

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
COLUMBUS DIVISION**

Edicson David QUINTERO CHACÓN,

Petitioner,

v.

WARDEN, Stewart Detention Center, *et al.*,

Respondents.

Civil Action No. 4:25-cv-50-CDL-AGH

PETITIONER’S NOTICE OF VOLUNTARY DISMISSAL

Petitioner Edicson David Quintero Chacón (“Mr. Quintero”) hereby voluntarily dismisses this action, without prejudice, pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 41(a)(1)(A)(i).¹ Mr. Quintero is no longer in Respondents’ direct or constructive custody. This action, which sought Mr. Quintero’s release from U.S. custody at El Salvador’s Terrorism Confinement Center (CECOT), is therefore moot.²

On July 18, 2025, Venezuela and the United States effectuated an exchange of incarcerated people. Under the terms of that deal, which was negotiated by the United States and Venezuela, the United States received ten U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents from Venezuelan

¹ Rule 41(a)(1)(A)(1) allows a unilateral notice of dismissal here; while Respondents have moved to dismiss this case under Rule 12, they have not filed an “answer or a motion for summary judgment.” Fed. R. Civ. P. 41(a)(1)(A)(i); *see Am. Family Life Assurance Co. of Columbus v. ooShirts, Inc.*, No. 4:17-CV-16 (CDL), 2017 WL 6210316, at *2 (M.D. Ga. May 17, 2017) (“[A] motion to dismiss, unlike a motion for summary judgment or an answer, does not prevent the plaintiff from voluntarily and unilaterally dismissing its complaint.”).

² Although Mr. Quintero’s petition is moot, he retains the right to file motions to challenge Respondents’ confidentiality designations under the Protective Order, Dkt. 44 at 7, and other post-dismissal motions as appropriate.

custody and secured the release of approximately 80 other Venezuelans in Venezuelan custody. In exchange, the United States procured the release of 252 Venezuelans it was paying the Salvadoran government to confine at CECOT, including Mr. Quintero, and allowed them to be flown to Venezuela. Julie Turkewitz & Hamed Aleaziz, *Prisoner Swap Frees Americans in Venezuela for Migrants in El Salvador*, N.Y. Times (July 18, 2025), <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/07/18/world/americas/venezuela-us-prisoner-swap-migrants-el-salvador.html>. In a July 18 press release lauding the deal, Respondent Rubio gave “thanks to President Trump’s leadership and commitment to the American people,” and also thanked the State Department, his “interagency partners,” and Salvadoran President Nayib Bukele. Press Release, Marco Rubio, Secretary of State, Welcoming the Release of U.S. Nationals and Political Prisoners Held in Venezuela (July 18, 2025), <https://www.state.gov/releases/office-of-the-spokesperson/2025/07/welcoming-the-release-of-u-s-nationals-and-political-prisoners-held-in-venezuela>.

Respondents argued to this Court that while at CECOT, it was El Salvador, and not Respondents, who controlled Mr. Quintero’s fate, and that Mr. Quintero was imprisoned pursuant to domestic Salvadoran law (without ever specifying what that domestic legal basis was). Dkt. 27 at 11–13; Dkt. 32 at 8–10; Dkt. 37 at 3; Dkt. 55 at 2–6; Dkt. 67 at 7–11. In its most recent order, the Court concluded a limited set of documents produced by the State Department did not prove that Respondents’ assertions were true. Dkt. 58 at 6–10; *see also* Dkt. 61. Evidence that has come to light since then demonstrates that Respondents’ arguments to this Court, and the sworn declarations that purported to support them, were likely false. This evidence includes the July 18 exchange itself: after Respondents disappeared Mr. Quintero and the other 251 Venezuelans to CECOT, Respondents continued to use them as pawns for their own ends. Mr. Quintero was

available to the United States to offer as consideration in a deal benefitting the United States, and to which domestic Salvadoran law had no relevance. It is thus implausible that El Salvador had “sole custody and control” over Mr. Quintero and retained sole power to decide his “ultimate disposition” under El Salvador’s “own laws,” as Respondents argued based on Mr. Kozak’s sworn statement. *See e.g.* Dkt. 67 at 9–10. This conclusion is underscored by El Salvador’s recently publicized response to a United Nations inquiry into four other men the United States held at CECOT alongside Mr. Quintero. *See* Ex. 1, Decl. of Anwen Hughes. In that document, El Salvador stated that

its authorities have not arrested, detained, or transferred the persons referred to in the communications of the Working Group. The actions of the State of El Salvador have been limited to the implementation of a bilateral cooperation mechanism with another State, through which it has facilitated the use of the Salvadoran prison infrastructure for the custody of persons detained within the scope of the justice system and law enforcement of that other State. *In this context, the jurisdiction and legal responsibility for these persons lie exclusively with the competent foreign authorities, by virtue of international agreements signed and in accordance with the principles of sovereignty and international cooperation in criminal matters.* In this regard, the actions attributable to the Salvadoran State are limited to its sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction, and therefore it cannot be held responsible for the failure to observe the principle of non-refoulement with respect to the persons mentioned.

Hughes Decl., Ex. A at 6, 10, 14, (emphasis added).³ The fourth response “reiterates each of the terms of [El Salvador’s] previous communications,” making clear that the same statement above applies to all of the Venezuelans held at CECOT on behalf of the United States. *Id.* at 18.

Respondents orchestrated and paid for Mr. Quintero’s disappearance and torture at

³ The Report, originally in Spanish but appended with a certified English translation, was filed in *J.G.G.* on July 7, 2025. *J.G.G. v. Trump*, No. 1:25-cv-0766-JEB (D.D.C. July 7, 2025), ECF No. 160-1.

CECOT. The beatings started the moment the planes landed in El Salvador in March: “When the shackled men refused to get off the plane, [three] detainees told The Washington Post that they were yanked by their feet, beaten and shoved off board as the plane’s crew began to cry.” Teo Armus et al., *U.S. Deportees, freed from Salvadoran prison, describe “horror movie,”* Washington Post (July 22, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2025/07/22/salvador-cecot-detainee-describes-beatings>. As one of the other victims explained, “With time we all lost our fear because we were practically dead people living.” *Id.* Another three of the victims told The Atlantic, after some of them tried to break the locks on their cells:

[P]unishment was swift. For six consecutive days, the inmates were subjected to lengthy beatings On the last day, male guards brought in their female colleagues, who struck the naked prisoners as the male guards recorded videos on their phones and laughed. The female guards would count to 20 as they administered the beatings, and if the prisoners complained or cried out, they would start again.

Tito Martínez, one of the inmates, recalled that a prison nurse was watching. “Hit the piñata,” she cheered.

Ex. 2, Gisela Salim-Peyer, *No One Was Supposed to Leave Alive*, The Atlantic (July 23, 2025).

Respondents took Mr. Quintero into ICE custody due to baseless allegations of gang membership. He languished in ICE detention in the United States for nine months, and his detention continued well after he opted to accept a removal order and stop fighting his case in immigration court. Respondents’ arbitrary and reckless decision to classify him as a Tren de Aragua member was never supported by any evidence.

Mr. Quintero told this Court in February that he “simply wanted to go home,” Dkt. 1 at 2. Five months later, he has finally reunited with his mother in Venezuela, but only after Respondents subjected him to 125 days of torture. While held at CECOT at Respondents’ behest, Mr. Quintero was beaten on a daily basis, leaving scars all over his body. He was placed in isolation and believed

he would die there, without ever seeing his children again. He subsisted on little food and dirty water, and he was only allowed to bathe with soap when visitors were coming. He has not yet recovered from all of his injuries, and he will likely never completely heal from the grave psychological wounds inflicted upon him. The courts must never look away when those who wield the power of the U.S. government, at the highest levels, engage in such state-sanctioned violence.

Dated: July 25, 2025

Respectfully submitted,

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Counsel for Petitioner

EXHIBIT 1

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
COLUMBUS DIVISION**

Edicson David QUINTERO CHACÓN,

Petitioner,

v.

WARDEN, Stewart Detention Center, *et al.*,

Respondents.

Civil Action No. 4:25-cv-50-CDL-AGH

DECLARATION OF ANWEN HUGHES

I, Anwen Hughes, declare as follows:

1. I am over eighteen years of age, and I am competent to make this declaration.
2. I am an attorney with the non-governmental organization Human Rights First (HRF).
3. In the Spring of 2025 HRF provided assistance to persons close to four Venezuelan nationals in reporting the disappearance of those four men to the United Nations Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (“WGEID”). We believe that these men were removed from immigration custody in the United States to El Salvador’s Terrorism Confinement Center, or CECOT. HRF followed the standard procedure listed on WGEID’s website for reporting these disappearances. That process can be found here: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/wg-disappearances/reporting-disappearance-working-group>. The cases were recently reviewed by the WGEID.

