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Still Waiting for Justice: Shortcomings in Mexico's Efforts to End Impunity for Murders of Girls and Women in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua

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The murders of hundreds of women in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua City, Mexico have received unprecedented attention from the U.S. government and other international actors. This scrutiny has helped spur the Mexican authorities to take a number of steps to investigate the crimes and prevent violence against women.

These steps are undeniably important. For the first time ever, Mexico's federal government recognized the gravity of the dual and inter-related problems of violence against women and impunity for these crimes in Ciudad Juárez, and appointed two senior officials to handle prevention and investigative efforts. At the state level, a new attorney general has expressed her commitment to investigating the murders and rooting out corruption from within her office. She has begun an ambitious program to reform the administration of justice in the state of Chihuahua (where Juárez is located), and is receiving \$5 million in assistance from the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to enhance the capability of Chihuahua police and prosecutors and to make the criminal justice system more transparent.

However, these efforts have not yet had an impact:

1. **They have not slowed the pace at which women are being murdered in Ciudad Juárez.** In 2005, 32 women and girls were murdered in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua City, up from 28 in 2004 and 18 in 2003. Between January 1 and March 30, 2006, there were 15 murders.
2. **The authorities are not seriously investigating past murders.** Although several men accused of murders dating from 1996, 1999, and 2001 were recently convicted, there are serious doubts about their culpability, including lack of physical evidence linking them to the crimes and credible allegations that they were tortured into confessing.
3. **The authorities are not holding accountable those officials whose negligence, abuse, and possible complicity have allowed the killings to remain unpunished.** Arrest warrants were requested but denied for a handful of officials suspected of wrongdoing.
4. **Federal and state officials downplay the problems of violence against women, impunity, and corruption in the state of Chihuahua.**

These observations were echoed in a January 2005 report by the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The report concluded, "The Committee is greatly concerned at the fact that these serious and systematic violations of women's rights have continued for over ten years, and notes with consternation that it has not yet been possible to eradicate them, to punish the guilty, and to provide the families of the victims with the necessary assistance."ⁱ

Local human rights groups fear a "*carpetazo*," an attempt by the government to close the files (and bury the issue) through a couple of convictions, however dubious, in several high-profile murder cases and by prosecuting a few former mid-ranking officials who botched the investigations. The federal special prosecutor's recent resignation, and the government's decision not to replace her, lends credence to that fear.

Continued U.S. engagement with Mexican officials on the subject of the murders will help ensure that the Mexican government's measures to prevent and prosecute the killings, and to punish those officials responsible for widespread impunity, produce concrete results and lead to overall improvements in the situation of women in Juárez and Chihuahua.

I. Murders Since 2004

Murders of women and girls in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua continue to occur with frequency. Some of the murders appear to fit the pattern of “sexually motivated” killings of young women who were kidnapped, raped, and strangled to death, then discarded on the outskirts of town or in empty lots, construction sites, or dumpsters around town. Other murders were the product of domestic violence.

Fifteen women and girls were murdered in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua City in the first three months of 2006. In 2005, 32 women and girls were murdered in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua City, up from 28 in 2004 and 18 in 2003.

II. Investigations and Prosecutions of Past Murders

Recent convictions have created the impression that many murders are finally being brought to justice. Yet serious doubts about the evidence upon which the convictions were based, and allegations of torture and the fabrication of evidence against the alleged culprits, have generated fears among families and human rights groups that the authorities are more concerned about putting scapegoats behind bars than properly investigating the murders.

An example of this is the theory put forth by the Chihuahua attorney general's office that several of the “sexually motivated murders,” as they refer to them, are linked to one man – Egyptian chemist Abdel Latif Sharif. He was arrested in 1995 but has only been convicted of one murder. Despite Sharif's imprisonment, the sexually motivated murders of women in Ciudad Juárez have continued. On occasion, state police have rounded up groups of suspects and accused them of committing the rapes and murders under contract with Sharif.

