Civil Society Assessment of the Human Rights Situation in Mexico

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF A MEMO TO THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE REGARDING CONDITIONS ON U.S. ASSISTANCE

In a memorandum to the U.S. Department of State prepared by Amnesty International; Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez (Centro Prodh); Centro de Derechos Humanos de la Montaña Tlachinollan; Ciudadanos en Apoyo de Derechos Humanos (CADHAC); Comisión Mexicana de Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos (CMDPDH); Fundar, Centro de Análisis e Investigación; Latin America Working Group (LAWG); and the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), our organizations’ research and case documentation make clear that the Mexican government has failed to meet the human rights priorities outlined by Congress for fiscal year 2018.¹

Since the onset of increased U.S. security assistance to Mexico in FY2008, primarily under the Merida Initiative, the U.S. Congress has recognized the Mexican government’s need to make substantive progress in its respect for human rights within the framework of security operations and efforts to strengthen the rule of law in the country, placing human rights requirements on select U.S. funds.

Since 2009, our organizations have produced eight memorandums for the U.S. Department of State based on our research and documentation of the human rights situation in Mexico that have made clear that the Mexican government had failed to meet these requirements.

In the past year, the Mexican government has again demonstrated its unwillingness to make progress on human rights, with a continued failure to hold accountable members of security forces that perpetrate human rights violations. In some cases, there is strong evidence of federal authorities obstructing investigations into such abuses. While the passage of new laws on disappearances and torture in 2017 was a welcome step forward, they have been met by government resistance and their implementation has been slow and incomplete. Human rights defenders and journalists continue to be threatened, attacked, and even killed: at least 31 activists and media workers were murdered in 2017,² and no measurable progress has been made in the investigation into the illegal use of government-level spyware against human rights defenders, journalists, and other voices critical of the government.³

As Peña Nieto’s term comes to an end, we believe the State Department has an important opportunity to provide a thorough, accurate assessment of the human rights benchmarks laid out by Congress for U.S. security cooperation with Mexico. Such an assessment would signal to the current Mexican government as well as President-elect Andrés Manuel López Obrador’s incoming administration the importance that the United States places on human rights in its bilateral relationship and cooperation with Mexico.

REQUIREMENT 1:
THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO IS THOROUGHLY AND CREDIBLY INVESTIGATING AND PROSECUTING VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CIVILIAN COURTS, INCLUDING THE KILLINGS AT TLATLAYA IN JUNE 2014 AND THE DISAPPEARANCE OF 43 STUDENTS AT AYOTZINAPA IN SEPTEMBER 2014, IN ACCORDANCE WITH MEXICAN LAW.

As the Department of State notes in its Mexico Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 2017, “[I]mpunity for human rights abuses remained a problem, with extremely low rates of prosecution for all forms of crimes.”⁴ In 2017 Mexico had the fourth highest impunity index on the Global Impu-
nity Index (out of 69 countries), and it ranked first on the index among the countries analyzed for impunity for human rights violations.5

The passage of Mexico’s Internal Security Law in December 2017 presents a major setback to ensuring accountability for human rights violations perpetrated by the Mexican military. The law further militarizes public security in Mexico without transparency: any information related to the enforcement of the law will be considered “classified” as it is deemed relevant to “national security”, making it difficult to monitor and document the consequences of the military’s presence on the streets.6 At least 23 legal remedies have been presented before the Mexican Supreme Court to challenge the law, including by the National Human Rights Commission (CNDH).7 The Supreme Court is now reviewing whether the law violates international treaties and the Mexican Constitution.8

In a recent, concerning case, on January 7, 2018 over 200 elements of the military, investigative police, Guerrero State Police, and Federal Police arbitrarily arrested 38 persons, carried out 25 illegal house searches, tortured at least eight individuals, and arbitrarily executed three indigenous police members in the rural community of La Concepción, Acapulco, Guerrero.9 As a result, a criminal process was brought against 25 indigenous leaders defending their right to territory who belong to the Council of Ejidos and Communities Opposed to La Parota Dam (CECOP) and the community police force.10 Although the Mexico office of the UN Office of Human Rights recommended applying the Minnesota Protocol in this case, the Government of Guerrero has publicly refused to do so.11 To date, the federal government has not addressed these human rights violations, which are paradigmatic of the pattern of criminalization of human rights defenders and the excessive use of force in Mexico. According to Tlachinollan’s documentation, some witnesses to the security operation affirm that police officers openly acknowledged that the Internal Security Law allowed them to perpetrate these acts with no judicial or legal oversight.