4. The four disappeared men were in immigration detention in the United States prior to March 15, 2025. All had received final orders of removal under the Immigration and Nationality Act as of that date. We believe that the United States government flew all four of these men to El Salvador on March 15, 2025, and that they remain detained in El Salvador. All their names appeared on a list published by CBS news on or around March 20, 2025, of Venezuelan nationals flown to El Salvador by the United States government on March 15 and jailed at CECOT upon arrival.

5. A colleague and I reported these clients' disappearances to WGEID on different dates in March and early April, 2025. On June 11, 2025, WGEID sent me a Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (the "Report") pertaining to these four men. The Report is in Spanish and includes El Salvador's written responses to WGEID's inquiries regarding the four Venezuelan nationals whose disappearance HRF had reported.

6. Attached hereto as Exhibit A is a true and correct copy of the Report accompanied by a certified English translation, as filed on July 7, 2025, in pending litigation in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, *Sanchez ex rel. Reyes Mota v. Trump*, No. 1:25-cv-00766-JEB (formerly captioned "*J.G.G. v. Trump*"). The names of the men and certain other identifying details are redacted to protect their privacy.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Executed on July 9, 2025 at New York, New York.

/s/ Anwen Hughes

Anwen Hughes

EXHIBIT A

to Ex. 1, Declaration of Anwen Hughes

EXHIBIT 1

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

El Salvador

Case No: [REDACTED]

SURNAME(S): [REDACTED]

Name(s): [REDACTED]

Date of transmission: **March 26, 2025**

Case solved: **No**

Country(ies) in copy: United States of America, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

I. Identity details of the person

SURNAME(S): [REDACTED]

Name(s): [REDACTED]

Gender: Male

Nationality: Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

II.1 Date when the person was last seen

March 26, 2025

III.1 Place where the person was last seen

City: Arizona

District:

Province:

Country: United States of America

Place

Taken/Seen: DETENTION CENTER

VI. Complainant(s)

Confidential

Date: March 23, 2025

Confidential

Date: March 26, 2025

VII. Other elements of the complaint

Session: 136

INFORMATION FROM THE SOURCE

Date: March 23, 2025

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

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El Salvador

10015288

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

Mr. [REDACTED] a Venezuelan national and holder of United States non-citizen number (“A Number”) [REDACTED], was in the custody of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in Arizona when he was allegedly deported from the United States of America to El Salvador, as part of the mass deportations that took place since March 15, 2025.

Persons associated with Mr. [REDACTED] stated that his name disappeared from the United States’ ICE Online Detention Locator since that date.

On March 21, 2025, persons associated with Mr. [REDACTED] identified his name on a list of persons allegedly deported from the United States of America to El Salvador, which was published by a local media outlet. However, according to the information received, to date, neither the Government of El Salvador nor the Government of the United States has published official information on the list of deported persons or their current place of detention.

At the time of this communication, the fate and whereabouts of Mr. [REDACTED] remain unknown.

Sent to the Government: March 26, 2025

Session: 136

INFORMATION FROM THE GOVERNMENT

Date: April 03, 2025

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

According to information received from the Government of El Salvador:

“The State of El Salvador herewith wishes to refer to the communications from the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances with reference G/SO/217/1/SLV (...) which state that the aforementioned Group has received information on “alleged enforced disappearances in El Salvador, in the context of mass deportations carried out between the Government of the United States of America and El Salvador” (...).

The Salvadoran State has conducted a detailed analysis of the claims presented in the communications sent by the Working Group, which indicate that the persons mentioned: i) were in the custody of the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE); ii) were allegedly deported to El Salvador on March 15, 2025; iii) ceased to appear in ICE’s Online Detainee Locator System as of that date; iv) were identified on a list of deportees published by a local media outlet¹; and v) their fate and whereabouts are unknown.

In response to the above, the State of El Salvador provides its response to these communications, presenting its observations and specific requests for the due attention of the Working Group.

1. On the lack of grounds for the request for information from the State of El Salvador.

The Salvadoran State emphatically states that its authorities have not arrested, detained, or transferred the persons referred to in the communications of the Working Group. The actions of the State of El Salvador have been limited to the implementation of a bilateral cooperation mechanism with another State, through which it has facilitated the use of the Salvadoran prison infrastructure for the custody of persons detained within the scope of the justice system and law enforcement of that other State. In this context, the jurisdiction and legal responsibility for these persons lie exclusively with the competent foreign authorities, by virtue of international agreements signed and in accordance with the principles of sovereignty and international cooperation in criminal matters.

In this regard, the actions attributable to the Salvadoran State are limited to its sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction, and therefore it cannot be held responsible for the failure to observe the principle of non-refoulement with respect to the persons mentioned.

2. On the absence of elements constituting enforced disappearance attributable to the State of El Salvador.

In this regard, the State of El Salvador emphasizes that the claims presented do not attribute any direct action to the Salvadoran State that meets the definition of enforced disappearance under international law and the working methods of the Working Group.

The definition of enforced disappearance, as established in the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, the Inter-American Convention on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, the Rome Statute, and the jurisprudence of regional human rights systems, requires the concurrence of specific elements: deprivation of liberty by state agents or persons acting with their acquiescence, followed by a refusal to acknowledge that deprivation of liberty or to reveal the person’s whereabouts, whereas in the present case, the claims are based on the alleged disappearance of the persons indicated, derived from the absence of their names in a system administered by a foreign authority—the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement—and in a publication by a non-official media outlet whose operations are not registered in El Salvador.

The Working Methods of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances require that communications specify the measures taken by relatives or representatives to determine the person’s whereabouts, including the exhaustion of domestic remedies. It should be noted that the claims presented do not meet this requirement. Consequently, failure to comply with the decisions or information mechanisms of foreign authorities cannot be attributed to the State of El Salvador, nor does it constitute a valid basis for the Working Group to request information from it.

3. On the proper registration of these cases by the Working Group on Enforced Disappearances.

In response to the Working Group’s statement that these cases are only included in the statistics of the Government of El Salvador, the State notes that, according to the Working Methods of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, a case must only be included in the statistics of the State under whose jurisdiction the person was deprived of liberty or last seen. These conditions are not met in the cases mentioned with regard to the State of El Salvador, since those persons were not under the jurisdiction of the Salvadoran State at the time of their alleged deprivation of liberty or when they were last seen.

Consistent with the above, the State respectfully requests the Working Group to exclude the cases of (...) from the statistics and from any records pertaining to El Salvador.

Finally, El Salvador reiterates its commitment to complying with its international human rights obligations, including the prevention of enforced disappearances, in accordance with Human Rights Council Resolution 7/12. To this end, it confirms that it has a solid institutional framework and domestic regulations that constitute a framework for the protection and guarantee of the rights of persons deprived of liberty, regardless of their nationality.

[...]

[LOGO]

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

El Salvador

Case No: [REDACTED]

SURNAME(S): [REDACTED]

Name(s): [REDACTED]

Date of transmission: **March 26, 2025**

Case solved: **No**

Country(ies) in copy: United States of America, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

I. Identity details of the person

SURNAME(S): [REDACTED]

Name(s): [REDACTED]

Gender: Male

Nationality: Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

Identity: IDENTITY CARD Date:

No.: [REDACTED]

Place:

Country: El Salvador

II.1 Date when the person was last seen

March 26,2025

III.1 Place where the person was last seen

City: El Valle

District:

Province: Texas

Country: United States of America

VI. Complainant(s)

Confidential

Date: March 23, 2025

VII. Other elements of the complaint

Session: 136

INFORMATION FROM THE SOURCE

Date: March 23, 2025

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

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El Salvador 10015289

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[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

Mr. [REDACTED], a Venezuelan national and holder of "A" Number [REDACTED], was in the custody of ICE in El Valle, Texas when he was allegedly deported from the United States of America to El Salvador, as part of the mass deportations that took place since March 15, 2025. Persons associated with Mr. [REDACTED] stated that his name disappeared from the United States' ICE Online Detainee Locator System on the same day.

It has been reported that persons associated with Mr. [REDACTED] spoke with him on the morning of March 15, 2025, when he told them that immigration agents had informed him that he would be deported "soon."

On March 21, 2025, persons associated with Mr. [REDACTED] identified his name on a list of persons allegedly deported from the United States of America to El Salvador, which was published by a local media outlet.

However, according to the information received, to date, neither the Government of El Salvador nor the Government of the United States has published official information on the list of deported persons or their current place of detention.

At the time of this communication, the fate and whereabouts of Mr. [REDACTED] remain unknown.

Sent to the Government: March 26, 2025

Session: 136

INFORMATION FROM THE GOVERNMENT

Date: April 03, 2025

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

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The Salvadoran State has conducted a detailed analysis of the claims presented in the communications sent by the Working Group, which indicate that the persons mentioned: i) were in the custody of the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE); ii) were allegedly deported to El Salvador on March 15, 2025; iii) ceased to appear in ICE’s Online Detainee Locator System as of that date; iv) were identified on a list of deportees published by a local media outlet¹; and v) their fate and whereabouts are unknown.

