

Another Month in Honduras...

Human Rights Monitor – June 2020

The JOH regime “intelligently” reopened its economy just as the COVID-19 cases grew at the fastest rate so far. Even the business community called for a slower approach and one week in, the JOH regime had to backtrack. Honduran health workers continue to do everything to avoid the worst, but suffered various blows this month. Several doctors and nurses died, over 1200 health workers have tested positive for COVID-19 so far and at the same time, they still need to hold protest to demand biosafety gear. At the same time, some 100 billion Lempiras approved by Congress to address the corona-crisis are unaccounted for. But as COVID-19 ravages Honduras, other human rights violations do not disappear. Five human rights defenders were murdered, the police illegally raided the house of a social leader and various journalists were harassed for their work. Eleven years after the coup d’état, its repercussions are still felt every day. 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
FPIC	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
TSC	Supreme Audit Court
UFERCO	Special Prosecuting Unit against Corruption Networks
UNAH	National Autonomous University of Honduras
ZEDE	Zone for Employment and Economic Development

The COVID-19 Crisis

As in the previous chapters on the corona crisis, it is worthwhile highlighting that Honduras also suffers from a dengue crisis. By mid-June, there were almost 14'000 dengue cases in the country¹, 21 suspected and 9 confirmed deaths.²

June started with 5362 COVID-19 cases and a death toll of 217.³ Over the month, Honduras increased its testing capacity to over 1000 tests per day, accordingly, the positive cases increased. But more than may have been feared as the positive test rate stayed at up to 50%. On June 11, 14 new lab technicians were hired and the president of the microbiologist of Honduras promised some 2000 tests per day.⁴ This promises was later repeated by the deputy health minister.⁵ While the timing of their promises was not kept, by the end of the month, there was one day where 2212 tests were conducted, but it decreased again below 2000 the next days. By the end of the month, COVID-19 reached all 18 departments of Honduras, Gracias a Dios having been the last holdout.⁶

June ended with 19'558 official COVID-19 cases and an official death toll of 497.⁷ Both numbers are contested. On June 22, Funeral homes have even registered 883 deaths following a COVID-19 protocol, more than double the official number at that time.⁸ ContraCorriente published an investigation into the under-reporting of corona deaths. They found 575 additional cases.⁹

State Reaction

The JOH regime extended the state of exception again this month. Additionally, people having tested positive for COVID-19 have to self-isolate now for 21 instead of 14 days.¹⁰

Up to June, the JOH regime had received hundreds of millions of dollars to address the corona-crisis. While the effects of these funds remain unseen in Honduras, this does not seem to stop the flow of money. On June 1, the IMF announced an increase in support to \$531 millions of which \$233 millions were immediately released.¹¹ Javier Suazo commented on the role of the IMF in Honduras. "Within that framework, the IMF quickly approved \$143 million for Honduras to deal with the pandemic, and decided to increase the credit to \$530 million. In this regard, a new agreement with this organization is urgently needed, together with contributions from economic and social actors, and an evaluation of the scope of the Fiscal Responsibility Law in order to propose reforms to it or its repeal. The concern is that this straitjacket will remain in place after the

1 <https://confidencialhn.com/honduras-reportan-casi-14-mil-casos-de-dengue-distrito-central-y-el-valle-de-sula-los-mas-afectados/>

2 <https://radiohm.hn/honduras-registra-13511-casos-de-dengue-y-21-fallecidos-en-lo-que-va-de->

3 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1383799-466/honduras-con-160-nuevos-infectados-covid-19-deja-217-muertos-y-5362-casos>

4 <https://radioprogreso.hn/instante/microbiologos-apuntan-a-realizar-dos-mil-pruebas-diarias-de-coronavirus/>

5 <https://tiempo.hn/salud-2-mil-pruebas-prc-diarias-realizaran-la-proxima-semana/>

6 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/gracias-a-dios-registra-su-primer-caso-confirmado-de-covid-19.html>

7 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1390679-466/confirman-casos-de-covid-19-total-sube-y-muertes>

8 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/especiales/coronavirus/1388636-528/coronavirus-muertos-honduras-funerarias>

9 <https://contracorriente.red/2020/06/26/asi-va-el-subregistro-de-muertes-por-covid19-en-el-interior-de-honduras/>

10 <https://tiempo.hn/salud-cuarentena-pacientes-covid-19-sera-21-dias/>

11 <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2020/06/01/pr20230-honduras-imf-execboard-completes-2nd-rev-under-sba-scf-arrange-approves-support-covid19>

pandemic without considering the ceilings required for public investment spending, and the incremental and sustainable amounts in the health and education budgets, as well as the incorporation of the CNA and independent social auditing for greater control of corruption and transparency in the management of state resources. Honduras cannot continue to apply economic adjustment policies when there is an absence of technical criteria for allocating resources and a clear manifestation of the population's rejection of social programs that use these resources for political-electoral purposes."¹²

June also saw more money coming from the BCIE, which approved another \$2.5 million credit line.¹³ Japan, the BID and Comisca donate \$331,500.¹⁴ South Korea donated medical gear worth \$300'000.¹⁵ The US has donated 50 ventilators worth almost \$1 million to the JOH regime.¹⁶ They also donated biosafety equipment to the police.¹⁷

Health Sector

The Honduran health sector went through a very intense month accompanied by calls for biosafety equipment for its staff and warnings about overburdened hospitals and a general collapse of the health system. The JOH regime, meanwhile, continued to play down the problem and promote the so-called Maíz treatment (see also last month). Suyapa Figueroa, president of the Honduran Medical Association, linked the promotion of this treatment with a will to open up the economy. "The idea that there is a magic medicine they want to use for the opening of the shops so that the population doesn't worry because Maíz exists and that Maíz can be distributed in an indiscriminate way in the whole population and that if you have at your hand these medicines don't worry."¹⁸

By the end of May, 350 doctors and 163 nurses had been infected with the corona virus by the end of May.¹⁹ This does not come as a surprise. "The employees of the Hospital Integrado in Tela, Atlántida, have denounced on Radio Progreso that they have to make their own nylon gowns and wash the masks to reuse them to protect themselves from Covid-19, in view of the abandonment by government authorities."²⁰ Due to lack of substantial support, some hospitals started setting up tents outside their buildings as triage centers.²¹

12 <https://www.alainet.org/es/articulo/206943>

13 <https://www.bcie.org/novedades/noticias/articulo/bcie-otorga-us25-millones-de-dolares-para-la-mipyme-hondurena-a-traves-de-la-fundacion-covelo>

14 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/japon-el-bid-y-comisca-donan-331-500-dolares-a-honduras-para-el-coronavirus.html>

15 <https://hondudiario.com/2020/06/18/corea-del-sur-dona-300-mil-dolares-en-insumos-para-atender-pandemia-de-covid-19-en-honduras/>

16 <https://twitter.com/usembassyhn/status/1276315088182480897>

17 <https://twitter.com/usembassyhn/status/1276184184260833281>

18 <https://criterio.hn/maiz-y-catracho-estran-siendo-utilizados-para-abrir-los-comercios/>

19 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/2037-honduras-muerte-de-microbiologo-prueba-colapso-en-sistema-sanitario>

20 <https://radioprogreso.hn/instante/autoridades-toman-represalias-contrapersonal-en-hospital-tela-integrado/>

21 <https://confidencialhn.com/hospital-escuela-habilita-carpas-para-atender-aumento-de-casos-sospechosos-del-coronavirus/>

Throughout the month, doctors^{22 23 24 25} and nurses^{26 27} died to COVID-19, the most egregious example of a failing health system and lack of government support in light of millions being given to Honduras supposedly to address the crisis. The Honduran Coalition of Doctors in Action asks for the resignation of the Secretary of Health Alba Consuelo Flores. "If she had any humility at all, she would have resigned from her post by now because she is not a doctor. She does not have the academic and technical preparation in the health area".²⁸

On June 9, El Herald and ConfidencialHN²⁹ published an eye witness report by a doctor on the collapsing Honduran medical system. "Heartbreaking and distressing is the audio of an internist leading the battle against covid-19 in Honduras, who for almost six minutes recounts the shortcomings she has witnessed in her shifts. (...) Listening to her words it is difficult not to cry with her in the face of the impotence experienced by the health personnel of the various hospitals authorized to treat coronavirus patients." These are the words chosen by El Herald, a newspaper outlet known to be close to the JOH regime.³⁰ But criticism is not well received in Honduras. The director of the University Hospital, Osmin Tovar, was dismissed from his post. Tovar had reported a lack of supplies and biosecurity equipment for the doctors and nurses at the hospital. He further denounced that they had not received any resources from the funds earmarked for the coronavirus pandemic.³¹ His firing led to protest by medical staff.³² Then, the Minister of Health, Alba Consuelo Flores, backtracked claiming that he had never been fired in the first place.³³ But just a few days later, the director of the Virology Laboratory, Engels Banegas Medina, resigned from his post. Officially due to personal reasons, but his resignation raises questions. El Tiempo reported that there were rumors that Engels had to resign from his position due to threats received.³⁴ Banegas previously complained that the laboratory survived thanks to the support of external aid in the absence of a state budget. According to reports from doctors, the laboratory has reached the limit of its capacity to quickly deliver tests during Covid-19, so much so that it is estimated that there are at some 4000 undelivered tests for the treatment of patients.³⁵

By mid-June, the number of infected nurses had risen to 270.³⁶ Radio América later reported that more than 800 health workers had tested positive.³⁷ And on June 29, based on official numbers by

22 <https://www.laprensa.hn/sanpedro/1384647-410/salud-muerte-reconocida-doctora-san-pedro-sula->

23 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1388041-466/muere-el-doctor-alexis-reyes-por-covid-19-en-san-pedro-sula>

24 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/2058-honduras-tres-medicos-mueren-por-covid-en-ultimas-24-horas-ya-suman-cinco>

25 <https://www.elpais.hn/2020/06/29/mueren-dos-destacadas-profesionales-de-la-salud-con-sospechas-de-covid-19/>

26 <https://tiempo.hn/enfermero-originario-de-la-masica-muere-por-sospecha-de-covid/>

27 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/fallece-por-covid-19-una-enfermera-en-el-progreso.html>

28 <https://tiempo.hn/coalicion-de-medicos-pide-renuncia-de-ministra-de-salud-no-tiene-la-capacidad/>

29 <https://confidencialhn.com/loran-porque-se-les-acaba-el-oxigeno-voy-a-renunciar-medico-narra-sufrimiento-de-pacientes-que-atende-en-el-ihss/>

30 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1385673-466/desgarrador-audio-doctora-hondurena-colapso-hospitales-coronavirus-pandemia>

31 <https://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/1385792-410/destituyen-director-hospital-escuela-tegucigalpa-osmin-tovar->

32 <https://confidencialhn.com/galenos-protestan-por-separacion-de-director-del-hospital-escuela-y-amenazan-con-renunciar/>

33 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/ministra-flores-desmiente-destitucion-del-director-de-hospital-escuela-y-dice-comision-investigara-denuncias.html>

34 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/2045-honduras-por-agentes-externos-renuncia-jefe-nacional-de-virologia>

35 <https://confidencialhn.com/microbiologos-afirman-que-no-se-han-procesado-cuatro-mil-pruebas-del-sars-cov2/>

36 <https://confidencialhn.com/a-270-asciende-cifra-de-enfermeras-auxiliares-contagiadas-del-coronavirus/>