In the fall of 2004, as José Reyes Baeza of the PRI became governor of Chihuahua and named former criminal judge Patricia González as his attorney general, three groups of detainees were being prosecuted for a number of sexually motivated murders in Ciudad Juárez. Each of those groups of detainees alleges that they were tortured by Chihuahua police into confessing to the murders. Despite their lengthy internments – more than eight years in some cases – none of these detainees had been convicted. Family members and women's rights advocates believe that some of these men may not be the killers. The detainees included:

- Six members of a criminal group known as “*Los Rebeldes*,” who were arrested in 1996 for the murders of six women. The *Rebeldes* maintain they are scapegoats, were tortured into confessing to the murders, and were not given an adequate public defense. The Chihuahua state human rights commission documented evidence of torture against them.
- Five bus drivers known as “*Los Toltecas*,” who were arrested in 1999 for the murders of 6 women.
- Two other bus drivers, Victor Javier García Uribe (“*El Cerillo*”) and Gustavo González Mesa (“*La Foca*”), who were arrested and charged with the murders of eight women whose bodies were found in an abandoned cotton field in downtown Juárez in November 2001. One of their lawyers was killed by police in February 2002. González Mesa died in prison more than a year later after a hernia operation. The victims' families believe that they are innocent scapegoats.

In October 2004, detainee Victor Javier García Uribe was convicted for the November 2001 “cotton field” murders and sentenced to 50 years in prison. Marisela Ortiz of *Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa* (a support group for families of missing and murdered women) described the conviction as “another insult to law enforcement, because everyone knows, it has been proved, that he confessed under torture. This just causes more distrust.”ⁱⁱⁱ The judge who found him guilty was Javier Pineda Arzola of the 7th Criminal Court of Chihuahua.

Victor García filed an appeal and was freed for lack of evidence on July 15, 2005. It is not clear whether the public prosecutor's office has appealed that decision. Statements by Governor Reyes Baeza

indicate that García is still considered a suspect, in part because the federal government's application of the Istanbul Protocol (a set of guidelines for the effective investigation and documentation of torture) in his case did not find evidence that he was tortured. Physicians for Human Rights, a group that developed the Protocol and trained Mexican authorities in its use, noted that the absence of physical and/or psychological evidence in a medical evaluation does not rule out the possibility that torture or ill treatment was inflicted, and warned against the negative results being construed as evidence of García's guilt.

On January 6, 2005, the two remaining groups of men alleged to be responsible for some of the sexually motivated murders – and who had been in prison awaiting verdicts in their cases for eight and five years, respectively -- were also convicted and sentenced. The verdicts were reached by different judges just hours apart. Judge Hector Javier Talamantes, of Chihuahua's 4th Criminal Court, convicted four members of *Los Toltecas* of the murders of six women; he sentenced the group's leader to 113 years in prison. Judge Javier Pineda Arzola, who had found Victor Javier García Uribe guilty, also convicted and sentenced the six members of *Los Rebeldes* to between 24 and 40 years for the murders of six other women.

Many women's rights advocates are suspicious of these convictions as well. Esther Chavez, a leading advocate for justice in Juárez, said, "If they were sure these men committed the crimes, why did it take eight years to find them guilty? What worries me is that the government may be trying to say the cases have been solved when there are still so many gaps in the investigations."ⁱⁱⁱ Marisela Ortiz echoed her concerns, saying, "This seems more like a political move by the new governor than a true commitment to stop the crime because here women are still getting killed."^{iv}

At the end of January, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) issued a report on Juárez in which it concluded, "[I]n the cases involving sex crimes, the murderers have acted with full impunity. Nearly all sources, including statements and comments made to the experts by Federal Government officials ... have made it clear that the local authorities, both state and municipal, are assumed to have a years-long history of complicity and fabrication of cases against the alleged perpetrators."^v CEDAW even cites an unnamed federal investigator who said that the federal attorney general's office had "determined that the persons in custody [for the cotton field murders] were not guilty."^{vi}

