

Another Month in Honduras...

Human Rights Monitor – November 2018

November was a month as few before. On November 23, JOH's brother Juan Antonio "Tony" Hernández was arrested in the US for drug trafficking. Three days later, Hondurans commemorated the first anniversary of the electoral fraud and the victims of the post-electoral violence. As if to show that they have not learned their lesson, state security forces once more violently repressed the Honduran people. And before the month had ended, a court concluded the trial against the eight material authors of the assassination of Berta Cáceres, two and a half years after her murder. Seven men were found guilty as COPINH and Berta's family continue to demand the prosecution of the intellectual authors. Welcome to another month in Honduras.

In solidarity,

Daniel Langmeier

Honduras Forum Switzerland

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Abbreviations

ASJ	Association for a More Just Society
ATIC	Technical Bureau for Criminal Investigation
BID	Inter-American Development Bank
CABEI	Central American Bank for Economic Integration
CDM	Center for Women's Rights
CIPRODEH	Center for Human Rights Research and Promotion
CMH	Medical Association Honduras
CNA	National Anti-Corruption Council
COFADEH	Committee of Families of the Detained-Disappeared in Honduras
COIPRODEN	Coordination of Private Institutions for Children's Rights
CONADEH	National Human Rights Commission
COPINH	Council of Popular and Indigenous Organizations of Honduras
FEPRODDHH	Special Public Prosecutor Unit for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders, Journalists, Social Communicators and Justice Operators
FOSDEH	Social Forum on the External Debt of Honduras
FOSDEH	Free, Prior and Informed Consent
HRDs	Human Rights Defenders
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
IACtHR	Inter-American Court of Human Rights
ILO	International Labor Organization
ISHR	International Service for Human Rights
MACCIH	Support Mission against Corruption and Impunity in Honduras
MADJ	Broad Movement for Dignity and Justice
MP	Attorney General's Office
OACNUDH	UN Human Rights Office in Honduras
RNP	National Registry of Persons
TSC	Supreme Audit Court
UFECIC	Anti-Corruption Unit of the Attorney General's Office
UNAH	National Autonomous University of Honduras
ZEDE	Zone for Employment and Economic Development

JOH under Pressure

November started with new accusation by the Trump administration against the JOH regime saying that millions of dollars have been sent to Honduras which probably were stolen due to the lack of results.¹ Radio Progreso² and other observers wondered if this is another sign that US support for JOH is weakening.³ While this questioned remained unanswered throughout the month⁴, public protest in Honduras increased again. On November 7, the Social Platform of Citizens for Honduras constituted itself. In their first press release, they demanded the removal of JOH and those who accompanied his illegal presidency⁵. They proposed new early elections organized by a provisional government. The platform was born out of an initiative by the Liberal Party, but at that point it also included Salvador Nasralla and members of Libre as well as different sectors of the public.⁶ Additionally to this, we have seen protests in Choluteca twice every week since the electoral fraud exactly one year ago.⁷

Just three days before the anniversary⁸, another blow to the JOH regime came from the US, when his brother Tony Hernández got arrested for drug trafficking (see also the section on drug trafficking).⁹ The concurrence of the anniversary and the arrest further reignited widespread protests and demands for JOH to step down.¹⁰ Libre published a press release calling out to the Honduran people join in their demand for the resignation of JOH.¹¹ Their congresswo/men accompanied by PINU wanted to present a bill to create a special commission investigating the link between JOH and drug trafficking, but they were stopped by the Nationalist-controlled Congress.¹² The Social Citizen Platform of Honduras published another press release demanding an immediate resignation of JOH and as well as an investigation of him.¹³ Even the president of the Journalists Association Honduras (CPH), Dagoberto Rodríguez, wrote on Twitter that JOH lost any remaining credibility.¹⁴ The JOH regime reacted to all of this by sending an additional 300 police agents to Choluteca to quell anti-regime protests.¹⁵

1 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/05/donald-trump-acusa-al-gobierno-de-honduras-de-robarse-fondos-donados-por-ee-uu/>

2 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn/acusacion-de-trump-siembradudas-sobre-continuidad-de-apoyo-al-gobierno-de-joh/>

3 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/05/joh-de-mandadero-a-posible-ladron-que-dice-ahora-la-senora-fulton/>

4 <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/us-alleges-honduras-president-brother-major-drug-trafficker/>

5 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/07/plataforma-ciudadana-exige-salida-de-joh-y-convocatoria-anticipada-a-elecciones-generales/>

6 <https://tiempo.hn/plataforma-social-ciudadana-salida-de-joh/>

7 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/hasta-sacar-al-dictador-protestas-en-el-sur-del-pais/>

8 <http://www.hondurasolidarity.org/2018/11/28/one-year-later-a-call-to-solidarity/>

9 https://www.democracynow.org/2018/11/28/brother_of_honduran_president_is_arrested

10 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn/renuncia-28-de-noviembre-2018/>

11 <https://tiempo.hn/libre-investigar-participacion-joh-acusaciones-contra-su-hermano/>

12 <https://confidencial.hn.com/exigen-crear-comision-que-investigue-supuesta-colusion-de-joh-en-crimen-organizado/>

13 <https://confidencial.hn.com/piden-la-destitucion-y-proceso-penal-para-el-presidente-juan-orlando-herandez/>

14 <https://tiempo.hn/la-renuncia-de-joh-pide-implicitamente-presidente-de-colegio-de-periodistas/>

15 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/el-informador/item/2353-denuncia-el-gobierno-de-joh-estaria-enviando-300-policias-para-reprimir-manifestantes-en-choluteca>

On November 28, the Security Secretariat made public that there are five open demands for extradition by the US which could further weaken the JOH regime.¹⁶ Political analyst and former National congressman Raúl Pineda agreed stating that between December and February Honduran politics will be further stirred up and it may led to the resignation of JOH. Possible sources may be the Pandora case or these new demands of extradition by the US. Pineda also stated that the political opposition in Honduras is too weak to get rid of JOH - only exogenous factors may led to his resignation, especially the US.¹⁷ At the same time, the lawyer Omar Menjívar showed that anti-corruption body of the MP, UFECIC, had enough proof to go after JOH.¹⁸ The president of the Liberal Party, Luis Zelaya, wrote that JOH's resignation was "imperative for the good of Honduras".¹⁹ Last but not least, Radio Progreso concluded about the National Party that "as the year comes to an end, it is confirmed that we are led by a group of people, who in themselves are the drivers of organized crime in the country".²⁰ And so November ended with a lot of open questions for the coming weeks and months.

Human Rights and Their Defenders

A UN expert commission visited Honduras for 14 days this month to investigate the human rights situation of women. They concluded that "although there have been some advances, the Central American country remains "macho". Women are victims of "generalized violence" and inequality. In addition, they suffer from a lack of political representation."²¹ The report also made important observations on the situation of women human rights defenders. "Although Honduras has made efforts to establish an effective mechanism of protection for human rights defenders, there still seems to be little understanding of the specificities and needs of women human rights defenders and hurdles they face. All of the women we spoke to said they were not able to operate in a safe and enabling environment. They told us that they face numerous attacks and threats, as well as criminalization of their activities and lack of access to justice. Stigmatization by officials, and also by their own organizations, families, communities and the media, not only disempowers them but also exposes them to heightened risks. They face smear campaigns aimed at discrediting their work, often being identified as being anti-development of Honduras, 'unnatural' mothers and wives or even criminals. One defender told us how not only had she been criminalized, attacked by members of her own community, but has been constantly harassed and insulted by members of her family for being a bad mother. With great passion she told us how even if she is riddled with pain and guilt, she is defending her land, which is being taken by an agribusiness, precisely because she is worried that her children will not have a future in her region; she thinks this makes her a good mother. We also received testimonies of women human rights defenders facing legal actions for defamation and slander, as well as the threat thereof. Others have reported that their organizations are subjected to

16 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1237819-466/polic%C3%ADa-tiene-cinco-%C3%B3rdenes-de-captura-contr-extraditables-hondure%C3%B1os>

17 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn.net/el-plan-de-joh-es-aspirar-nuevamente-a-la-presidencia-dice-analista-raul-pineda/>

18 <https://tiempo.hn/omar-menjivar-ufecic-tiene-todos-los-elementos-para-proceder-contr-joh/>

19 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/29/es-imperativo-que-juan-herandez-renuncie-por-el-bien-de-honduras-luis-zelaya/>

20 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn.net/el-gran-partido-nacional-29-de-noviembre-2018/>

21 <https://news.un.org/es/story/2018/11/1445741>

unreasonable tax supervision and registration requirements. We are also told that women who are more vocal are at risk of harsher treatment, including excessive use of force and even murder."²²

During October's March of Dignity in support of the migrant caravan, the Alignment against the Reelection (CCC) had announced to start with a popular consultation process throughout the county. This month, it took off in San José, La Paz. Accompanied by CEHPRODEC, they asked four questions, e.g. if JOH should stay in power or if the extractive development model should be continued in Honduras.²³ Bertha Oliva summarized it as follows: "This is not a partisan plebiscite against anyone, it is a political act of the people in favor of democracy and life."²⁴ Over 20% of the registered voters participated. 97.2% rejected the current extractive development model of Honduras; 96.9% said that Honduras is currently no democracy and has no rule of law; and 96.1% wanted JOH to resign.²⁵ They additionally declared their territory as free of mining.²⁶ Radio Progreso concluded about the process: "The consultation in San José is an experience where we all win. The people won by having their say on the economic model and the institutionality of the country, social movements won by advancing horizontal practices on their proposals for the country, and participatory democracy won. Undoubtedly, something new is being born, 2019 will be a year to continue consulting the people and continue to grow in resistance and dignity that springs from a new political culture."²⁷

Last month, Honduran human rights organizations awarded for the third time the National Carlos Escaleras Award in honor of the murdered environmental defender (see last month's monitor). On November 20, the IACtHR approved the agreement found between the Honduran State and his family.. "Under the agreement reached between the parties, the Court approved the agreed reparation measures. Among other measures, the State must transmit the documentary created about the life and work of Carlos Escaleras Mejía as a human rights activist, continue to implement the process of training in environmental issues for secondary school teachers, comply with the terms agreed in the trust constituted in favor of the children of Carlos Escaleras Mejía in order to guarantee their secondary and university education, carry out and diligently pursue all the investigations and actions necessary to determine responsibilities, as well as fully clarify the facts and, where appropriate, judge and punish the material and intellectual authors."²⁸

Assassinations

The community leader Reynaldo Reyes Moreno was murdered in the south of Honduras on November 28. He was part of a community protest against the solar project Los Prados in

22 <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?>

23 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/pese-a-obstaculos-la-consulta-popular-se-realizara-este-18-de-noviembre-en-san-jose/>

24 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/primera-consulta-popular/>

25 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/un-no-rotundo-al-regimen-de-joh-y-al-modelo-extractivista-arrojan-resultados-de-consulta/>

26 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/18/san-jose-de-la-paz-se-declara-libre-de-mineria-y-extractivismo/>

27 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn.net/algo-nuevo-esta-naciendo-22-de-noviembre-2018/>

28 http://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/comunicados/cp_49_18.pdf?fbclid=IwAR05TIYTudgGNAYA3Y76P6j-4kXiUzwZPY1BqMee9f_gFaXpb_ZNSxGDYv0

Namasigüe, Choluteca. Before his murder, he had been criminalized together with 22 other local HRDs.²⁹