37 <http://www.radioamerica.hn/mas-de-800-empleados-de-la-salud-se-han-contagiado-de-covid-19-confirma-presidente-de-aneeah/>

the Health Secretariat, El Heraldo reported that 1221 health workers had been infected.³⁸ At least 25 employees of the MP's morgue tested positive for COVID-19 because they have to work without biosafety equipment.³⁹ At that point, even the Secretary of Health recognized that the health systems in San Pedro Sula and the capital are unable to respond to the "flood of suspected coronavirus patients".⁴⁰ At the same time, the president of the National Association of Nurses and Auxiliary Nurses of Honduras (ANEEAH), Josué Orellana, announced the closure of several health centers, due to the spread of the coronavirus among health personnel.⁴¹

Human Rights

Social movements and human rights organizations published their 12th joint press release during the corona pandemic. "The weeks advance, as do the infections, and with a rhythm similar to that of official corruption and looting, violence, lies and domination that lay bare the collapse of the neoliberal capitalist model. In contrast, popular organization advances, social and collective consciousness grows, and hope increases, and the citizenry grows in historical coherence and commitment, which are expressed in unequivocal signs of breaking the fears of the criminal group that leads the State. In this scenario, the voices of the various social movements make themselves felt in this twelfth edition of our Public Manifesto".⁴²

IM-Defensoras published a report on women human rights defenders and the corona crisis highlighting that the crisis for many WHRDs precedes the global pandemic and further exacerbates it.⁴³ "The Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court of Justice rejected more than 20 appeals for protection lodged by human rights defenders last May to restore their right to defend human rights, which had been hindered by executive decrees under Covid19 that suspended constitutional guarantees, including the right to freedom of movement."⁴⁴ The International Forum on Human Rights in Honduras published a press release demanding a secure environment for human rights defenders to exercise their important work.⁴⁵

OACNUDH published a new visualization tool this month of all the protests taking place in Honduras relating to the corona crisis and how it is being handled by the JOH regime. They had documented 370 protests by that point. 41.1% were for the lack of food.⁴⁶ According to the National Police, they had arrested more than 33'000 people by mid-June for violating the lockdown orders.⁴⁷

In a further public statement by social movements and human rights organizations, they wrote: "Old and new elements move every week in the swaying of an institutionality totally shipwrecked in the

38 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/especiales/coronavirus/1389343-528/coronavirus-honduras-medicos-enfermeras-personal-salud>

39 <https://criterio.hn/empleados-de-la-morgue-contagiados-de-covid-19-por-falta-de-equipo/>

40 <https://confidencialhn.com/salud-reconoce-que-hospitales-de-la-capital-y-region-norte-est-an-a-punto-de-quedarse-sin-capacidad-de-respuesta/>

41 <https://confidencialhn.com/aneeah-anuncia-cierre-de-centros-de-salud-por-contagios-de-coronavirus-en-personal-sanitario/>

42 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/manifiesto-publico-doce/>

43 <http://im-defensoras.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/La-crisis-ya-estaba-aqu%C3%AD-Defensoras-mesoamericanas-ante-COVID-19-28052020.pdf>

44 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2874-politica-estatal-alimentada-en-el-covid19-sala-de-lo-constitucional-declara-inadmisibles-recursos-de-amparo-para-defender-los-derechos-humanos>

45 <https://www.cejil.org/es/foro-internacional-derechos-humanos-honduras-debe-garantizar-condiciones-seguridad-ejercicio-defensa>

46 <https://datastudio.google.com/reporting/dc0665e9-8cc8-4c34-abdc-b294713d999e/page/PEdPB?s=rISZhHiKy1c>

47 <https://www.elpais.hn/2020/06/14/mas-de-33-mil-personas-han-sido-detenido-por-violar-el-toque-de-queda-en-honduras/>

rotten waters of the politicians and small businessmen [reducidos empresarios], builders of the narco-dictatorship, led by Juan Orlando Hernández, in the framework of the collapsed neoliberal capitalist model. In this turbulent situation, the social movement remains in constant analysis, and from our insertion in the entrails of our people, we build proposals that open the way to respond to the multiple crises that threaten the lives of the people. And from our faith in the popular struggle and in a future full of hope, we manifest ourselves in this Fifteenth Public Manifesto".⁴⁸

Corruption⁴⁹

On June 1, FOSDEH found that about 420 million Lempiras executed by Invest-H do not fit with what the Ministry of Finance published on its portal.⁵⁰ FOSDEH economist Ismael Zepeda later denounced that there is no accountability for the more than 100 billion Lempiras approved by the legislature to combat COVID-19.⁵¹ ConfidencialHN and Radio Globo got access to documentation showing that the JOH regime received \$2.4 million from Taiwan to confront the corona crisis. "No official from the Ministry of Health and the National Risk Management System (Sinager) was able to explain how the money and supplies donated by Taiwan were used to stop the pandemic".⁵²

The National Anti-Corruption Council (CNA) published its fourth report on corruption during the corona crisis. The report focuses on the purchase by INVEST-H of 740 lung ventilators for \$23 million of which only 20 have arrived in the country and the rest may follow in December. They paid 880% of the purchase price in advance.⁵³ A previous case investigated by the CNA and others found its way back into the headlines this month, the purchase of the seven mobile hospitals. El Heraldo published a long article on the main irregularities.⁵⁴ The MP started an investigation into Invest-H's director holding him responsible for fraud, abuse of authority and embezzlement of public funds.⁵⁵ ASJ published additional new audits of the purchases of Invest-H. In the headline case of the mobile hospitals, they accused Invest-H to have overpaid each of the seven hospitals up to 50 million Lempiras.⁵⁶ Continuing its reporting on this, El Heraldo spoke to Elmed Medical Systems, a Turkish company, which reiterated that they never fabricated nor sold mobile hospitals. They also never received money from Honduras, everything went over a US-based company which illegally used their documents and name.⁵⁷

At the end of June, the CNA published another report on corruption during the corona pandemic. It looks at nepotism and favoritism in the purchase of emergency goods. "It was possible to determine the degree of consanguinity of the executive director of Invest-H, Marco Antonio Bográn Corrales, with Mr. Napoleón Bográn Idiáquez, who is a partner and president of the commercial company

48 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/decimo-quinto-manifiesto-publico/>

49 <https://contracorriente.red/2020/06/07/honduras-sin-capacidad-para-enfrentar-pandemia-y-auditorias-por-compras-irregulares/>

50 <https://tiempo.hn/fosdeh-invest-h-presentando-irregularidades-cuentas-sefin/>

51 <https://confidencialhn.com/el-fosdeh-lamenta-falta-de-insumos-en-hospitales-de-honduras-mientras-aflora-corrupcion/>

52 <https://confidencialhn.com/taiwan-dono-a-honduras-2-4-millones-de-dolares-e-insumos-para-combatir-el-coronavirus-autoridades-callan-su-paradero/>

53 <https://www.cna.hn/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/La-Corrupcio%CC%81n-en-tiempos-del-COVID-19-Parte-IV.pdf>

54 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/especiales/coronavirus/1389033-528/falsos-registros-ca%C3%A1logos-duplicados-y-un-pago-adelantado-una-sombra-de-irregularidades>

55 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1388941-466/investigacion-director-invest-h-marco-brogan-ministerio-publico-hospitales-moviles>

56 <https://confidencialhn.com/asj-halla-sobrevaloracion-de-50-millones-de-lempiras-por-cada-hospital-movil-comprado-en-turquia/>

57 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/especiales/coronavirus/1389472-528/hospitales-moviles-honduras-coronavirus-elmed-medical>

CINSA, being a nephew and uncle respectively; this family bond is by virtue of the fact that the father of the director of Invest-H (Mr. Marco Antonio Bográn Idiáquez) is the brother of Mr. Napoleón Bográn. (...) It was determined that the Honduran State Contracting Law, in its Article 15, already determines the inabilities that limit the ability to contract with the State, specifically in numeral 6 in which it is contemplated that one of these disabilities is: "Being a spouse, common-law spouse or relative within the fourth degree of consanguinity or second degree of affinity of either of the officials or employees under whose responsibility the prequalification is of companies, the evaluation of proposals, the award or signature of the contract."⁵⁸

On June 27, the head of Invest-H, Marco Bográn, was either fired or he resigned, the board of Invest-H confirmed that he was no longer its director.⁵⁹ During his time at Invest-H, he made some 250'000 Lempiras per month.⁶⁰

Poverty

In May, remittances sent to Honduras were 7.7% lower than last year.⁶¹ According to COIPRODEN, some 500'000 children in Honduras do not have Internet access and therefore cannot access virtual classes.⁶² ContraCorriente reported on poverty and hunger in Honduras.⁶³ The US embassy announced financial support worth \$4 million for Honduran families affected by the corona crisis. It will implemented through the World Food Program.⁶⁴

Economy

Last month, the JOH regime presented a plan to reopen the Honduran economy (see last month's monitor). This plan was met with widespread criticism which continued into this month. "Speaking to Radio Progreso, the President of the Honduran Medical Association, Dr. Suyapa Figueroa, said that it is a serious mistake to open up the economy, because the real situation of the pandemic in Honduras is unknown because there is a considerable deficit of tests to detect Covid-19. Figueroa lamented the fact that businessmen insist on returning "to normal" when there are not even beds available in hospitals for patients with the virus. For his part, Dr. Héctor Bonilla of Social Security in San Pedro Sula, said that Honduras is not prepared to open its economy because cases are on the rise and the trend indicates that the number of positive patients will not drop in the coming weeks. The same opinion is held by the President of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Yoro, Dr. Guadalupe Almendarez, who was interviewed by Radio Progreso and said that it is a mistake to open the economy even in his municipality Yoro."⁶⁵ Blind to the criticism, Sinager authorized the

58 <https://www.cna.hn/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/La-corrupcio%CC%81n-en-tiempos-de-COVID-19-Parte-VI.pdf>

59 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1389955-466/marco-bogran-renuncia-investh-hospitales-moviles-estafa-honduras-coronavirus>

60 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1390096-466/marco-bogran-escandaloso-sueldo-director-invest-h>

61 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/remesas-a-honduras-registran-caida-interanual-de-7-7-segun-bch.html>

62 <https://radioprogressohn.net/instante/medio-millon-de-ninos-y-ninas-no-tienen-acceso-a-clases-virtuales/>

63 <https://contracorriente.red/2020/06/30/freir-rezar-y-sobrevivir/>

64 <https://hn.usembassy.gov/es/gobierno-estados-unidos-apoyara-familias-hondurenas-afectadas-emergencia/>

65 <https://radioprogressohn.net/instante/pese-a-los-cuestionamientos-empresarios-van-por-la-reapertura-de-la-economia/>

reactivation of economic activities for June 8.^{66 67} As a consequence, the criticism continued and grew in fervor.^{68 69}

The JOH regime, meanwhile, presented Multisectorial Board for Economic and Social Opening to accompany the “intelligent” reopening. The first week went by amidst congratulations and applause from businesspeople on the one side and warnings of a collapsing entire health system from the other side.⁷⁰ There were also protests by workers in the maquila industry, in the north of the country, denouncing mistreatment, lack of biosecurity measures and non-payment of wages.⁷¹ They further denounced that the companies they work for are turning into corona hotspots.^{72 73}

On June 19, the main business lobby COHEP already backtracked from its previous praise of the “intelligent” reopening asking for a longer waiting period before implementing the second step of the plan.⁷⁴ By that time, markets as well as some government bodies had already to be closed again.^{75 76} By the end of the month, COHEP had even withdrawn from the multisectorial board denouncing a mismanagement of the crisis.⁷⁷ The decision was communicated just hours after it was made public that COHEP's president got infected.⁷⁸