The Internal Security Law is particularly concerning given the lack of accountability that already exists for human rights violations committed by Mexican soldiers. The Washington Office on Latin America’s (WOLA) research shows that military authorities often engage in practices that hinder civilian investigations into such abuses, such as limiting civilian authorities’ access to testimony from accused soldiers or soldiers who are witnesses in investigations, as well as allowing soldiers to tamper with crime scenes or give false testimony, without properly investigating this misconduct. Moreover, the federal Attorney General’s Office’s (PGR) investigations into military abuses are slow and incomplete: they often lack sufficient evidence to bring strong cases to court and fail to investigate the chain of command of high-ranking military officials that order soldiers to commit human rights violations against civilians. As a result, an alarming 96.8 percent of these abuses remain unpunished.12

For instance, the emblematic case of the more than a dozen civilians that were extrajudicially executed by members of the Mexican Army at Tlatlaya in June 2014 remains in impunity: as we reported in our 2017 memo, all those charged in relation to the case in civilian jurisdiction have been released. In military jurisdiction, only one soldier was convicted of disobedience and sentenced to one year, which he had already served in military prison and was thus released as well. On July 31, 2017 a federal court in Mexico ruled on a constitutional challenge (amparo) filed by Clara Gómez, the surviving victim whose 15-year-old daughter was killed in the Tlatlaya killings. The court found that the PGR had not investigated the case with due diligence and ordered a new probe, making specific reference to the PGR’s failure to investigate the military order to “take out criminals” that soldiers were following when the killings occurred. Instead of complying with the judgment, the PGR appealed it. Though the court issued a new judgement in favor of the victim, the PGR again appealed the court’s decision.13

There is also still no progress in emblematic cases that have been described in our past memos, such as the cases of the torture victims Rodolfo Montiel, Teodoro Cabrera, and Taylin Wang. In October 2017, four UN human rights mandates sent a joint communication to Mexico expressing their serious concern over Taylin Wang’s case and seven other
cases of sexual torture of women in Mexico. Cases recently heard before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights further demonstrate the Mexican government’s continued failure to investigate and sanction abuses perpetrated by security forces. In November 2017 the notorious May 2006 case of police repression that resulted in the physical, psychological, and sexual torture of 11 women in the town of Atenco, State of Mexico was the subject of a two-day hearing before the Inter-American Court, and in April 2018 the Court heard the case of the enforced disappearance of Nitza Paola Alvarado Espinoza, José Ángel Alvarado Herrera, and Rocío Irene Alvarado Reyes at the hands of Mexican soldiers in December 2009 in the state of Chihuahua. The Alvarado case is historic in that an international court will rule on how Mexico’s military-led security strategy affects the human rights of civilians.

In June 2018 a federal judge in Mexico convicted two members of the Mexican military to 19 years in prison for the crimes of rape and torture against Valentina Rosendo Cantú in 2002. The ruling analyzed the asymmetry of power and the coercive environment that Mexican soldiers create while they execute security operations. This is the only case resolved by the Inter-American Court on military abuses in Mexico where the perpetrators have been sentenced in a national court. However, this judgment is not final: both soldiers have appealed it and it is now being revised by a higher court. Moreover, there has been no further investigation into the six other soldiers that also participated in these crimes, and higher military responsibility has not been investigated.