In response to the above, the State of El Salvador provides its response to these communications, presenting its observations and specific requests for the due attention of the Working Group.

1. On the lack of grounds for the request for information from the State of El Salvador.

The Salvadoran State emphatically states that its authorities have not arrested, detained, or transferred the persons referred to in the communications of the Working Group. The actions of the State of El Salvador have been limited to the implementation of a bilateral cooperation mechanism with another State, through which it has facilitated the use of the Salvadoran prison infrastructure for the custody of persons detained within the scope of the justice system and law enforcement of that other State. In this context, the jurisdiction and legal responsibility for these persons lie exclusively with the competent foreign authorities, by virtue of international agreements signed and in accordance with the principles of sovereignty and international cooperation in criminal matters.

In this regard, the actions attributable to the Salvadoran State are limited to its sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction, and therefore it cannot be held responsible for the failure to observe the principle of non-refoulement with respect to the persons mentioned.

2. On the absence of elements constituting enforced disappearance attributable to the State of El Salvador.

In this regard, the State of El Salvador emphasizes that the allegations presented do not attribute any direct action to the Salvadoran State that meets the definition of enforced disappearance under international law and the working methods of the Working Group.

The definition of enforced disappearance, as established in the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, the Inter-American Convention on Enforced Disappearance of Persons, the Rome Statute, and the jurisprudence of regional human rights systems, requires the concurrence of specific elements: deprivation of liberty by state agents or persons acting with their acquiescence, followed by a refusal to acknowledge that deprivation of liberty or to reveal the person’s whereabouts, whereas in the present case, the claims are based on the alleged disappearance of the persons indicated, derived from the absence of their names in a system administered by a foreign authority—the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement—and in a publication by a non-official media outlet whose operations are not registered in El Salvador.

The Working Methods of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances require that communications specify the measures taken by relatives or representatives to determine the person’s whereabouts, including the exhaustion of domestic remedies. It should be noted that the claims presented do not meet this requirement. Consequently, failure to comply with the decisions or information mechanisms of foreign authorities cannot be attributed to the State of El Salvador, nor does it constitute a valid basis for the Working Group to request information from it.

3. On the proper registration of these cases by the Working Group on Enforced Disappearances.

In response to the Working Group’s statement that these cases are only included in the statistics of the Government of El Salvador, the State notes that, according to the Working Methods of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, a case must only be included in the statistics of the State under whose jurisdiction the person was deprived of liberty or last seen. These conditions are not met in the cases mentioned with regard to the State of El Salvador, since those persons were not under the jurisdiction of the Salvadoran State at the time of their alleged deprivation of liberty or when they were last seen.

Consistent with the above, the State respectfully requests the Working Group to exclude the cases of (...) from the statistics and from any records pertaining to El Salvador.

Finally, El Salvador reiterates its commitment to complying with its international human rights obligations, including the prevention of enforced disappearances, in accordance with Human Rights Council Resolution 7/12. To this end, it confirms that it has a solid institutional framework and domestic regulations that constitute a framework for the protection and guarantee of the rights of persons deprived of liberty, regardless of their nationality.

[...]

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

El Salvador

Case No: [REDACTED]

SURNAME(S): [REDACTED]

Name(s): [REDACTED]

Date of transmission: **April 16, 2025**

Case solved: **No**

Country(ies) in copy: United States of America, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

I. Identity details of the person

SURNAME(S): [REDACTED]

Name(s): [REDACTED]

Gender: Male

Nationality: Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

Identity: IDENTITY CARD Date: No.: [REDACTED]

Place: Country: El Salvador

II.1 Date when the person was last seen **March 26, 2025**

III.1 Place where the person was last seen

City: El Valle District:

Province: Texas Country: United States of America

VI. Complainant(s)

Confidential Date: March 23, 2025

VII. Other elements of the complaint

Session: 136

INFORMATION FROM THE SOURCE Date: March 23, 2025

Mr. [REDACTED], a Venezuelan national and holder of "A" Number [REDACTED], was in the custody of ICE in El Valle, Texas since December 2024 when he was allegedly deported from the United States of America to El Salvador, as part of the mass deportations that took place since March 15, 2025. Persons associated with Mr. [REDACTED] stated that his name disappeared from the United States' ICE Online Detainee Locator System on the same day.

On March 21, 2025, persons associated with Mr. [REDACTED] identified his name on a list of persons allegedly deported from the United States of America to El Salvador, which was published by a local media outlet.

However, according to the information received, to date, neither the Government of El Salvador nor the Government of the United States has published official information on the list of deported persons or their current place of detention.

At the time of this communication, the fate and whereabouts of Mr. [REDACTED] remain unknown.

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

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El Salvador 10015290

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[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

Sent to the Government: April 16, 2025

Session: 136

INFORMATION FROM THE GOVERNMENT

Date: April 03, 2025

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

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The Working Methods of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances require that communications specify the measures taken by relatives or representatives to determine the person’s whereabouts, including the exhaustion of domestic remedies. It should be noted that the claims presented do not meet this requirement. Consequently, failure to comply with the decisions or information mechanisms of foreign authorities cannot be attributed to the State of El Salvador, nor does it constitute a valid basis for the Working Group to request information from it.

3. On the proper registration of these cases by the Working Group on Enforced Disappearances.

In response to the Working Group’s statement that these cases are only included in the statistics of the Government of El Salvador, the State notes that, according to the Working Methods of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, a case must only be included in the statistics of the State under whose jurisdiction the person was deprived of liberty or last seen. These conditions are not met in the cases mentioned with regard to the State of El Salvador, since those persons were not under the jurisdiction of the Salvadoran State at the time of their alleged deprivation of liberty or when they were last seen.

Consistent with the above, the State respectfully requests the Working Group to exclude the cases of (...) from the statistics and from any records pertaining to El Salvador.

Finally, El Salvador reiterates its commitment to complying with its international human rights obligations, including the prevention of enforced disappearances, in accordance with Human Rights Council Resolution 7/12. To this end, it confirms that it has a solid institutional framework and domestic regulations that constitute a framework for the protection and guarantee of the rights of persons deprived of liberty, regardless of their nationality.

[...]

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

El Salvador

Case No: [REDACTED]

SURNAME(S): [REDACTED]

Name(s): [REDACTED]

Date of transmission: **April 16, 2025**

Case solved: **No**

Country(ies) in copy: United States of America, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

I. Identity details of the person

SURNAME(S): [REDACTED]

Name(s): [REDACTED]

Gender: Male

Age: [REDACTED] Date of birth: [REDACTED]

Parents: [REDACTED]

Nationality: Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

Civil status: [REDACTED]

Residence: [REDACTED]

Identity: IDENTITY CARD Date: [REDACTED] No.: [REDACTED]

Place: [REDACTED] Country: El Salvador

II.1 Date that the person was detained

March 2024

III.1 Place where the person was detained

Province: [REDACTED] Country: United States of America

II.2 Date when the person was last seen

March 15, 2025

III.2 Place where the person was last seen

Place: Webb County Detention Center

City: Laredo District: [REDACTED]

Province: Texas Country: United States of America

V. Procedures carried out

INVESTIGATIONS IN Date: [REDACTED]

Place: [REDACTED]

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

Report

Date: [REDACTED]

Place: [REDACTED]

10

El Salvador 10015365

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

VI. Complainant(s)

Confidential

Date: April 08, 2025

VII. Other elements of the report

Session: 136

INFORMATION FROM THE GOVERNMENT

Date: April 03, 2025

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

According to information received from the Government of El Salvador:

“The State of El Salvador herewith wishes to refer to the communications from the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances with reference G/SO/217/1/SLV (...) which state that the aforementioned Group has received information on “alleged enforced disappearances in El Salvador, in the context of mass deportations carried out between the Government of the United States of America and El Salvador” (...).

The Salvadoran State has conducted a detailed analysis of the claims presented in the communications sent by the Working Group, which indicate that the persons mentioned: i) were in the custody of the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE); ii) were allegedly deported to El Salvador on March 15, 2025; iii) ceased to appear in ICE’s Online Detainee Locator System as of that date; iv) were identified on a list of deportees published by a local media outlet¹; and v) their fate and whereabouts are unknown.

In response to the above, the State of El Salvador states that it has responded to previous communications from the Working Group on alleged disappearances of persons of Venezuelan nationality, in particular through Note B1592025, dated April 3 of this year, which pointed out the lack of grounds for requesting information from the State of El Salvador, as well as the lack of elements that would constitute an enforced disappearance attributable to the State of El Salvador. It therefore requested that the cases be excluded from El Salvador’s statistics, in accordance with the working methods of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, since those persons were not under the jurisdiction of the Salvadoran State at the time of their alleged deprivation of liberty or when they were last seen.