Attacks, Criminalization and Harassment

The JOH regime has already various tools at its disposal to criminalize HRDs. The Coalition against Impunity held a forum this month on the new Penal Code and how its application can lead to the further persecution and criminalization of HRDs.^{30 31} Defensores en Línea published an update on the criminalization of four HRDs at ADEPZA defending the land in Playa Blanca on Zacate Grande.³² HRDs also suffered physical attacks this month, the Human Rights Lawyers Network denounced an attack against its member Ely Portillo. In the last four months, his car had been tampered with, he had suffered a tear gas attack by state security forces and on November 22, unknown assailants tried to murder him outside his house.³³

Indigenous Peoples

FPIC

Social movements from the Americas met in Guatemala for three days this month to "discuss and analyze the current processes of misusing the consultation of our peoples and build collective strategies to unify criteria in the defense of common and natural goods and condemn once again the ruses mounted by corporate corporations and the role played by states."^{34 35}

The Case of Berta Cáceres

October had ended with COPINH and Berta's family declaring their rebellion against the judicial farce taking place in Honduras (see last month's monitor). Together with the Alignment against the Reelection, COPINH also published a helpful infographic on "the thorny road in search of justice for Berta Cáceres".³⁶ COPINH further made public some documents on the money trail behind the assassination.³⁷ They presented among other things a document showing that Sergio Rodríguez requested 100'000 Lempiras from DESA to stop a COPINH protest. The request included an item "food for the police which is at the site to help".³⁸

When the trial continued on November 1, Berta's family and COPINH held a protest outside the supreme court.³⁹ Afterwards, when Berta's family tried to access the court room, they were denied

29 <http://www.conexihon.hn/index.php/mirada-al-sur/882-que-hay-detras-del-asesinato-del-lider-comunitario-de-los-prados-namasiguae>

30 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/3090-honduras-nuevo-codigo-penal-endurece-caceria-de-activistas-sociales>

31 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/20/codigo-penal-de-honduras-ha-sido-disenado-contralos-pobres-y-el-movimiento-social/>

32 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/continua-la-criminalizacion-por-la-defensa-de-la-tierra-en-playa-blanca/>

33 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2347-atacan-a-integrante-de-red-de-abogados-y-abogadas-de-derechos-humanos-en-el-sur-de-honduras>

34 <http://movimientom4.org/2018/11/declaratoria-del-v-encuentro-m4-manipulacion-de-la-consulta-y-consentimiento-a-favor-del-extractivismo/>

35 <http://movimientom4.org/2018/11/carta-a-ongs-amigas-y-centros-de-derechos-humanos-que-apoyan-la-defensa-de-los-territorios-en-relacion-al-instrumento-de-las-consultas/>

36 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Infograf%C3%ADa-Berta2.jpg>

37 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/acerca-de-los-dineros-de-desa-y-el-asesinato-de-bertacaceres/>

38 <https://twitter.com/COPINHHONDURAS/status/1060257962617434114>

39 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/audio-justicia-para-berta-planton-en-la-corte-suprema-de-justicia/>

entry.⁴⁰ On November 2, 32 month after her assassination⁴¹, they commemorated Berta in front of the Supreme Court⁴², but they were met with police repression.⁴³ On November 5, the Supreme Court announced the prolongation of the pre-trial detention of five of the accused even though the legally permitted time had expired.⁴⁴

Together with international organizations, COPINH organized the forum "Access and Participation of Victims Seeking Justice in Penal Law" taking the Berta Cáceres case as an example.⁴⁵ Shortly afterwards, the Expert Observation Mission of the Berta Cáceres Case held a press conference expressing their deep concern about the "grave violations of the rights of the victims and other deficiencies observed throughout the trial".^{46 47}

On November 8, the MP announced to go to trial against a former police agent and an investigator for falsifying proof in the Berta Cáceres investigation.⁴⁸ COPINH reacted on Twitter: "However, the illegalities in the concealment of information by the MP, the theft of the case file, the lack of investigation of the intellectual authors and the large number of crimes committed by the company DESA, partners, managers and employees have been ignored."⁴⁹

Because COPINH and Berta's family had been excluded from the trial, they organized a forum to present their version of the events. The forum called "The Truth about the Berta Cáceres Case" took place at UNAH on November 13.⁵⁰ Human rights scholar Joaquín Mejía concluded: "The cases of Blanca Jeannette Kawas, Carlos Antonio Luna, Carlos Escaleras Mejia, Margarita Murillo and Berta Cáceres, among others, are a reflection of that structural impunity that as a cancer has evicted the rule of law and its justice system, and that we, as citizens, must articulate the various efforts to eradicate it and build an inclusive and democratic nation."⁵¹

By that time, the irregularities of the trial had reached the EU parliament and on November 13, 32 EU Parliamentarians sent a public letter to JOH and the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini expressing their concern. "The trial must be conducted in full respect of the principles of impartiality and access to justice. This case is key to the defense of human rights in Honduras and throughout the Latin American region."⁵² There statement was followed by one by Federica Mogherini herself on November 22.⁵³ Honduras was further visited by a UN expert commission on women's rights (see section on Violence against Women). They also

40 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/fotos-alerta-guardias-niegan-acceso-a-copinh-y-familia-de-bera-a-juicio/>

41 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/foto-a-32-meses-sin-justicia-altar-para-bera-en-la-corte/>

42 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/32-meses-sin-justicia/>

43 <https://twitter.com/COPINHHONDURAS/status/1058500020482330629>

44 <https://www.mp.hn/index.php/author-login/115-noviembre-2018/3623-prision-preventiva-para-implicados-en-el-crimen-de-la-lider-ambientalista-bera-caceres-no-se-vence-todavia>

45 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/video-foro-acceso-de-las-victimas-a-la-justicia-colombia-guatemala-y-honduras/>

46 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/comunicado-conjunto-y-videos-honduras-inaceptable-tratamiento-a-las-victimas-en-juicio-por-asesinato-de-bera-caceres/>

47 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/09/exclusion-de-familia-de-bera-caceres-flores-y-acusacion-privada-es-contraria-a-estandares-internacionales-de-derechos-humanos/>

48 <http://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/elevan-a-juicio-causa-contra-dos-vinculados-al-crimen-de-bera-caceres.html>

49 <https://twitter.com/COPINHHONDURAS/status/1060945330315894787>

50 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/video-y-fotos-foro/>

51 <https://joaquinmejia.rivera.blogspot.com/2018/11/el-cancer-de-la-impunidad.html>

52 <https://redeulat.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Carta-MEPs-caso-Berta-C%C3%A1ceres-Honduras-ES-1-1.pdf>

53 https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/54301/statement-spokesperson-trial-those-accused-murder-honduran-human-rights-defender-bera-caceres_en

commented on the trial: "A number of interlocutors expressed a great dissatisfaction with the trial for Berta Cáceres murder, including the members of her family. We heard that the family has been denied access to reports and evidence during the investigation phase, which lasted more than two years and was marred by numerous irregularities, and that the lawyers representing the family were excluded from the trial without being given a legitimate reason. This trial is emblematic of the lack of transparency and unfair legal processes faced by women's human rights defenders, which is of great concern to our Working Group. We urge the Government to take all the measures to secure justice for the family and ensure that the trial respects international standards. Any irregularities reflect badly on the judiciary which is already mistrusted for its lack of accountability in spite of the real efforts of the Supreme Court and other institutions to improve access to justice for women. Moreover, impunity for killings and other crimes committed against women fuel further violence against them."⁵⁴ But the JOH regime and its allies at the Judicial Power ignored these voices. Even worse, on Saturday, November 10, participants and observers of the trial were told that it was suspended until Tuesday, November 13. But this was a lie and on the day before, November 12, key phone evidence was presented without much public scrutiny.⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ The Expert Observation Mission of the Berta Cáceres Case reacted by expressing their "deep concern that on November 12th a hearing took place without previously informing the victims of the case, which adds to a series of irregularities that have been denounced since the beginning of the process".⁵⁷

This evidence was of particular importance as it shone a light on DESA, the company behind Agua Zarca.⁵⁸ COPINH's lawyer Omar Menjivar Rosales described their role as follows: "Thus, using this criminal mixture between private operators and state officials and servants, that criminal structure called DESA, which has a legal facade as a mercantile society, planned and executed the murder of Berta Cáceres and they are sure that they will go unpunished. But they did not count with the determination of the people that Berta defended and that of millions of people in the world who are determined to demand here and wherever, for whatever period of time, and until it is realized, their right to the truth, to justice, to non-repetition and punishment for murderers."⁵⁹ TN5 even reported that the phone records showed that Mariano Díaz Chávez knew about the assassination plan.⁶⁰ By that time, DESA, through its PR representative Amsterdam & Partners LLP, had already started a new defamatory campaign against COPINH.⁶¹ OFRANEH called it a "post-mortem lynching" of Berta.⁶²

Then, on November 24, the trial concluded.⁶³ Laura Zúniga Cáceres held a short, but powerful speech on this occasion in court. "Today it's up to me to speak, something I don't want to do

54 <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=23873&LangID=E>

55 <https://twitter.com/ninalakhani/status/1062375872450232320>

56 <https://twitter.com/ninalakhani/status/1062378653110165504>

57 <https://www.fidh.org/es/region/americas/honduras/honduras-organizaciones-miembros-de-la-mision-de-observacion>

58 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/estructura-criminal/>

59 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/honduras-y-los-asesinos-de-bertha/>

60 <https://twitter.com/TN5Telenoticias/status/1063269911391277056>

61 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1234109-466/apoderados-de-desa-ven-fallos-en-caso-de-bertha-c%C3%A1ceres>

62 <https://ofraneh.wordpress.com/2018/11/19/linchamiento-post-mortem-de-bertha-caceres-y-la-ausencia-de-un-estado-de-derecho-en-honduras/>

63 <https://tiempo.hn/proximo-jueves-fallo-bertha-caceres/>

because no one wants to talk after their mother has been murdered, it's up to me to speak because this justice system didn't allow us to participate in this process, it expelled us. (...) And today, unfortunately, justice is indebted to us, but that doesn't mean we are going to ignore the fact that there are guilty people in this room. Not all are guilty, but here there are hitmen, here there is necessary collaboration, here there are persecutors, there are infiltrators and we have to say it. (...) I'm not going to say more, but even if it is only for this moment, thank you, because unfortunately, this was the only time that we were able to express ourselves in this entire process. The struggle for justice for Berta Cáceres does not end here. There are more judicial processes that we will continue with, and we will keep appealing to these institutions so that they act in the way a justice system should act. We are not passive victims. We will act because Berta Cáceres deserves it, because the Lenca People deserve it, because they keep persecuting us even now because this criminal structure that killed Berta Cáceres is still active and we will also denounce that."⁶⁴ Before the court made public its verdict five days later, OACNUDH and the IACHR published a joint press release expressing their "concern about the exclusion of the victim's representation and unwarranted delays in the process". They also highlight the need to go after the intellectual authors.⁶⁵

Three and a half years after the murder of Berta Cáceres, on November 29, the verdict against the presumed eight material authors was presented.⁶⁶ Seven men were found guilty of murdering Berta, four of them were additionally found guilty of attempted murder of the Mexican HRD Gustavo Castro. As the only one, Emerson Duarte Meza was acquitted.⁶⁷ The official sentencing was announced for January 10. The verdict further confirmed the role of DESA in the murder. It led lawyer Víctor Fernández as well as CEJIL to concluded that the trial showed that DESA is guilty.⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ Rodil Vásquez, a lawyer representing Berta's family, denounced the MP as a "guarantor of impunity" and according to him, there had been sufficient proof to go after the intellectual authors since May 2016.⁷⁰

