegio de México, electronic publication available at: <https://libros.colmex.mx/tienda/la-desaparicion-de-personas-en-la-ciudad-de-mexico-quienes-son-donde-estan/>

¹⁷⁷ A news article in a digital newspaper mentions the figure of 40,000 Afro-Mexicans who disappeared during Enrique Peña Nieto's administration, but does not mention the source and this information cannot be verified anywhere else. <https://www.laizquierdadiario.com/Pasado-y-presente-de-afrodescendientes-en-Mexico>

indigenous people, much has been written about the multiple disappearances of indigenous people because, in addition to their physical absence from the communities to which they belonged, they are also absent from official data. There is no recognition of their ethnic identity in statistics on disappearances, as well as a silence on the phenomenon in indigenous mobilizations¹⁷⁸. Many of their bodies have ended up in state mass graves without forensic records that would allow their families to find them.

The stories documented among the indigenous peoples of Sinaloa, Chiapas, and Guerrero reveal a continuum of violence that includes structural violence, which precedes forced disappearance and becomes part of the grievance¹⁷⁹. Racism contributes to the concentration of violence and disappearance in the poorest and most marginalized regions of the country. This is not to say that indigenous and Afro-Mexican youth are disappeared because they are indigenous or Afro-Mexican, but rather that the colonial structure in place in the country places certain bodies in certain territories, which are generally those that receive fewer resources and less attention in public policies. Those who have analyzed this phenomenon argue that racism dehumanizes and renders unintelligible the value of bodies located in racialized territories. There is talk of "social death," which in contexts such as Mexico's indigenous regions is equivalent to physical death, where racialized illegality and the criminalization of the most vulnerable make it possible to render the value of human life invisible.

Although some of the groups of relatives of disappeared persons have integrated indigenous people into their groups, especially in Oaxaca and Chiapas, most indigenous and Afro-descendant families affected by the disappearance of one of their members experience this injustice in isolation, and in many cases without even reporting the incident for fear of reprisals. In many cases, dispossession and displacement preceded the disappearance or murder of one of their relatives. Forced displacement and dispossession have been elements of the history of continuous violence experienced by indigenous peoples in Mexico. For this reason, members of indigenous peoples have been prominent among the defenders of territory affected by this form of extreme violence. According to data from Quinto Elemento Lab from 2008 to 2023, of the 93 land defenders who have been victims of disappearance in Mexico, 62 (67 percent) belong to an indigenous community.

This lack of recognition of the existence of disappeared indigenous and Afro-descendant people also means that public policies for search, identification, and compensation do not take into account indigenous epistemologies with regard to exhumation processes and the treatment and identification of dead bodies. The spiritual dimension of loss and cultural conceptions of the body and soul are ignored.

¹⁷⁸ See <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2019/04/25/las-multiples-ausencias-de-los-indigenas-desaparecidos-en-mexico/#:~:text=Los%20ind%C3%ADgenas%20desaparecidos%20est%C3%A1n%20ausentes,organizaciones%20ind%C3%ADgenas%20en%20el%20pa%C3%ADs>

¹⁷⁹ For the case of Sinaloa, see Hernández Castillo, R. Aída (2025) *Exhumar la Esperanza. Una Etnografía Feminista en el País de las Fosas*. Mexico: Editorial Bajo Tierra-Hermanas en la Sombra. This document states that the 28,000 indigenous people who identify as Mayo-Yoremes are located in the municipalities of El Fuerte, Choix, Guasave, Sinaloa de Leyva, and Ahome, which are precisely the municipalities where women searchers have found the highest number of clandestine graves. However, there is still no official record of the effects of disappearances on the indigenous population, nor are there any special programs for victims of violence in this area. In the case of Guerrero, the Report on Psychosocial Impacts in the Ayotzinapa Case, prepared by FUNDAR and coordinated by Ximena Antillón and Mariana Mora, documents this continuum of violence prior to the disappearance of the indigenous students. See <https://fundar.org.mx/publicaciones/impactos-psicosociales-de-casoayotzinapa/> In the case of Chiapas, the ruling of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in the case of an indigenous Tzeltal Zapatista support base member who was a victim of enforced disappearance, González Méndez et al. v. Mexico, links this phenomenon to paramilitarism. <https://avispa.org/paramilitarismo-y-desaparicion-forzada-flagelos-historicos-en-chiapas-reconocidos-por-la-corte-idh/>

¹⁸⁰ See <https://quintoelab.org/project/desapariciones-defensores-ambiente-territorio>

in the context of forensic processes, which tends to revictimize indigenous people searching for a missing relative¹⁸¹.

3.4.5. Journalists

Disappearances committed with the aim of silencing those who report and denounce abuses are the norm in the disappearances of journalists. The organization Article 19 reports that, from 2000 to date, 31 journalists have been disappeared⁽¹⁸²⁾. The Mexican State must guarantee a safe environment for the exercise of journalism, strengthen the Federal Protection Mechanism, improve the investigative capacities of federal and state prosecutors, and cease the stigmatization of the critical press.

When analyzing the type of investigations they carried out, it becomes clear that they covered incidents related to organized crime and drug trafficking; cases of corruption among authorities; and they covered and investigated various cases linking military authorities (federal and state) to organized crime.

3.4.6. Human Rights Defenders

According to a database compiled by Mongabay Latam, Quinto Elemento Lab, and A Dónde Van Los Desaparecidos, in Mexico, 93 environmental and land rights defenders have been victims of disappearance between December 1, 2006, and August 1, 2023; 39 have not yet been located.¹⁸³

“At least 62 defenders who have been victims of disappearance belong to an indigenous community. The states of Guerrero, Michoacán, Sonora, Jalisco, and Oaxaca, especially regions with mining and logging activities, stand out as the places where violence in the form of disappearance is most frequently used against those who defend the environment and their territory.”