Under attorney general González, state authorities have re-opened some past murder investigations and arrested a few suspects. The most notable was the February 2005 arrest of José Luis Hernández Flores for the April 1998 abduction, rape, and murder of Sagrario González Flores. His arrest was largely the result of the persistence of the victim's family, who had been telling police for seven years that they suspected Hernández of the murder. The family believes others were involved in the murder and are demanding that the authorities investigate further. Suspects have been arrested in another four cases that occurred during the previous administration, including one man in custody in El Paso, Texas pending his extradition for the November 2002 murder of a Juárez woman. The Mexican authorities appear to be requesting the support of U.S. law enforcement agencies around specific cases where murders suspect fled to the United States. In addition to the above-mentioned case, US authorities recently deported a man suspected in the March 2005 stabbing murder of a Juárez woman.

Status of Murder Investigations in Chihuahua City

At the time that Governor Reyes and attorney general González took office in October 2004, there were also three people in prison in connection with two murders of young women in Chihuahua City. There is credible evidence that all three were tortured into confessing to these crimes. In none of the cases do the parents of the murder victims believe that the accused are guilty.

U.S. citizen Cynthia Kiecker and her husband, Mexican national Ulises Perzábal, were arrested in May 2003, accused of the murder of Viviana Rayas. They were tortured into signing confessions that they immediately retracted when they were brought before a judge. After a year and a half in prison, they were found innocent and released on December 17, 2004. State prosecutors appealed the judge's decision, however, insisting that Kiecker and Perzábal are responsible for the murder. As long as state

authorities appeal the judge's innocent verdict, they will not pursue other lines of investigation into the murder of Viviana Rayas.

Another detainee, David Meza, remains in prison in Chihuahua City awaiting a verdict in his trial. His case exemplifies how the justice system has been used to produce scapegoats as murder suspects. He is being prosecuted for the murder of his cousin, Neyra Azucena Cervantes, though he was not even in the state of Chihuahua on the day she disappeared. When she disappeared in May 2003, her parents asked him to travel to Chihuahua from his home in Chiapas (in southern Mexico) to help them look for their missing daughter. Meza was so outspoken in his demands that police investigate Neyra's disappearance, that when her body was discovered in the desert, police arrested him and tortured him into confessing to the murder. The Chihuahua Human Rights Commission certified that Meza had been tortured. There is no physical evidence linking him to the crime.

One positive development with respect to the investigations is the decision by state attorney general González to allow an independent team of forensic experts from Argentina to exhume and identify remains of unidentified female murder victims in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua City, as well as those victims whose families have doubts about the results of prior forensic testing. The Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF), a non-governmental group that applies forensic sciences to the investigation of human rights violations worldwide, began working in June. This is an important step towards alleviating families' anguish and uncertainty, guaranteeing their rights to truth and justice, enhancing transparency of local judicial institutions, and improving local forensic capacity.

III. Investigations into Widespread Negligence, Malfeasance, and Abuse

In January 2004, a new position was created within the federal attorney general's office (PGR) to review the investigations into the Juárez women's murders, in order to:

1. Establish if the federal authorities can exert jurisdiction over any of the cases (murder is a state crime but federal authorities can intervene if the murder is related to a federal crime like drug trafficking or illegal arms possession); and
2. Determine if justice officials from the state of Chihuahua committed administrative or criminal offenses in their handling of the investigations.

It must be noted that the federal government did not assume responsibility for all the murder investigations when it created the special prosecutor's office. The special prosecutor was tasked only with *reviewing* the murder files in order to make recommendations to federal and state officials about how to proceed. The PGR has jurisdiction over the investigations of only 24 of the nearly 400 murders.