COPINH and Berta's family stated that the verdict did not satisfy their demands for justice as the court failed to include the intellectual authorship in the trial. "This ruling that has been pronounced in the First Chamber of the Sentencing Court that condemns the group of hitmen and the intermediate structure directly related to the company DESA does not mean that justice has been achieved. The structures and people who gave the money to kill Berta Cáceres continue to enjoy the freedom and the possibility of masterminding crimes like this without being unpunished. (...) With the chapter that closes today, the condemnations of the lowest link of the criminal structure with which the Honduran State intends to silence the demand for justice, the fight for justice for Berta Cáceres and the Lenca people does not end, on the contrary, it deepen our efforts."⁷¹ ⁷² The demand

64 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/laura-zuniga-caceres/>

65 <https://www.oas.org/es/cidh/prensa/comunicados/2018/256.asp>

66 <https://www.mp.hn/index.php/author-login/115-noviembre-2018/3686-ministerio-publico-logra-primer-condena-en-caso-de-la-lider-ambientalista-berta-caceres>

67 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/29/berta-caceres-seven-men-convicted-conspiracy-murder-honduras>

68 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/29/fallo-demuestra-que-desa-es-culpable-de-asesinato-de-berta-caceres-victor-fernandez/>

69 <https://www.cejil.org/en/cejil-sentence-berta-caceres-case-finds-proof-criminal-structure-behind-her-murder>

70 <https://confidencialhnm.com/advierten-existencia-de-chats-que-evidencian-estructura-criminal-que-liquido-a-berta-caceres/>

71 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/comunicado-ante-el-fallo/>

72 <https://copinh.org/2018/11/video-conferencia-sobre-el-fallo/>

for the prosecution of the intellectual authors was also reiterated by OACNUDH⁷³ as well as US Senator Patrick Leahy. The latter wrote that "[o]nly when all those responsible are held to account – those who conceived of the crime and gave the orders, those who paid the assassins, and those who participated in the cover-up – will justice have been served for Berta Caceres."⁷⁴

November ended with the MP direction attention to three further suspects who already have been arrested: two police agents accused of tempering with evidence and DESA's executive director David Castillo.^{75 76}

LGBTI

On November 8, Jonathan Rafael Escobar Cruz, an activist at the LGBT organization Arcoiris, was brutally murdered. Four armed men shot him down in front of his house. His family denounced that the protection mechanism failed to act fast when he had sought out their help.⁷⁷ Given the lack of protection in Honduras, it is no surprise that various members of the LGBTI community were among the Hondurans traveling north in the migrant caravan.^{78 79} The IACHR, meanwhile, demanded from its member state to protect the lives of trans people.⁸⁰

Last month, the JOH regime as well as evangelical circles in Honduras held a smear campaign against the LGBTI community and same-sex marriage. On November 10, the Constitutional Chamber rejected an appeal by LGBTI organizations based on a IACtHR ruling in favor of same-sex marriage.⁸¹ According to the court, the rejection is due to "form errors".⁸² A few days later, the TSE rejected a complaint by LGBTI organizations against the former PAC presidential candidate Marlene Alvarenga for using hate speech during her campaign.⁸³

Freedom of Expression and Journalists

November started with another demonstration of the difficult situation journalists face in Honduras. The journalist Jairo López was detained and beaten by the arresting officers, even though he should benefit from the Honduran protection mechanism.⁸⁴ Even worse, the violent beating took place in front of his wife and daughter.⁸⁵ López had been accompanying as a journalist the bi-weekly protests in Choluteca which are directed among others against the Energy Company Honduras (EEH). Honduran human rights organizations denounced that EEH is behind the arrest warrant,

73 <https://twitter.com/ONUDDHH/status/1068579065194524673>

74 <https://www.leahy.senate.gov/press/113018cacereerialverdict>

75 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1238364-466/ministerio-p%C3%ABblico-tiene-a-otros-tres-en-la-mira-por-el-caso>

76 <http://radiohn.hn/2018/11/30/nuevos-requerimientos-fiscales-se-emitiran-en-los-proximos-dias-en-el-caso-de-bertha-caceres/>

77 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2327-denuncian-familiares-la-lentitud-en-el-mecanismo-de-proteccion-sumo-para-perder-a-jonathan>

78 <http://www.proceso.hn/mas-noticias/32-m%C3%A1s-noticias/integrantes-de-la-lgbt-participan-en-la-caravana-migratoria-hacia-estados-unidos.html>

79 http://sandhillsexpress.com/abc_world/threat-of-violence-at-home-spurs-lgbt-migrants-on-to-the-border-abcid36130637/

80 <http://www.conexihon.hn/index.php/dh/872-cidh-llama-a-los-estados-a-protoger-integralmente-la-vida-de-las-personas-trans>

81 <https://tiempo.hn/csj-declara-inadmisibile-matrimonio-igualitario/>

82 <http://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/csj-declara-inadmisibile-recurso-presentado-a-favor-del-matrimonio-gay.html>

83 <http://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electorat/tse-niega-recurso-a-comunidad-lgbt-contra-marlene-alvarenga.html>

84 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/amenazas-a-la-libertad-de-expresion/item/2328-urgente-capturan-violentamente-a-jairo-lopez-beneficiario-del-mecanismo-de-proteccion>

85 <http://www.conexihon.hn/index.php/libertad-de-expresion/863-detienen-a-periodista-jairo-lopez-sumando-mas-acciones-en-su-contra>

while officially he was accused of damages to EEH for allegedly leading a protest on August 18.⁸⁶ Hours after his arrest, a judge let him go with probation measures, but these measures prohibited him to continue his work as a journalist. "Do not leave the country, do not give any statements, and do not participate in any protest".⁸⁷ Pasos de Animal Grande spoke with Jairo López two days after his violent arrest.⁸⁸ His situation did not improve over the month and he denounced further acts of persecution and criminalization.⁸⁹

A further negative highlight for Honduran journalists was the anniversary of the electoral fraud. They were hit with tear gas⁹⁰ or outright physically attacked.⁹¹ One journalist, Geovanny Sierra, was even shot at by state security forces suffering a gun wound.⁹² According to Defensores en Línea, he will lose the ability to move his right arm.⁹³ He was still hospitalized at the end of November.⁹⁴ Another journalist, Walter Ulloa, denounced that he had been followed for days. It all started after he had reported on the Socorro Las Peñitas mine at the beginning of this month.⁹⁵

Violence against Women

According to a new report by Vienna Herrera, the number of women who have suffered from rape doubled in the last 10 years. These are only the official numbers. The Center for Women's Rights (CDM) estimates that only about 10% of the women denounce it. Herrera reported on how the Honduran State further worsens the situation for these women, e.g. by prohibiting the access to emergency contraceptive pills (PAE).⁹⁶ Another article published this month by El Puslo also investigated questions of sexual violence and gender in Honduras.⁹⁷

This month, a UN expert commission on women's rights visited Honduras.⁹⁸ El Libertador reports that 13 women were murdered during their stay in Honduras.⁹⁹ According to the Violence Observatory, 309 femicides took place in Honduras so far this year.¹⁰⁰ On November 22, feminist and women's rights organization held a forum on the work of the Inter-Institutional Monitoring Commission of Violent Deaths of Women and Femicide.¹⁰¹ Three days later, Honduras and the world commemorated the Day of No Violence against Women.¹⁰² On this occasion, Expediente

86 <http://elpulso.hn/periodista-jairo-lopez-es-detenido-por-danos-a-eeh/>

87 <http://www.clibrehonduras.com/index.php/alertas/censura/924-juez-condiciona-la-libertad-de-periodista-con-censura-informativa>

88 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/amenazas-a-la-libertad-de-expresion/item/2329-familia-enfrenta-la-zozobra-a-pocas-horas-de-la-captura-violenta-de-jairo-lopez>

89 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/amenazas-a-la-libertad-de-expresion/item/2339-el-calvario-de-un-periodista-acusado-injustamente>

90 <http://www.clibrehonduras.com/index.php/alertas/agresion-fisica/927-militares-lanzan-bombas-lacrimogenas-a-periodista-en-trasmision-en-vivo>

91 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2344-ardio-choluteca-una-periodista-un-diputado-y-una-mujer-embarazada-fueron-atacados-por-la-policia>

92 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/contexto/item/2352-agenda-mediatica-copias-al-carbon-de-la-colombia-represiva-y-el-papel-de-los-periodistas-en>

93 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/periodista-geovanny-sierra-pierde-movilidad-de-su-brazo-derecho-por-disparos-de-militares-mientras-cubria-una-movilizacion/>

94 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/pudo-ser-a-proposito-ataque-desde-el-bus-del-imp-que-hirio-a-periodistas-y-otros-manifestantes/>

95 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/amenazas-a-la-libertad-de-expresion/item/2342-periodista-bajo-seguimiento-de-carros-desconocidos-despues-de-hablar-sobre-minera>

96 <https://contracorriente.red/2018/11/13/violada-en-un-estado-ausente/>

97 <http://elpulso.hn/yo-no-quiero-ser-violada-violencia-y-genero/>

98 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/15/grupo-de-la-onu-senala-que-crisis-migratoria-de-honduras-nace-de-violencia-pobreza-y-falta-de-oportunidades/>

99 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/3084-comite-de-onu-alarmado-por-asesinato-de-13-hondurenas-durante-su-visita>

100 <https://tiempo.hn/alarmante-a-309-ascienden-los-crimenes-violentos-contra-mujeres-en-honduras/>

101 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/contexto/item/2345-organizaciones-feministas-sientan-al-estado-de-honduras-para-encontrar-soluciones-a-la-violencia-contra-las-mujeres>

102 <https://contracorriente.red/2018/11/25/que-conmemorar-este-25-de-noviembre/>

Público published two important articles on how femicide is counted in Honduras¹⁰³ and one on forced disappearance of women and girls.¹⁰⁴

Protection Mechanism

We have highlighted various deficiencies of the protection mechanisms in these monthly human rights monitor. A new one was brought to our attention this month by Pasos de Animal Grande. The Journalists Association of Honduras (CPH) and the Honduran Press Association (APH) are meant to represent the interests of journalists and social communicators at the protection mechanism, but in some cases, they fail to look beyond the journalist working for corporate media outlets. Pasos de Animal Grande presents the situation of journalist Jairo López as a case in point.¹⁰⁵ His case is further significant, as he was beaten this month by police officers even though he should benefit from the protection mechanism.¹⁰⁶ The protection mechanism made further negative headlines when it failed to protect the LGBTI activist Jonathan Rafael Escobar Cruz who was murdered on November 8 (see LGBTI section above).¹⁰⁷

Political Prisoners

November began with a hopeful sign for the situation of the political prisoners when UN representative Igor Garafulic confirmed talks on an amnesty..¹⁰⁸ Shortly afterwards, the political prisoner José Godinez was freed after having been detained for almost one year.¹⁰⁹ But then the talks stalled again (see also the section on the National Dialogue). One key obstacle remains the ongoing unwillingness of the JOH regime to recognize the existence of the political prisoners.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, on November 28, ten additional political prisoners were released.¹¹¹ At the end of the month, five political prisoners remained incarcerated and one was still in Costa Rica where he got political asylum.¹¹² It remains to be seen if the National Dialogue will conclude in December and they will receive an amnesty.