In the case of the 43 students from Ayotzinapa, Guerrero who were forcefully disappeared by Mexican security forces in September 2014, recent developments demonstrate the Mexican government’s continued lack of political will to resolve the case. The whereabouts of the students remain unknown, and not a single conviction for anyone detained in the case has been secured. On May 31, 2018 a Mexican federal tribunal determined that the PGR’s investigation into the Ayotzinapa case has not been prompt, effective, independent, or impartial, highlighting grave irregularities in the investigation such as the use of torture to extract confessions and the failure to investigate Federal Police and military officials that may have participated in the students’ disappearance. The ruling also highlights a bias in the investigation, which has prioritized only one line of inquiry—that the students were taken to a local trash dump in the town of Cocula by members of the criminal group Guerreros Unidos where they were killed and incinerated in an open pyre—which has no scientific basis.

The tribunal therefore ordered the creation of an Investigative Commission for Truth and Justice (Iguala Case) to continue the investigation. While the investigation will remain under the responsibility of the PGR, the ruling calls for the victims and their legal representatives to participate in the Investigative Commission with the technical support of the CNDH and national and international organizations such as UN bodies. The new Commission is mandated to redirect the case towards the lines of investigation identified by the GIEI in their two reports, as well as in the report Double Injustice—issued by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in March 2018—on the use of arbitrary detentions and torture in the Ayotzinapa investigation. Although the tribunal’s decision is final and binding, the Mexican government is exhausting all of its legal options to challenge the ruling, and it has not taken any steps to meet with the victims’ families or their legal representatives to discuss the Investigative Commission. Ultimately, the Supreme Court will decide on the legal challenges presented by the PGR and other federal institutions against the ruling.

Apart from the Mexican tribunal’s ruling, on June 6, 2018 the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) issued a performance report on the 18 months of work of the Special Follow-Up Mechanism for the Ayotzinapa Case, which was created to follow up on the work of the GIEI. In the report, the IACHR calls on the Mexican government to abandon the Cocula trash dump theory; to fully investigate allegations of torture and other irregularities in the PGR investigation, including allegations of obstruction of justice by federal officials involved in the case; to execute several outstanding arrest warrants in the case; to further investigate the role...
of the Federal Police and the military in the events surrounding the students’ disappearance; and to ex-
haust the line of investigation involving the use of
buses in cross-border drug trafficking and the role of Guerreros Unidos in such operations in both the United States and Mexico.22

**REQUIREMENT 2:**
**THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO IS ENFORCING PROHIBITIONS AGAINST TORTURE AND THE USE OF TESTIMONY OBTAINED THROUGH TORTURE.**

In the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture’s February 2017 follow-up report on Mexico, the Rapporteur observed, “Despite public statements by authori-
ties, there are no signs of impartial and independent investigations” of torture in Mexico.23 In the 2016 National Survey of Detained Persons conducted by Mexico’s National Institute for Geography and Statistics (INEGI), which surveyed individuals held in Mexico’s municipal, state, and federal prisons, 46.6% of detainees who had given a statement to a pub-
lic prosecutor reported being pressured by the po-
lice or other authorities to give a different version of the events, and 41% of the detainees who had confessed said they had declared their guilt because they had been pressured, threatened, or physically assaulted.24

Lack of transparency and limited access to infor-
mation regarding torture cases makes it difficult to track the Mexican government’s progress in investi-
gating and sanctioning torture. However, the infor-
mation available reveals that there is a lack of due diligence in response to allegations of torture and that impunity for this crime is widespread.

Nearly half of Mexican state supreme courts re-
ported in a recent self-evaluation questionnaire that they do not believe they act with due diligence in cases of torture against women.25 The federal Specialized Torture Investigation Unit, created in Oc-
tober 2015 within the PGR, reported in February 2018 that it had opened 8,335 investigations but had only presented charges in 17.26 In July 2017, the Unit reported at least 2,700 investigations opened against members of the Army and the Navy.27 Yet in September 2017 the PGR reported having pre-

tented charges in just four cases in which the Army is implicated since 2015, with no convictions.28 From December 1, 2006 to December 31, 2017, Mexico’s Federal Judicial Council (CJF) reported only 16 tor-