El País reported that the Honduran tourism sector has so far lost over \$1 billion as a consequence of the corona crisis.⁷⁹ 1180 university teachers employed by the hour had been fired as a consequence of the corona crisis. The Union of Workers of the National Autonomous University of Honduras presented a legal challenge to the Supreme Court.⁸⁰ "Experts in Honduras estimate that some 250,000 jobs have been lost to the pandemic in recent months. The few actions taken by the government to sustain the Honduran economy have not benefited the workers. On the contrary, the state of emergency has provided an opportunity for many companies to violate labor rights, under the inoperative eyes of the entities in charge of protecting them. With the loss of jobs and lack of opportunities, many Hondurans are waiting for the opportunity to leave the country."⁸¹

66 <https://confidencialhn.com/sinager-autoriza-reapertura-de-actividades-comerciales-a-partir-del-proximo-8-de-junio/>

67 <https://radioprogresohn.net/portada/abrir-economia-es-un-camino-de-enfermedad-y-muerte-trazado-por-el-gobierno/>

68 <https://criterio.hn/si-el-proximo-lunes-la-gente-sale-a-la-calle-a-lo-loco-empezaremos-a-ver-esas-escenas-dolorosas-como-en-ecuador/>

69 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/2033-honduras-reapertura-preludio-del-apocalipsis-zombie>

70 <http://cespad.org.hn/2020/06/14/analisis-entre-el-optimismo-empresarial-por-la-apertura-y-la-alarma-ciudadana-por-la-crisis-sanitaria-quien-gana-el-pulso/>

71 <https://radioprogresohn.net/instante/protestan-trabajadores-de-maquilas-en-el-norte-de-honduras/>

72 <https://tiempo.hn/choloma-operarios-advierten-sobre-brotes-de-covid-19-en-maquilas/>

73 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2882-gobierno-no-les-sanciona-personas-trabajadoras-de-maquilas-entre-las-mas-expuestas-al-covid-19-en-sus-centros-de-labores>

74 <https://confidencialhn.com/cohep-pide-posponer-por-dos-semanas-la-segunda-fase-de-reactivacion-economica-ante-escalada-del-covid19/>

75 <https://criterio.hn/responsabilizandolos-del-repunte-en-contagios-gobierno-cierra-seis-mercados-capitalinos/>

76 <https://criterio.hn/gobierno-cierra-reapertura-inteligente-de-sus-oficinas/>

77 <https://criterio.hn/cohep-abandona-organo-gubernamental-encargado-de-reactivacion-economica/>

78 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1390320-466/cohep-retira-mesa-multisectorial-reapertura-economica>

79 <https://www.elpais.hn/2020/06/12/honduras-busca-reactivar-turismo-que-ha-perdido-1-048-millones-de-dolares/>

80 <https://www.proceso.hn/mas-noticias/32-m%C3%A1s-noticias/listas-demandas-por-despido-de-docentes-por-hora-segun-sitraunah.html>

81 <https://contracorriente.red/2020/06/24/empleos-perdidos-y-violaciones-laborales-la-crisis-desatendida-por-el-gobierno-de-honduras/>

Human Rights and Their Defenders

Two important reports by UN bodies on Honduras were published in June. First, the "Report of the Working Group on the issue of human rights and transnational corporations and other business enterprises".⁸² Second, the "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers".⁸³

The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) launched the Inter-American System to Monitor Recommendations, also known as the Inter-American SIMORE, this month. It is intended as part of a broad strategy to boost the effectiveness and impact of the Inter-American Human Rights System.⁸⁴ "The Inter-American SIMORE is an online tool that systematically collects all recommendations made by the IACHR through its various mechanisms. In particular, it is a crucial channel to exchange and receive information concerning efforts to monitor the Commission's recommendations concerning the Americas."⁸⁵

Assassinations

The human rights defenders and community leaders Jorge Espinoza and Lucas Cardenas were murdered on June 17 in Las Minas, El Progreso.^{86 87}

Attacks, Criminalization and Harassment

Pasos de Animal Grande denounced that heavily armed, but unidentified men forced entry into the house of a human rights defender at Human Rights Without Borders (DHSF). They intimidated him and threatened his sister with arrest as she tried to call for help.⁸⁸ The same month, the house of environmental defender and coordinator of MASSVIDA, German Chirinos, was illegally raided by ATIC agents.⁸⁹ Chirinos should benefit from special protection measures granted by the IACHR.⁹⁰

Indigenous Peoples

The Organization of the Tolupan People (OPT) and the Board of the La Candelaria Tribe denounced that "[o]n May 28, 2020, eight agents of the Investigative Police Directorate (DPI) and four of the Preventive Police arbitrarily detained José Luis Mejía and José Ricardo Bermúdez, both members of our indigenous tribe La Candelaria, one of the 31 tribes that make up the Tolupán people in Honduras". Both men are members of MADJ.⁹¹ "In view of the aggravated food crisis currently

82 <https://undocs.org/en/A/HRC/44/43/Add.2>

83 <https://undocs.org/en/A/HRC/44/47/Add.2>

84 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/monitoreo-de-compromisos-internacionales/item/2884-sistema-de-monitoreo-de-recomendaciones-de-la-cidh-podria-ayudar-en-evidenciar-las-violaciones-de-ddhh-en-honduras>

85 https://www.oas.org/en/iachr/media_center/PReleases/2020/132.asp

86 <https://twitter.com/hondurassol/status/1273954751214833664>

87 <https://twitter.com/hondurassol/status/1273955591824654339>

88 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2877-hombres-fuertemente-armados-irrumpen-en-la-casa-de-defensor-de-derechos-humanos-sin-fronteras>

89 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/allanan-ilegalmente-domicilio-de-defensor-del-ambiente/>

90 <http://www.clibrehonduras.com/index.php/portada-alertas/1188-por-equivocacion-agentes-antiextorsion-allanan-vivienda-de-defensor-ambientalista>

91 <https://madj.org/index.php/2020/06/02/nuevo-proceso-de-criminalizacion-contr-a-el-pueblo-tolupan-comunicado-opt-y-consejo-directivo-tribu-la-candelaria/>

faced by the inhabitants of the Toluán indigenous communities of the San Francisco Locomapa Tribe, due to the health emergency by COVID-19, the Center for Justice and International Law (CEJIL) and the Broad Movement for Dignity and Justice (MADJ) requested from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) new protection measures in favor of 18 members of MADJ living in the communities.⁹² In a second case, MADJ denounced a recent attack against the Camp of Dignity for Water and Life in Pajuiles.^{93 94} Lastly, MADJ denounced that the municipality of Yoro continues to disobey a court order which called for compensation for damages caused to the San Francisco Locomapa tribe.⁹⁵

Giorgio Trucchi spoke with COPINH's Berta Zúniga about the situation in the rural and indigenous parts of Honduras and their response to the corona crisis. "It [the crisis] came to exacerbate those problems that are already almost chronic, in particular the lack of food. Fortunately, most of the organized communities in Copinh are producers of basic grains. But there are others that are suffering from water shortages and are going through very difficult times. In addition, the quarantine made it impossible to sell community products and other informal commercial activities. There is also an upsurge in gender-based violence and an increase in police and military abuses."⁹⁶ COPINH also announced that it would open up its community center Utopia for people infected with or suspected of infection with the corona virus. Two days later, they already faced a defamatory campaign and threats were voiced to burn down Utopia.^{97 98}

Assassinations

Two indigenous Hondurans were murdered this month. The indigenous Toluán Novel Matute Vieda (32 years old) was found murdered in La Reinada Tribe territory in department of Yoro.⁹⁹

OFRANEH denounced the death the 71-year old Garífuna Antonio Bernardez. He was found murdered near the Punta Piedra community. "The assassination of Antonio Bernardez underlines the delicate situation in the area, which for decades has been subject to acts of violence as part of the strategy of dispossession of the Garífuna territory (...) The Punta Piedra case was presented to the Inter-American human rights system in 2003 and by 2015 the Inter-American Court issued a ruling in favor of the community, which has been ignored by the state."¹⁰⁰ OACNUDH lamented his murder.¹⁰¹

92 <https://www.cejil.org/es/honduras-solicitan-proteccion-cidh-crisis-alimentaria-y-salud-covid19-comunidades-tolupan-san>

93 <https://twitter.com/MovAmplioHn/status/1268269930568454145>

94 <https://madj.org/index.php/2020/05/25/territorios-madj-pajuiles-y-sus-alternativas-frente-al-covid-19/>

95 <https://twitter.com/MovAmplioHn/status/1268345191058100224>

96 <http://www.rel-uita.org/honduras/debemos-avanzar-en-la-soberania-alimentaria/>

97 <https://copinh.org/2020/06/denuncia-publica-copinh-rechaza-amenazas-a-instalaciones-de-utopia/>

98 <http://im-defensoras.org/2020/06/alerta-urgente-honduras-amenazan-con-incendiar-el-centro-utopia-del-copinh-en-santa-catarina-intibuca/>

99 <https://twitter.com/hondurassol/status/1270512921236267008>

100 <https://ofraneh.wordpress.com/2020/06/20/1906/>

101 <https://twitter.com/ONUDDHH/status/1274743963254231040>

The Case of Berta Cáceres

51 months ago, Berta Cáceres was assassinated. To commemorate her and her struggle, a new book about her life was published this month.¹⁰² Thanks to the new book by Nina Lakhani there is again more international coverage. In an opinion piece in The Guardian, the author wrote about Berta and the open case of her assassination.¹⁰³ InSight Crime also spoke with Lakhani.¹⁰⁴

LGBTQ

Valery Elizabeth Palencia, trans woman, LGBTIQ+ activist and member of the National HIV/AIDS Forum, denounced that on June 9th she was assaulted by three individuals in her house in the city of La Paz, who attacked her with a stone on her head and neck to strip her of her belongings.^{105 106}

In a press release, OACNUDH highlighted the need for "legislation and public policies aimed at eliminating discrimination and violence based on sexual orientation, gender identity and expression in Honduras".¹⁰⁷

Freedom of Expression and Journalists

At least 18 people working in the media sector have been infected with COVID-19.¹⁰⁸

On June 2, El Libertador raised the alarm writing that there is a plan to assassinate its director Jhonny José Lagos Henríquez. "The information was released Tuesday, June 2, by a source linked to the high police and military spheres of the Central American nation, who explained to journalist Lagos Henriquez that he should "take strict measures", because he has been followed and monitored for some time now. "The people who are on the target list [black list], are tagged with a security code and two months ago his code was activated [green light, as it is known in criminal jargon] and since then you are being followed up ...," the source said, indicating that the crime against the journalist has been ordered."¹⁰⁹

COFADEH informed the IACHR Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression, Edison Lanza, about state repression against journalists. "The letter focuses on events in the city of Choluteca, in the south of the country, where the regime's security forces attacked journalists, reporters and social communicators covering protests and demonstrations demanding food and work due to curfews, company closures and the suspension of public and private transport."¹¹⁰ Radio Progreso reports on the role of state security forces in harassing and even attacking journalists during the pandemic.¹¹¹

102 <https://twitter.com/COPINHONDURAS/status/1267471984683651077>

103 <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jun/02/bertha-caceres-was-exceptional-her-was-all-too-commonplace>

104 <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/bertha-caceres-book-honduras/>

105 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2878-mujer-trans-y-defensora-de-derechos-humanos-es-agredida-en-el-interior-de-su-casa-en-la-paz>

106 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/contexto/item/2887-mes-del-orgullo-gay-es-opacado-por-la-impunidad-para-las-agresiones-de-la-comunidad-lgtbi>

107 <https://oacnudh.hn/oacnudh-resalta-la-necesidad-de-contar-con-legislacion-y-politicas-publicas-orientadas-a-la-eliminacion-de-la-discriminacion-y-la-violencia-basada-en-la-orientacion-sexual-la-identidad-y-la-expresion/>