Extractive Industries

Mining

October concluded with the deterioration of the situation in Guapinol, as the mining company Inversiones Los Pinares and the JOH regime militarized the region. The situation remained tense

103 <http://expedientepublico.org/index.php/dia-mujer/121-como-se-registran-los-femicidios-en-honduras>

104 <http://expedientepublico.org/index.php/dia-mujer/122-la-desaparicion-de-mujeres-en-honduras-un-fenomeno-silencioso>

105 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/amenazas-a-la-libertad-de-expresion/item/2333-cph-y-aph-decidieron-guardar-silencio-en-el-caso-del-periodista-jairo-lopez>

106 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/amenazas-a-la-libertad-de-expresion/item/2328-urgente-capturan-violentamente-a-jairo-lopez-beneficiario-del-mecanismo-de-proteccion>

107 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2327-denuncian-familiares-la-lentitud-en-el-mecanismo-de-proteccion-sumo-para-perder-a-jonathan>

108 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1230305-466/comit%C3%A9-del-di%C3%A1logo-indaga-informaci%C3%B3n-sobre-amnist%C3%ADa-pol%C3%ADtica>

109 <https://twitter.com/EdwinLibertad/status/1062554040268013569>

110 <https://confidencialhn.com/garafulic-busca-que-fuerzas-politicas-concreten-acuerdos-a-pesar-del-fracaso-en-dialogo/>

111 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1237828-466/liberan-a-diez-de-los-presos-que-dej%C3%B3-la-crisis-pol%C3%ADtica-de>

112 <http://www.hondurassolidarity.org/999-2/>

throughout this month and the Armed Forces even intensified their operations.¹¹³ OFRANEH took this as further evidence of a low-intensity war taking place in the Bajo Aguán, a region to which Guapinol belongs.¹¹⁴

A delegation by the Coalition against Impunity traveled to Guapinol and documented grave human rights violations affecting more than 600 families.¹¹⁵ They conclude that "the concession of the extractive mining projects ASP 1 and ASP 2, granted in favor of the company Inversiones Pinares, owned by Mr. Lenir Pérez, is the product of irregular and corrupt legislative practices to favor territorial dispossession by private companies."¹¹⁶ The Dioceses of Trujillo held the JOH regime directly responsible for this situation.¹¹⁷ Reporters without Borders denounced the persecution of and attacks against journalists reporting on the situation in Guapinol.¹¹⁸

Due to this increasing pressure, the mayor of Tocoa, Adán Fúnez, promised to withdraw the licenses from the mining company.¹¹⁹ But the inhabitants expressed doubts about the change of hearth by the mayor, who additionally proposed a plebiscite.¹²⁰ Radio Progreso shared their concern highlighting the challenges to conduct a plebiscite due to the different views by the mayors office and the local inhabitants.¹²¹

While this issue remained unresolved, new worrisome news came from the region. The San Alonso Rodríguez Foundation (FSAR) denounced a defamation and criminalization campaign against their members on social media. The FSAR is a member of the Departmental Committee for the Defense of the Commons which has accompanied the inhabitants of Guapinol in their protest against the mining project.¹²² Front Line Defenders picked up this case and denounced the smear campaign against FSAR and its director Juana Esquivel.¹²³ Another member of the same Departmental Committee for the Defense of the Commons, Juana Zúniga, denounced that soldiers were intimidating them and that the community was falsely presented as a vandals.¹²⁴ The journalist Rigoberto Mendoza was cited by the police to give his declarations about the situation in Guapinol.¹²⁵ Mendoza recently denounced that he had been threatened for his work reporting on the protests.¹²⁶ And on the last day of November, to send another worrisome message, the 63-year old HRD and campesino Jeremías Martínez Cruz was arrested without an arrest warrant and the same

113 <https://tiempo.hn/intensifican-operativos-y-el-desarme-en-guapinol-tras-muerte-de-soldados/>

114 <https://ofraneh.wordpress.com/2018/11/01/el-clan-facusse-y-el-recrudescimiento-de-la-guerra-de-baja-intensidad-en-el-aguan/>

115 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/contexto/item/2322-mision-de-la-coalicion-contrala-impunidad-constata-graves-violaciones-a-los-derechos-humanos-en-guapinol>

116 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/14/coalicion-contrala-impunidad-constata-terrible-violacion-de-derechos-humanos-en-el-guapinol-tocoa-colon/>

117 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/02/crisis-del-aguan-y-tocoa-ha-sido-generada-por-el-propio-estado-diocesis-de-trujillo/>

118 <https://rsf.org/es/noticias/honduras-rsf-denuncia-graves-ataques-periodistas-del-departamento-de-colon>

119 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/3064-alcalde-de-tocoa-cancelara-operaciones-de-minera-de-la-muerte>

120 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/3064-alcalde-de-tocoa-cancelara-operaciones-de-minera-de-la-muerte>

121 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn.net/6707-2/>

122 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/campana-de-difamacion-y-criminalizacion-contrafundacion-san-alonso-rodriguez/>

123 <https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/en/case/smear-campaign-against-fundacion-san-alonso-rodriguez-and-its-director-juana-esquivel>

124 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/14/los-militares-nos-estan-intimidando-ambientalista-de-el-guapinol/>

125 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/amenazas-a-la-libertad-de-expresion/item/2336-mas-presiones-contraperiodista-rigoberto-mendoza-que-conflicto-minero-en-guapinol>

126 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/contexto/item/2338-defensora-de-guapinol-nuestros-padres-y-abuelos-nunca-necesitaron-de-una-minera-para-vivir-dignamente>

day a judge decided that he had to remain in custody. He was accused of coercion against the mining company Inversiones Los Pinares.¹²⁷

Another mining project made negative headlines this month. CIPRODEH expressed its concern about the situation in El Tránsito where a mining company continues to force through with violence the continuation of a mining project.¹²⁸ At the same time, there is some good news in the form of communities declaring their territory free of mining. This month, both the inhabitants of Nueva Frontera, Santa Bárbara,¹²⁹ and El Triunfo, Choluteca,¹³⁰ did so. According to the local vice-president of the Environmental Committee in El Triunfo, Wilfredo Hernández, the consultation would serve to pressure the mayor's office which so far ignored the local people.

Hydroelectricity

On November 1, Defensores en Línea denounced that two additional members of the Environmental Committee for the Protection of the Reitoca River were arrested. The two HRDs Wilmer Otoniel Alonso Herrera and José Orlando Rodas García were accused of usurpation at the expense of the company Progelsa.¹³¹ As a response, inhabitants of Reitoca, Francisco Morazán, traveled to the capital to protest outside the MP. They denounced that the JOH regime favors the interest of Progelsa over their right to a intact environment.¹³² New hydroelectric projects loom in the south of Honduras¹³³ as well as in Santa Bárbara where the Santa Bárbara Environmental Movement (MAS) denounced the presence of 23 hydroelectric projects.¹³⁴

Corruption and Its Enemies

Some stalled corruption cases reappeared in the headlines again this month, as new ones joined them. Before addressing the main corruption cases, it is worthwhile highlighting further news items in this area, an area which costs Honduras some 20-30 billion Lempiras yearly.¹³⁵ The CNA informed about a new line of investigation involving the National Bank for Agrarian Development (Banadesa)¹³⁶ and an investigation into the public health sector involving some 300 people.¹³⁷ The same month, several former employees of the Health Secretariat were sentenced for corruption.¹³⁸

127 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/30/dictan-detencion-judicial-contra-defensor-del-bajo-aguan/>

128 <http://www.ciprodeh.org.hn/index.php/noticias-principales/433/llamado-al-respeto-a-los-derechos-humanos-de-pobladores-y-pobladoras-de-la-comunidad-del-transito-nacome-valle>

129 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn/ratifican-como-territorio-libre-de-proyectos-extractivos-a-nueva-frontera-santa-barbara/>

130 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn/a-traves-de-consulta-ciudadana-el-triunfo-choluteca-decidira-sobre-concesiones-mineras/>

131 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/sistema-de-justicia-busca-inhabilitar-la-reclamacion-de-derechos-bertha-oliva/>

132 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/12/pobladores-de-reitoca-exigen-al-ministerio-publico-explique-favoritismo-hacia-empresa/>

133 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/la-amenaza-de-represar-rios-sin-consultar-a-los-lencas-persiste-en-el-departamento-de-la-paz/>

134 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2355-empresas-hidroelectricas-llegan-a-santa-barbara-a-instalarse-como-mafias>

135 <https://tiempo.hn/entre-20-y-30-mil-millones-de-lempiras-pierde-honduras-por-la-corrupcion-segun-cna/>

136 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/3060-cna-expone-desfalco-en-banadesa-por-37-millones>

137 <http://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/cna-mas-de-300-personas-conforman-red-de-corrupcion-en-salud.html>

138 <https://confidencialhn.com/condenan-a-exfuncionarios-de-salud-por-entregar-becas-de-manera-irregular/>

ConfidencialHN published additional information about irregularities regarding the funds administered by the former bishop Juan José Pineda.^{139 140}

On November 12, El Heraldo revealed several instances when people illegally got access to the data base of the RNP. In once case, the US embassy in Honduras illegally got access.¹⁴¹ Just a day later, ConfidencialHN published further irregularities at the RNP.¹⁴² The same week, the fifth MACCIH report was made accessible to the public.¹⁴³ It looks at the period of April 19 to October 19, 2018. The MACCIH recommended depoliticizing the MP and the Judicial Power as well as strengthening UFECIC.¹⁴⁴ Just this MP and its head were in the headlines, when civil society organizations demanded from the Attorney General Óscar Chinchilla that he informed about emblematic corruption cases as well as unresolved assassinations.¹⁴⁵ In a TV interview, Chinchilla said that the MP would soon present new corruption cases.¹⁴⁶

At the end of November, the CNA handed over "hundreds of files regarding presumed acts of corruptions by high-level state officials" to UFECIC.¹⁴⁷ A day later, they informed further about their investigations into the public health sector.¹⁴⁸ On November 29, MACCIH's head Luiz Marrey Guimaraes made one of his rare public appearances.¹⁴⁹ He informed that they are working on eleven new corruption cases.¹⁵⁰

The Onslaught against the Anti-Corruption Bodies

A new legal tool that increasingly is used in Honduras to stop reporting on corruption cases is the law of presumed innocence. Honduran journalist demanded this month the creation of a commission to clarify the contradictions between this law and the access to public information and free expression.¹⁵¹ The MACCIH had its legitimacy questioned this month by Pepe Lobo: "In the political sphere things will start to heat up and suddenly an organization that comes with the spirit of helping will get entangled in a political campaign"¹⁵². Congress also attempted once more to shield itself from corruption investigations.¹⁵³ The head of the National Party Mario Pérez, wanted to change Article 218 of the Constitution giving more power to Congress by withdrawing the right of the president to veto laws.¹⁵⁴ Gabriela Castellanos, director of the CNA, labeled Congress as "an

139 <https://confidencialhn.com/fideicomiso-administrado-por-exobispo-pineda-le-dejo-jugosos-intereses-que-no-declaro/>

140 <https://confidencialhn.com/obispo-juan-jose-pineda-dilapido-dinero-en-amantes-autos-motos-y-propiedades/>

141 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1233143-466/funcionario-del-registro-nacional-de-las-personas-dio-base-de-datos-a>

142 <https://confidencialhn.com/rmp-vendio-bases-de-datos-confidenciales-a-empresas-de-telefonía-y-sistema-financiero/>

143 <https://www.oas.org/documents/spa/press/Quinto-Informe-Semestral-MACCIH-Oct-2018-ESP.pdf>

144 <https://tiempo.hn/maccih-quinto-informe-despolitizacion-mp-poder-judicial/>

145 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/18/exigen-a-fiscal-general-informar-sobre-casos-emblematicos/>

146 <http://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/lucha-contra-el-crimen-no-se-detiene-fiscal-chinchilla.html>

147 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1237469-466/honduras-el-cna-entrega-documentos-a-la-ufecic>

148 <https://tiempo.hn/cna-crisis-sanitaria-se-agudizara-en-2019-pide-ser-parte-de-reestructuracion-en-salud/>

149 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1238101-466/luiz-marrey-la-maccih-no-ser%C3%A1-instrumento-de-luchas-pol%C3%ADticas>