To build the database, this journalistic alliance reviewed reports from the Mexican Center for Environmental Law (CEMDA) and Global Witness, and consulted several non-governmental organizations working on this issue or with a presence in the affected communities. Other sources of information included news published in local media outlets, as well as interviews with family members and people close to the disappeared defenders.

3.4.7. Missing and Murdered Searchers

In Mexico, there are cases of searchers, usually relatives of missing persons, who have been killed or even disappeared because of their work. There are 27 recorded cases as of April 2025⁽¹⁸⁶⁾. Most of these people conducted investigations and found evidence linking those responsible for the disappearance of their relatives to collusion with the authorities; many of them received threats days or months before, without this alert being able to provide them with protection.

This issue was raised by families and organizations at the thematic hearing before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in February 2024, in which

¹⁸¹ See the aforementioned Fundar report and the book by Hernández Castillo 2025.

¹⁸² See <https://articulo19.org/periodismo/> and <https://articulo19.org/periodistasdesaparecidos/>

¹⁸³ See <https://quintoelab.org/project/especial-defensores-territorio-ambiente-desaparecidos> and <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2023/10/02/a-estas-personas-las-desaparecieron-por-defender-el-ambiente-y-el-territorio-en-mexico/>

¹⁸⁴ See <https://www.cemda.org.mx/>

¹⁸⁵ See <https://www.globalwitness.org/en/>

¹⁸⁶ See <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2025/04/04/27-personas-buscadoras-han-sido-asesinadas-y-una-mas-desaparecida-en-mexico/>

requested that a special report be included on the situation of risk faced by missing persons in Mexico and in particular regions¹⁸⁷.

Regarding the risk faced by searchers from 2020 to 2023, various UN Special Procedures sent at least seven communications to the Mexican State expressing their concern for the safety and protection of these individuals, especially women¹⁸⁸. Guanajuato is the state that stands out most in these communications, where the Committee also maintains Urgent Actions for four of the five missing searchers in the state (¹⁸⁹).

4. Impunity

In a 2020 study by the Observatory on Enforced Disappearance and Impunity (ODFI) analyzing judgments on enforced disappearance issued in Mexico,¹⁹⁰ found that as of 2020, out of a total of 70,000 disappeared persons, the justice system had issued only 28 criminal judgments at the federal and local levels, equivalent to 0.04% of reported cases. Of these, 53.6% were handed down by federal courts (15 judgments) and 46.4% by local courts (13 judgments). This picture reflects extremely limited access to justice for victims and their families.

Of the 28 judgments analyzed, 75% resulted in convictions (21 cases), while the remaining 25% were total or partial acquittals. In 78.6% of cases (22 judgments), the defendants were state agents, and in the remaining 21.4%, private individuals or members of criminal groups were involved. The sentences imposed varied significantly, ranging from 3 to 79 years in prison, with an average of 19.4 years, which shows a lack of proportionality in the punishment of these crimes.

In terms of investigation, the judgments reveal serious shortcomings. In most cases, the crime of disappearance was treated as an isolated incident, without any analysis of the context of violence or the criminal structures that made it possible. Only the perpetrators were punished, and no strategic or hierarchical responsibilities were identified, thus limiting the structural understanding of the crime. The most common evidence was testimonial, and technical means or contextual intelligence were rarely used.

A report by ITESO, the Jesuit University of Guadalajara, and the University Network for Human Rights¹⁹¹ analyzes the causes of impunity in Mexico:

Mexico faces a severe human rights crisis, characterized by numerous cases of extrajudicial executions and the systematic and widespread practice of enforced disappearance and torture, among other types of violations that occur in a context of virtually absolute impunity. The absence of individual criminal responsibility and corresponding punishment for perpetrators establishes and reinforces a context

¹⁸⁸ Ref. no.: [MEX 6/2023](#), [MEX 14/2022](#), [MEX 2/2022](#), [MEX 16/2021](#), [MEX 11/2021](#), [MEX 7/2021](#), [MEX 10/2020](#).

All these communications have been requested by the Platform for Peace and Justice in Guanajuato

¹⁸⁹ 1693/2024, 1984/2024, 1985/2024, 2063/205.

¹⁹⁰ Observatory on Disappearance and Impunity in Mexico. *Criminal sentences in cases of enforced disappearance of persons at the federal and local levels, October 2020*: <https://odim.juridicas.unam.mx/detalle-proyecto-odim/1405/Informe%20sobre%20sentencias%20penales%20en%20casos%20de%20desaparici%C3%B3n%20forzada%20de%20personas%20en%20los%20%C3%A1mbitos%20federal%20y%20local>

¹⁹¹ *Active Impunity in Mexico. Understanding and confronting massive human rights violations*: <https://ri.iberro.mx/handle/iberro/6139>

institutional environment in which crime and human rights violations are reproduced without any kind of counterweight, encouraging their systematic repetition. Through a detailed analysis of a series of cases, this report provides evidence showing that impunity for human rights violations is often the result of a series of actions taken with the explicit aim of ensuring that those responsible are not punished or sanctioned, which in this advocacy-oriented research is referred to as "active impunity." It also identifies specific mechanisms through which this impunity is achieved. The finding that impunity is not accidental or instrumental-strategic leads the authors of this report to argue in favor of establishing some form of international justice oversight in Mexico to help break the cycle of impunity in the country. To this end, a series of experiences of this type, recently implemented in Mexico and other Latin American countries, are reviewed in detail, drawing on lessons learned and good practices. In conclusion, the main arguments are summarized and specific recommendations are made for the implementation of an international justice oversight mechanism in the country.