In response to the above, the State of El Salvador states that it has responded to previous communications from the Working Group on alleged disappearances of persons of Venezuelan nationality, in particular through Note B1592025, dated April 3 of this year, which pointed out the lack of grounds for requesting information from the State of El Salvador, as well as the lack of elements that would constitute an enforced disappearance attributable to the State of El Salvador. It therefore requested that the cases be excluded from El Salvador’s statistics, in accordance with the working methods of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, since those persons were not under the jurisdiction of the Salvadoran State at the time of their alleged deprivation of liberty or when they were last seen.

The State reiterates each of the terms of its previous communication, in particular that:

- i its authorities have not arrested, detained, or transferred the persons referred to in the Working Group’s communications.
- ii the actions of the State of El Salvador have been limited to the implementation of a bilateral cooperation mechanism on prison matters with another State,
- iii it has only facilitated the use of Salvadoran prison infrastructure for the reception and custody of persons detained within the scope of the justice system and law enforcement of another State,
- iv the jurisdiction and legal responsibility for these persons lie exclusively with the competent foreign authorities, by virtue of international agreements signed and in accordance with the principles of sovereignty and international cooperation in criminal matters,
- v the actions attributable to the Salvadoran State are limited to its sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction,
- vi the claims presented do not attribute any direct action to the Salvadoran State that meets the definition of enforced disappearance under international law and the working methods of the Working Group, vii) there are no valid grounds for the Working Group to request information from El Salvador, and
- vii El Salvador is committed to complying with its international human rights obligations, including the prevention of enforced disappearances, in accordance with Human Rights Council Resolution 7/12. To this end, it confirms that it has a solid institutional framework and domestic regulations that constitute a framework for the protection and guarantee of the rights of persons deprived of liberty, regardless of their nationality.

Consequently, it REQUESTS the Working Group on Enforced Disappearances to:

1. Consider the response of the State of El Salvador to communication G/SO/217/1/SLV dated April 16, 2025, as having been submitted.
2. Exclude from the statistics and any records pertaining to El Salvador the cases referred to in the communication, as their registration does not comply with the provisions of the Working Methods of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, which state that a case must only be included in the statistics of the State under whose jurisdiction the person was deprived of liberty or last seen, conditions that are not met in the cases mentioned with regard to the Salvadoran State at the time of their alleged deprivation of liberty or when they were last seen.”

Session: 136

INFORMATION FROM THE SOURCE

Date: April 08, 2025

[LOGO]

Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

[LOGO]

Mr. [REDACTED] (identified as Mr. [REDACTED] in U.S. immigration records), a Venezuelan national and holder of identity card number [REDACTED], was in custody at the Webb County Detention Center (Laredo, Texas) when he was allegedly deported from the United States of America to El Salvador as part of the mass deportations that have taken place since March 15, 2025.

Mr. [REDACTED] had been in custody at the Moshannon Valley Processing Center (Philipsburg, Pennsylvania) since May 2024. A judge ordered his removal on December 2, 2024. He was subsequently transferred to a detention center in El Paso, Texas, and on March 10, 2025, he was transferred to the Webb County Detention Center.

On March 14, 2025, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officials reportedly informed Mr. [REDACTED] that he would be removed from the center. Persons associated with Mr. [REDACTED] claim that after this date, they were unable to find his information on the ICE Online Detainee Locator System, implying that Mr. [REDACTED] had been released or deported. On March 15, 2024, it was reported that the bus transporting Mr. [REDACTED] broke down and he was returned to the Webb County Detention Center. Mr. [REDACTED] informed persons associated with him that his departure had been rescheduled for around 3 p.m. Central Time.

Since this call, persons associated with Mr. [REDACTED] have been unable to contact him. Furthermore, persons associated with him have requested assistance from his congressional representative's office. According to the information received, the congressional office has requested information from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and is awaiting a response.

In addition, persons associated with him have [REDACTED]

At the time of this communication, the fate and whereabouts of Mr. [REDACTED] remain unknown.

Sent to the Government: April 16, 2025



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<https://capitalinguists.com> Address: 8158 Front Street, Derwood, MD 20855, USA.

Certification of Translation Accuracy

Translation of "**Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances**" from **Spanish to English**.

We, Capital Linguists LLC, a professional translation company, hereby certify that the above-mentioned document(s) has (have) been translated by experienced and qualified professional translators and that, in our best judgment, the translated text truly reflects the content, meaning, and style of the original text and constitutes in every respect a correct and true translation of the original document.

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A copy of the translation is attached to this certification.

Signature:

Bruno Cardoso, Project Manager

Capital Linguists LLC

Dated: July 3, 2025



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances



El Salvador

Caso No: [REDACTED]

APELLIDO(S): [REDACTED]

Nombre(s): [REDACTED]

Fecha de transmisión: **26-mar.-2025**

Caso aclarado: **No**

País en copia: Estados Unidos de América, Venezuela (República Bolivariana de)

I. Datos de identidad de la persona

APELLIDO(S): [REDACTED]

Nombre(s): [REDACTED]

Sexo: Masculino

Nacionalidad: Venezuela (República Bolivariana de)

II.1 Fecha en que la persona fue vista por ultima vez

26-mar.-2025

III.1 Lugar en que la persona fue vista por ultima vez

Ciudad: Arizona

Distrito:

Provincia:

País: Estados Unidos de América

Medio de

Tomado / Visto: CENTRO DE DETENCION

VI. Denunciantes(s)

Confidential

Fecha: 23-mar.-2025

Confidential

Fecha: 26-mar.-2025

VII. Otros elementos de la denuncia

Sesión: 136

INFORMACIÓN DE LA FUENTE

Fecha: 23-mar.-2025



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances



El Sr. [REDACTED], nacional de Venezuela y titular del número de no-ciudadano de los Estados Unidos ("Número A") [REDACTED], se encontraba bajo custodia del Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) en Arizona cuando fue presuntamente deportado de los Estados Unidos de América a El Salvador, como parte de las deportaciones masivas que tuvieron lugar desde el 15 de marzo de 2025.

Personas asociadas con el Sr. [REDACTED] afirmaron que su nombre dejó de aparecer en el Sistema de Localización de Detenidos en Línea del Servicio de ICE de los Estados Unidos desde ese día.

El 21 de marzo de 2025, personas asociadas con el Sr. [REDACTED] identificaron su nombre en una lista de personas presuntamente deportadas de los Estados Unidos de América a El Salvador publicada por un medio de comunicación local. Sin embargo, según la información recibida, hasta la fecha, ni el Gobierno de El Salvador ni el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos no ha publicado información oficial sobre la lista de personas deportadas ni su actual lugar de detención.

Al momento de la presente comunicación, la suerte y paradero del Sr. [REDACTED] siguen siendo desconocidos.

Enviado al Gobierno: 26-mar.-2025

Sesión: 136

INFORMACIÓN DEL GOBIERNO

Fecha: 03-abr.-2025



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances



Según información recibida por el Gobierno de El Salvador:

“El Estado de El Salvador atentamente se refiere a las comunicaciones del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias con referencia G/SO/217/1/SLV (...) por medio de las cuales se comunica que el citado Grupo ha recibido información sobre “presuntas desapariciones forzadas en El Salvador, en el marco de deportaciones masivas llevadas a cabo entre el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de América y El Salvador” (...).

El Estado salvadoreño ha analizado detenidamente las alegaciones presentadas en las comunicaciones que han sido remitidas por el Grupo de Trabajo, las cuales señalan que las personas mencionadas: i) se encontraban bajo custodia del Servicio de Inmigración y Control de Aduanas de los Estados Unidos (ICE -por sus siglas en inglés-); ii) fueron presuntamente deportadas a El Salvador el 15 de marzo de 2025; iii) dejaron de aparecer en el sistema de localización de detenidos en línea del ICE desde aquella fecha; iv) fueron identificadas en una lista de deportados publicada por un medio de comunicación local; y v) su suerte y paradero son desconocidos.

En atención a lo anterior, el Estado de El Salvador brinda su repuesta a estas comunicaciones, sobre las que presenta sus observaciones y solicitudes específicas para la debida atención del Grupo de Trabajo.

1. Sobre la ausencia de fundamentos para el requerimiento de información al Estado de El Salvador.

El Estado salvadoreño es enfático en señalar que sus autoridades no han realizado arrestos, detenciones, ni traslados de las personas referidas en las comunicaciones del Grupo de Trabajo. La actuación del Estado de El Salvador se ha circunscrito a la implementación de un mecanismo de cooperación bilateral con otro Estado, mediante el cual se ha facilitado el uso de infraestructura penitenciaria salvadoreña para la custodia de personas detenidas en el marco del sistema de justicia y aplicación de la ley de ese otro Estado. En este contexto, la jurisdicción y la responsabilidad legal sobre dichas personas recaen exclusivamente en las autoridades extranjeras competentes, en virtud de acuerdos internacionales suscritos y en conformidad con los principios de soberanía y cooperación internacional en materia penal.