150 <https://tiempo.hn/maccih-once-casos-corrupcion-honduras/>

151 <http://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/crearan-comision-para-aclarar-confusiones-entre-presuncion-de-inocencia-y-libre-acceso-a-la-informacion.html>

152 <http://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/pepe-lobo-critica-que-solo-se-senalan-actos-de-corrupcion-en-su-gestion-presidencial.html>

153 <https://confidencialhn.com/advierten-nueva-jugada-de-diputados-para-blindarse-de-sanciones-por-corrupcion/>

154 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/22/diputados-nacionalistas-buscan-blindarse-quitando-el-veto-al-presidente/>

impunity creating monster".¹⁵⁵ After a wave of criticism, Pérez withdrew the bill.¹⁵⁶ An article by Pasos de Animal Grande at the end of the month highlighted the nefarious role of Congress in producing laws to protect themselves and other state functionaries from corruption investigations.¹⁵⁷

The Pandora Case

After weeks of silence, the Pandora corruption case found its way back into the headlines. On November 23, the director of two of the highlighted foundations, Fernando Josué Suárez Ramírez, was arrested.¹⁵⁸ Omar Menjívar, his lawyer, made public that Suárez confessed in court that JOH and his deceased sister were the heads behind the corruption case. In the words of Menjívar: "What happened was the result of the decision, planning, execution, supervision of a criminal organization that unfortunately is the one that directs the State of Honduras and that criminal organization had an executive direction and that executive direction was exercised by none other than Hilda Hernández, by delegation, knowledge of the current president of the Republic. They are the leaders of this."¹⁵⁹ JOH demanded proof and appeals to the assumption of innocence.¹⁶⁰ Suárez, meanwhile, remained in custody at ATIC, not in a prison for security reasons.¹⁶¹ In an interview with Radio Progreso, Omar Menjívar presented further details about the case.¹⁶² According to him, the MP has all the proof in its possession to prosecute JOH.¹⁶³

The Caja Chica del Hermano Case

On November 5, the MACCIH and UFECIC presented¹⁶⁴ its newest investigation involving the former secretary of the financial presidential affairs, Wilfredo Cerrato, and the brother of the former president Porfirio Lobo, Ramón Lobo Sosa.¹⁶⁵ They were accused of stealing more than 8 million Lempiras in what has been dubbed the "Caja Chica del Hermano" case.¹⁶⁶ The president of the National Party, Reinaldo Sánchez, immediately came to their defense.¹⁶⁷ Ramón Lobo's defense team offered to pay 26 million Lempiras to have the charges against him dropped.¹⁶⁸ The court rejected this and trial was opened against both men. For the time being, the got house arrest.¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰

155 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/22/congreso-nacional-es-un-monstruo-creando-impunidad-gabriela-castellanos/>

156 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1236169-466/congreso-nacional-retira-intento-para-que-no-se-sancionen-interpretaciones-a-leves>

157 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/investigaciones/item/2340-congreso-nacional-la-maquila-de-leyes-anti-derechos-y-de-proteccion-de-los-corrutos>

158 <https://tiempo.hn/detencion-judicial-decretan-contras-implicado-en-caso-pandora/>

159 <http://www.hondurastierralibre.com/2018/11/actor-clave-en-caso-pandora-declara-que.html>

160 <https://tiempo.hn/joh-responde-a-senalamientos-hechos-por-abogado-de-implicado-en-caso-pandora/>

161 <http://www.latribuna.hn/2018/11/25/testigo-clave-de-pandora-guardara-prision-en-las-celdas-de-la-atic/>

162 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn/caso-pandora-demuestra-que-el-pais-lo-gobierna-una-organizacion-criminal-senala-abogado-omar-menjivar/>

163 <https://tiempo.hn/omar-menjivar-ufecic-tiene-todos-los-elementos-para-proceder-contras-joh/>

164 <https://www.facebook.com/OEAMACCIH/videos/vb.575386339332629/595296144224057/>

165 <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/brief/corruption-former-honduras-president/>

166 https://www.oas.org/es/centro_noticias/comunicado_prensa.asp?sCodigo=C-067/18

167 <http://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/se-les-debe-de-respetar-el-derecho-a-la-legitima-defensa-dice-reinaldo-sanchez.html>

168 <https://tiempo.hn/unos-1-26-millones-ofrecio-defensa-de-ramon-lobo-para-que-este-salga-en-libertad/>

169 <https://tiempo.hn/auto-de-formal-procesamiento-wilfredo-cerrato-ramon-lobo/>

170 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/13/dictan-arresto-domiciliario-a-hermano-de-pepe-lobo-y-al-exadministrador-de-casa-presidencial/>

Before the trial could even start, a controversy broke out regarding the sitting judge José Olivo Rodríguez. He had previously been accused of corruption and the CNA denounced a possible conflict of interest as his case had not been resolved.¹⁷¹ On November 14, Reporteros de Investigación criticized that the MACCIH had failed up to that point to comment on the nomination of Rodríguez.¹⁷²

Pepe Lobo reacted to this newest corruption case involving his family and his government by accusing the MACCIH of collusion with the JOH regime as they so seem to concentrate their efforts on the past government and not the current one.^{173 174} In a press conference, JOH did not react to the accusations, but rather reiterated that nobody is above the law.¹⁷⁵ By the end of November, the list of accusations against the two accused had grown further.¹⁷⁶ Again, Pepe Lobo appeared in the press denouncing a campaign against the National Party and its leaders.¹⁷⁷

The Case against the Former First Lady Rosa Elena de Lobo

In November the process against Rosa Elena de Lobo continued with the evidentiary hearing.^{178 179} The trial date was set for January 21, 2019 and it will take until February 18.¹⁸⁰ For the third time already, a judge denied to lift her pre-trial detention.¹⁸¹

The IHSS Case

The IHSS corruption case, also known as "The Leviathan of Corruption in Honduras"¹⁸², did not see much progress this month. One exception was that the Supreme Court rejected an appeal by the company COSEM, which is one of the companies held responsible for the money laundering.¹⁸³

The Case against Congresswo/men

On November 19, UFECIC and the MACCIH initiated the prosecution of congresswo/men Antonio Cesar Rivera and Sara Ismela Medina Galo, both from the National Party, in the so-called Impunity Pact case.¹⁸⁴ It goes back to a controversial change to the law regulating the budget on January 18 this year which aimed to protect corrupt officials from investigations. The accused claim their innocence.¹⁸⁵ Two more congressmen had been accused in the Impunity Pact case, but last month a

171 <https://tiempo.hn/jose-olivio-rodriguez-juetz/>

172 <https://reporterosdeinvestigacion.com/2018/11/14/magistrado-denunciado-por-corrupcion-ante-oea-maccih-juzga-caso-caja-chica-del-hermano/>

173 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/13/pepe-lobo-acusa-a-la-maccih-de-estar-coludida-con-el-gobierno-de-herandez/>

174 <http://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/acusacion-contrami-hermano-es-un-show-para-tapar-grandes-casos-de-corrupcion-porfirio-lobo-sosa.html>

175 <https://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/1233816-410/-juan-orlando-herandez-pepe-lobo-lamenta-incomodos-ramon-lobo-corrupcion-expresidente->

176 <https://tiempo.hn/delitos-de-fraude-y-malversacion-de-caudales-publicos/>

177 <https://radiohm.hn/2018/11/20/es-preocupante-lo-que-estamos-viviendo-a-todos-los-lideres-del-pn-lobo-sosa/>

178 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1233437-466/presentan-69-medios-de-prueba-en-contra-de-ex-primera-dama>

179 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1234120-466/rosa-elena-de-lobo-y-su-defensa-analizan-pruebas-halladas-en-su>

180 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1237181-466/programan-para-el-21-de-enero-el-juicio-contr-ex-primera-dama>

181 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1236158-466/jueces-le-niegan-una-vez-m%C3%A1s-la-libertad-a-rosa-elena-bonilla>

182 <https://confidencialhn.com/yo-tengo-poder-reinaldo-ekonomo-el-otro-padrino-del-mega fraude-al-ihss/>

183 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1230046-466/deniegan-recurso-a-favor-de-los-tetos-en-el-caso-del-ihss>

184 https://www.oas.org/es/centro_noticias/comunicado_prensa.asp?sCodigo=C-070/18

185 <https://tiempo.hn/nacionalistas-aseguran-que-el-mp-actua-de-forma-errada-en-caso-fe-de-erratas/>

judge dropped the charges against José Tomás Zambrano while maintaining them against Román Villeda. On November 12, another court confirmed this decision.¹⁸⁶

The Departmental Funds

Five months ago, Congress abolished the departmental funds which congresswo/men used for "social projects" due to numerous corruption allegations highlighted in the Red de Diputados corruption case. On November 8, they voted in favor of reintroducing the fund again.¹⁸⁷ This decision was greeted by widespread criticism.¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ Libre published a press release explaining why they had voted in favor of the reintroduction.¹⁹⁰ The funds had initially been introduced by Manuela Zelaya in 2006 and were administered by the Finance Secretariat and the Secretariat of the National Congress. In 2014, control was transferred to the executive power, i.e. JOH. Libre denounced that starting from this moment, there was no more oversight. According to them, the newly approved bill would take away the departmental funds from the executive power and increase oversight. Claudia Mendoza challenged this narrative. While she agreed that the transparency of the use of the funds deteriorated under JOH, transparency had not been great before either and it cannot be guaranteed with the new bill.¹⁹¹

The new fund was equipped with a 400 million Lempiras budget, over 3 million per congresswo/men.¹⁹² But according to the Finance Minister Rocío Tábora, the fund is not part of the 2019 budget.¹⁹³ As the month concluded, the fate of the fund remained unclear. Radio Progreso believes that the public outcry after its reintroduction led Nationalist congresswo/men to claim that the funds had not been approved. But in reality, the fund has never really disappeared and remains in the hands of the executive.¹⁹⁴

State Security Forces

This month, Honduras commemorated the victims of the post-electoral repression that started after the electoral fraud on November 26, 2017. Before closing in on this, its it worthwhile highlighting further events involving Honduras' state security forces.