The report *Impunity in Crimes of Disappearance in Mexico*¹⁹² by the organization Impunidad Cero reports that in Mexico, impunity for crimes of enforced disappearance and disappearance committed by private individuals is 99% between 2006 and 2022. The report was developed through "requests for information from state and federal judicial authorities, as well as interviews with representatives of civil society, ensuring a comprehensive perspective."

Among the main findings of the report, Impunidad Cero highlights that: "The growing increase in crimes of disappearance, coupled with persistent impunity that obstructs investigation and clarification, indicates that Mexico is immersed in a serious human rights crisis." "The lack of transparency in the information provided by the National Registry of Missing and Unlocated Persons (RNPD) makes it difficult to understand the magnitude of the crisis. Discrepancies between state reports and the public dashboard, as well as in the systematization of clandestine graves, highlight the urgent need for greater clarity."

Meanwhile, a group of journalists and academics took on the task of identifying cases of executions and forced disappearances with the direct involvement of state agents. The result is the book *Permiso para matar (Permission to Kill)*¹⁹³. The database for this investigation refers to 804 cases of forced disappearance documented in detail by the media or human rights commissions. The methodology is described in the introduction. Here are some excerpts:

...governments of all stripes—there is no distinction here—barely acknowledge any abuse, always accompanied by something that attempts to be an excuse: these are crimes committed by a few "bad apples" who exceptionally slipped through the ranks, but that is where they remain, without ever accepting the existence of a system designed and sustained by the impunity of these security forces and, above all, of their commanders and those who design the strategies and direction of the war. The impunity of our warlords.

The first thing we were clear about was to focus the investigation on a specific group of war crimes (there is no other way to name them): those allegedly committed by security forces against innocent or defenseless victims, or who were "detained" by those same forces but never reached a Public Ministry agency.

¹⁹² See <https://www.impunidadcero.org/articulo.php?id=197&t=comunicado-en-mexico-tenemos-un-nivel-de-impunidad-del-99-para-los-delitos-de-desaparicion-de-personas>

¹⁹³ See <https://permisoparamatar.org/>

These are victims of enforced disappearance or extrajudicial execution.

More specifically: men and women with no links to organized crime, who were not suspected of any wrongdoing and who were not part of any investigation...

But the investigation had to be focused, because otherwise it would be endless.

A second definition: we are only talking about state or federal forces, that is, soldiers, marines, National Guard, federal or state police, because as we explored, it became clear to us that the cases involving municipal police number in the tens of thousands and because in that world, the world of your town, your city, collusion between authorities and criminals does not allow for distinction, for the clarity of simply knowing what happened.

This is also a collective book, in at least two senses.

First, because it was fueled by the rebellion and memory of each family demanding justice. They seek the guilty and demand answers from the authorities, searching every crevice, every hill, looking for the bodies of their victims buried in some remote place.

Second, because 20 journalists from Veracruz, Chihuahua, Guerrero, Puebla, Tamaulipas, Michoacán, Sinaloa, and Mexico City participated in the investigation.

The investigation is based on newspaper archives, testimonies, academic research, recommendations from all human rights commissions and, particularly, it must be emphasized, on the complaints gathered by dozens of groups of relatives.

The methodology for this search began with the digital universe of Google and a search engine designed by Óscar Elton and Mónica Meltis, from the organization Data Cívica, which allowed us to select tens of thousands of news articles or bulletins that included information on murders and arrests in which state or federal police officers, active military personnel, marines assigned to security units, or members of the National Guard.

Using keywords, an initial list of more than 60,000 matches was generated, which were reviewed one by one to select cases that could be classified into two categories: extrajudicial executions or enforced disappearances allegedly perpetrated by federal or state forces, but which also had elements to support the claim that the victims were not participating in criminal acts or were defenseless.

In addition, all the recommendations of the 32 state human rights commissions, as well as the national commission, were reviewed.

Some organizations of relatives of disappeared persons were consulted to learn about their cases.

The files of the few cases open to the public and the press were reviewed.

Interviews were conducted with 191 direct relatives and close friends of 135 victims, in which each one recounted their nightmares and updated us on the status of the investigation.

Do you know how many people have been killed by police or military personnel in these years of war against drug trafficking, even though they never carried a weapon or challenged the authorities?

Our investigation produced an unprecedented list of 1,854 victims and their families who are demanding justice and an explanation: Why, if he only went out for a few minutes to run an errand? Why is the government covering up for its criminals?

But even though there are so many, it is essential to insist that this list is incomplete. There are hundreds or thousands of stories of abuse to document, cases in which justice has not been served.

This investigation was only able to reach eight states to hear the testimonies of the families. There are hundreds more—in addition to the thousands of undocumented cases—that we need to hear.

Each case described, each victim, cannot simply be forgotten on the pretext that there are so many. Each family wants justice, not oblivion.

Every victim demands our outrage and commitment.

Each of these 1,854 cases sparked outrage that was quickly contained by the authorities, in most cases with meaningless arguments: "it will be investigated," "no matter who is involved," "there will be no impunity."

In a country where justice is non-existent, these phrases are equivalent to saying "forget about it, stop pushing," since the security strategy includes impunity, especially for those in high places.

Outrage must go beyond individual cases; it must be understood as a phenomenon in which the demand is for a change in security policy and the guarantee of the rule of law.

State violence is systematic and widespread, and as such must be understood and the outrage directed accordingly.

These are not 1,854 isolated cases; they are the tip of the iceberg of a war that will continue to deepen if it does not encounter social resistance.