108 <https://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/1383994-410/periodistas-honduras-coronavirus-contagios-covid-19-periodismo-tegucigalpa-san-pedro-sula>

109 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/2028-alerta-honduras-fuerzas-oscuras-ordenan-asesinar-al-director-de-el-libertador>

110 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/cofadeh-denuncia-al-regimen-de-joh-ante-la-cidh-por-ataques-a-la-prensa/>

111 <https://radioprogreso.hn/portada/policiales-y-militares-responsables-de-agresiones-contra-periodistas-en-tiempo-de-covid-19/>

C-Libre documented various cases of harassment and attacks against journalists this month. "Almendares, in communication with C-Libre, assured that a fortnight ago, he disseminated information regarding the change of members of the board of directors of the business community in Comayagua, where the outgoing president stated that he was forced to resign." The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Comayagua now tries to force him to reveal his source.¹¹² Congress recently held a virtual event with "the public" on the new Penal Code (more on this in the subsection below) but when journalist Nely Larice expressed a critical opinion, he was thrown out of the meeting.¹¹³ An employee at the Property Institute in Roatán obstructed the work of journalist Isaac Calix.¹¹⁴ C-Libre also reported on the creation of fake online profiles of Radio Marcala from La Paz. "C-Libre communicated with its director, Carlos Galeas, who mentioned that, in the current context of the suspension of constitutional guarantees, there is fear that they intend to end the work of Radio Marcala on social networks."¹¹⁵ The journalist and human rights defender Andrés Molina denounced actions against his journalistic work promoted by Román Ruiz, the mayor of Guarizama, Olancho.¹¹⁶ Pasos de Animal Grande denounced that a SINAGER public official continuous to be able without consequences to not share information about the corona crisis from a journalist because "she does not like how he does interviews".¹¹⁷ C-Libre denounces a similar cases involving an official at the Health Secretariat and the journalist Fernando del Rincón.¹¹⁸ In total, C-Libre documented at least 41 acts of aggression against journalists and media outlets during the pandemic up to June 11, i.e. not including some of those cases above which took place later.¹¹⁹

Violence against Women

The Center for Women's Rights (CDM) denounced that at least 113 women were murdered in the last six months, 59 of which in the last three months during lockdown.¹²⁰ "According to data from the National Emergency System 911 hotline, in Honduras the numbers of complaints of violence against women have increased significantly, reporting more than 40,000 cases of aggression so far this year, reaching its highest number last April with almost 10,000 complaints. (...) Loany Alvarado, deputy director of prosecutors at the Public Prosecutor's Office, said that this body also recorded an increase in complaints during the period from March to May, reporting 1,259 complaints received, 393 minor arrests and 304 hearings with appearances."¹²¹

112 <http://www.clibrehonduras.com/index.php/portada-alertas/1182-periodista-es-empleado-para-revelar-su-fuente-en-denuncia-contra-empresarios>

113 <http://www.clibrehonduras.com/index.php/portada-alertas/1184-poder-legislativo-saca-de-reunion-virtual-a-periodista-por-criticar-nuevo-codigo-penal>

114 <http://www.clibrehonduras.com/index.php/portada-alertas/1185-instituto-de-la-propiedad-obstruye-trabajo-de-periodista-en-roatan>

115 <http://www.clibrehonduras.com/index.php/portada-alertas/1187-crean-perfiles-en-facebook-con-imagen-de-radio-marcala>

116 <http://www.clibrehonduras.com/index.php/portada-alertas/1195-periodista-denuncia-agresiones-y-censura-en-su-contra-promovidas-por-alcalde-municipal>

117 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/monitoreo-de-compromisos-internacionales/item/2895-funcionaria-de-sinager-en-copan-se-muerte-de-la-risa-ante-la-impunidad-de-sus-acciones-para-negar-informacion-sobre-covid19-a-periodista-santiago-lopez>

118 <http://www.clibrehonduras.com/index.php/portada-alertas/1196-continua-el-bloqueo-informativo-por-parte-de-funcionarios-hondurenos-a-medio-internacional>

119 <https://criterio.hn/covid-19-escenario-fertil-para-las-violaciones-y-agresiones-contra-la-prensa-de-honduras/>

120 <https://criterio.hn/honduras-113-mujeres-asesinadas-en-seis-meses/>

121 <https://criterio.hn/es-prioridad-asegurar-la-continuidad-de-la-atencion-a-victimas-de-violencia-durante-la-pandemia/>

Protection Mechanism

Pasos de Animal Grande denounced that the National Protection Council had not met yet during the crisis to take crucial decisions on the human rights violations of groups benefiting from the Protection Law such as HRDs and journalists who are suffering serious attacks for carrying out their work.¹²²

Political Prisoners

Two political prisoners were able to leave prison this month. First, Carlos Daniel Tinoco¹²³, the Felipe Esquivel. The later was released, after having been in the Choluteca prison center since December 19, 2019 (...) Esquivel spent about 6 months in the Choluteca prison after being arrested for allegedly storing pyrotechnic material, but the real reason for his arrest is for opposing the regime of Juan Orlando Hernandez."¹²⁴

Extractive Industries

It is to be feared that there will be more cases of criminalized environmental defenders as the "extractivist counter-offensive in times of COVID-19" takes place in Honduras. "In the current context, the measures of the Juan Hernández regime continue to give way to extractive companies in different modalities and continue with the perpetuation of social inequalities and the deepening of socio-environmental conflicts in the country: 1. Online environmental licensing (...) 2. Construction of the first ZEDE begins in Roatán (...) 3. Projects in Garifuna communities marginalizing territorial voices (...) 4. The worsening of the agricultural crisis".¹²⁵ Environmental defender and researcher Pedro Landa sees a similar development, i.e. that the crisis caused by the coronavirus pandemic is being taken advantage of by extractive companies which, through the Secretary of State in the Office of Economic Development, have the green light to continue operating despite the confinement.¹²⁶

A case in point? The Azacualpa Environmental Committee denounced that the mining company Aura Minerals reopened operations.¹²⁷ "For years, villagers have been courageously resisting the environmentally harmful, socially divisive, open-pit, cyanide-leaching gold mine of the U.S./Canada-based Aura Minerals (and MINOSA, its Honduran subsidiary) that are backed by the coercive power of the Honduran regime's police and military. As Covid19 further devastates the lives of the poor majority in Honduras, Azacualpa villagers see even more need to do whatever they can to peacefully stop this mine. (...) Azacualpa Environmental Committee denounces Aura Minerals/MINOSA increased risk of spreading Covid19. Lisbeth Jiménez: "The regime's military-

122 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2873-consejo-nacional-de-proteccion-no-se-ha-reunido-desde-que-gobierno-decreto-la-emergencia-por-covid19>

123 <https://criterio.hn/liberan-al-presos-politico-carlos-daniel-tinoco/>

124 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/preso-politico-felipe-esquivel-fue-puesto-en-libertad-y-ya-se-encuentra-con-su-familia/>

125 <http://cespad.org.hn/2020/06/05/coyuntura-desde-los-honduras-saqueo-extractivista-y-defensa-del-territorio-en-tiempos-de-covid-19/>

126 <https://radioprogreso.hn/instante/crisis-por-coronavirus-beneficia-a-empresas-extractivista-denuncia-ambientalista/>

127 <https://twitter.com/hondurasol/status/1268185551246553089>

imposed quarantine applies only to the poor. This company does what it wants, destroying, dispossessing, digging up and re-burying the dead. Aura Minerals/MINOSA lies."¹²⁸ Maria Ermita Rodriguez from the Azacualpa Environmental Committee was even insulted and threatened at her home. "They told her there would be consequences for her, her son Hector Antonio and all the NGOs supporting the Azacualpa Environmental Committee."¹²⁹

This month was also the World Environment Day.¹³⁰ There were several calls from national and international organizations for the liberation of the criminalized environmental defenders from Guapinol.¹³¹ ¹³² US congresswoman Jan Schakowsky reiterated a previous call for their liberation voicing concern regarding their health.¹³³ "The Municipal Committee for the Defense of the Common and Public Property of Tocoa, Colón, warned that in the Olanchito, Yoro penal center, where the seven Guapinol defenders are located, there is already one prisoner infected by Covid19, which will lead to further contagion, as they had warned the State of Honduras, which through the Judiciary is bent on keeping them illegally in custody, and this committee holds the government of Juan Orlando Hernández and the Judiciary responsible for a possible fatal outcome."¹³⁴

Congress worked this month on a future environmental disaster in Honduras. They approved a bill authorizing the importation of car batteries in poor condition, to be recycled and buried in the national territory.¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ Criterio published a special investigation into the imposition of the hydroelectric project on the Petacón River and its links with power and corruption. "A jewel that transnational capital seeks to snatch from the Lenca People".¹³⁷

ZEDEs

OFRANEH reported on the recent inauguration of the charter city (ZEDE) PROSPERA in Roatán. "The establishment of model cities in Roatan goes beyond a simple Special Economic Zone by having the additional characteristic of a kind of tabula rasa in legal matters, which can easily be converted into new forms of tyranny where social and technological experiments will take place. (...) It is interesting that the governing body of the ZEDE has issued a statement, disassociating itself from governance experiments and now it is the same promoters of the conference "Disrupting Democracy in Honduras" in San Francisco, who appear as the promoter of the ZEDE PROGESA. It should be noted that the communiqué was removed from the ZEDE website."¹³⁸ "The Special Economic Zones (SEZs), of which there are more than 5,400 on the planet, have become the new strategy of colonialism. This is the case of the ZEDE in Honduras, a unique variant, since it is used

128 <https://mailchi.mprightsaction/azacualpa-villagers-resist-aura-minerals-covid19-spreading-mine>

129 <https://mailchi.mprightsaction/aura-minerals-linked-threats-against-azacualpa-villager>

130 <https://radioprogreso.net/np/dia-mundial-del-medio-ambiente/>

131 <http://www.conexihon.hn/index.php/dh/1595-defender-el-medio-ambiente-no-es-un-crimen>

132 <https://twitter.com/COPINHONDURAS/status/1269006537084809227>

133 <https://twitter.com/janschakowsky/status/1269011470618103810>

134 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2864-contagio-por-covid19-llego-al-centro-penal-de-olanchito-donde-se-encuentran-los-defensores-de-guapinol>

135 <https://radioprogreso.net/instante/partido-nacional-convertira-a-honduras-en-basurero-toxico-denuncia-diputado/>

136 <https://criterio.hn/ingenieros-ambientales-recuerdan-al-gobierno-que-es-prohibido-introducir-desechos-toxicos-a-honduras/>

137 <https://criterio.hn/especial-de-investigacion-hidroelectrica-rio-petacon/>

138 <https://ofraneh.wordpress.com/2020/06/01/disrumpiendo-la-democracia-en-honduras-libertarios-neorreaccionarios-y-apertura-de-zede-en-roatan/>

to outsource justice as an incentive to attract investment, a situation that will lead to the creation of islands of prosperity in the midst of a sea of misery."¹³⁹