María López Urbina, the first federal special prosecutor, issued three progress reports during her tenure (January 2004 to June 2005). These reports detailed her review of 205 out of a total of 323 case files (some files include multiple victims). Roughly half (101 cases) are still under investigation; the other half (104) have been brought to trial.

López Urbina concluded what was already commonly accepted, that the majority of the homicides are "not necessarily" sexually motivated murders.^{vii} She did not discount, however, that many of the murders appear to be related and may have been committed by the same author(s).

Her most important contribution was documenting, through evidence in the case files, that 130 state justice officials – including police, prosecutors, and forensics experts – committed acts of negligence, omission, and abuse in their handling of the 101 pending investigations, and that some of these acts constitute criminal offenses.

López Urbina described a situation of "notorious inactivity and negligence ... that led to the loss of evidence and the inadequate protection of crime scenes" and forensic tests that were "riddled with grave problems of validity and trustworthiness."^{viii} She described these officials' conduct as "incorrect, negligent, or outright omissive" and noted that "as a result of these serious deficiencies ..., some of the

homicide investigations will be practically impossible to solve.”^{ix} She urged the Chihuahua authorities to “prevent impunity for those who acted negligently or were remiss in their duties” because “due precisely to the negligent or omissive attitude of these officials, it will be extremely difficult to capture the killers, given the loss of evidence and the inadequate handling of the investigations and the crime scenes.”^x

The special prosecutor found little evidence that investigators collected fibers or other clues about the killers. She detected other blatant errors and omissions, including the failure to get testimony from key witnesses and falsified and back-dated documents.

These acts of omission and negligence were not isolated and cannot be blamed on just a few irresponsible officials. On the contrary, the 130 officials on López Urbina’s list committed these acts repeatedly. Such widespread irregularities and abuses indicate serious institutional and operational deficiencies within the state attorney general’s office (under which police, prosecutors, and forensics experts are employed). Some cases never stood a chance of being solved. For example, López Urbina determined that every single official involved in the investigation into the murder of Esmeralda Andrade Gutiérrez appears to have been criminally negligent.^{xi}

In March 2006 the Federal Attorney General’s Office released the final report on its review of the Juárez murders. It concluded that the problem of the murders and impunity had been greatly exaggerated, and that 177 people had been convicted for the killings. It also concluded that 177 public officials had committed acts of negligence, malfeasance, and abuse.

Limitations to the Special Prosecutor’s Inquiry

The special prosecutor has recommended that the state authorities sanction negligent and abusive officials, but is not taking any action against them herself. Because these officials are implicated in state, not federal, crimes, it falls to the state attorney general’s office -- the same institution that was responsible for widespread negligence and abuse -- to hold itself accountable.

Another limitation to the special prosecutor’s authority is that it does not extend to the murders of women in Chihuahua City, even though several fit the pattern of sexually motivated homicides (in which the victims were abducted, raped, and strangled to death), and the local authorities appear to have been equally negligent and abusive in their handling of the investigations. For example, the CEDAW noted that Chihuahua police commander Gloria Cobos helped cover up the murder of Paloma Escobar by incriminating Ms. Escobar’s boyfriend and fabricating evidence against him.^{xii} Cobos was not prosecuted for these crimes. Additionally, Cynthia Kiecker, Ulises Perzábal, and others allege that Rocío Sáenz, head of the Chihuahua City sex crimes unit, supervised and participated in their torture.

Although the special prosecutor found evidence to presume that some of these officials committed abuse of authority, she remains silent on the issue of torture.

The federal attorney general’s office (PGR) is applying the Istanbul Protocol, an internationally accepted set of guidelines to detect and document torture, to the cases of some of the detainees who have alleged torture. In some cases, like that of David Meza, the results of the tests have not been made public or presented to the relevant judicial authorities. In other cases, there are questions about how the PGR is applying the Protocol. For example, in February 2005 the PGR performed a biopsy on detainee Victor García Uribe, who alleged that he was given electric shocks to force him to confess to the cotton-field murders. According to scientific studies, however, it is unlikely that a biopsy will detect evidence of injury more than two months after the application of electric shock – and in this case, more than three years had passed between the alleged torture and the biopsy. Although a negative biopsy does not exclude the possibility of electric shock, there is now the risk that an official medical exam will conclude there is no physical evidence that García was tortured.