5. Records

Since the National Registry of Missing and Unlocated Persons (RNPDP) portal was created, it has been known that it has underreported cases due to a lack of reports, failure by prosecutors to submit information, and the reclassification of disappearances under other crimes such as trafficking. It is also known that the database is over-registered because prosecutors do not update the information, especially in the case of unlocated persons who return to their homes.

The missing persons are not those indicated by the website, despite the fact that this is the figure usually used as the total number of cases. Those are the people who remain missing and have not been located. The phenomenon of disappearance must include those who remain missing and those who were found, alive or dead, and who were also reported missing. For clarity, each time a person is found, whether alive or dead, they are subtracted from the number of people who remain missing. In the hypothetical case that all missing persons were found, we would have a figure of zero. The way in which cases are reported is preventing us from obtaining accurate figures.

Records of missing persons in Mexico face several problems, including errors in information, lack of accuracy and consistency in statistics, and challenges in managing and updating the National Registry of Missing and Unlocated Persons (RNPd)¹⁹⁴.

The problem of errors and lack of accuracy:

- Errors in information: errors have been detected in the records, such as incorrect names, incorrect location of the place of disappearance, and other inaccurate data.
- Lack of accuracy in statistics: official figures on missing persons may not be accurate, with studies revealing that many missing persons are not included in the registry¹⁹⁵.
- Methodological disagreements: inconsistencies have been identified in the methodology used to register missing persons, making it difficult to compare data and identify trends¹⁹⁶.

The challenge of the RNPd:

- Lack of updating and consistency: the RNPd faces challenges in updating information and consistency in data presentation, which hinders the search for missing persons¹⁹⁷.
- Management problems: Problems have been reported in the management of the RNPd, including a lack of trained personnel and a lack of resources for the search.
- Difficulties in accessing information: in some cases, information on missing persons is not accessible to families, making it difficult to search for them.

Impact on families:

- Increased stress and worry: the lack of accuracy and difficulty in accessing information about missing persons causes stress and worry for families.
- Uncertainty and lack of hope: the lack of answers and uncertainty about the whereabouts of the disappeared can lead to despair among families.

Proposed solutions:

¹⁹⁴ See Red Lupa <https://imdhd.org/redlupa/avance-de-la-ley-general-de-busqueda/nuevo-registro-de-personas-desaparecidas/#:~:text=%C2%BFQu%C3%A9%20problemas%20permanecen?,corrijan%20pero%20eso%20no%20s%20ucede.>

¹⁹⁵ See Connectas <https://www.connectas.org/especiales/desaparecidos-registro-estadistico-enganoso-mexico/#:~:text=Official%20statistics%20indicate%20that,are%20included%20in%20this%20register.>

¹⁹⁶ See Civic Data <https://piadepagina.mx/volver-a-desaparecer-el-buscador-que-revela-la-falta-de-consistencia-en-los-registros-de-personas-desaparecidas/#:~:text=Main%20findings%20of%20the%20Volver%20a%20desaparecer%20platform&text>

¹⁹⁷ See Efra Tzuc <https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2020/04/30/cnb-lleva-un-ano-de-retraso-en-la-publicacion-del-registro-de-personas-desaparecidas/>

- Improve the accuracy and consistency of records: mechanisms need to be strengthened to ensure the accuracy and consistency of information on missing persons.
- Ensure the updating and efficient management of the RNPd: it must be ensured that the RNPd is updated in a timely manner and managed efficiently.
- Facilitate access to information: information on missing persons must be made more accessible to families through search tools and training for staff working with the registries.
- Strengthen cooperation between different levels of government: cooperation between different levels of government should be promoted to ensure that information on missing persons is shared and used effectively.

6. Forensic crisis

In our country, there are more than 72,000 deceased persons whose identities are unknown. The forensic crisis, which is itself a product of the disappearance crisis, is one of the greatest tragedies we have experienced since the violence intensified in 2007.

As pointed out by the FUNDAR Center for Analysis and Research, much of the lack of attention to the forensic crisis is due to the widespread tendency to think that major problems in a country like Mexico will be solved with centralized proposals. One criticism—and self-criticism—points out that the state's abandonment of policies to address the forensic backlog (the Extraordinary Forensic Identification Mechanism and the National Human Identification Center) does not mean that they should be given less funding or that federal entities should be less involved in the design and implementation of strategies. In a country where macro-criminal dynamics show a higher prevalence of cases of violence within the ordinary jurisdiction, the response to the forensic crisis must necessarily articulate a national forensic policy in the federal entities.

There are more than 72,100 unidentified bodies in the country's morgues. These are corpses that were admitted to the Forensic Medical Services (Semefos) between 2006 and 2023, without the government having restored their names. In a nation with more than 120,000 missing persons, a large number could be sought by their families without knowing that they lie forgotten in a mass grave or in a mortuary refrigerator under the care of the state.

This backlog in the identification of bodies by institutions, known as the "forensic crisis," condemns thousands of families to travel from morgue to morgue in search of clues that will lead them to their loved ones. They review hundreds of photographs of bodies marked by violence. It's like "being in the underworld," says José Ugalde, spokesperson for the Movement for Our Disappeared in Mexico (MNDM). "They are bodies mutilated with such cruelty that you can't eat for ten, fifteen days. They leave you with nightmares. There is no psychological support."

¹⁹⁸ See <https://fundar.org.mx/publicaciones/crisis-forense-en-mexico-presupuesto-para-entidades-federativas/>

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Efra Tzuc. "Six-year term ends with more than 72,100 unidentified bodies"

<https://adondevanlosdesaparecidos.org/2024/09/24/cierra-sexenio-con-mas-de-72100-cuerpos-sin-identificar/> For the preparation of the report "Six-year term ends with more than 72,100 unidentified bodies," information was requested from the forensic institutions of the 32 states of the country and the Attorney General's Office (FGR) on the number of bodies admitted from January 1, 2006, to December 10, 2023, and those that, on the latter date, remained

7. Clandestine Graves

Despite the magnitude of the phenomenon of disappearances, little data is available from the Mexican government. Although there is a National Registry of Missing and Unlocated Persons (RNPD), the names, photographs, distinguishing features, and other information relevant to the location of the more than 100,000 missing persons are not publicly available.