Corruption and Its Enemies

Corruption was once called “the operating system” in Honduras and it remains this way today. Nevertheless, Honduras, i.e. the JOH regime, continues to benefit from multi-million dollar support from multilateral agencies and banks. “One issue that has been ignored or poorly addressed by IMF officials who make up the missions responsible for assessing the performance of countries' economies and the results obtained from the implementation of economic stabilization and institutional reform policies is corruption. The underlying thesis is that achievements in economic stabilization, structural change and state reform may be accompanied by more corruption, either because of the appearance of businesses that provide services to the state with non-transparent contracting processes led by corrupt officials, or because development projects are executed with external funds, without any guarantee that the resources allocated will be handled with clean hands. (...) The IMF has a representative in Honduras, and they should report on allegations of corruption with funds allocated to the Covid-19 pandemic, and support the efforts of those civil society institutions that like the CNA have been struggling to report and combat acts of corruption by public officials, and not just applaud the actions of institutions like the TSC that have been questioned and politicized. We have insisted on several occasions that the applause for governments' achievements in fulfilling objectives and goals of economic stabilization and state reform are contaminated when the actions carried out are accompanied by acts of corruption, where the corrupt and the corrupt protect each other. For the time being, the IMF must pronounce itself against the enforcement of the Criminal Code, which by protecting the corrupt more, will permanently contaminate the government's achievements in economic stabilization, or put pressure on the government and legislature so that this legal aberration does not come into effect.”¹⁴⁰

Doris Obdulia Gradiz Sevilla, a former employee at the Health Secretariat, was sentenced to over 1000 years in prison for a corruption case involving fake scholarships for medical students. When does the JOH regime start going after the big fish with the same vigor?¹⁴¹ Civil society organizations and the political opposition in Juticalpa called for an extraordinary meeting to ask the municipal treasurer Miguel Armando Figueroa Banegas to clarify several acts that are at odds with the law. Councilmen of LIBRE have conducted an investigation where they discovered that Figueroa Banegas is self-issuing several checks in his name for amounts up to more than one million Lempiras.¹⁴²

139 <https://ofraneh.wordpress.com/2020/06/29/una-ciudad-modelo-zede-dentro-de-un-aparente-narco-estado/>

140 <https://www.alainet.org/es/articulo/207477>

141 <https://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/1387540-410/sentencian-1000-a%C3%B1os-prision-exempleada-salud>

142 <https://criterio.hn/regidores-de-oposicion-y-sociedad-civil-piden-destitucion-de-tesorero-municipal-de-juticalpa/>

The Onslaught against the Anti-Corruption Bodies

CESPAD dedicated its time to the MP this month. One was called "The Public Prosecutor's Office: Between Laziness and Loss of Relevance".¹⁴³ "[T]wo issues force us to stop and reflect on the Public Ministry. The first one is related to the lack of interest that this institution is showing to act on the allegations of corruption in the context of the Covid 19 pandemic. The second issue is related to the irrelevance that the Public Prosecutor's Office is acquiring in the face of the actions of the National Congress to protect people with power who are involved in corruption cases[1]. How much does the Attorney General's commitment to power groups weigh so that he does not fulfill his functions, what happened to the fight against crime and corruption announced in January 2020, and what happened to the conspiracies and conspirators that the Public Prosecutor's Office would face? It is important that we reflect and debate these questions in Honduran society."¹⁴⁴

Charles Call published a new paper on the MACCIH and its legacy in Honduras. "Fleeting Success: The Legacy of Honduras' International Anti-Corruption Mission". "This report draws conclusions about the legacy and lessons of MACCIH, analyzing the political, juridical, social, and institutional impact of the OAS Mission. The report considers the extent to which MACCIH has contributed to the fight against corruption and impunity. It assesses the Mission according to its mandate, but also seeks to understand its social and political significance for Honduran society. Finally, it analyzes MACCIH as an example of a particular type of tool of national and international decisionmakers – an international body created at the request of a national government to work in close collaboration with authorities and civil society in the realm of rule of law and anti-impunity."¹⁴⁵

IHSS

Two people linked to the IHSS corruption case were denied the possibility to leave prison due to the corona pandemic as they had petitioned.¹⁴⁶

State Security Forces

Repressions

The National Preventive Police intimidated residents of the municipality of Dulce Nombre de Culmí, Olancho, who have been maintaining a roadblock to protect them from the COVID-19 for several days.¹⁴⁷ In San Pedro Sula, community police beat protesters demanding food and healthcare.¹⁴⁸ As the repression was grabbed on video, the police felt forced to announce an investigation, by themselves.¹⁴⁹ US congresswoman Jan Schakowsky had a better solution: "Now

143 <http://cespad.org.hn/2020/06/03/cronologia-ministerio-publico-entre-la-desidia-y-la-perdida-de-relevancia/>

144 <http://cespad.org.hn/2020/06/10/analisis-un-fiscal-general-en-su-caverna-combatiendo-sombras-y-fantasmas-del-crimen-y-la-corrupcion/>

145 https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3633943

146 <https://www.mp.hn/index.php/author-login/157-junio2020/5949-denegan-excarcelacion-a-dos-implicados-en-el-sonado-caso-ihss>

147 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2875-en-reten-de-control-contr-el-covid19-policia-nacional-intimida-a-pobladores-de-dulce-nombre-de-culmi>

148 <http://cespad.org.hn/2020/06/22/alerta-exigimos-un-alto-a-la-brutalidad-policial-en-contr-de-ciudadanos-que-solo-buscan-alimento-para-sus-familias/>

149 <https://www.latribuna.hn/2020/06/22/policia-investiga-golpiza-a-manifestantes-en-sps/>

more than ever the U.S. must defund Honduran police and Congress must pass the Berta Caceres Human Rights in Honduras Act. Police violence anywhere is a threat to humanity everywhere."¹⁵⁰

Assassinations

A former member of the National Police Force was sent to pre-trial detention accused of murder.¹⁵¹ On June 23, TIGRES special forces and the police murdered the 38-year old Riner Argueta Oliva on his way to work. Apparently, he did not stop at a checkpoint, which according to witnesses was not really visible as a checkpoint, and as a result, they shot him.¹⁵²

Penitentiary System

One of the hardest hit places during the corona pandemic in Honduras are its prisons. "On May 29, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) requested from the State of Honduras to provide information on the situation of persons deprived of liberty in the context of the health emergency caused by COVID-19. The request was made in the context of monitoring compliance with the High Court's rulings in the cases of Alfredo López Álvarez and Pacheco Teruel and others v. Honduras, issued in 2006 and 2012, respectively. In these judgments, the Inter-American Court ordered the Honduran State to adopt measures to substantially improve conditions, especially physical and health conditions, in prisons; to avoid overcrowding and overcrowding; and to guarantee the population deprived of its liberty medical care and access to food, among other issues."¹⁵³

On June 2, another inmates suspected of COVID-19 died.¹⁵⁴ There are by now at least 65 COVID-19 cases at the Támara prison.¹⁵⁵ The National Penitentiary Institute (INP) also informed about three cases at the El Porvenir prison and the infection of three prison guards of different prisons.¹⁵⁶ But according to criminal lawyer Marlon Duarte, there are some 300 inmates who tested positive for COVID-19.¹⁵⁷ Later, the JOH regime conceded that there are at least 120 COVID-19 cases at the Támara prison.¹⁵⁸ But when an inmate at the Támara prison died, the authorities claimed it was from natural causes.¹⁵⁹ Shortly afterwards, another inmate, who had suffered from asthma, died.¹⁶⁰ The same week, a fourth inmate died at the Támara prison.¹⁶¹ On June 14, another inmate died at the same prison.¹⁶²

150 <https://twitter.com/janschakowsky/status/1275579158555439104?s=20>

151 <https://www.mp.hn/index.php/author-login/157-junio2020/5932-fedcv-y-atic-logran-prision-preventiva-contr-expolicia-acusado-de-homicidio-de-sexagenario>

152 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/escuadron-tigre-y-policia-nacional-asesinan-a-joven-en-san-esteban-olancho/>

153 <https://www.cejil.org/es/corte-idh-solicita-informacion-al-estado-honduras-situacion-personas-privadas-libertad-marco-del>

154 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/sucesos/1384026-466/muere-reo-sospechoso-de-covid-19-en-puerto-cortes>

155 <https://radiohm.hn/aumentan-a-65-los-casos-de-coronavirus-en-la-carcel-de-tamara-francisco-morazan/>

156 <https://confidencialhn.com/tres-agentes-del-sistema-penitenciario-dan-positivo-a-prueba-del-coronavirus/>

157 <https://tiempo.hn/abogado-asegura-300-reos-covid-19-inp-dice-68/>

158 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/se-elevan-a-120-casos-de-covid-en-la-penitenciaria-nacional-de-tamara.html>

159 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/reportan-la-muerte-de-un-interno-en-la-penitenciaria-de-tamara.html>

160 <https://confidencialhn.com/muere-de-otro-privado-de-libertad-en-penitenciaria-de-tamara/>

161 <https://www.proceso.hn/mas-noticias/32-m%C3%A1s-noticias/reportan-otra-muerte-natural-en-la-carcel-de-tamara-la-cuarta-en-la-semana.html>

162 <https://tiempo.hn/privado-de-libertad-muere-por-covid-19-en-el-hospital-san-felipe/>

OACNUDH expressed concern about the situation of inmates in Honduras.¹⁶³ OACNUDH and CONAPREV announced to inspect various prisons.¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ Human rights organizations demand a "humanitarian intervention" for Honduras' prisons.¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ "In view of the imminent risk situation faced by persons deprived of liberty in Honduran prisons in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, the organizations that make up the Follow-up Committee for the Enforcement of Sentences and Resolutions of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (Follow-up Committee) make an urgent call to the State of Honduras to take immediate measures to guarantee the rights of this population."¹⁶⁸ Meanwhile, another inmate had died.¹⁶⁹

During the pandemic, 1624 inmates have benefited so far from special measures, i.e. they were released from prison. "Of this group of inmates, 782 were released on parole, 330 on probation, 331 on commutation, 126 on completion of sentence and 50 on review of measures for minors."¹⁷⁰ On June 24, 24 cases at the so-called maximum-security prison El Pozo¹⁷¹ and there are also over 50 dengue cases at the El Progreso prison.¹⁷²

Militarization

The Military Police published a musical tribute to the people fighting the corona pandemic, mostly presenting themselves as the sung about "Heroes of Love".¹⁷³ In another video, they ask Hondurans "kindly" to stay at home.¹⁷⁴

CESPAD published an important piece of analysis on "Democracy, Soldiers and the Pandemic". "In conclusion, militarization was already a strong and widespread trend in Latin America before the COVID-19 pandemic, with a special emphasis on public security. With COVID-19, this trend towards militarization has deepened. The broad participation of the military in different tasks to combat the pandemic, ranging from distributing food rations to repressing protests, has strengthened the role of the military in different national scenarios. In a context of institutional weakness, as in most Latin American countries, the democratic subordination of the military is put at risk, and with it, democracy itself."¹⁷⁵

"After six months of military presence in the management of the prison system, the Centre for the Prevention, Rehabilitation and Treatment of Torture Victims (CPTRT) demanded their release and an appointment of a citizen intervention commission. In a statement, the human rights organization

163 <https://twitter.com/ONUDDHH/status/1273990629601705990>

164 <https://twitter.com/ONUDDHH/status/1270521839438217217>

165 <https://twitter.com/ONUDDHH/status/1274354655984791552>

166 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/denuncias/item/2879-fuera-de-control-casos-positivos-de-covid-19-en-la-penitenciaria-nacional>

167 <https://criterio.hn/demandan-intervencion-humanitaria-en-carceles-ante-alarmanes-casos-de-covid-19/>

168 <https://www.cejil.org/es/medida-seguimiento-sentencias-interamericanas-urge-honduras-tomar-medidas-inmediatas-garantizar-vida-y>

169 <https://www.proceso.hn/mas-noticias/32-m%C3%A1s-noticias-por-sospecha-de-covid-fallece-otro-privado-de-libertad-de-carcel-de-tamara.html>

170 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/mas-de-1-600-privados-de-libertad-beneficiados-con-diferentes-medidas-durante-pandemia.html>