On November 2, two members of the Military Police were detained accused of a murder going back to 2016. Already last month, three police agents were involved in shooting at a car with five civilian passengers. At the beginning of November, the MP opened an investigation for attempted

186 <https://tiempo.hn/fe-de-erratas-tomas-zambrano/>

187 <https://confidencialhn.com/diputados-votan-masivamente-para-restaurar-fondo-departamental/>

188 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/09/en-medio-de-la-corrupcion-congreso-de-honduras-retoma-el-fondo-departamental-para-diputados/>

189 <http://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/cna-califica-de-corrupcion-la-reactivacion-de-fondos-departamentales-en-el-congreso-nacional.html>

190 <http://www.hondurastierralibre.com/2018/11/honduras-partido-libertad-y-refundacion.html>

191 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/11/los-diputados-de-honduras-y-la-reactivacion-de-su-propia-olla-de-corrupcion/>

192 <http://elpulso.hn/cp-678-11-2018/>

193 <http://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/fondo-departamental-no-esta-en-anteproyecto-que-envio-ejecutivo-ni-en-revision-que-se-esta-haciendo.html>

194 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn/fondo-social-departamental-no-fue-aprobado-dicen-diputados-oficialistas/>

homicide.¹⁹⁵ The three children that had been in the car were at that time still in a critical state.¹⁹⁶ Several more police agents were arrested this month, one for accidentally shooting someone believing his gun was not loaded¹⁹⁷, another one for illicit association and taking bribes.¹⁹⁸ But arrests are not sentences, as Defensores en Línea reiterated this month. They denounced that once more the trial again six members of the police force accused of illegally detaining and mistreating 24 people during a protest in 2009 had been suspended.¹⁹⁹

Ignoring these negative headlines, the JOH regime continued to increase budget for the Armed Forces. Next year, they will have an additional 571 million Lempiras, an increase of over 7%.²⁰⁰ The Armed Forces also received Israeli drones this month.²⁰¹ As in previous month, purged members of the National Police Force were reintegrated. A police official successfully proved that he had been illegally fired²⁰² and at the end of the month a judge decided that the dismissal of another police agent had been unlawful.²⁰³ Nevertheless, the mandate of the purging committee will be broadened starting next January.²⁰⁴

Post-Electoral Human Rights Violations

In preparation of the anniversary of the 2017 electoral fraud, Radio Progreso commented: "One year of electoral fraud, one year, and illegality won the battle, a whole project is being consolidated and imposed based on the use of armed force, the political support of interventionist governments such as the United States and thanks to the dark forces that move under the organized crime corridor. An alliance that seems unbreakable or difficult to undermine. (...) The truth is that the National Dialogue has been nothing more than an act of domestic entertainment and international gain for the nationalist government that has managed to capitalize on that act in presenting a better face to the international community."²⁰⁵

On the day of the anniversary, Hondurans took to the street and as a year before, they were greeted with violence. State security forces used tear gas and live bullets.²⁰⁶ Several citizens were wounded, among them the UNETV journalist Geovanny Sierra.²⁰⁷ He was shot at and had to be hospitalized.²⁰⁸ The Human Rights Secretary Karla Cueva announced an investigation.²⁰⁹ It has to be feared that this investigation won't lead to anything. The impunity of last year's assassinations by state security

195 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/3067-por-balazos-a-menores-policias-hondurenos-esperan-juicio-en-prision>

196 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/3067-por-balazos-a-menores-policias-hondurenos-esperan-juicio-en-prision>

197 <https://confidencialhn.com/capturan-tres-personas-por-muerte-de-ciudadano-uno-de-ellos-es-policia/>

198 <https://tiempo.hn/encarcelan-a-policia-vinculado-a-banda-que-cobra-sobornos-a-ganaderos-surenos/>

199 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/apoderados-legales-de-policias-acusados-siguen-dilatando-el-proceso-en-el-caso-del-12-de-agosto/>

200 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1237507-466/el-presupuesto-de-defensa-subir%C3%A1-571-millones-de-lempiras>

201 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/3080-esta-semana-ejercito-hondureno-recibe-drones-comprados-a-israel>

202 <https://confidencialhn.com/golpe-a-omar-rivera-y-alberto-solorzano-reintegran-a-policia-depurado-en-2016/>

203 <https://confidencialhn.com/justicia-ordena-reintegrar-a-policia-destituído-por-la-junta-depuradora/>

204 <https://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/1237147-410/-funciones-comision-depuradora-polic%C3%ADa-nacional-honduras->

205 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn.net/camino-a-mas-crisis-24-de-noviembre-2018/>

206 <http://www.conexihon.hn/index.php/libertad-de-expresion/878-con-gas-y-balas-atacan-a-manifestacion-popular-a-un-ano-de-proceso-electoral>

207 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2350-represion-policia-a-manifestacion-deja-un-periodista-y-promotor-cultural-heridos>

208 <https://tiempo.hn/hieren-a-reconocido-periodista-durante-enfrentamiento-violento-en-manifestacion-de-libre/>

209 <https://confidencialhn.com/anuncian-investigacion-de-disturbios-entre-manifestantes-y-fuerza-publica/>

forces at least does not bode well. In an article on the violence of 2017, Sandra Cuffe presents it as a source of Honduran migration²¹⁰ (see also migration section below).

Repressions

Apart from the repression by state security forces on the anniversary of the electoral fraud (see above), the JOH regime repressed its people on various instances this month. On November 12, workers of the municipal crematory of La Ceiba were repressed by the police when they dared demanding their outstanding wages.²¹¹ On November 21, state security members violently repressed a protest in Choluteca against Congress and its president who comes from the region.²¹² At this time, Congress held sessions in the city as part of its "Mobile Congress" program. CIPRODEH denounced that an 18-year old protester was shot in the foot by a soldier.²¹³ Journalists once more were especially targeted (see also the section on journalists above). C-Libre condemned the use of tear gas against the journalist Mauricio Rivera during a live-transmission during the protest²¹⁴ and Pasos de Animal Grande reported on attacks against the journalist Elizabeth Zúniga.²¹⁵ The local priest Héctor Osorto denounced that he was being shot at when trying to speak at the protest.²¹⁶

Penitentiary System

All in all, there have already been 22 occasions when prisoners were moved from one to another prison. Two such transfers took also place this month and in total, some 1100 inmates were transferred.^{217 218} On November 19, JOH announced the creation of another special force, the National Force for the Control of the Penitentiaries (FNCCP).²¹⁹

Militarization

Honduras has been criticized on various occasion on the international stage for its militarization program for children called Guards of the Fatherland. The JOH regime ignored the criticism and by this month, over 9000 Honduran children had already participated in the program.²²⁰

210 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/11/hondurans-continue-flee-year-post-election-crackdown-181126132856413.html>

211 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/12/gasean-a-trabajadores-del-crematorio-de-la-ceiba-que-exigen-pagos-de-salarios-atrasados/>

212 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/21/militares-habrian-herido-de-bala-a-joven-durante-protesta-en-choluteca/>

213 <https://tiempo.hn/personas-heridas-deja-enfrentamiento-entre-manifestantes-y-policias-en-choluteca/>

214 <http://www.clibrehonduras.com/index.php/alertas/agresion-fisica/927-militares-lanzan-bombas-lacrimogenas-a-periodista-en-trasmision-en-vivo>

215 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2344-ardio-choluteca-una-periodista-un-diputado-y-una-mujer-embarazada-fueron-atacados-por-la-policia>

216 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2343-heridos-y-golpeados-en-segundo-dia-de-protesta-en-choluteca-mientras-pastor-denuncia-que-policia-le-disparo-bala-viva>

217 <https://confidencialhn.com/1rebican-presos-de-el-pozo-en-carcel-de-tamara/>

218 <http://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/trasladan-a-93-privados-de-libertad-de-varias-carceles-hacia-la-tolva.html>

219 <https://confidencialhn.com/crean-fuerza-nacional-de-control-de-centros-penitenciarios/>

220 <http://www.latribuna.hn/2018/11/17/mas-de-9000-menores-ahora-son-guardianes-de-la-patria/>

International Community

In the five years in power, the JOH regime received some \$30 millions through Japanese international cooperation. El Heraldo interviewed its ambassador Norio Fukuta.²²¹

US

November started with new accusation by the Trump administration against the JOH regime saying that millions of dollars have been sent to Honduras which probably were stolen due to the lack of results.^{222 223} The JOH regime asked the Trump administration to publicly rectify its statement.²²⁴ According to them, they do not administer the money, but rather the US embassy and USAID do.²²⁵ The former Attorney General Edmundo Orellana stated that “[b]eyond what is manifestly a transgression of the most elementary norms of diplomacy, Trump's denunciation places the Honduran government, which he has highlighted in his accusation, in a very uncomfortable position before the world and in risk that the dreaded Magnitsky Law will be applied to its highest officials.”²²⁶

Just a day later, Criterio made public that Honduras failed for the ninth consecutive time to access the Millennium Challenge Account funds.²²⁷ Criterio further consulted various economists to estimate the loss to the Hondurans people due to the two Nationalist governments failure to access the Millennium Challenge Account. They guessed that Hondurans lost out some \$750 millions so far and more would be added to this sum in the years to come.²²⁸ Natalie Roque Sandoval presented a different reading on Trump's threats to cut US aid to Honduras: "We live in a huge tragedy and it is partly thanks to US aid. While some US aid also has come with a more palliative character, nevertheless, compared to the damage caused, it is a band aid on massive wounds. And the corrupted governments steal a great deal (That is correctly stated by Trump). It is necessary to make a balance and compare the numbers. However, I still think that there is no “aid” that can pay back the many blows and so much spilled blood.”²²⁹

Good news for Hondurans living in the US came from a federal appeals court in California. It blocked the Trump administration from immediately terminating an Obama-era program protecting from deportation young immigrants brought illegally to the US as children.²³⁰ It would only be fair if Hondurans pushed out of their home country by US foreign policies may stay in the US. The Miami Herald agrees, as it “found that the political violence in Honduras, which has contributed to an exodus of migrants, was sometimes carried out with U.S.-made weapons used by the

221 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1232800-466/jap%C3%B3n-ha-donado-30-millones-de-d%C3%B3lares-en-los-%C3%BAltimos-cinco-a%C3%B1os>

222 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/05/donald-trump-acusa-al-gobierno-de-honduras-de-robarse-fondos-donados-por-ee-uu/>

223 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn.net/acusacion-de-trump-siembradudas-sobre-continuidad-de-apoyo-al-gobierno-de-joh/>

224 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/05/gobierno-de-honduras-pide-a-trump-que-rectifique-su-acusacion-sobre-robo-de-fondos/>

225 <http://www.proceso.hn/economia/6-economia/honduras-no-administra-un-solo-dolar-de-la-ayuda-de-eeuu-ministra-de-finanzas.html>

226 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/06/la-acusacion-de-trump/>

227 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/05/gobierno-de-joh-aplazado-de-nuevo-en-la-cuenta-del-milenio/>

228 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/06/honduras-ha-perdido-750-millones-de-cuenta-del-milenio-por-corrupcion-gobiernos-nacionalistas/>

229 <http://www.alainet.org/es/articulo/196523>

230 <https://www.npr.org/2018/11/08/665916995/federal-appeals-court-deals-trump-another-setback-on-daca?t=1541828329326>

government's paramilitary force. The Honduran military police should not possess U.S.-made rifles sold under private arms licensing agreements, according to the State Department"²³¹. This is also the view of Dana Frank, whose new book on Honduran-US-Relations was published this month. "When you read the interviews or the mainstream news reports about why the migrants in the caravan are fleeing, they will say, "Well, they are fleeing gangs and violence and poverty." And that's true, but what's missing from that narrative is where the gangs and violence and poverty come from. It's not a natural disaster. It's actually the result of the deliberate policies of this government that came to the successive post—what we call the post-regime governments that came to power in the aftermath of the coup, most recently the illegal government of Juan Orlando Hernández. (...) So it is not just random violence. It is a U.S.-backed regime that is in cahoots with this. For example, a lot of people are fleeing gangs, or small business people are—their businesses are being destroyed by gang taxes. The police are very much cooperating with the gangs in extracting those kinds of so-called war taxes that the gang members charge. So it is this lawlessness that then opens the door for this kind of terror that people are fleeing, and the government is very much part of that terror."²³²

Also in November, ConfidencialHN presented the plans for the new US embassy which should start being built at the end of this year and be ready for 2022.²³³ It's current highest-ranking occupant, the chargé d'affaires Heide Fulton was criticized by Radio Progreso this month. After remarks by her backing-up the JOH regime, Radio Progreso challenged her: "It must be quite complicated to be trying to sustain the image of an unconstitutional, corrupt, mythomaniac government expelling its own people. With all the strategies and huge investments made, your bosses say the opposite of what you do in Honduras. As asked a few months ago: do you get paid for lying?"²³⁴ Fulton also did not play a praise-worthy role when she lauded the MP for the verdict in the Berta Cáceres case without mentioning the manifold irregularities nor the lack of investigation into the intellectual authorship.²³⁵

EU

The EU made headlines once this month in Honduras, when the spokesperson of the EU's Foreign Secretary Federica Mogherini published a press release on the Berta Cáceres case (see section above).²³⁶