It is common for search efforts to fall on the families of missing persons, even though by law it is the responsibility of the State to find them. Families mobilize to compile files with basic information, post flyers, and publish information about their loved ones on social media. They also push for local and national laws on the issue and create their own databases and reports. The families, mostly women, mothers, sisters, and daughters, are the ones who investigate the whereabouts of their loved ones and follow their trail, putting their physical and emotional well-being at risk.

In these searches, discoveries of clandestine graves have been recurrent and widespread in most of Mexico's states since 2007. This phenomenon reflects the degree of social breakdown and dehumanization achieved as a result of punitive rather than preventive drug policies, the use of military force, and a justice system incapable of effectively investigating and prosecuting those responsible for serious human rights violations.

The Citizen Platform on Graves ²⁰⁰investigated that between 2009 and 2014, 390 clandestine graves containing 1,418 bodies and 5,786 remains were found in 23 states of the country. This means that at least one clandestine grave was recorded in these states during the six-year period covered by the newspaper articles in the database.

From January 1, 2006, to September 30, 2024, 3,516 clandestine graves have been reported, from which 8,341 bodies and 52,305 human remains have been exhumed. For their part, state prosecutors report 5,152 graves, with 5,718 bodies and 4,901 remains. Although prosecutors report a higher number of grave discoveries—as it is their obligation to document all such findings—press releases report a higher number of human remains.

In March 2023, the National Search Commission (CNB) published the Map of Clandestine Grave Discoveries (this map is no longer online) with data requested by the CNB from the FGR and state prosecutors' offices. On this map, updated as of April 2023, users could see the number of graves by state and municipality. However, the tool does not provide information on the number of bodies and/or human remains recovered. Nor does it provide information on all prosecutors' offices, including only those that decide to be transparent. Although this is a significant step forward, it does not show the full picture. Along with the map, but on another website, the CNB published a registry with data on clandestine graves (which

unidentified; it was also requested that the year of entry, sex, and place of storage of each body be specified. To download the data and the basis for the report: <https://quintoelab.org/project/crisis-forense-2024>

²⁰⁰ The Citizen Platform for Graves was created as a citizen initiative in September 2021 in response to the lack of a public version of the National Registry of Mass Graves and Clandestine Graves, which, according to the General Law on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Private Individuals, and the National System for the Search for Persons, is the responsibility of the Attorney General's Office (FGR) in collaboration with state prosecutors and attorneys general. <https://plataformaciudadanadefosas.org/>

no longer online), which was updated until August 2023 and contained information on less than half of the states. In other words, it only contained data from 15 of the 32 states in Mexico.

Contrary to the CNB's efforts, the Citizen Platform on Graves records findings in all states of the country, serving as a source of information to fill the void left by the authorities. Above all, however, this platform is a tool aimed at the hundreds of families and search groups in Mexico, as well as society in general.

The platform gathers documentation on the discovery of clandestine graves in Mexico reported by 1) the national and local press; 2) prosecutors' offices, local attorney general's offices, and forensic services, such as in the case of Jalisco; and 3) the Attorney General's Office (FGR), the latter obtained through Transparency and Access to Public Information. In summary, the platform contains information on clandestine graves found by official sources from 2006 to June 2023, as well as records of clandestine graves obtained from open sources (newspapers) from 2006 to December 2022.

From the perspective of the authors of this platform, there is a relationship between the existence of clandestine graves and the idea of a secret that generates certain socialization rituals within a given community. They believe that the burial of people in clandestine graves over the last decade has not been intended to make the bodies completely or permanently invisible. They consider that there has been no intention to eliminate them in the strict sense; rather, to dispose of them, perhaps even to eliminate their identities, but not to make it impossible to find them or to completely hide the practice of clandestine burial linked to acts of violence. On the contrary, they argue that those involved have resorted to clandestine burial with the aim of ensuring that someone finds the bodies.

The act of clandestine burial—for them—serves an educational purpose by demonstrating the precariousness and vulnerability of human life in general. It exposes the ease with which their identity can be erased, their legal status reduced, and their right to a dignified burial denied, precisely by highlighting the anonymity (non-personhood) to which they are reduced in the grave. Therefore, to speak of a pedagogy of the body means that its appearance in the grave seeks to convey a message of terror from the perpetrators to others.

But, in addition, from the way in which the person is buried, whether completely buried or half-buried, to the degree of violence suffered before their murder or execution, the actors involved make a statement through the bodies, which allows them to show and flaunt the fact that they can continue with this practice. Therefore, this pedagogy implies that we stop talking about the body as an abstraction. So, if it shows signs of torture, the type of torture used, the way in which the person was murdered or executed, how they were buried, etc., will provide more information (and even patterns) about how, who, why, and for what purpose the clandestine burial took place.

The clandestine burial of people, on the other hand, serves to highlight the impunity and limited capacity or willingness of the State as a whole to address and resolve the problem. This forces us to seek answers to questions such as: Is the state truly overwhelmed by violence? Is it possible that the use of this violence is being delegated to so-called "new groups"? What other interests exist around the clandestine burial of people?