En ese sentido, las acciones atribuibles al Estado salvadoreño se circunscriben a su soberanía y jurisdicción territorial, por lo que tampoco le es atribuible la inobservancia del principio de no devolución (non-refoulement) respecto de las personas mencionadas.

2. Sobre la ausencia de elementos que configuren una desaparición forzada atribuible al Estado de El Salvador

Al respecto, el Estado de El Salvador subraya que las alegaciones presentadas no atribuyen ninguna acción directa al Estado salvadoreño que se ajuste a la definición de desaparición forzada conforme al derecho internacional y a los métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo.

La definición de desaparición forzada, tal como se establece en la Convención Internacional para la Protección de Todas las Personas contra las Desapariciones Forzadas, la Convención Interamericana sobre Desaparición Forzada de Personas, el Estatuto de Roma y la jurisprudencia de los sistemas regionales de derechos humanos, exige la concurrencia de elementos específicos: privación de libertad por agentes estatales o personas que actúan con su aquiescencia, seguida de la negativa a reconocer dicha privación o revelar el paradero de la persona, siendo que en el presente caso, las alegaciones se basan en la supuesta desaparición de las personas señaladas, derivada de la ausencia de sus nombres en un sistema que es administrado por una autoridad extranjera - Servicio de Inmigración y Control de Aduanas de los Estados Unidos- y en una publicación de un medio de comunicación no oficial, cuyas operaciones no están registradas en El Salvador.

Los Métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias exigen que las comunicaciones especifiquen las medidas adoptadas por los familiares o representantes para determinar el paradero de la persona, incluyendo el agotamiento de recursos internos. Cabe destacar que las alegaciones presentadas no cumplen con este requisito. En consecuencia, la inconformidad con decisiones o mecanismos de información de autoridades extranjeras no puede atribuirse al Estado de El Salvador ni constituye un fundamento válido para que el Grupo de Trabajo le requiera información.

3. Sobre el debido registro de estos casos por el Grupo de Trabajo sobre la Desaparición Forzada

En atención a lo comunicado por el Grupo de Trabajo, sobre que estos casos sólo se contabilizan en las estadísticas del Gobierno de El Salvador, el Estado advierte que según estipulan los Métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias, un caso solo debe figurar en las estadísticas del Estado bajo cuya jurisdicción la persona fue privada de libertad o vista por última vez, condiciones que no se cumplen en los casos mencionados en lo que respecta al Estado de El Salvador, ya que dichas personas no se encontraban bajo la jurisdicción del Estado salvadoreño al momento de su presunta privación de libertad o última vez que fueron vistas.

En coherencia y por las razones expuestas, el Estado solicita respetuosamente al Grupo de Trabajo la exclusión de los casos de (...) de las estadísticas y de cualquier registro correspondiente a El Salvador.

Finalmente, El Salvador reitera su compromiso con el cumplimiento de sus obligaciones internacionales en materia de derechos humanos, incluyendo la prevención de desapariciones forzadas, conforme a la Resolución 7/12 del Consejo de Derechos Humanos, para lo cual confirma que cuenta con una institucionalidad sólida y con regulaciones en su derecho interno que constituyen un marco de protección y de garantía para los derechos de las personas privadas de libertad, con independencia de su nacionalidad.

[...]



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances



El Salvador

Caso No: [REDACTED]

APELLIDO(S): [REDACTED]

Nombre(s): [REDACTED]

Fecha de transmisión: **26-mar.-2025**

Caso aclarado: **No**

País en copia: Estados Unidos de América, Venezuela (República Bolivariana de)

I. Datos de identidad de la persona

APELLIDO(S): [REDACTED]

Nombre(s): [REDACTED]

Sexo: Masculino

Nacionalidad: Venezuela (República Bolivariana de)

Identidad: CEDULA DE IDENTIDAD Fecha:

No.: [REDACTED]

Lugar:

País: El Salvador

II.1 Fecha en que la persona fue vista por ultima vez

26-mar.-2025

III.1 Lugar en que la persona fue vista por ultima vez

Ciudad: El Valle

Distrito:

Provincia: Texas

País: Estados Unidos de América

VI. Denunciantes(s)

Confidencial

Fecha: 23-mar.-2025

VII. Otros elementos de la denuncia

Sesión: 136

INFORMACIÓN DE LA FUENTE

Fecha: 23-mar.-2025



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances



El Sr. [REDACTED], nacional de Venezuela y titular del número "A" [REDACTED] se encontraba bajo custodia del ICE en El Valle, Texas, cuando presuntamente fue deportado de los Estados Unidos de América a El Salvador, como parte de las deportaciones masivas que tuvieron lugar desde el 15 de marzo de 2025. Personas asociadas con el Sr. [REDACTED] afirmaron que su nombre dejó de aparecer en el Sistema de Localización de Detenidos en Línea del ICE de los Estados Unidos ese mismo día.

Se ha informado que personas asociadas con el Sr. [REDACTED] hablaron con él la mañana del 15 de marzo de 2025, cuando él les indicó que agentes de inmigración le informaron que sería deportado "pronto".

El 21 de marzo de 2025, personas asociadas con el Sr. [REDACTED] identificaron su nombre en una lista de personas presuntamente deportadas de los Estados Unidos de América a El Salvador publicada por un medio de comunicación local. Sin embargo, según la información recibida, hasta la fecha, ni el Gobierno de El Salvador ni el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos no ha publicado información oficial sobre la lista de personas deportadas ni su actual lugar de detención.

Al momento de la presente comunicación, la suerte y el paradero del Sr. [REDACTED] siguen siendo desconocidos.

Enviado al Gobierno: 26-mar.-2025

Sesión: 136

INFORMACIÓN DEL GOBIERNO

Fecha: 03-abr.-2025



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances



Según información recibida por el Gobierno de El Salvador:

“El Estado de El Salvador atentamente se refiere a las comunicaciones del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias con referencia G/SO/217/1/SLV (...) por medio de las cuales se comunica que el citado Grupo ha recibido información sobre “presuntas desapariciones forzadas en El Salvador, en el marco de deportaciones masivas llevadas a cabo entre el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de América y El Salvador” (...).

El Estado salvadoreño ha analizado detenidamente las alegaciones presentadas en las comunicaciones que han sido remitidas por el Grupo de Trabajo, las cuales señalan que las personas mencionadas: i) se encontraban bajo custodia del Servicio de Inmigración y Control de Aduanas de los Estados Unidos (ICE -por sus siglas en inglés-); ii) fueron presuntamente deportadas a El Salvador el 15 de marzo de 2025; iii) dejaron de aparecer en el sistema de localización de detenidos en línea del ICE desde aquella fecha; iv) fueron identificadas en una lista de deportados publicada por un medio de comunicación local; y v) su suerte y paradero son desconocidos.

En atención a lo anterior, el Estado de El Salvador brinda su repuesta a estas comunicaciones, sobre las que presenta sus observaciones y solicitudes específicas para la debida atención del Grupo de Trabajo.

1. Sobre la ausencia de fundamentos para el requerimiento de información al Estado de El Salvador.

El Estado salvadoreño es enfático en señalar que sus autoridades no han realizado arrestos, detenciones, ni traslados de las personas referidas en las comunicaciones del Grupo de Trabajo. La actuación del Estado de El Salvador se ha circunscrito a la implementación de un mecanismo de cooperación bilateral con otro Estado, mediante el cual se ha facilitado el uso de infraestructura penitenciaria salvadoreña para la custodia de personas detenidas en el marco del sistema de justicia y aplicación de la ley de ese otro Estado. En este contexto, la jurisdicción y la responsabilidad legal sobre dichas personas recaen exclusivamente en las autoridades extranjeras competentes, en virtud de acuerdos internacionales suscritos y en conformidad con los principios de soberanía y cooperación internacional en materia penal.

En ese sentido, las acciones atribuibles al Estado salvadoreño se circunscriben a su soberanía y jurisdicción territorial, por lo que tampoco le es atribuible la inobservancia del principio de no devolución (non-refoulement) respecto de las personas mencionadas.

2. Sobre la ausencia de elementos que configuren una desaparición forzada atribuible al Estado de El Salvador

Al respecto, el Estado de El Salvador subraya que las alegaciones presentadas no atribuyen ninguna acción directa al Estado salvadoreño que se ajuste a la definición de desaparición forzada conforme al derecho internacional y a los métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo.

La definición de desaparición forzada, tal como se establece en la Convención Internacional para la Protección de Todas las Personas contra las Desapariciones Forzadas, la Convención Interamericana sobre Desaparición Forzada de Personas, el Estatuto de Roma y la jurisprudencia de los sistemas regionales de derechos humanos, exige la concurrencia de elementos específicos: privación de libertad por agentes estatales o personas que actúan con su aquiescencia, seguida de la negativa a reconocer dicha privación o revelar el paradero de la persona, siendo que en el presente caso, las alegaciones se basan en la supuesta desaparición de las personas señaladas, derivada de la ausencia de sus nombres en un sistema que es administrado por una autoridad extranjera - Servicio de Inmigración y Control de Aduanas de los Estados Unidos- y en una publicación de un medio de comunicación no oficial, cuyas operaciones no están registradas en El Salvador.