ture convictions and two acquittals.29

Since Mexico’s General Law on Torture entered into force in June 2017, actions by the executive and judi-
cial branches have openly violated the precepts contained in the law. First, in November 2017 the Supreme Court issued a binding judicial precedent stating that only those allegations of torture that resulted in the self-incrimination of the victim could lead to the exclusion of illicit evidence.30 This pre-
vents a retrial in cases in which police and prosecu-
tors coerce two or more people to incriminate each other, which openly contradicts the General Law’s provisions (which themselves reflect international law already binding on Mexico) that clearly establish that no evidence obtained through torture may be admitted in criminal trials.31

Second, in February 2018 the National Conference of Prosecutors announced the adoption of a new Uniform Protocol for the Investigation of Torture.32 Under the Protocol, only upon finding evidence that leads to a presumption of torture should prosecu-
tors send the complaint to the Specialized Torture Investigation Unit so that an investigation can be opened and the complaint can be registered in the National Torture Registry. This means that in many cases, torture victims’ complaints will not lead to an investigation or even contribute to official statistics on the number of people denouncing torture. The Protocol violates the investigation procedures es-
blished in the General Law and is currently the subject of a constitutional challenge (amparo) filed by Centro Prodh.

There have also been no advances in the implemen-
tation of the National Program for the Prevention and Sanction of Torture, as outlined in the General
REQUIREMENT 3:
THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO IS SEARCHING FOR THE VICTIMS OF FORCED DISAPPEARANCES AND IS INVESTIGATING AND PROSECUTING THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH CRIMES.

According to the latest official statistics through April 2018, there are 37,435 disappeared persons in Mexico.\(^{39}\) In April 2017 the CNDH released a special report on disappearances and clandestine mass graves, in which it documented that, according to official data, from January 1, 2007 to September 2016, 855 mass graves had been found, with 1,548 bodies exhumed from these sites, out of which 796 were identified. In addition, the states of Coahuila, Colima, Nuevo León, and Veracruz informed the CNDH that they have exhumed or found a total of 35,958 human or bone remains.\(^{40}\) Despite the high...
number of disappearances in Mexico, the Federal Judicial Branch reports that from December 1, 2006 to December 31, 2017 only 14 sentences for enforced disappearance were issued, 12 of them convictions.41

There have been recent, concerning cases of enforced disappearances in Mexico: in May the OHCHR announced that it had documented the disappearance of 23 individuals by security forces, including five minors, that occurred between February and May of 2018 in Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas.42 The federal Specialized Prosecutor’s Office on Disappearances opened an investigation into the disappearance of 28 individuals related to these incidents in early June, and the Navy has temporarily suspended 30 marines, but there have not yet been any convictions.43

After several years of debate and pressure by families of the disappeared and civil society organizations, the General Law on Forced Disappearance of Persons, Disappearance Committed by Individuals and the National Missing Persons Search System passed in November 2017. Though the law entered into force in January 2018, the implementation of the law and the various mechanisms it establishes has been delayed, consultations with civil society on its execution have lacked transparency and engagement as required under the law, and full funding for these mechanisms continues to be a major challenge. Other challenges include the implementation of search and investigation protocols, the National Registry of Exhumations and the Disappeared, and the training of government officials, local law enforcement, and forensic experts on these matters.

There has also been limited progress in searching for the disappeared and prosecuting security forces involved in enforced disappearances since the law’s enactment. In mid-February, an estimated 30 former high-ranking state security officials and members of the police involved in a paramilitary group that carried out disappearances and acts of torture of mainly young men in the state of Veracruz in 2013 were arrested.44 This was the first case following the implementation of the law to investigate chain of command responsibility. However, prosecutions for the accused have yet to move forward within the state-level Attorney General’s Office.45

Moreover, relatives of the disappeared continue to lead most of the searches in a large part of the country, successfully gathering information and leading what are called “civilian searches” of mass graves, very often in precarious conditions without protection. Despite the large number of body or bone remains exhumed from clandestine mass graves in different parts of the country, there is a negligent lack of forensic analysis to identify these remains and resources to process and house them according to international standards.46