Answering these questions will require specific investigations into the actors involved and the practices and economies behind the use of clandestine graves, among other issues. However, we can theorize—albeit cautiously and subject to further investigation—that the state has integrated this form of violence into its functioning, allowing clandestine graves to continue to be used for the aforementioned purposes, whether by criminal groups, state actors, or both acting in collusion. This impunity creates micro-spaces of exception⁽²⁰¹⁾ that allow for territorial control, social demobilization generated by terror, and changes in behavior and social relations, due to the fact that people live daily with a secret that finds the specific opportunity to be exposed.

8. Conclusions

Based on the available information, we can conclude that the total official number of missing persons registered in Mexico is enormous, exceeding any other situation of violence, armed conflict, or dictatorial regime experienced by any other country in Latin America. Indeed, we find that in Mexico, forced disappearances, among other atrocities, have been committed against civilian victims on a massive or widespread scale, both by (criminal) organizations and by agents of the State at all three levels of government. These crimes have been committed as part of the respective policies or plans of the State and/or organizations. The number of sentences handed down by the judiciary at the federal and state levels is not representative of the number of forced disappearances committed in the country. This speaks to the lack of capacity or will on the part of the authorities responsible for investigating and prosecuting these crimes, which has prevented the clarification of what happened to thousands of people in the country and the prosecution of those responsible. Impunity could also be understood as a form of collaboration by the authorities responsible for the administration of justice in the commission and repetition of atrocities.

In short, based on the information presented here and the information that the Committee has received over the last few years, we affirm without hesitation that there are “*well-founded indications that enforced disappearance is practiced in a widespread or systematic manner in the territory under the jurisdiction of the State party*” (Art. 34), and after receiving all relevant information on this situation from the State party concerned, we request:

²⁰¹ The term “exceptional micro-spaces” refers to the theory of the state of exception developed by Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben. He mentions how “The normative aspect of law can thus be impunity canceled and contradicted by governmental violence which—ignoring international law externally and producing a permanent state of exception internally—nevertheless claims to continue applying the law.” Agamben, Giorgio. *State of Exception. Homo Sacer II*, 1. Valencia, Pre-textos, 2010, p. 126. Aguirre and Romero add that “the violence that took place in the grave is in itself an exhibition of exception, because it is not at all a matter of political ideals, it is about showing who those who control the right to kill are and who, therefore, have the opportunity to administer life, to regulate living space, to give or take away space for the dead, to consign groups and individuals to oblivion.” *Exposed Violence, Philosophical Considerations on the Phenomenon of the Mass Grave*. Puebla, BUAP, 2015, p. 91.

9. Requests to the Committee

- That it refer the matter as a matter of urgency, including this report with its references, to the United Nations General Assembly for consideration through the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
- That, together with this information, it recommend the establishment of a Historical Clarification Commission to identify patterns that allow for the determination of the existence of widespread and systematic situations beyond any doubt, and recommend appropriate actions to address the phenomenon, stop disappearances in the country, identify human remains and fragments so that they can be returned with dignity to their families, establish the truth, and bring those responsible to justice.
- Communicate to the International Criminal Court the information gathered by the Committee and the well-founded indications for applying Article 34 of the Convention in the Mexican case, in order to initiate a preliminary investigation into crimes against humanity in accordance with the Rome Statute.

10. Signatory Organizations and Individuals

Organizations of victims' relatives

Armadillos Rastreadores, Lagos de Moreno
Buscador@s Zacatecas, AC Seeking Lives and Justice for Mexico, AC
Search for the Disappeared in Nayarit
International Caravan for the Search for the Disappeared AC
Veracruz Home Case
Center for the Rights of Victims of Violence Minerva Bello
Committee of Relatives of Detained and Disappeared Persons in Mexico, COFADDEM “Alzando Voces” (Raising Voices) Collective Love for the Disappeared, Tamaulipas
Collective Help Luis Alberto Calleja Return, AC
Collective of Women Searchers, Guanajuato, Mexico
Collective Searching with Love and Fighting for You, Veracruz
Collective Searching for Hearts
Collective Seeking Justice for Our Own, Zitlala, Gro.

Collective Searching for Our Disappeared in Tamaulipas, AC
Collective House of Hope of Cuauhtémoc, Chihuahua
Collective of Relatives of Disappeared Persons, October 10, Parral, Chihuahua
Collective of Wives and Relatives of State Security Agents Detained and Disappeared by the Military in 1977
Collective of Relatives in Search of María Herrera from Chilpancingo, Gro. Guerrero Collective No More Disappeared
Collective Until We Find You, Irapuato, Guanajuato
Junax K'ontantik Collective, Chiapas
Collective of Mothers, Girlfriends of the Sun, Searching for Their Children in the Papaloapan Basin
Pirasol Collective. Cd. Valles, SLP Raúl Trujillo Herrera Collective Siguiendo Tus Pasos Collective, Baja California
CRISDE, Together Until We Find Them
Missing Justice AC. Querétaro

Querétaro Missing Persons
 In Search of Truth and Justice, Tepic,
 Nayarit
 Families Walking for Justice, AC
 Families in Search, Michoacán Families
 in Search, Xalapa Families United in the
 Search and Location of Missing Persons
 AC (FAMUN), Coahuila
 Families United for Truth and Justice,
 Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua United
 Forces for Our Disappeared in
 Coahuila and Mexico (FUUNDEC-M)
 United Forces for Our Disappeared in
 Jalisco (FUNDEJ) United Forces for Our
 Disappeared in Nuevo León (FUNDENL)
 Roundabout of the Disappeared Victims
 for Their Rights in Action Group AC
 (VI.D.A) Laguna, Coah.
 H.I.J.O.S. Mexico
 Justice and Hope of San Luis de La
 Paz, Guanajuato
 Women in Search of Their Disappeared
 Women in Search, Nogales, Ver.
 Platform for Victims of Forced
 Disappearance in Mexico For Love of
 You, Until We Find You, Tampico,
 Madero, and Altamira, Tamps.
 Trackers of El Fuerte
 Network of Mothers, Veracruz
 International Network of Associations of
 Missing Persons (RIAPD) Warrior
 Bloodhounds ext. Matías Romero,
 Oaxaca
 Warrior Bloodhounds Oaxaca Warrior
 Bloodhounds, Sinaloa We are the
 Voice of Pablo and Our Disappeared
 We Are All the Voice of the Disappeared
 United by Pain, Culiacán, Sin. United
 Always Searching
 United for Peace, the Defense of Human
 Rights, AC
 Uniting Hearts, Culiacán, Sin. Uniting
 Crystals, AC