Although the special prosecutor detected widespread irregularities in the pending investigations, she claimed not to have detected any irregularities whatsoever in the cases where suspects have been charged or convicted. It is highly implausible that justice officials whose work was marked by the

inadequacy, negligence, and abuse described above would have executed their work flawlessly in other cases. This assertion is even more questionable considering that there is credible evidence that many of the accused and convicted detainees were tortured by police and suffered other human rights and due process violations (such as arbitrary arrest and lack of access to counsel). By claiming that the so-called “solved” cases are free of irregularities or abuses – despite credible evidence to the contrary – the special prosecutor is validating the shoddy and abusive work of the Chihuahua attorney general’s office

Accountability for Negligent, Abusive, and Corrupt Officials

State attorney general Patricia González has fired, suspended, or re-assigned a number of personnel because of concerns about corruption and negligence. In December 2004, she announced that she was seeking administrative sanctions against 15 other officials named by López Urbina for negligence, but had cleared another 39 officials on her list. She also announced that she was seeking arrest warrants against five public servants for abuse of authority. However, judges threw out these cases, arguing that the statute of limitations was up or that the attorney general’s office had presented insufficient evidence.

Attorney general González is not taking action against high-level officials who many believe should be held accountable for investigative failures and cover-ups. In her estimation, only the officials who directly handled the murder files were responsible for any wrongdoing, and their superiors are not liable for the state’s failure to investigate the murders. This dampened hopes of victims’ families and their advocates, who want high-ranking officials to be held accountable for the state’s failure to investigate and punish the murders.

The links between law enforcement personnel and drug traffickers in Juárez are regularly exposed, and it is widely believed that many of the same authorities who failed to investigate the women’s murders may have also been involved in criminal activity such as drug trafficking. For example, a group of policemen were charged in January 2004 with the murder of twelve men whose bodies were unearthed earlier that month from the backyard of a middle-class home; the following month, then-attorney general José Solís Silva resigned amid accusations that he was protecting traffickers. If efforts to prosecute law enforcement officials for state crimes such as negligence and abuse of authority fail, federal authorities should investigate their involvement in drug trafficking and organized crime, which are federal offenses. Their possible involvement in these crimes may be one reason why they failed to ensure proper investigations into the women’s murders.

IV. Downplaying the Problem of Violence against Women and the Causes of Impunity

In general, federal and state authorities appear to be downplaying the extent of violence against women in Juárez, as well as the reasons that impunity for such violence exists.

Authorities focus on the sexually motivated murders, as if those were the only murders that merit special attention or are the only murders that have not been properly investigated. For example, in her latest report, special prosecutor López Urbina emphasized that “only” 84 of the 233 murders she has reviewed appear to have been sexually motivated. This determination is problematic for several reasons. One, it is based on a review of case files in which the evidence gathering was shoddy; it is likely there are cases for which evidence of rape was not documented by police. Two, impunity is commonplace for all types of murders, regardless of the presumed motive: Of the 101 cases in which there have been no advances in the investigations, more than half (61) are cases that are not considered sexually motivated.

While López Urbina did not mince words describing how official negligence will prevent many of the murders from being solved, federal and state authorities attribute that negligence to lack of resources and technical capacity, not corruption or possible complicity. For example, in its response to the CEDAW report, the Mexican government stated that:

"In short, the murders of the Ciudad Juárez women constitute a breach of women's human rights, the origin of which lies in entrenched cultural patterns of discrimination. The problem was exacerbated by the authorities' lack of human and financial resources for addressing it in a timely and effective manner. However, it must be recognized that these deficiencies are being made good and that for some years now there has been better follow-up of investigations, substantial resources have been invested and public-policy measures are being taken in order to boost the construction of a culture of equity."^{xliii}

But impunity for the murders goes deeper than a lack of resources or investigative skills. There has been a profound lack of political will to solve the murders, owing to corruption in the state police and attorney general's office. These problems will not go away just because police get better training or have access to a state-of-the-art forensics lab. Essential to improving the administration of justice is the establishment of effective internal and external control mechanisms for the Chihuahua police and attorney general's office, which will make those institutions more transparent and accountable.