Los Métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias exigen que las comunicaciones especifiquen las medidas adoptadas por los familiares o representantes para determinar el paradero de la persona, incluyendo el agotamiento de recursos internos. Cabe destacar que las alegaciones presentadas no cumplen con este requisito. En consecuencia, la inconformidad con decisiones o mecanismos de información de autoridades extranjeras no puede atribuirse al Estado de El Salvador ni constituye un fundamento válido para que el Grupo de Trabajo le requiera información.

3. Sobre el debido registro de estos casos por el Grupo de Trabajo sobre la Desaparición Forzada

En atención a lo comunicado por el Grupo de Trabajo, sobre que estos casos sólo se contabilizan en las estadísticas del Gobierno de El Salvador, el Estado advierte que según estipulan los Métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias, un caso solo debe figurar en las estadísticas del Estado bajo cuya jurisdicción la persona fue privada de libertad o vista por última vez, condiciones que no se cumplen en los casos mencionados en lo que respecta al Estado de El Salvador, ya que dichas personas no se encontraban bajo la jurisdicción del Estado salvadoreño al momento de su presunta privación de libertad o última vez que fueron vistas.

En coherencia y por las razones expuestas, el Estado solicita respetuosamente al Grupo de Trabajo la exclusión de los casos de (...) de las estadísticas y de cualquier registro correspondiente a El Salvador.

Finalmente, El Salvador reitera su compromiso con el cumplimiento de sus obligaciones internacionales en materia de derechos humanos, incluyendo la prevención de desapariciones forzadas, conforme a la Resolución 7/12 del Consejo de Derechos Humanos, para lo cual confirma que cuenta con una institucionalidad sólida y con regulaciones en su derecho interno que constituyen un marco de protección y de garantía para los derechos de las personas privadas de libertad, con independencia de su nacionalidad.

[...]



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

**El Salvador**

Caso No: [REDACTED]

APELLIDO(S): [REDACTED]

Nombre(s): [REDACTED]

Fecha de transmisión: **16-abr.-2025**Caso aclarado: **No**País en copia: Estados Unidos de América, Venezuela
(República Bolivariana de)**I. Datos de identidad de la persona**

APELLIDO(S): [REDACTED]

Nombre(s): [REDACTED]

Sexo: Masculino

Nacionalidad: Venezuela (República Bolivariana de)

Identidad: CEDULA DE IDENTIDAD Fecha:

No.: [REDACTED]

Lugar:

País: El Salvador

II.1 Fecha en que la persona fue vista por ultima vez**26-mar.-2025****III.1 Lugar en que la persona fue vista por ultima vez**

Ciudad: El Valle

Distrito:

Provincia: Texas

País: Estados Unidos de América

VI. Denunciantes(s)

Confidential

Fecha: 23-mar.-2025

VII. Otros elementos de la denuncia

Sesión: 136

INFORMACIÓN DE LA FUENTE

Fecha: 23-mar.-2025

El Sr. [REDACTED], nacional de Venezuela y titular del número "A" [REDACTED], se encontraba bajo custodia del ICE en El Valle, Texas, desde diciembre de 2024, cuando presuntamente fue deportado de los Estados Unidos de América a El Salvador, como parte de las deportaciones masivas que tuvieron lugar desde el 15 de marzo de 2025. Personas asociadas con el Sr. [REDACTED] afirmaron que su nombre dejó de aparecer en el Sistema de Localización de Detenidos en Línea del ICE de los Estados Unidos ese día.

El 21 de marzo de 2025, personas asociadas con el Sr. [REDACTED] identificaron su nombre en una lista de personas presuntamente deportadas de los Estados Unidos de América a El Salvador publicada por un medio de comunicación local.

Sin embargo, según la información recibida, hasta la fecha, ni el Gobierno de El Salvador ni el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos no ha publicado información oficial sobre la lista de personas deportadas ni su actual lugar de detención.

Al momento de la presente comunicación, la suerte y el paradero del Sr. [REDACTED] siguen siendo desconocidos.



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances



Enviado al Gobierno: 16-abr.-2025

Sesión: 136

INFORMACIÓN DEL GOBIERNO

Fecha: 03-abr.-2025



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances



Según información recibida por el Gobierno de El Salvador:

“El Estado de El Salvador atentamente se refiere a las comunicaciones del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias con referencia G/SO/217/1/SLV (...) por medio de las cuales se comunica que el citado Grupo ha recibido información sobre “presuntas desapariciones forzadas en El Salvador, en el marco de deportaciones masivas llevadas a cabo entre el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de América y El Salvador” (...).

El Estado salvadoreño ha analizado detenidamente las alegaciones presentadas en las comunicaciones que han sido remitidas por el Grupo de Trabajo, las cuales señalan que las personas mencionadas: i) se encontraban bajo custodia del Servicio de Inmigración y Control de Aduanas de los Estados Unidos (ICE -por sus siglas en inglés-); ii) fueron presuntamente deportadas a El Salvador el 15 de marzo de 2025; iii) dejaron de aparecer en el sistema de localización de detenidos en línea del ICE desde aquella fecha; iv) fueron identificadas en una lista de deportados publicada por un medio de comunicación local; y v) su suerte y paradero son desconocidos.

En atención a lo anterior, el Estado de El Salvador brinda su repuesta a estas comunicaciones, sobre las que presenta sus observaciones y solicitudes específicas para la debida atención del Grupo de Trabajo.

1. Sobre la ausencia de fundamentos para el requerimiento de información al Estado de El Salvador.

El Estado salvadoreño es enfático en señalar que sus autoridades no han realizado arrestos, detenciones, ni traslados de las personas referidas en las comunicaciones del Grupo de Trabajo. La actuación del Estado de El Salvador se ha circunscrito a la implementación de un mecanismo de cooperación bilateral con otro Estado, mediante el cual se ha facilitado el uso de infraestructura penitenciaria salvadoreña para la custodia de personas detenidas en el marco del sistema de justicia y aplicación de la ley de ese otro Estado. En este contexto, la jurisdicción y la responsabilidad legal sobre dichas personas recaen exclusivamente en las autoridades extranjeras competentes, en virtud de acuerdos internacionales suscritos y en conformidad con los principios de soberanía y cooperación internacional en materia penal.

En ese sentido, las acciones atribuibles al Estado salvadoreño se circunscriben a su soberanía y jurisdicción territorial, por lo que tampoco le es atribuible la inobservancia del principio de no devolución (non-refoulement) respecto de las personas mencionadas.

2. Sobre la ausencia de elementos que configuren una desaparición forzada atribuible al Estado de El Salvador

Al respecto, el Estado de El Salvador subraya que las alegaciones presentadas no atribuyen ninguna acción directa al Estado salvadoreño que se ajuste a la definición de desaparición forzada conforme al derecho internacional y a los métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo.

La definición de desaparición forzada, tal como se establece en la Convención Internacional para la Protección de Todas las Personas contra las Desapariciones Forzadas, la Convención Interamericana sobre Desaparición Forzada de Personas, el Estatuto de Roma y la jurisprudencia de los sistemas regionales de derechos humanos, exige la concurrencia de elementos específicos: privación de libertad por agentes estatales o personas que actúan con su aquiescencia, seguida de la negativa a reconocer dicha privación o revelar el paradero de la persona, siendo que en el presente caso, las alegaciones se basan en la supuesta desaparición de las personas señaladas, derivada de la ausencia de sus nombres en un sistema que es administrado por una autoridad extranjera - Servicio de Inmigración y Control de Aduanas de los Estados Unidos- y en una publicación de un medio de comunicación no oficial, cuyas operaciones no están registradas en El Salvador.

Los Métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias exigen que las comunicaciones especifiquen las medidas adoptadas por los familiares o representantes para determinar el paradero de la persona, incluyendo el agotamiento de recursos internos. Cabe destacar que las alegaciones presentadas no cumplen con este requisito. En consecuencia, la inconformidad con decisiones o mecanismos de información de autoridades extranjeras no puede atribuirse al Estado de El Salvador ni constituye un fundamento válido para que el Grupo de Trabajo le requiera información.

3. Sobre el debido registro de estos casos por el Grupo de Trabajo sobre la Desaparición Forzada

En atención a lo comunicado por el Grupo de Trabajo, sobre que estos casos sólo se contabilizan en las estadísticas del Gobierno de El Salvador, el Estado advierte que según estipulan los Métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias, un caso solo debe figurar en las estadísticas del Estado bajo cuya jurisdicción la persona fue privada de libertad o vista por última vez, condiciones que no se cumplen en los casos mencionados en lo que respecta al Estado de El Salvador, ya que dichas personas no se encontraban bajo la jurisdicción del Estado salvadoreño al momento de su presunta privación de libertad o última vez que fueron vistas.