Union and National Network for the
 Search for Missing Persons (URNBPD)
 Voice Crying Out for Justice for the
 Disappeared, Coahuila

Civil Organizations Citizen
 Alliance for Peace Solidarity
 Commitment AC
 Article 19, Office for Mexico and Central
 America
 Assembly of Indigenous Peoples of the
 Isthmus in Defense of Land and
 Territory - APIIDTT
 Guerrero Association Against Violence
 Against Women AC Jalisco Association
 for Support of Indigenous Groups AC
 (AJAGI)
 Minerva Bello Center for the Rights of
 Victims of Violence
 Human Rights Center - Spaces for
 Defense, Flourishing, and Community
 Support Human Rights Center "Fray
 Francisco de Vitoria OP," AC Human
 Rights Center
 Bartolomé Carrasco AC (BARCA-DH)
 Tlachinollan Mountain Human Rights
 Center AC
 Women's Human Rights Center
 (CEDEHM)
 Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas Human
 Rights Center AC (FrayBa) Paso del
 Norte Human Rights Center
 Victoria Diez Human Rights Center, AC
 Center for the Investigation of Atrocity
 Crimes AC (CICA)
 Center for Justice, Peace, and
 Development (CEPAD)
 Fray Juan de Larios Human Rights
 Center AC
 José Ma. Morelos y Pavón Regional
 Center for the Defense of Human Rights,
 Guerrero
 University Center for Dignity and Justice
 "Francisco Suárez SJ" of ITESO
 Laguna Citizens for Human Rights, AC
 (CILADHAC)

Citizens in Support of Human Rights AC (CADHAC)
 Shalom Collective, Torreón, Coah
 Collective of Mexican Migrant Federations and Organizations (COLEFOM)
 Collective for Education for Peace and Human Rights AC (CEPAZDH), Chiapas
 Impacta Cine Collective Yes to Life Collective (General Cepeda, Coahuila)
 Collective We Are All Jorge and Javier Zapotengo Collective, Pochutla, Oaxaca
 Human Rights and Labor Commission of the Tehuacán Valley Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights
 Independent Human Rights Commission of Morelos AC
 Tabasco Human Rights Committee, AC
 Solidarity Consulting SC Human Promotion Consulting AC Defenders for Justice, Oaxaca
 Axis of Churches and Spiritualities
 Border with Justice AC (Migrant House, Saltillo)
 Foundation for Justice and the Democratic Rule of Law AC
 Global Rights Advocacy
 Global Exchange
 Group Accompanying Families of Disappeared Persons (GAF-FLAD Mexico)
 Group for Research in Social and Forensic Anthropology (GIASF)
 Mexican Institute for Human Rights and Democracy (IMDHD)
 Institute for Women in Migration (IMUMI)
 Justice for the Person, AC
 Transitional Justice in Mexico, Strategies Against Impunity, AC Lekil Kuxlejal AC
 Mexico United Against Crime (MUCD)
 Free and Chosen Mobility CoLibres

Movement for Peace with Justice and Dignity
 National Citizen Observatory on Femicide (OCNF)
 Observatory of Public Appointments
 Social Ministry, Anglican Church of Mexico
 Platform for Peace and Justice in Guanajuato
 La Laguna Women's Network
 Northeast Journalists' Network
 National Network of Civil Human Rights Organizations
 "All Rights for All" (Red TDT)
 Network for Children's Rights in Mexico AC (REDIM)
 Resilientes MX
 SAC Consulting for Peacebuilding
 Comprehensive Inclusion and Human Rights Services AC (SEIINAC)
 Las Abejas Civil Society of Acteal (Chiapas)
 Weaving Networks for Children in Latin America and the Caribbean
 Tequio Legal AC
 Mesoamerican Voices, Action with Migrant Peoples

Relatives of missing persons

Adriana Moreno Becerril
 Alda Nelly Cruz Balderas
 Aldo Nery Castillo Reséndiz
 Alicia Solís Reyna
 Alma Cecilia Salgado Santana
 Amada Rocío Rebolledo Sotelo
 Amelia Hernández Enamorado
 Ana Cristina Solís
 Ana María González Betanzos
 Andrea Gorethy Robles Solís
 Andree Méndez Tello
 Angélica María Berrospe Medina
 Araceli Rodríguez Deaquino
 Armando Olmeda
 Artemisa Ramírez Ortiz
 Beatriz Torres Zuleta
 Beatriz Zapoteco Neri
 Bellarmina García