171 <https://tiempo.hn/24-casos-de-covid-activos-en-el-pozo-reos-personal-administrativo-y-de-seguridad/>

172 <https://www.proceso.hn/mas-noticias/32-m%C3%A1s-noticias/brote-de-dengue-afecta-mas-de-50-privados-de-libertad-en-penal-de-el-progreso.html>

173 <https://tiempo.hn/heroes-de-amor-tema-musical-homenaje-personal-covid-19/>

174 <https://twitter.com/PMOP016/status/1275443194700787715>

175 <http://cespad.org.hn/2020/06/23/analisis-democracia-militares-y-pandemia/>

recalled that today (June 18, 2020) is the six-months deadline to govern the prisons in the country and therefore they should report on their management, especially with a focus on human rights."¹⁷⁶

International Community

Honduras was found eligible by the UN to access its Peacebuilding Fund, next to countries like the Democratic Republic of the Congo.¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ The World Bank grants the JOH regime a \$70 million credit for a drinking water project in the Dry Corridor.¹⁷⁹ The same month, they announced the approval of another \$45 million project to grant better access to drinking water to 360'000 households.¹⁸⁰ The Central Bank for Economic Integration (BCIE) has increased the credit line for the Honduran bank Ficosah to \$130 million.¹⁸¹ Last but not least, the Honduran Central Bank (BCH) ratified a \$232.9 million loan by the IMF to strengthen its international reserves.¹⁸²

US

Honduras qualified in the US State Department report on fiscal transparency for "meeting the minimum requirements".¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ A day later, the Secretary of Finance boasts about being one of the 76 countries, out of 141 tested, which received a positive evaluation.¹⁸⁵

On June 16, the MP and the US embassy inaugurated a virtual training cycle for public prosecutors.¹⁸⁶ A week later, the US State Department officially announced its \$252 million support for Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador. Money could have been hold back for reasons of human rights violations and corruption, but somehow the State Department did not found anything to worry.¹⁸⁷ The same day, Mauricio Oliva, Nationalist president of Congress, met with US chargé d'affaires Colleen Hoey.¹⁸⁸ CESPAD published an analysis of this newest support from the Trump administration for JOH.¹⁸⁹

Drug Trafficking

The oldest trick in the book, the Honduran foreign minister Lisandro Rosales tries to use the corona pandemic for a possible reform to the extradition bill.¹⁹⁰ Various sectors have denounced that this

176 <http://www.conexihon.hn/index.php/dh/1608-cprtr-demanda-desmilitarizacion-de-carceles-en-honduras>

177 <https://twitter.com/UNPeacebuilding/status/1268628444625108995>

178 <https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/content/list-pbf-countries-declared-eligible>

179 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/economia/1387074-466/para-mejorar-acceso-agua-honduras-banco-mundial-aprueba-70-millones>

180 <https://www.bancomundial.org/es/news/press-release/2020/06/22/banco-mundial-otorgara-us45-millones-para-mejorar-provision-de-agua-potable-a-360000-hogares-en-honduras>

181 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/el-bcie-aumenta-a-130-millones-de-dolares-el-credito-a-ficosah-de-honduras.html>

182 <https://confidencialhn.com/bch-ratifica-nuevo-prestamo-de-232-9-millones-de-dolares-del-fondo-monetario-internacional/>

183 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/honduras-aprueba-en-transparencia-fiscal-en-el-informe-anual-del-departamento-de-estado.html>

184 <https://www.state.gov/2020-fiscal-transparency-report/>

185 <https://confidencialhn.com/secretaria-de-finanzas-externa-satisfaccion-sobre-evaluacion-de-transparencia-hecha-por-ee-uu/>

186 <https://www.mp.hn/index.php/autor-login/157-junio2020/5904-ministerio-publico-y-embajada-americana-inauguran-ciclo-de-capacitacion-virtual-para-fiscales>

187 <https://www.proceso.hn/mas-noticias/32-m%C3%A1s-noticias/estados-unidos-aportara-252-millones-adicionales-a-honduras-guatemala-y-el-salvador.html>

188 <https://www.elpais.hn/2020/06/24/mauricio-oliva-y-colleen-hoey-dialogan-sobre-avances-del-proceso-de-elecciones/>

189 <http://cespad.org.hn/2020/06/18/analisis-a-proposito-de-democracias-tuteladas-otro-espaldarazo-de-donald-trump-hacia-juan-hernandez-alvarado/>

190 <http://cespad.org.hn/2020/06/30/analisis-en-el-reino-de-la-impunidad-podran-los-politicos-y-funcionarios-publicos-mencionados-en-las-cortes-estadounidenses-blindarse-ante-una-possible-extradicion/>

only serves to help political allies.¹⁹¹ Lawyer Omar Menjivar reflected on the importance of this bill in Honduras. "In an independent and sovereign republic, with a justice system that is moderately close to the standards of the rule of law, the extradition of its nationals to another state for trial is inadmissible. However, when the rule of law has been dismantled and the institutions that make up all the links in the justice system have been placed under a single, vertical command against which there are serious and proven allegations of links to drug trafficking and in the planning, execution, direction and direct benefit of gigantic acts of public corruption, albeit with shame, we must recognize that extradition represents the only hope for justice so that the country's main drug traffickers are punished. This is clear to those who run the country, and particularly to those who hold the presidency of the Republic, since they are the main accused in U.S. courts as CC4, the head of drug trafficking in Honduras. That's why they identify extradition as their main threat, and although CC4 has always promoted himself as the promoter of the reform of Article 102 of the constitution, which allowed for extradition (which was actually an imposition by the United States, which the government of Pepe Lobo was unable to resist), now he will do whatever is necessary to inoculate it as a threat that unsettles it. (...) However, to ensure the effectiveness of the plan, man needs to remain in power, directly or through a figurehead, and to that end, I have no doubt that he will do what is necessary, including avoiding general elections, under any pretense. For him, for CC4, it is vital to remain in power."¹⁹²

Last month, Congress approved a new bill targeting drug planes. InSight Crime highlighted how this bill further exposes the contradictory US-Honduras drug partnership. "When it comes to curbing drug trafficking, the relationship between the United States and Honduras is beginning to appear schizophrenic. On one hand, Washington's praise for the legal reforms passed by the Hernández government presents Honduras as a key ally in the joint fight against drug trafficking in Central America. But on the other, multiple allegations made by US prosecutors have alleged that President Hernández acted as a co-conspirator in an international cocaine trafficking operation run by his brother, Tony. High-ranking police and military officials close to the president have also been accused of trafficking."¹⁹³ Eric Olson commented on this as well. "In normal times, sharing U.S. drug intelligence with a foreign government led by a president tainted by drug trafficking corruption would be a non-starter. But these seem to be anything but normal times. An innocuous sounding tweet last month from the U.S. Embassy in Honduras congratulating the government on an amended "aerial sovereignty law" barely registered in either country. But this law, combined with revelations published by Univision on June 15th about alleged senior Honduran government involvement in cocaine trafficking, including the Honduran President – Juan Orlando Hernández (JOH) - should set our hair on fire. The President denies any involvement in the scheme. The innocent sounding changes to the Law for Protection of Aerial Sovereignty will facilitate renewed counter-narcotics cooperation between the U.S. and Honduran security forces. This implies the United States would share intelligence, likely including radar tracking of possible drug flights, with a foreign

191 <http://elpulso.hn/?p=44366>

192 <https://criterio.hn/asistimos-a-la-vispera-del-fin-de-la-extradicion/>

193 <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/airspace-us-honduras-drug-partnership/>

government headed by an unindicted co-conspirator in a drug trafficking case under investigation by the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York."¹⁹⁴

A Honduran worker at the National Port Company (ENP), Dennis Varela, was arrested on the high sea with 1000kg of cocaine.¹⁹⁵ A drug trafficking operation involving TIGRES agents made headlines in 2014. In the operation directed against the Valle Valle clan, \$12.5 million were seized of which \$1.3 million were stolen by the special forces. In 2016, the accused agents were absolved, but now the Supreme Court ordered a re-trial.¹⁹⁶

Tony Hernández and Other Cases Tried in the US

This month, Tony Hernández' newest defense team request another postponement of the sentencing scheduled for June 5.¹⁹⁷ It was postponed to September 16.¹⁹⁸ In the case against the former Liberal congressman Fredy Nájera the sentencing has been postponed to August 10.¹⁹⁹ Accused drug trafficker Geovanny Fuentes Ramírez, meanwhile, declared himself innocent.²⁰⁰

On June 5, The Pro Honduras Network informed that the District Attorney's Office for the Southern District of New York declassified part of the documentation related to the case of Geovanny Fuentes Ramirez, an alleged drug trafficker who was captured on March 1, 2020 while he was at the airport in Miami. "In these documents the prosecution informs the judge in charge of the case, Stewart D. Aaron, that during the course of the legal proceedings against Geovanny Fuentes they will present evidence against him and his co-conspirators and partners, which will be taken from the electronic devices he was carrying at the time of his arrest. So far, these electronic devices are kept in a security vault located in Washington DC and will be sent to the Court when they are required." His case his interesting as in the accusation presented on March 1, JOH a.k.a. CC-4 was mentioned once again.²⁰¹

"A pair of Guatemalan cousins who were indicted by U.S. federal prosecutors on drug trafficking charges in December appear to have turned themselves over to authorities, according to court documents that show they are scheduled to be arraigned in New York court later this week. The cousins, Otto and Ronald Salguero, are linked to the former leader of the Sinaloa Cartel Joaquin 'El Chapo' Guzman and were indicted as co-conspirators of former Honduran congressman, Juan Antonio 'Tony' Hernandez, the brother of president Juan Orlando Hernandez. (...) A key witness in the trial identified the Salguero cousins as being present at a meeting in El Paraiso, Honduras, when Guzman allegedly gave \$1 million dollars in cash to Tony Hernandez as a contribution to his

194 <https://www.univision.com/univision-news/opinion/contradictory-signals-undermine-u-s-credibility-in-honduras-and-central-america>

195 <https://tiempo.hn/empleado-de-la-enp-cae-en-costa-rica-con-una-tonelada-de-droga/>

196 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/ordenan-repetir-juicio-a-nueve-expolicias-tigres-por-sustraccion-de-narcodolares.html>

197 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1384350-466/abogado-de-tony-hern%C3%A1ndez-solicita-aplazar-sentencia-hasta-julio>

198 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/2030-urgente-pasan-sentencia-de-tony-al-16-de-septiembre>

199 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1384344-466/postergan-sentencia-contr-fredy-n%C3%A1jera-en-estados-unidos>

200 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1388766-466/capo-hondure%C3%B1o-geovanny-fuentes-se-declara-inocente-en-estados-unidos>

201 <https://prohondurasnetwork.com/2020/06/05/fiscalia-para-el-distrito-sur-de-new-york-extraera-pruebas-contr-geovanny-fuentes-y-sus-socios-de-celulares-decomisados-al-momento-de-su-captura/>

brother's 2013 election campaign later that year."²⁰² "Last December, the US Justice Department charged the two men with being part of a drug trafficking ring in Honduras and Guatemala led by Tony Hernández, the brother of current Honduras President Juan Orlando Hernández. "These defendants conspired with the corrupt Honduran officials they bribed to facilitate the importation into the US of large quantities of cocaine for the Sinaloa Cartel," wrote US Attorney Geoffrey Berman in the indictment. A witness in the case against Tony Hernández told US prosecutors that the Salguero cousins were present at a meeting where Joaquín Guzmán Loera, alias "El Chapo" and the former leader of Mexico's Sinaloa Cartel, gave Hernández \$1 million to finance the presidential campaign of his brother Juan Orlando in 2013."²⁰³ On June 20, Ronald Enrique Salguero Portillo declared himself innocent²⁰⁴m, but bail was denied.²⁰⁵