V. Lack of Transparency in Government Programs to Assist Families of Murder Victims

State and federal officials have implemented some programs to assist the families of murder victims, but their lack of transparency in decision-making and implementation has not helped overcome the distrust towards the government felt by the intended beneficiaries.

Compensation Fund

The federal and state governments have allocated 61 million pesos (about \$6 million) for a compensation fund for families of the murder victims. However, very little information has been made public about the fund, such as who is eligible, what kind of benefits they will receive, if there are any strings attached, and how benefits will be distributed. A similar fund administered by the previous administration of Chihuahua was perceived by many families as an attempt to manipulate or silence them.

An advisory board made up of personnel from the state and federal attorney general's offices will decide who receives the benefits and distribute them. The fact that these are the same institutions that have failed to adequately investigate and prosecute the murders raises questions about their ability to administer the fund impartially.

The program has been harshly criticized by families and human rights organizations in Mexico for several reasons. One, the advisory board lacks impartiality and transparency. Two, the board determined that compensation would be greater for the families whose daughters were killed in the sexual-serial killings, which families interpreted as an attempt to measure their immeasurable sorrow and suffering and divide families by differentiating their benefits. Three, some families are reporting that their benefits are being conditioned on their waiving their rights to request independent DNA testing to confirm the identities of their murdered daughters.^{xiv} In other words, families who provide DNA samples to the EAAF (in order to identify unidentified murder victims or to confirm the identities of remains they have accepted as their murdered daughters) will not be able to receive any benefits from the program. Four, the fund does not include families of victims in Chihuahua, nor families of disappeared women.

VI. Recommendations

Continued U.S. engagement with Mexican officials on the subject of the murders will help ensure that the Mexican government's measures to prevent and prosecute the killings, and to punish those officials responsible for widespread impunity, produce concrete results and lead to overall improvements in the situation of women in Juárez and Chihuahua. Following are recommendations for U.S. and Mexican policymakers.

Recommendations for U.S. Policymakers:

- **Support Congressional Resolutions:** In March 2005, Representative Hilda Solis (D-CA) and Senator Jeff Bingaman (D-NM) introduced a resolution expressing condolences for the murders, supporting the victims' families in their struggle for justice, and encouraging the State Department to assist Mexico in resolving the crimes. Members of Congress should support H. Con. Res. 90 and S. Con. Res. 16 regarding the murders of women in Juárez and Chihuahua.
- **Raise Concerns with Mexican Officials:** US officials should regularly raise their concerns about the murders of women in Juárez and Chihuahua with Mexican officials at all levels and in all encounters.
- **Bilateral Law Enforcement Cooperation:** The United States should pursue a bilateral agreement with Mexico that would allow U.S. law enforcement agencies to participate in the investigations into murdered and missing women in Juárez and Chihuahua. U.S. law enforcement agencies should also provide Mexico with any information they may have on women's murders or disappearances.
- **Promote Transparency of Mexican Law Enforcement Agencies:** USAID, as part of its justice reform program in Chihuahua, should place special emphasis on enhancing transparency and oversight of the state attorney general's office, the need to establish clear and open channels of communication with civil society groups, especially the victims' families and their lawyers, and the importance of independent forensics services.