En coherencia y por las razones expuestas, el Estado solicita respetuosamente al Grupo de Trabajo la exclusión de los casos de (...) de las estadísticas y de cualquier registro correspondiente a El Salvador.

Finalmente, El Salvador reitera su compromiso con el cumplimiento de sus obligaciones internacionales en materia de derechos humanos, incluyendo la prevención de desapariciones forzadas, conforme a la Resolución 7/12 del Consejo de Derechos Humanos, para lo cual confirma que cuenta con una institucionalidad sólida y con regulaciones en su derecho interno que constituyen un marco de protección y de garantía para los derechos de las personas privadas de libertad, con independencia de su nacionalidad.

[...]



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances



El Salvador

Caso No: [REDACTED]

APELLIDO(S): [REDACTED]

Nombre(s): [REDACTED]

Fecha de transmisión: **16-abr.-2025**

Caso aclarado: **No**

País en copia: Estados Unidos de América, Venezuela (República Bolivariana de)

I. Datos de identidad de la persona

APELLIDO(S): [REDACTED]

Nombre(s): [REDACTED]

Sexo: Masculino

Edad: [REDACTED] Fecha de nacimiento: [REDACTED]

Padres: [REDACTED]

Nacionalidad: Venezuela (República Bolivariana de)

Estado civil: [REDACTED]

Domicilio: [REDACTED]

Identidad: CEDULA DE IDENTIDAD Fecha: [REDACTED] No.: [REDACTED]

Lugar: [REDACTED] País: El Salvador

II.1 Fecha en que la persona fue detenida **mar.-2024**

III.1 Lugar en que la persona fue detenida

Provincia: [REDACTED] País: Estados Unidos de América

II.2 Fecha en que la persona fue vista por ultima vez **15-mar.-2025**

III.2 Lugar en que la persona fue vista por ultima vez

Lugar: Webb County Detention Center

Ciudad: Laredo Distrito: [REDACTED]

Provincia: Texas País: Estados Unidos de América

V. Diligencias realizadas

AVERIGUACIONES EN Fecha: [REDACTED]

Lugar: [REDACTED]

Denuncia Fecha: [REDACTED]

Lugar: [REDACTED]



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances



VI. Denunciantes(s)

Confidential

Fecha: 08-abr.-2025

VII. Otros elementos de la denuncia

Sesión: 136

INFORMACIÓN DEL GOBIERNO

Fecha: 03-abr.-2025



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances



Según información recibida por el Gobierno de El Salvador:

“El Estado de El Salvador atentamente se refiere a las comunicaciones del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias con referencia G/SO/217/1/SLV (...) por medio de las cuales se comunica que el citado Grupo ha recibido información sobre “presuntas desapariciones forzadas en El Salvador, en el marco de deportaciones masivas llevadas a cabo entre el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de América y El Salvador” (...).

El Estado salvadoreño ha analizado detenidamente las alegaciones presentadas en las comunicaciones que han sido remitidas por el Grupo de Trabajo, las cuales señalan que las personas mencionadas: i) se encontraban bajo custodia del Servicio de Inmigración y Control de Aduanas de los Estados Unidos (ICE -por sus siglas en inglés-); ii) fueron presuntamente deportadas a El Salvador el 15 de marzo de 2025; iii) dejaron de aparecer en el sistema de localización de detenidos en línea del ICE desde aquella fecha; iv) fueron identificadas en una lista de deportados publicada por un medio de comunicación local; y v) su suerte y paradero son desconocidos.

En atención a lo anterior, el Estado de El Salvador expresa que ha brindado respuesta a comunicaciones previas del Grupo de Trabajo, sobre alegadas desapariciones de personas de nacionalidad venezolana, en particular, a través de la Nota Verbal B159-2025, de fecha 3 de abril del año en curso, en la cual se señaló la ausencia de fundamentos para el requerimiento de información al Estado de El Salvador; así como la ausencia de elementos que configuren una desaparición forzada atribuible al Estado de El Salvador; por lo que se solicitó la exclusión de los casos de las estadísticas de El Salvador, de conformidad a los Métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias, ya que dichas personas no se encontraban bajo la jurisdicción del Estado salvadoreño al momento de su presunta privación de libertad o última vez que fueron vistas.

En atención a lo anterior, el Estado de El Salvador expresa que ha brindado respuesta a comunicaciones previas del Grupo de Trabajo, sobre alegadas desapariciones de personas de nacionalidad venezolana, en particular, a través de la Nota Verbal B159-2025, de fecha 3 de abril del año en curso, en la cual se señaló la ausencia de fundamentos para el requerimiento de información al Estado de El Salvador; así como la ausencia de elementos que configuren una desaparición forzada atribuible al Estado de El Salvador; por lo que se solicitó la exclusión de los casos de las estadísticas de El Salvador, de conformidad a los Métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias, ya que dichas personas no se encontraban bajo la jurisdicción del Estado salvadoreño al momento de su presunta privación de libertad o última vez que fueron vistas.

El Estado reitera cada uno de los términos de su comunicación previa, en particular, que:

i sus autoridades no han realizado arrestos, detenciones, ni traslados de las personas referidas en las comunicaciones del Grupo de Trabajo,

ii la actuación del Estado de El Salvador se ha circunscrito a la implementación de un mecanismo de cooperación bilateral en materia penitenciaria con otro Estado,

iii únicamente se ha facilitado el uso de infraestructura penitenciaria salvadoreña para la recepción y custodia de personas detenidas en el marco del sistema de justicia y aplicación de la ley de otro Estado,

iv la jurisdicción y la responsabilidad legal sobre dichas personas recaen exclusivamente en las autoridades extranjeras competentes, en virtud de acuerdos internacionales suscritos y en conformidad con los principios de soberanía y cooperación internacional en materia penal,

v las acciones atribuibles al Estado salvadoreño se circunscriben a su soberanía y jurisdicción territorial,

vi las alegaciones presentadas no atribuyen ninguna acción directa al Estado salvadoreño que se ajuste a la definición de desaparición forzada conforme al derecho internacional y a los métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo, vii) que no existen fundamentos válidos para que el Grupo de Trabajo le requiera información a El Salvador, y

vii El Salvador se encuentra comprometido con el cumplimiento de sus obligaciones internacionales en materia de derechos humanos, incluyendo la prevención de desapariciones forzadas, conforme a la Resolución 7/12 del Consejo de Derechos Humanos, por lo que cuenta con una institucionalidad sólida y con regulaciones en su derecho interno que constituyen un marco de protección y de garantía para los derechos de las personas privadas de libertad, con independencia de su nacionalidad.

En consecuencia, SOLICITA al Grupo de Trabajo sobre las Desapariciones Forzadas que:

1. Tenga por presentada la respuesta del Estado de El Salvador a la comunicación G/SO/217/1/SLV de fecha 16 de abril de 2025.
2. Excluya de las estadísticas y de cualquier registro correspondiente a El Salvador, los casos referidos en la comunicación, por no cumplir su registro con lo establecido en los Métodos de trabajo del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias, que regulan que un caso solo debe figurar en las estadísticas del Estado bajo cuya jurisdicción la persona fue privada de libertad o vista por última vez, condiciones que no se cumplen en los casos mencionados en lo que respecta a la jurisdicción del Estado salvadoreño al momento de su presunta privación de libertad o última vez que fueron vistas.”

Sesión: 136

INFORMACIÓN DE LA FUENTE

Fecha: 08-abr.-2025



Report on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances



El Sr. [REDACTED] (identificado como el Sr. [REDACTED] en los registros de migración de E.E.U.U), nacional de Venezuela y titular de la cedula de identidad número [REDACTED], se encontraba bajo custodia en el Centro de Detención del Condado de Webb (Laredo, Texas) cuando fue presuntamente deportado de los Estados Unidos de América a El Salvador, como parte de las deportaciones masivas que han tenido lugar a partir del 15 de marzo de 2025.

El Sr. [REDACTED] se encontraba bajo custodia en el Centro de Procesamiento de Moshannon Valley (Philipsburg, Pensilvania) desde mayo de 2024. Un juez ordenó su expulsión el 2 de diciembre de 2024. Posteriormente fue trasladado a un centro de detención en El Paso, Texas, y el 10 de marzo de 2025 trasladado al Centro de Detención del Condado de Webb.

El 14 de marzo de 2025, funcionarios del Servicio de Inmigración y Control de Aduanas (ICE) le habrían comunicado al Sr. [REDACTED] que este sería retirado del centro. Las personas asociadas con el Sr. [REDACTED] afirman que después de esta fecha ya no pudieron encontrar su información en el localizador de detenidos en línea del ICE, lo que implicaba que el Sr. [REDACTED] había sido puesto en libertad o deportado.