At the end of the month, the situation in the US once again caught up with Honduras. US Attorney Geoffrey Berman, the one overseeing many of the drug trafficking cases against Hondurans including the one that names Honduran President Juan Orlando Hernandez as a co-conspirator, was fired by Trump.²⁰⁶ Not because of his work on Honduras, but because he was also investigating Trump and his allies. Political analyst Tomas Andino Mencía highlighted what this story once again has laid bare. "One symptom of this political syndrome is low political self-esteem. Those who suffer from this syndrome hope that a gringo court will take JOH away and end his dictatorship. This only reflects a lot of naivety and the degree of mental colonization that is common in our country, since they pass over the fact that the solution to our problems will come from outside, from the "great master" and not from ourselves. They believe that as a people we are not capable of self-organizing and doing the task by our own means. That is why they project frustration on the desire for others to come and save us."²⁰⁷

Varia

JOH

On June 16, JOH made once again headlines, but not with his possible drug trafficking links or corruption cases, no, the main headline was that JOH and his wife tested positive for COVID-19. It was widely covered and Honduras being Honduras where one, rightly, mistrusts the government, some interpreted this as a media stunt to bolster support for JOH.²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ Even the former president Pepe Lobo stated that he did not believe that JOH got infected.²¹⁰ JOH and his wife were treated at the Military Hospital.²¹¹ Even the LA Times picked up the story. "When health officials in Honduras

202 <https://www.univision.com/univision-news/latin-america/new-arrests-in-honduras-case-implicating-president-juan-orlando-herandez>

203 <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/brief/tony-herandez-sinaloa-cartel-honduras/>

204 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1388167-466/presunto-socio-de-tony-herm%C3%A1ndez-se-declara-no-culpable-en-ee-uu>

205 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1390348-466/niegan-fianza-a-narco-guatemalteco-ligado-a-tony-herm%C3%A1ndez>

206 <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/20/nyregion/trump-geoffrey-berman-fired-sdny.html>

207 <https://criterio.hn/el-despido-del-fiscal-berman-y-el-sindrome-del-hondureno-deseperanzado/>

208 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1387442-466/juan-orlando-herm%C3%A1ndez-presidente-de-honduras-positivo-al-covid-19>

209 <https://confidencialhn.com/se-va-cumpliendo-el-guion-de-ji-rendon-joh-da-positivo-al-sars-cov2/>

210 <https://criterio.hn/pepe-lobo-cree-que-enfermedad-de-joh-es-puro-circo/>

211 <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais/1387447-466/joh-honduras-hospitalizado-covid-coronavirus-neumonia-pandemia-juan-orlando>

announced this week that President Juan Orlando Hernández had been hospitalized after testing positive for the coronavirus, there were the expected outpourings of support. But skepticism — voiced by the president’s political opponents as well as ordinary Hondurans — quickly followed, with some questioning whether Hernández was sick at all. Memes circulated online, including a widely shared cartoon showing Hernández in a hospital bed being coached on how to look ill. Erick Benjamins, a 26-year-old barber in the northern department of Santa Barbara, said he thinks the president is lying to divert attention from his controversial handling of the coronavirus as well as a sweeping U.S. drug trafficking investigation that has implicated Hernández and several members of his family. (...) the fact that such theories have gained so much traction underscores just how deeply divided this small Central American nation has become — and just how much legitimacy Hernández has lost. (...) Tirza Flores Lanza, an appeals court judge who has clashed with Hernández in the past, said she doesn’t know whether the president has the coronavirus, and doesn’t really care. But she was worried about what the rampant conspiracies said about the state of things in Honduras. “People here are utterly distrustful,” she said. “We don’t believe absolutely anything, especially not what comes from the government.”²¹² Radio Progreso agreed that JOH tested positive...for corruption, drug trafficking, violating the constitution and more.²¹³

Reporteros de Investigación published an investigation into fake news and the JOH regime.^{214 215 216}

In a statement, the Liberal Party demanded that the Commissioners of the Institute of Access to Public Information (IAIP) take immediate action to prevent abuses intended to be committed by the "Digital Government",²¹⁷ created by the JOH regime with financing from the Inter-American Bank (BID). "This measure is presented by the government as necessary to reduce bureaucracy and to promote innovation and state efficiency through the use of technology. However, it is proven that the massive accumulation of data, including personal data, means that "each citizen is evaluated and observed in his or her daily life. Therefore, the personal and social conduct of every person is subject to permanent surveillance". This is aggravated in countries like ours, where the authorities themselves have admitted that the databases of state institutions have been sold and there are even complaints about the irregular use of them in electoral processes and organized crime. Now everything worries us even more when they announce a digital government with its own budget, without having any limit on the personal data of each citizen."²¹⁸

Coup d'état

Honduras commemorated the 11th anniversary of the coup d'état, not a one-time event, but a continuous process met with community-organized counter-coups. "Eleven years of incessant coup d'état have also been years of rebellion by Honduran communities organized in defense of their

212 <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2020-06-18/the-president-of-honduras-says-hes-been-hospitalized-with-covid-19-but-conspiracy-theories-rage>

213 <https://radioprogreso.net/np/hace-tiempo-dio-positivo/>

214 <https://www.reporterosdeinvestigacion.com/2020/06/22/asi-crean-noticias-falsas/>

215 <https://www.reporterosdeinvestigacion.com/2020/06/24/empresa-de-israel-con-artilleria-de-mentiras-y-fake-news-virales-para-distraer/>

216 <https://www.reporterosdeinvestigacion.com/2020/06/29/presidente-de-honduras-mas-popular-que-los-bts/>

217 <http://elpulso.hn?p=44925>

218 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/2032-advierten-peligro-que-gobierno-digital-espie-hondurenos>

territory and natural wealth, their culture and their dignity. (...) These eleven years have also seen the rise of organizations and movements in defense of human rights, and especially the leadership of human rights defenders, who have been threatened and stigmatized most harshly by those who have deepened the dynamics of the coup d'état. (...) These eleven years have also seen the emergence of alternative communication, both at the individual level and in networks, especially community radio stations, but also digital productions, in a creative combination of traditional media and social networks. (...) These eleven years have been of migrants and of the awareness that society has taken about the defense of the rights of migrant workers, increased by the growing discrimination and racism that sustains the approval of the anti-immigrant legislation promoted by the policies of the governments of the United States, first and foremost with Barak Obama, and continued with greater scorn by the government of Donald Trump. "Neither coup d'état nor coup d'état for women", has been the symbolic expression of the irruption and strength of the feminist struggles against the patriarchal culture. (...) In these eleven years the Central and Latin American focus of our struggles has grown. This approach is the result of the awareness that our problems and conflicts do not originate only in our countries, and that many of the springs and actors that energize our problems are found outside our borders. This awareness leads to the need to articulate networks and commitments from Central and Latin American solidarity. Let new signs continue to burst forth, sowing the seeds that will now and forever drown out all the ignominious signs of the coup d'état."²¹⁹

Penal Code

In 2014, the National Congress began the process of formulating, elaborating and socializing the new and very controversial Penal Code, which to date continues to be discussed before its expected entry into force this coming June 25.²²⁰ Mauricio Velasco, president of Pro-Justicia Honduras, explains how the new Penal Code is both unconstitutional and fraudulent. "An analysis of publications in the Official Gazette, recordings, videos and minutes of the plenary sessions of the National Congress, related to the discussion and approval of the new Penal Code, shows that some deputies, in addition to violating parliamentary procedure, incurred in crimes defined in the Criminal Code as forgery of public documents and abuse of authority. Article 214 of the Constitution of the Republic stipulates that bills must be voted on after three debates on different days, except in cases of urgency, which must be approved by a simple majority of the deputies present. The new Penal Code, without taking into account its unquestionable importance and long duration, was voted on in an irresponsible and hasty manner, in a single debate and without having justified the case of emergency as required by the Constitution of the Republic. The two extensions of the *vacatio legis* of the new Penal Code that the National Congress had to approve, among other reasons, because of the lack of socialization and preparation of the necessary personnel for its application in the Judiciary, prove that the vote should have been carried out in three debates."²²¹

219 <https://radioprogreso.net/np/once-anos-senales-de-contra-golpe/>

220 <https://confidencialhn.com/esta-semana-se-cumplen-seis-anos-del-comienzo-de-la-socializacion-del-nuevo-codigo-penal/>

221 <http://www.conexihon.hn/index.php/opiniones/1609-nuevo-codigo-penal-es-inconstitucional-y-fraudulento>

Last month, the National Anti-Corruption Council (CNA) started to publish investigations into the "Penal Code of Impunity". This month, they published Part II²²², III²²³ and IV²²⁴. The CNA also wrote a letter/analysis to the UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, David Kaye, on the effects of the new Penal Code on freedom of expression.²²⁵ This month, the CNA further denounced that Congress never took into account the opinion of the people or of national and international organizations in the approval of the new Penal Code.²²⁶ Instead, Congress organized a Zoom call for today with "influencers" to discuss the Penal Code.²²⁷ ConexiHon also attended. "[T]here was no option to write in the chat or raise your hand to ask questions. In addition, several users, when given the opportunity to speak, expressed the view that the moderators were restricting freedom of expression. (...) At the meeting, Congress mounted a campaign to try to continue legitimizing this repressive regulation of fundamental rights. The CN lawyers tried to discredit the work of the National Anti-Corruption Council (CNA), for showing the impunity and acts of corruption that they are provoking with public funds to combat the COVID-19 in Honduras."²²⁸ Later this month, OACNUDH also presented its analysis of the new Penal Code to Congress.²²⁹

On June 8, Congress announced that a possible abrogation of the new Penal Code cannot be discussed again until the next legislature, i.e. January 2021.²³⁰ The CNA as well as other civil society and human rights organizations have asked for this on various occasions. This demand was made again as a response to Congress' statement by a group of national and international human rights organizations from the area of freedom of expression. "The concerns of this group of organizations lie in the inclusion of crimes against honor such as slander and libel in the criminal sphere and the provisions related to criminal responsibility for crimes committed during the exercise of the right to demonstrate that could lead to the infringement of rights such as freedom of expression, access to information, association, among others."²³¹

CIPRODEH, meanwhile, presented a proposal for reforming the new Penal Code to make it compliant with the right to free assembly.²³² The current text is very problematic. "The new Penal Code provides in article 587 that a terrorist association is constituted by two or more persons to commit an offense with the aim of seriously subverting the constitutional order or provoking a state of terror in the population or part of it. As drafted, it removes one of the essential elements for considering that an action can be considered terrorism: the intent to cause death or serious injury to persons. In doing so, it turns any crime into a terrorist act, even if it is not serious. The UN Special

222 <https://www.cna.hn/2020/05/24/estudio-al-codigo-penal-tomo-ii/>

223 <https://www.cna.hn/2020/06/01/estudio-al-codigo-penal-tomo-iii/>

224 https://www.cna.hn/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Tomo-IV_Los-delitos-dirigidos-a-la-delincuencia-comu%CC%81n.pdf

225 <https://www.cna.hn/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Nota-325-2020-Carta-de-denuncia-Relatori%CC%81a-Libertad-de-Expresio%CC%81n-ONU-F.pdf>

226 <https://criterio.hn/es-una-falacia-que-el-congreso-nacional-quiera-escuchar-al-pueblo-cna/>

227 <https://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/1385159-410/congreso-nacional-propuestas-dudas-influencers-nuevo-codigo-penal>