Recommendations for the Government of Mexico:

- **Serious Investigations into the Murders of Women:** The state and federal authorities should redouble efforts to investigate the remaining unsolved murders of women in Juárez and Chihuahua. They can begin by reaching out to families, whose information and ideas about possible suspects have often been dismissed or ignored by the authorities.
- **Accountability for Negligent and Abusive Officials:** The state and federal authorities should undertake serious efforts to hold accountable those law enforcement officials whose failure to adequately investigate the murders, whether through negligence, omission, or abuse, or as a result of complicity and corruption, has led to impunity for these crimes.
- **Continue Office of Federal Special Prosecutor for Juárez and Expand Inquiry to Chihuahua City:** A new federal special prosecutor should be named and the scope of his or her inquiry should include the murders of women in Chihuahua City and the failure of the local authorities to adequately investigate them.
- **Independent Review of Torture Allegations:** The Mexican authorities should allow an independent review of all cases where persons detained for these murders have alleged that they were tortured by a state agent into confessing. For those cases in which a confession is the primary evidence against the accused, and little or no physical evidence links him or her to the crime, the authorities should drop the charges and re-open the investigation. The relevant authorities should investigate and prosecute police and prosecutors suspected of torture.
- **Transparent and Accountable Compensation Fund:** The families have the right to receive reparations for the government's failure to investigate and prosecute the murders with due diligence. These reparations must be accompanied by serious efforts to establish the circumstances surrounding their loved ones' deaths and to bring to justice those responsible for the murders as well as the officials whose negligence, abuse, and possible complicity allowed the murders to remain unpunished for so long. Under no circumstances should reparations be a substitute for truth and justice. The fund should be administered by an impartial, independent board, which should develop clear and public standards and guidelines for the reparations, and a transparent and independent mechanism for determining and administering them, based on international human rights norms. Reparations should be both monetary and symbolic, in order to restore dignity to families, contribute to truth and justice, and ensure that future violations are not repeated.

ⁱ United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), *Report on Mexico produced by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women under article 8 of the Optional*

Protocol to the Convention, and reply from the Government of Mexico, CEDAW/C/2005/OP.8/MEXICO, 27 January 2005, parag. 260.

ⁱⁱ "Ciudad Juárez Driver Sentenced in 8 Killings," *Los Angeles Times*, 14 October 2004.

ⁱⁱⁱ Olga R. Rodriguez, "Activists fear Juárez verdicts only cosmetic: Some worry 10 men found guilty may not be the real killers," *Associated Press*, 7 January 2005.

^{iv} *Ibid.*

^v CEDAW, parag. 87.

^{vi} CEDAW, parag. 94.

^{vii} Procuraduría General de la República, Suprocuraduría de Derechos Humanos, Atención a Víctimas y Servicios a la Comunidad, *Tercer Informe de la Fiscalía Especial para la Atención de Delitos Relacionados con los Homicidios de Mujeres en el Municipio de Juárez, Chihuahua*, January 2005, p 67.

^{viii} Procuraduría General de la República, Suprocuraduría de Derechos Humanos, Atención a Víctimas y Servicios a la Comunidad, "Palabras de la Licenciada María López Urbina, Fiscal Especial, Fiscalía Especial para la Atención de Delitos Relacionados con los Homicidios de Mujeres en el Municipio de Juárez, Chihuahua," 3 June 2004.

^{ix} Procuraduría General de la República, *Tercer Informe*, Op. Cit., p. 26.

^x *Ibid*, p 76-77.

^{xi} Procuraduría General de la República, Suprocuraduría de Derechos Humanos, Atención a Víctimas y Servicios a la Comunidad, *Segundo Informe de la Fiscalía Especial para la Atención de Delitos Relacionados con los Homicidios de Mujeres en el Municipio de Juárez, Chihuahua*, October 2004, p. 113.

^{xii} CEDAW, parag. 25.

^{xiii} CEDAW, parag. 93.

^{xiv} Margarita Hernández, "Condiciona PGR apoyo a familias de víctimas," *El Diario del Norte*, 27 octubre 2005.