El 15 de marzo de 2024, se informa de que el autobús en el que se estaba realizando el traslado del Sr. [REDACTED] se descompuso, y éste fue devuelto al Centro de Detención del Condado de Webb. El Sr. [REDACTED] informó a personas asociadas que su salida se había reprogramado para alrededor de las 3 p.m. hora central.

Desde esta llamada, las personas relacionadas con el Sr. [REDACTED] no han podido ponerse en contacto con él.

Adicionalmente, las personas asociadas han solicitado ayuda a la oficina de su representante en el congreso. Según la información recibida, la oficina del congresista ha solicitado información al Departamento de Seguridad Nacional de Estados Unidos y está a la espera de una respuesta.

Además, las personas asociadas han [REDACTED]

Al momento de la presente comunicación, la suerte y el paradero del Sr. [REDACTED] siguen siendo desconocidos.

Enviado al Gobierno: 16-abr.-2025

EXHIBIT 2

The Atlantic Festival's official agenda is out now! Learn about speakers, passes, dates, and more.

GLOBAL

NO ONE WAS SUPPOSED TO LEAVE ALIVE



Venezuelans deported by the Trump administration say they were tortured during their four months in CECOT.

By Gisela Salim-Peyer



Keider Alexander Flores in his home in Caracas, Venezuela (Photograph by Fabiola Ferrero for The Atlantic)

JULY 23, 2025, 8:28 PM ET

SHARE AS GIFT  SAVE 

ONE NIGHT in mid-May, some of the Venezuelan migrants deported from the United States to a prison in El Salvador tried to break the locks on their cells with metal rails from their beds. It was a futile gesture of rebellion; no one thought they could escape. Still, punishment was swift. For six consecutive days, the inmates were subjected to lengthy beatings, three inmates told me. On the last day, male guards brought in their female colleagues, who struck the naked prisoners as the male guards recorded videos on their phones and laughed. The female guards would count to 20 as they administered the beatings, and if the prisoners complained or cried out, they would start again.

Tito Martínez, one of the inmates, recalled that a prison nurse was watching. “Hit the piñata,” she cheered.

When the government of El Salvador opened the prison complex known as CECOT in 2023, the country’s security minister said the inmates would only be able to get out “inside a coffin.” This promise has largely been kept. The Salvadoran human-rights organization Cristosal has documented cases of prisoners being transported out of the jail for urgent medical care, but these inmates died soon after, before anyone could ask them what it was like inside the prison.

What little is known about life in CECOT (the Spanish acronym for Terrorism Confinement Center) comes from the media tours staged by President Nayib Bukele, which show men crammed into cells with bare-metal bunkbeds stacked to the ceiling like human shelving. In most of the videos posted online, the men—some with the facial tattoos of the country’s gangs—stand in silence. The Salvadoran government has encouraged CECOT’s terrifying reputation, turning the prison into a museum where Bukele’s tough-on-gangs tactics can be exhibited for the press. But media visits are also strictly controlled. Interviews with prisoners are rare and tightly supervised.

[Read: El Salvador’s exceptional prison state](#)

On Friday, for the first time, a group of prisoners walked out of CECOT’s gates as free men. They were 252 of the Venezuelans that the Trump administration had

deported to El Salvador in March when it alleged—while offering little to no evidence—that they were gang members. This month, Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro negotiated a prisoner swap with the United States, releasing 10 American citizens in his custody and dozens of Venezuelan political prisoners. In return, the Venezuelans in El Salvador were put on a plane and sent to Caracas. They brought with them detailed accounts of beatings and harsh treatment. (The government of El Salvador did not respond to a request for comment about their claims.)

Four former prisoners told me they were punched, kicked, and struck with clubs. They were cut off from contact with their families, deprived of legal help, and taunted by guards. All recalled days spent in a punishment cell known as “the island,” a dark room with no water where they slept on the floor. Those days, the only light they could see came from a dim lightbulb in the ceiling that illuminated a cross.

I TALKED WITH Keider Alexander Flores over the phone yesterday, just a few hours after Venezuelan police officers dropped him off at his mother’s house in Caracas.

Flores told me that he and his brother left Venezuela in 2023, trekking through the jungles of Panama’s Darién Gap and riding buses all the way to Mexico. They applied for an appointment to cross into the United States legally and arrived in Texas in August. Flores soon settled in Dallas and started an asylum application, but he didn’t complete the process. He found work laying carpet. His real passion was music: He DJed under the name Keyder Flower. In one of his Instagram posts, he flexes his teenage muscles as he plays tracks by a pool.

From the September 2024 issue: [Seventy miles in hell](#)

In December, after a DJ gig at a house party in Dallas, Flores was riding in the passenger seat of a friend’s car when they were pulled over. Flores told me they had smoked marijuana, and the police took them to the station. Later he was sent to ICE detention. At an immigration hearing, the judge told him that he wouldn’t be able to

return to the United States for 10 years, because he had broken U.S. law. When asked what country he wanted to be deported to, Flores said Venezuela.



Alex Peña / Getty

A soldier stands guard along the perimeter at CECOT.



Fabiola Ferrero for *The Atlantic*

A bracelet Keider made during his time in CECOT. It's the only thing he kept from the prison after his release.

While in ICE detention, Flores learned that he had been flagged as “an active member” of the Venezuelan gang Tren de Aragua. Federal agents showed up to interview him, he said. They had seen his pictures on Instagram and said his hand signals looked suspicious. “I was doing a cool sign, but they said it was a gesture of Tren de Aragua,” Flores told me. Flores knew about CECOT. He had seen videos at the ICE detention center in Texas, where the TV sometimes showed cable news. In mid-March, he called his brother from detention to say that he was about to get deported to Venezuela; two days later, he was put on a plane. ICE guards didn’t let the passengers open the window shades during the flight. Flores and his fellow detainees found out they were in El Salvador only after they had landed.

Another newly released Venezuelan prisoner I spoke with, Juan José Ramos, told me he’d entered the United States legally, with an appointment for an asylum hearing,

and had barely settled down in Utah when ICE agents stopped his car on the way to Walmart, arresting him with no explanation. He said that when the men arrived at CECOT, they saw inmates wearing white T-shirts and shorts, heads completely shaved. Ramos asked a Salvadoran guard who these men were and why they were crying. The guard replied: “That’s you. All of you will end up like that. We will treat you all the same.”

Flores, Ramos, and others I spoke with shared similar accounts of what happened next. The Venezuelans were taken to a wing of CECOT known as Module 8, with 32 cells, and didn’t interact with the rest of the prisoners. The inmates communicated with one another via hand signals, because when they spoke, they were beaten. They slept on metal bunks, often without mattresses. Soap and juice bottles were luxuries afforded prior to visits by representatives of the Red Cross, who came twice during their four-month stay. Sometimes, the guards gave the prisoners better meals than usual, took pictures with their phones, then took the food away, Ramos, Flores, and others told me.

A riot broke out in April, after guards beat one of the inmates to the point that he started convulsing, Flores told me. The incident convinced the Venezuelans that they had to do something. “If your friend was being beaten, would you leave him alone as they beat him?” Flores asked me.

Adam Serwer: Trump’s Salvadoran Gulag

Seven of the Venezuelans arrived days after the rest, deported from Guantánamo, where a hunger strike had broken out. They suggested doing the same at CECOT. Flores, Ramos, and others I spoke with said every inmate they knew joined the hunger strike, which lasted for several days. Some took their protest further by cutting themselves on the corners of their metal bunks. They called that a *huelga de sangre*: “blood strike.”

THREE OR FOUR DAYS after the strike started, two prison directors came to negotiate. The inmates agreed to end the strike in exchange for an assurance that the beatings would stop. “They let us live for a while,” Flores told me. But in mid-May, when a few inmates refused to have their cells inspected, the guards beat them. That’s when a second riot broke out. The guards responded by shooting the inmates with pellets. Then came the six days of beatings.

Martínez, 26, told me he was pulled over while driving in El Paso, Texas, in February because his license plate had expired. The officer was ready to let him go with a warning, but asked Martínez to remove his shirt. Martínez had tattoos of Bible verses and the name of his wife. The officer called ICE.

Martínez, who fell ill after the hunger strike, had to be taken to a clinic, where a nurse told him he had suffered serious liver damage. After the beatings, Martínez told me, some inmates vomited blood, and others couldn’t walk for days. “If they’re going to kill us, I hope they kill us soon,” he said he told himself.

The guards told him he would spend the rest of his life in CECOT. Until early Friday morning, when Martínez was sent home as abruptly as he’d arrived, he had believed them.

Nick Miroff contributed to this story.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Gisela Salim-Peyer

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Gisela Salim-Peyer is an associate editor at *The Atlantic*.

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