Drug Trafficking

One drug trafficking-related case overshadowed everything this month, the arrest of JOH's brother Tony Hernández in the US (see next sub-section). Other Honduran drug traffickers joined him in the US this month or are expected to do so soon. On November 6, another suspected member of the

231 <https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/article221908900.html>

232 https://www.democracynow.org/2018/11/28/it_is_not_a_natural_disaster

233 <https://confidencialhn.com/asi-sera-la-nueva-embajada-de-ee-uu-en-honduras/>

234 <http://wp.radioprogreso.net/a-usted-le-pagan-por-mentir-09-de-noviembre-2018/>

235 <https://twitter.com/USAmbHonduras/status/1068339810849484800>

236 https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/54301/statement-spokesperson-trial-those-accused-murder-honduran-human-rights-defender-berta-caceres_en

Valle drug cartel was extradited to the US.²³⁷ A few days later, José Miguel Handal “Chepito” and his wife Ena Elizabeth Hernández were sentenced to 17 and 16 years in prison for money laundering. It is expected that Chepito will soon be extradited to the US for further questioning.²³⁸ At that time, Joaquín "El Chapo" Guzmán was already facing trial in the US.²³⁹ On the second day of the trial, information pertinent to Honduras came to light. Guzmán's lawyer testified that a witness already in the hands of the US had sent to kill a Honduran public prosecutor and he was also involved in an assassination plan of a former Honduran president.²⁴⁰ The lawyer also testified that bribes were paid to a Honduran president.²⁴¹ Manuel Zelaya immediately demanded the extradition of the witness.²⁴²

The Arrest of Tony Hernández

Up to late November, it was mostly the former president, Porfirio Lobo, who made headlines with arrested relatives (his wife, his son and his brother). But this changed on November 23 when Juan Antonio "Tony" Hernández was arrested in Miami for "conspiring to import cocaine".²⁴³ JOH's office issued a statement confirming the arrest and reiterating previous remarks from JOH that the accused deserve the presumption of innocence, but that no man is above the law.²⁴⁴ He also recognized that the arrest is a severe blow for him and his family.²⁴⁵ The arrest went back to statements made by the head of the Los Cachiros drug cartel Devis Leonel Rivera Madariaga in March in a New York court.²⁴⁶

Press releases by both the DEA²⁴⁷ and the Department of Justice²⁴⁸ highlighted the scope of Hernández' drug trafficking activities. The DEA wrote that "[a]s stated in the unsealed indictment resulting from DEA's investigation, from at least in or about 2004, up to and including in or about 2016, multiple drug-trafficking organizations in Honduras and elsewhere worked together, and with support from certain prominent public and private individuals. These included Honduran politicians and law enforcement officials, who received multi-ton loads of cocaine sent to Honduras from, among other places, Colombia via air and maritime routes, in order to transport the drugs westward in Honduras toward the border with Guatemala and eventually to the United States. For protection from official interference, and in order to facilitate the safe passage through Honduras of multi-hundred-kilogram loads of cocaine, drug traffickers paid bribes to public officials, including certain members of the National Congress of Honduras, according to DEA's investigation."²⁴⁹

237 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/3074-extraditan-a-hondureno-vinculado-cartel-de-hermanos-valle>

238 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/3082-honduras-17-anos-de-carcel-a-chepito-handal-por-lavado-de-activos-y-16-a-esposa>

239 <http://elpulso.hn/el-control-del-chapo-en-honduras/>

240 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/15/abogado-de-el-chapo-declara-que-narco-colombiano-mando-a-matar-a-fiscal-hondureno/>

241 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/15/revelan-en-corte-de-nueva-york-que-cartel-de-sinaloa-pago-soborno-a-un-presidente-de-honduras/>

242 <https://tiempo.hn/mel-zelaya-ee-uu-debe-extraditar-a-todos-los-mencionados-en-juicio-del-chapo-guzman/>

243 <https://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/miami-dade/article222118275.html>

244 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/3094-gobierno-hondureno-pide-respetar-derechos-de-hermano-del-gobernante-detenido-en-ee-uu-por-presunta-narcoactividad>

245 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/23/herandez-reconoce-que-captura-de-su-hermano-es-un-duro-golpe-para-el/>

246 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/23/jefe-de-los-cachiros-delato-a-tony-herandez-en-corte-de-nueva-york/>

247 <https://www.dea.gov/press-releases/2018/11/26/dea-announces-arrest-former-honduran-congressman-and-brother-current>

248 <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/former-honduran-congressman-and-brother-current-president-honduras-charged-conspiring>

249 <https://www.dea.gov/press-releases/2018/11/26/dea-announces-arrest-former-honduran-congressman-and-brother-current>

The former army captain Santos Rodríguez Orellano publicly stated that there are a lot more powerful people linked to drug trafficking in Honduras, especially in the Armed Forces.²⁵⁰ They reacted with a press release, demanding proof.²⁵¹ Shortly afterwards, Rodríguez Orellano denounced that his family had received threats.²⁵²

Sociologist Pablo Carías emphasized that Tony Hernández' arrest further highlighted incapacity of Honduras' judicial system to go after narco-politicians.²⁵³ On November 26, Tony Hernández appeared in court for the first time.²⁵⁴ The judge had previously ordered his transfer from Miami to New York.²⁵⁵ His lawyer announced that Hernández will plead not guilty.²⁵⁶ Meanwhile back home, Libre was silenced in Congress when demanding the creation of special committee to investigate the case of Tony Hernández, i.e. why the Honduran judicial system did not investigate him.²⁵⁷

Varia

Migration

A month has passed since the first migrant caravan took off from San Pedro Sula to the US. While the topic occupied headlines in Honduras, the region and to some extent the US in October, this changed this month, especially in the US after the mid-term elections on November 6. In Honduras, press coverage mainly focused on the push factors, e.g. Radio Progreso²⁵⁸ as well as Avispa Midia²⁵⁹ on the extractive economic model, and the responses by the JOH regime. FOSDEH, for example, highlighted the weaknesses of the proposed plans by JOH to bolster the economy as a response to the migrant crisis.²⁶⁰ Trying to cover up its failures, the JOH regime also continued to launch new attacks against the non-existing organizers of the caravan. Just as in October, he announced another investigation.²⁶¹

The migrants, meanwhile, continued on their path and they arrived in the Mexican state of Veracruz on November 1.²⁶² There they split up in various groups after the mayor of Veracruz did not come through with a promise to offer them buses to Mexico City.²⁶³ On November 5, first groups arrived

250 <http://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/existen-generales-de-las-ffaa-ligados-al-narcotrafico-dice-exoficial-rodriguez-orellana.html>

251 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/26/ff-aa-exige-a-rodriguez-orellana-que-pruebe-que-hay-colusion-con-el-narcotrafico-y-corrupcion/>

252 <https://confidencialhn.com/desconocidos-intimidan-a-familia-del-capitan-hondureno-rodriguez/>

253 <https://radiohm.hn/2018/11/24/analistas-sobre-caso-tony-hermandez-justicia-hondurena-ha-sido-incapaz-de-intervenir-narco-politica/>

254 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/inicio/1236911-465/tony-herm%C3%A1ndez-conocer%C3%A1-este-lunes-por-qu%C3%A9-lo-acusan-en-estados-unidos>

255 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/3102-juez-ordena-que-tony-hermandez-sea-procesado-en-new-york>

256 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/29/tony-hermandez-se-declarara-no-culpable-ante-corte-de-nueva-york/>

257 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/27/cn-niega-palabra-a-libre-para-interpelacion-a-joh-por-acusaciones-contra-su-hermano/>

258 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn.net/caravana-de-migrantes-la-integran-los-que-sufren-las-crisis-cotidianas-de-un-modelo-que-los-expulsa/>

259 <https://avispa.org/violencia-despojo-hambre-represion-honduras-y-las-razones-del-exodo-migrante-parte-3/>

260 <https://confidencialhn.com/estrategias-de-joh-para-reactivar-encomia-no-son-novedosas-prosigue-la-miseria/>

261 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/05/se-debe-investigar-y-castigar-con-severidad-a-quienes-promueven-la-migracion-juan-hermandez/>

262 <https://tiempo.hn/primera-caravana-de-migrantes-obtendra-ayuda-en-veracruz-mientras-que-la-cuarta-acaba-de-ingresar-a-mexico/>

263 <http://elpulso.hn/caravana-de-migrantes-centroamericanos-se-divide-en-veracruz/>

in Mexico City²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ and a day later, already some 4500 migrants were there.²⁶⁶ All in all, one month after the start, Criterio estimated that 10'000 people had left the Northern Triangle countries in at least five different caravans.²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸

On their way to the US border, the migrant caravans did not pass through the Mexican state of Tamaulipas, but they rather went through Tijuana. InSight Crime presented this as proof that “even such a large group remains vulnerable to powerful criminal organizations operating in Mexico”.²⁶⁹ The first group of some 1500 migrants arrived at the US border on November 14.²⁷⁰ In Tijuana, the migrants encountered a difficult situation facing a defamation and criminalization campaign from the Trump administration as well as from the mayor of Tijuana.²⁷¹ By late November, the number of migrants in Tijuana had reached 7400.²⁷² On November 25, tired after their exhausting journey and facing an unknown future waiting in Mexico, the migrants organized to protest at the US border. As a group tried to cross the border, they were repressed with tear gas and the US closed of one of the busiest ports along the US border with Mexico.²⁷³ Among the victims of the tear gas were young children.²⁷⁴ The UN reacted with a press release reminding the international community that “[m]igrants and other persons in mobility, such as refugees and asylum seekers, traveling in caravans from Central America towards Mexico and the United States of America deserve full respect of their human rights by all countries involved”.²⁷⁵

By October this year, the number of deported Hondurans had increased by 50% reaching 71'584.²⁷⁶

Extortion

About two years ago, extortion and the fight against it was regularly mentioned in Honduras' newspaper. This has decreased and one explanation is the failure of state policies to effectively improve the situation. An investigative report published by El Pulso this month seems to confirm this. "Despite millions invested in security, the creation and transformation of the bodies fighting crimes and hundreds of arrests, the main target which would eliminate this course has not been hit as thousands of Hondurans continue to suffer extortion on a daily basis, obliged to hand over their earnings, flee or even pay with their lives."²⁷⁷

²⁶⁴ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/05/migrant-caravan-latest-mexico-city-path-asylum-seekers>

²⁶⁵ <http://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/caravana-migrante-ya-es-multitud-en-ciudad-mexico-donde-aflora-solidaridad.html>

²⁶⁶ <http://elpulso.hn/migrantes-descansan-en-ciudad-de-mexico-algunos-disuadidos-por-hostilidad-de-ee-uu/>

²⁶⁷ <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/12/exodo-migratorio-centroamericano-debe-ser-reconocido-como-crisis-humanitaria/>

²⁶⁸ <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/13/cronologia-de-las-caravanas-de-migrantes-un-mes-de-su-partida/>

²⁶⁹ <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/brief/migrant-caravan-mexico-changes-course-dangers-still-lurk/>

²⁷⁰ <http://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/tijuana-se-apresta-para-albergar-durante-meses-a-migrantes-centroamericanos.html>

²⁷¹ <https://www.alainet.org/es/articulo/196653>

²⁷² https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/us-closes-major-crossing-as-caravan-migrants-mass-at-border-in-mexico/2018/11/25/f94aabe0-f0ea-11e8-99c2-cfca6f610c_story.html?utm_term=.f289479b7c2d

²⁷³ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2018/nov/26/tear-gas-and-trouble-migrants-meet-hostility-at-the-us-border-in-pictures>