Another concern is that the federal Specialized Prosecutor’s Office on Disappearances remains weak and underfunded. As of the end of last year, it had only 37 public prosecutors’ offices and 859 cases in process, with a total of 1,535 victims. The local specialized prosecutors’ offices were supposed to be created in all 32 states by February 15, 2018. However, as of June 2018, only 13 states have met this requirement.47

In its first recommendation, the Citizens’ Council created under the law expressed various concerns, including shortcomings in establishing the regulations for the implementation of the law (Reglamento). As they stand now, the regulations have failed to establish the rights of victims and their participation in the new mechanisms, or to clearly establish the responsibilities of state-level institutions in the law’s implementation. In addition, the law requires consultation with families in the development of regulations to create the federal Specialized Prosecutor’s Office, but the regulations, which were published in mid-February, were not done with the families’ participation, and they lacked clarification on the responsibilities of other offices and units within the Attorney General’s Office that are responsible for investigating disappearance cases. They also failed to specify how federal authorities should coordinate with state-level specialized prosecutor’s offices.48

The Citizens’ Council also expressed concern that the head of the National Search Commission (the
entity tasked with coordinating the search and identification of the disappeared and establishing a national registry) was appointed by mid-March, a month after the law established that he should have been named. Moreover, the process to select him lacked transparency and civil society engagement with the proposed candidates. Under the law, the local search commissions were supposed to have been established under the umbrella of the National Search Commission by mid-April. To date, the commissions have only been created in seven states, and the establishment of these seven commissions does not mean that they are fully operational or that they have named commissioners to head these entities, much less that they have the resources to carry out their work.

ENDNOTES

10 La Parota Dam is a megaproject that would supply the touristic beach of Acapulco with electricity, and its construction threatens the livelihoods and security of peasant and indigenous communities that depend on the Papagayo River Basin. This case is known worldwide by international organizations and international experts, such as the former UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, Rodolfo Stavenhagen; the current Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz; the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders, Michel Forst; and the former Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as an integral element of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context, Miloon Kothari. Additionally, the Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights included the case of La Parota Dam as a main subject of concern in its concluding observations of Mexico’s periodic report in 2006 (E/C.12/MEX/CO/4).
14 The four UN mandates include the Special Rapporteur on torture, the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, the Working Group on arbitrary detentions, and the Working Group on discrimination against women: https://spcommrreports.ohchr.org/TMResultsBase/DownloadPublicCommunicationFile?gId=23383.


View both GIEI reports and their executive summaries here: http://prensagieiayotzi.wixsite.com/giei-ayotzinapa/informe-:


Federal Prosecutor’s Office, Information Requests #0001700016518, #0001700016618, and #0001700016918.

Federal Prosecutor’s Office, Information Request #0001700295417.

Federal Prosecutor’s Office, Information Request #0001700219617.

CJF. Solicitud de información folio: 0320000161517. “TORTURA. ES INNECESARIO REPONER EL PROCEDIMIENTO CUANDO NO EXISTA CONCESIÓN DE LOS HECHOS IMPUTADOS O CUALQUIER ACTO QUE CONLLEVE AUTOINCRIMINACIÓN DEL INCUPLICADO.” 1a./J. 101/2017 (10a), Approved by the First Chamber of the Supreme Court on November 15, 2017. Register N°: 2015603.


This announcement was published on February 2, 2018 in the Federal Official Gazette (Diario Oficial de la Federación). The new Protocol is available here: https://aplicaciones.pgr.gob.mx/normatecasustantiva/Normateca%20Sustantiva/Prot_Inv_Tortura.pdf. (The translation cited is our own.)


“Policías torturados por militares interpondrán demanda ante la CNDH,” Expansión, October 5, 2012. https://expansion.mx/nacional/2012/10/05/policias-torturados-por-militares-interpondran-demanda-ante-la-cidh?internal_source=PLAYLIST.


Ibid.