Benita Lara García
 Berenice Gómez Montes
 Bertha Patricia Valdez Ramirez
 Bibiana Mendoza
 Carolina Reséndiz Mata
 Carolina Rodríguez Deaquino
 Cecilia García Pacheco Charbel
 Méndez Tello
 Cruz María Helos Ortega
 Daniel Durán Hernández
 Delia García Luna
 Diana Aguilar Parada Diana
 Iris García
 Dora Alicia Domínguez Cardon Eder
 Christopher Sánchez Viesca Ortiz
 Elíseo Rodríguez Gallegos Erika
 Guadalupe Salas Ramírez Erika
 Montes de Oca
 Esther Barajas
 Esther Deaquino Velázquez
 Fabiola Alejandrina Orozco Romano
 Felicitas Suárez Guerrero
 Femini Rangel
 Fernando Maldonado Medellín
 Gerardo Calleja Martínez Gpe.
 Cepeda Aguilar Guadalupe
 Lucina Solís
 Irene Silos Silva
 Ismael Rodríguez García
 Ixchel Teresa Mireles Rodriguez
 Jaime Galvan
 Javier Espinosa
 Jean Michel Sánchez Viesca Ortiz
 Jesús Antonio Ángulo Cárdenas
 Jorge Verástegui González
 José Alfredo Villagrana
 José Antonio Robledo Chavarría
 José Matilde Salas Espino
 Juan Carlos Lozada Delgadillo
 Juana María Castillo Gallegos
 Julio César Arellano García
 Karol Yuliana Rodríguez Cruz
 Lázaro Ramírez Ortiz
 Leticia Pinzón Medina
 Lucía Baca Baca Lucía
 Santana Román
 Luz Elena Montalvo Velázquez
 Ma de los Ángeles Rodríguez García
 Ma. de los Ángeles Mendieta Quintana
 Ma. del Refugio Montoya Herrera

Mary Elena Salazar Zamora
 Mary Guadalupe Fernandez Martinez
 Mary Salvadora Coronado Navarro Mary
 Ascencion Flores
 María de Jesús González Medrano
 María de Jesús Lara García
 María de las Mercedes Almaraz Fuentes
 María de Lourdes Herrera del Llano
 María del Carmen Bustamante Salas
 María del Carmen García Samaniego
 María del Pilar Arenas Navarro
 María del Rosario Cano Mascorro
 María del Socorro Calderón Ayala
 María Esther Contreras de la Rosa
 María Eugenia Guerrero Juárez
 María Eugenia Padilla García María
 Eugenia Zaldívar Padilla María
 Guadalupe Pérez Ayala María Luisa
 Lazarín Sierra
 Marisa Arriola Reyes Marisol
 Sotelo Adame Martha
 Beatriz Vega Ruiz Martha
 Montelongo MaryCarmen
 Trejo
 Mayra González Ángeles
 Micaela González Heras
 Minerva Zepeda Zepeda
 Mireya Villarreal Salinas
 Miriam Arrambide Jiménez
 Misael Rodríguez García
 Nora G Tello Santana Nilvia
 Hernández Romero Noemí
 Martínez Martagón Nora
 Torres Rodríguez
 Olivia Esmeralda Salgado Santana Oralía
 Nájera Simizú
 Oscar Flores Coronado Oscar
 Sánchez Viesca López
 Patricia López Rodríguez
 Paulina Landaverde Martínez
 Perla Damián Marcial
 Rafael Rodríguez Balderas Ramiro
 Bonilla Tudón
 Raúl Reyes Covarrubias
 Raúl Rivera Muñoz Ricarda
 Salazar Castillo
 Ricardo Ulises Téllez Padilla
 Rocío Salas Ramírez Romeo
 Mendoza Almaraz
 Rosa Alma Delia Hernández García

Rosa Angélica García Saucedo
Rosa Angélica Lara García Rosa
Imelda Díaz Neris
Rosa María Guajardo Fuentes Severina
Fabiola Alarcón Serrano Silvia Elida
Ortiz Solís
Teresa de Jesús Medina Saucedo Velia
Aurora García Cruz
Yadira González Hernández
Yerin Rodríguez Zamora Yolanda
Montes Ortiz

Academics, activists, and supporters

Aaron Ortiz Santos
Adriana Jean Manuel (UABC-Following
in Your Footsteps Collective)
Alfredo López Casanova Alma
Rosa García Guevara
Andrea de la Serna (CIESAS-LAJUVI)
Andrea Santiago
Arturo Carrasco Gómez, Anglican Priest
Camelia Muñoz Alvarado
Claudia Irasema García Claudia
Liza Corona de la Peña Edith
López Ovalle
Eleazar Cabello Elena Azaola
Eliaana García Laguna
Emiliana Cruz (also CIESAS-LAJUVI)
Eugenia Allier Montaña
Federico Tatter, International
Representative, FEDEFAM
Gloria Lizbeth Delgadillo Islas
Guadalupe Vázquez Luna
Inti Barrios Hernández Jacobo
Dayán
Jimena Lara Estrada
Jorge Javier Romero Vadillo
José Luis Manzo Ramírez
Laura Velázquez de León Ma.
Dolores Soto Álvarez Manuel
Olivares Hernández
María Elizabeth Navarro Jerónimos
María Eugenia Arriaga Salomón María
López de la Rica
Mariana Mora Bravo (CIESAS-
LAJUVI)
Martín Barrios Hernández

Matilde M. Domínguez Cornejo
May-ek Querales Mendoza
Mercedes Ruiz González Merle
Iliná
Michael W Chamberlin Minerva
Nora Martínez Lázaro Rev.
Fernando Liñán Treviño Rev.
Miguel Peón Navarro Pilar
Noriega García
R. Aída Hernández Castillo (CIESAS-
LAJUVI and Eje de Iglesias y
Espiritualidades de la BNB)
Rafael Castelán Martínez
Raymundo Sandoval Roberto
Hernández Ramos Sandra
Estrada Maldonado
(University of Guanajuato)
Santiago Corcuera Cabezut
Victor Manuel Cabrera Morelos Yoltzi
Martinez Corrales