²⁷⁴ <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/26/world/americas/tear-gas-migrant-children-photo.html>

²⁷⁵ <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=23941&LangID=E>

²⁷⁶ <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1236866-466/cifra-de-deportaciones-aument%C3%B3-un-50-este-a%C3%B1>

²⁷⁷ <http://elpulso.hn/la-extorsion-continua-atacando-a-comerciantes/>

Poverty

A new study by the Central American Fiscal Studies Institute (Icefi) criticized the tendency of the Honduran government "to prioritize spending for the payment of debt service and for other expenses based on the interests of politicians and the government of the day, to the detriment of social welfare".²⁷⁸ The outcome of such policies can also be seen in the high inequality levels in Honduras. Five men and their families possess \$8.6 billion, i.e. about the national budget of the whole country.²⁷⁹ At the other side of the wealth spectrum, the devaluation of the Lempira further impoverishes large groups of Hondurans.²⁸⁰

Education

Being a teacher is a dangerous job in Honduras. Already eight teachers have been murdered this year, 87 since 2009. CONADEH lists 54 cases in which teachers had to be transferred for suffering violence.²⁸¹

National Dialogue

November began with a unexpected announcement by Congress' president Mauricio Oliva. While previously opposing it, Oliva spoke out in favor for a popular consultation.²⁸² Right away it became clear that his version of a popular consultation was a very limited one, not corresponding to the demands of parts of the opposition of a constituent assembly.²⁸³ Ebal Díaz, JOH's presidential minister, took up Oliva's idea and proposed a to use the primary elections in 2021 to conduct a popular consultation on the presidential reelection.²⁸⁴ Radio Progreso posited that the real intention of the National Party is not want to ask the people if they are in favor or against the presidential reelection, rather they just want to use the consultation to regulate it and whitewash JOH's illegal reelection.²⁸⁵

On Friday November 16, the National Dialogue was supposed to end. Shortly before, the team of Salvador Nasralla claimed that no major agreement would be found by that time. At the same time, UN-representative Igor Garafulic still believed in the process and reiterated that there will be a draft bill for an amnesty for the political prisoners.²⁸⁶ And then Friday came and once more, the National Dialogue was prolonged. Accordingly, skepticism further grew about the potential of the dialogue.²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ The UN set November 26 as the new date in which five critical topics, among them

278 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/26/honduras-persigue-estabilidad-de-sus-finanzas-publicas-por-encima-de-las-necesidades-de-la-poblacion/>

279 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn.net/buscando-una-explicacion-a-la-violencia-en-honduras/>

280 <http://www.fosdeh.com/2018/11/boletin-de-prensa-devaluacion-continua-del-lempira-un-mecanismo-para-empobrecer/>

281 <http://expedientepublico.org/index.php/seguridad-y-violencia/114-la-peligrosa-labor-de-ser-docente-en-honduras>

282 <http://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/la-consulta-popular-es-la-unica-salida-que-nos-queda-para-superar-diferencias-dice-mauricio-oliva.html>

283 <http://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/ricardo-alvarez-apoya-consulta-pero-no-constituyente.html>

284 <http://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/consulta-popular-debe-hacerse-en-elecciones-primarias-sugiere-el-gobierno.html>

285 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn.net/propuesta-de-consulta-popular-busca-reglamentar-reeleccion/>

286 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn.net/sin-acuerdos-trascendentales-dialogo-politico-afirma-representacion-de-nasralla/>

287 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn.net/y-parieron-un-raton-14-de-noviembre-2018/>

288 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/16/de-dialogos-y-reformas-inconclusas/>

the fate of the political prisoners, would be further discussed.²⁸⁹ The areas in which agreements had been found were transferred for further discussions to Congress.^{290 291} On November 26, the participants of the dialogue failed to find common ground and at the end of the month.²⁹² Radio Progreso drew a preliminary conclusion about the dialogue. "Almost a year after these events, all the political forces participating in the dialogue and the population in general, have realized that this platform was useless, that it was a resounding failure and that the political crisis is more alive than ever, with a validated and consolidated fraud and with violators of human rights in freedom and in total impunity."²⁹³

Another of the main areas of the National Dialogue were electoral reforms. Already in previous months, the National Party sought to circumvent the dialogue to push forward their plans for electoral reform. This also happened in November, as Congress' Nationalist president Mauricio Oliva demanded a constitutional change to allow religious leaders to run for office.²⁹⁴ Libre rejected the idea denouncing that it violated the concept of the secular state.²⁹⁵

Public Health

In October, JOH nominated an intervention commission for the public health system. On November 6, its head Julieta Castellanos spoke for the first time to the media.²⁹⁶ Her nomination had been criticized as she would have to investigate the situation of the University Hospital, the same hospital she was responsible for as the dean of UNAH. The same day Castellanos spoke about her work, the Medical Association of Honduras (CMH) filed a complaint against her nomination.^{297 298} The CMH additionally questioned the report presented by her.²⁹⁹ Two weeks later, the Constitutional Chamber rejected the challenge.³⁰⁰ Before the month ended, JOH had announced another special commission, this time for the University Hospital itself.³⁰¹ He also announced to hand control of the University Hospital to the Health Secretariat.³⁰²

Reporteros de Investigación made public a number that further emphasizes the bad state of the Honduran public health system. Between 2013 and 2017, El Salvador's public hospital attended over 100'000 foreigners, 97% of which were from Honduras and Guatemala.³⁰³ The importance of the public health system in Honduras is further highlighted by the fact that an army official earns

289 <http://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/a-pausa-el-dialogo-con-cinco-temas-pendientes-y-se-preve-concluya-en-diciembre.html>

290 <http://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/temas-inconclusos-en-dialogo-politico-pasan-a-debate-al-mas-alto-nivel-senala-igor-garafulic.html>

291 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1234872-466/pol%C3%ADticos-a-favor-de-crear-tribunal-constitucional-en-honduras>

292 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1237168-466/honduras-otra-vez-el-di%C3%A1logo-pol%C3%ADtico-sin-acuerdos-sobre-temas-sensibles>

293 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn/dialogo-fracaso-porque-no-pudo-revertir-el-fraude-ni-castigar-a-violadores-de-derechos-humanos/>

294 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/21/mauricio-oliva-pide-reforma-constitucional-para-que-religiosos-opten-a-cargos-de-eleccion-popular/>

295 <https://tiempo.hn/mauricio-oliva-presenta-proyecto-para-que-pastores-y-ministro-de-fe-participen-en-politica/>

296 <https://confidencialhn.com/interventores-de-salud-denuncian-caos-en-red-hospitalaria-de-honduras/>

297 <https://tiempo.hn/presentan-ante-el-cna-formal-denuncia-por-irregularidades-cometidas-en-el-hospital-escuela/>

298 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/20/impugnan-ante-la-corte-la-creacion-de-comision-de-salud/>

299 <http://www.proceso.hn/mas-noticias/32-m%C3%A1s-noticias/colegio-medico-cuestiona-informe-de-comision-interventora-de-salud.html>

300 <https://confidencialhn.com/desestiman-recurso-que-pedia-anulacion-de-junta-interventora-sanitaria/>

301 <https://confidencialhn.com/hernandez-anuncia-intervencion-del-hospital-escuela-universitario/>

302 <https://confidencialhn.com/unah-traspasara-control-del-hospital-escuela-a-la-secretaria-de-salud/>

303 <https://reporterosdeinvestigacion.com/2018/11/19/caravana-invisible-de-honduras-hacia-hospitales-de-el-salvador-por-mejor-atencion/>

more than a doctor.³⁰⁴ On November 26, public health workers at the University Hospital (HEU) held a five-hour strike to highlight their difficult working conditions and unkept promises regarding the delivery of new medical equipment.³⁰⁵

Liberal Party

The situation at the Liberal Party further deteriorated this month. In mid-November, Luis Zelaya, the president of the Liberal Party, officially requested the expulsion of Elvin Santos, the head of the Liberal Party in Congress.³⁰⁶ On November 21, not only Santos, but 17 Liberal congresswo/men were expelled from the party.³⁰⁷ The congresswo/men in question had stirred anger by voting in favor of an intervention committee for the RNP) The expelled congresswo/men denounced the act as "illegal and arbitrary".³⁰⁸ They further denounced that Luis Zelaya were in cahoots with JOH. At the same time, there are voices in Honduras saying Luis Zelaya and Salvador Nasralla may form a new opposition party.³⁰⁹ The coming months may bring answers.

National Party³¹⁰

Additionally to the protests against the JOH regime (see first section of this monitor) and new corruption cases, the National Party also made headlines due to statements by its former president Porfirio "Pepe" Lobo. The National Party gathered this month, but not in Tegucigalpa, but in Gracias. Lobo accused JOH and the National Party of hiding from the public.³¹¹ During the gathering, the National Party approved an party-internal regulation of the presidential reelection, which would not allow JOH to run for a third time for president.³¹² This coincided with public statements by JOH announcing that the he won't run for public office again.³¹³

And Light at the End of a Month

November began with the rejection by the Supreme Court of the complaint by Billy Joya against Libre congressman Jorge Cáliz.³¹⁴ The latter made references on TV about Joya's role in founding the 3-16 Battalion, a death squad, in the 1980s. In a joint statement with human rights scholar Joaquín A. Mejía Rivera, Cáliz highlights the opportunity to demand justice for the crimes in the 80s that arose with the rejection of Joya's complaint.³¹⁵ For Radio Progreso, the rejection of his

304 <https://confidencialhn.com/militares-hondurenos-ganan-mas-que-un-medico-en-honduras-segun-fosdeh/>

305 <https://confidencialhn.com/trabajadores-del-hospital-escuela-paralizaran-labores-por-trabajar-en-nefastas-condiciones/>

306 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/15/luis-zelaya-pide-la-expulsion-de-elvin-santos-ante-tribunal-disciplinario-del-partido-liberal/>

307 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/22/partido-liberal-expulsa-de-sus-filas-a-17-diputados/>

308 <https://tiempo.hn/bancada-del-pl-califica-como-accion-arbitraria-de-luis-zelaya-expulsion-de-diputados/>

309 <https://tiempo.hn/elvin-santos-senala-luis-zelaya/>

310 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/26/desfile-de-mafias-cachurecas/>

311 <https://tiempo.hn/pepe-lobo-nacionalistas-quieren-esconderse/>

312 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1236423-466/honduras-nacionalistas-aprueban-que-se-regule-reelecci%C3%B3n>

313 <https://radiohm.hn/2018/11/24/job-ya-no-voy-aspirar-a-cargos-de-eleccion-popular/>

314 <http://www.proceso.hn/mas-noticias/32-m%C3%A1s-noticias/magistrado-no-admite-demanda-de-billy-joya-contradiputado-jorge-calix.html>

315 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/01/la-inadmisibilidad-de-la-querrela-de-billy-joya-contrajorge-calix-y-el-derecho-a-la-verdad-frente-a-los-crimenes-del-pasado/>



complaint represents a triumph of freedom of expression regarding past crimes.³¹⁶ There were also some good news on the Inter-American level. Criterio posits that with the compliance with the López Lone et al. case, the Honduran State recognized that a coup d'état took place in Honduras in 2009.³¹⁷ In this case, a Honduran judge and a magistrate recently were given back their positions in the Honduran judiciary, a position they had been illegally fired from after the coup.

316 <http://wp.radioprogreso.hn.net/un-triunfo-para-la-libertad-de-expresion-en-materia-de-crimenes-del-pasado/>

317 <https://criterio.hn/2018/11/20/con-sentencia-lopez-lone-y-otros-justicia-de-honduras-reconoce-que-en-el-2009-hubo-un-golpe-de-estado/>



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