228 <http://www.conexihon.hn/index.php/transparencia/1601-nuevo-codigo-penal-beneficia-a-los-politicos-corruptos-de-honduras>

229 <https://twitter.com/ONUDDHH/status/1274873773305597953>

230 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/abrogacion-del-codigo-penal-solo-se-discutira-en-proxima-legislatura-senala-el-cn.html>

231 <http://www.pasosdeanimalgrande.com/index.php/en/nuevo-codigo-penal/item/2871-dicen-organizaciones-internacionales-nuevo-codigo-penal-contribuye-a-la-adversidad-para-ejercer-el-periodismo-y-lesiona-seriamente-los-ddhh-en-honduras>

232 http://ciprodeh.org.hn/images/Doc/Analisis_propuesta_sobre_complimiento_CIPRODEH.pdf

Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders expressed concern about the excessively broad scope of this crime, which would allow for the criminalization of other types of conduct and could be used against human rights defenders."²³³

Another reason to denounced the new Penal Code is its reduction of penalties for sexual crimes. "[T]he reduction of penalties for sexual crimes is not in keeping with the high levels of violence faced by women and ignores that it represents an offense against human dignity, as stated in the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women. If the National Congress wanted to demonstrate its commitment to eradicating violence against women, it should establish penalties appropriate to the seriousness of the crimes. For the time being, the new Penal Code shows that such a commitment does not exist."²³⁴

And then June 25 arrived...and something interesting happened. Opposition politicians from Libre, Pinu and the Liberal Party called for an extraordinary session to stop the Penal Code based on article 191 of the Honduran constitution.²³⁵ They installed their own board with a president, vice-presidents and two secretaries. The 70 congresswo/men present voted all for the abrogation of the new Penal Code.²³⁶ According to an analysis by the Coalition against Impunity, this extraordinary session was legal and constitutional.²³⁷ They also received support from the Commerce and Industry Chamber of Cortés (CCIC). The pro-JOH side of Congress did not recognize the session and its results. Nevertheless, the National Party later announced that they are in favor of prolonging once again the *vacatio legis*, i.e. the time until the Penal Code comes into force.²³⁸

The next day, it turned out these were empty words as the Nationalist president of Congress, Mauricio Oliva, said that the Penal Code had come into force.²³⁹ Additionally, opposition lawmakers were officially accused by the legal service of Congress for abuse of authority and other alleged crimes.²⁴⁰ In the evening, the presidential adviser Ebal Díaz tweeted: "In the next few hours, the Executive Branch will send a formal communication to the National Congress asking for the complete repeal of the new Penal Code or, if necessary, for profound reforms that will be shared with all sectors".²⁴¹ The next day, the executive officially requested that Congress derogate the new Penal Code.²⁴² The also Nationalist vice-president of Congress, Mario Pérez, said that this is not possible, the code can only be reformed.²⁴³ Sociologist Pablo Carías considered the actions by the JOH regime "a strategy to confuse the Honduran population in these moments of pandemic".²⁴⁴ If JOH were serious about derogating the Penal Code, why did he not veto its coming into force?

233 <https://radioprogressohn.net/np/la-defensa-de-la-vida-puede-ser-terrorismo-segun-el-nuevo-codigo-penal/>

234 <https://radioprogressohn.net/np/violencia-sexual-y-el-nuevo-codigo-penal/>

235 <https://criterio.hn/diputados-de-oposicion-convocan-a-sesion-extraordinaria-para-detener-codigo-penal/>

236 <https://criterio.hn/historico-congreso-extraordinario-decide-abrogar-nuevo-codigo-penal-en-honduras/>

237 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/ci-reconoce-como-un-acto-democratico-y-constitucional-sesion-que-realizan-diputados-para-que-no-entre-en-vigencia-codigo-penal/>

238 <https://criterio.hn/partido-nacional-pide-que-se-amplie-vacatio-legis-al-codigo-penal/>

239 <https://confidencialhn.com/presidente-del-congreso-reafirma-que-el-nuevo-codigo-penal-ya-esta-en-vigencia/>

240 <https://criterio.hn/congreso-nacional-presenta-acusacion-contra-diputados-de-la-oposicion/>

241 <https://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/1389625-410/-nuevo-codigo-penal-ejecutivo-congreso-nacional->

242 <https://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/ejecutivo-hace-solicitud-formal-al-congreso-para-derogar-el-codigo-penal.html>

243 <https://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/1389795-410/codigo-penal-honduras-nuevo-vicepresidente-congreso-nacional-mario-perez>

244 <https://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/sociologo-considera-como-estrategia-para-confundir-la-accion-del-ejecutivo-de-pedir-reformas-al-codigo-penal.html>

ConfidencialHN saw in it a strategy to divert attention away from the most recent corruption cases.²⁴⁵

There remain a lot of question as June came to an end. The Coalition against Impunity stated in a press release that "hat based on Article 216 of the Constitution of the Republic, if the Executive does not take a stand on the decree presented by the opposition deputies, the [Penal] Code will be considered abrogated".²⁴⁶ CESPAD published a helpful analysis of the events up to now.²⁴⁷

Elections

Due to the corona crisis, the budget for the primary elections will be reduced by 25%. Last time, they cost 1.2 billion Lempiras.²⁴⁸ This attempt soon seemed less realistic, when a discussion took off about the so-called "political debt" (deuda política), i.e. the amount of money political parties will receive depending on the votes they get. Some want to raise the amount per vote from 20 or 30 (the reporting differed) to 60 Lempiras.^{249 250} The National Electoral Council (CNE) criticized that they had not yet been consulted on the matter.²⁵¹ FOSDEH calculated that the possible increase of the "political debt" to 60 Lempiras per vote would cost over 200 million Lempiras.²⁵²

The president of the National Electoral Council, Rixi Moncada, denounced that the three commissioners at the National Registry of Persons (RNP) intend to deliver an incomplete electoral census before the call for elections scheduled for September 13. "It is unacceptable that for the construction of the National Electoral Census, the National Registry of Persons proposes to the National Electoral Council to deliver an incomplete list with only one million seventy-four thousand citizens registered and thus call for elections on September 13, violating the constitutional and legal right of all citizens to participate in clean, free and transparent elections."²⁵³ CESPAD also dedicates a new piece of analysis to this topic. "During the month of May, the electoral political scenario moved from the controversy of an alleged plan to suppress the 2021 primary elections, denounced during the first week, to another one: the danger of primary elections without a new national identification document and without a purified and updated National Electoral Census."²⁵⁴ On June 14, the Nationalist secretary of Congress, José Tomás Zambrano, presented a bill aimed to conclude the new electoral census before the next electoral process. He proposes that this should be carried out jointly by the National Registry of Persons (RNP) and the

245 <https://confidencialhn.com/diaz-busca-olvidar-ilicitos-en-investh-y-manda-al-congreso-iniciativa-contracodigo-penal/>

246 <https://criterio.hn/si-el-poder-ejecutivo-no-se-pronuncia-por-decreto-de-la-oposicion-el-codigo-se-considerara-abrogado/>

247 <http://cespad.org.hn/2020/06/28/analisis-semanal-honduras-la-oposicion-politica-sale-de-su-confinamiento-e-intenta-detener-el-nuevo-codigo-penal/>

248 <https://tiempo.hn/cne-reducira-25-presupuesto-elecciones-primarias/>

249 <https://criterio.hn/con-aumento-de-20-a-60-lempiras-por-voto-congreso-comenzara-a-debatir-nueva-ley-electoral/>

250 <https://confidencialhn.com/expresidente-del-tsc-afirma-que-deuda-politica-es-para-evitar-filtracion-de-la-delincuencia-organizada-y-narcotrafico/>

251 <https://confidencialhn.com/cne-dice-no-le-han-pedido-opinion-sobre-incrementar-valor-del-voto-en-proximas-elecciones/>

252 <https://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/mas-de-1-200-millones-sera-el-impacto-si-se-aumenta-la-deuda-politica.html>

253 <https://confidencialhn.com/presidenta-del-cne-denuncia-a-comisionados-del-rnp-por-pretender-enviar-incompleto-el-censo-para-comicios-de-2021/>

254 <http://cespad.org.hn/2020/06/09/analisis-del-plan-para-suprimir-las-elecciones-a-los-riesgos-de-ir-a-elecciones-sin-nueva-cedula-y-censo/>

National Electoral Council (CNE).²⁵⁵ Libre announced that they would not participate in primary elections without a new electoral census and new identity cards.²⁵⁶

Additionally, the new Electoral Law has not yet been approved.²⁵⁷ ContraCorriente investigated the importance of a two-round presidential election for Honduras and if this could be the key to avoid another political crisis.²⁵⁸ A group of congresswo/men later presented a bill asking for a public consultation on the two-round presidential election and the presidential reelection.²⁵⁹

Migration

In the midst of a global pandemic, desperation led some 300 people to make their way to the US from Choluteca.²⁶⁰ They have been stranded there for months and left unattended.²⁶¹ They later stranded again in the sector of Chaguite, kilometer 26, Pan-American Highway.²⁶² By the end of the month, they tried their luck again taking off from San Pedro Sula. But shortly afterwards, they were detained.²⁶³

The Norwegian Refugee Council published a report on forced migration in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras and the role of extortion. "This snapshot explores the links between extortion, internal displacement and forced migration in the North of Central America (NCA) and the migration route in Mexico. Although the definition varies across different national legislations, we understand extortion as being the use of intimidation, violence or threats to force someone to do something or to obtain someone's property. This type of aggression one of the main drivers of displacement in the region, but it is also one of the main crimes that people are subjected to during displacement, as well as after deportation back to their countries of origin. As such, extortion transcends international borders as one of the main human rights violations committed against displaced people and migrants."²⁶⁴

The Intercept published an in-depth article on the "export" of COVID-19 by the Trump administration through deportation flights. "Central America's Northern Triangle, however, has received the majority of flights, since many of the migrants arriving at the U.S.'s southern border in recent years have been from El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala. Of 351 likely deportation flights between February 3 and June 24, according to CEPR, 240 went to the Northern Triangle. Guatemala was the top recipient with 100 flights."²⁶⁵

255 <https://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/proponen-ley-transitoria-para-construir-nuevo-censo-electoral-de-cara-a-las-proximas-elecciones.html>

256 <https://tiempo.hn/libre-no-ira-elecciones-sin-nueva-tarjeta-censo-electoral/>

257 <https://radioprogressohn.net/instante/incertidumbre-se-apodera-del-panorama-politico-hondureno/>

258 <https://contracorriente.red/2020/06/06/aprobacion-de-segunda-vuelta-la-clave-para-evitar-una-nueva-crisis-politica/>

259 <https://www.proceso.hn/politica-nacional/36-proceso-electoral/presentan-proyecto-de-decreto-de-consulta-ciudadana-para-definir-segunda-vuelta-y-reeleccion-presidencial.html>

260 <http://www.web.ellibertador.hn/index.php/noticias/nacionales/2020-urgente-nueva-caravana-de-honduras-huye-de-la-muerte>

261 <http://im-defensoras.org/2020/06/alerta-defensoras-hn-personas-migrantes-de-haiti-y-cuba-se-enuestran-en-riesgo-al-intentar-salir-de-choluteca-en-busca-de-refugio-y-asistencia-medica/>

262 <https://criterio.hn/grupo-migrante-haitiano-clama-a-gobierno-gestionar-su-salida-de-territorio-hondureno/>

263 <https://radioprogressohn.net/instante/detienen-a-primeros-miembro-de-caravana-de-migrantes-que-salio-hoy-con-rumbo-a-estados-unidos/>

264 <https://reliefweb.int/report/honduras/violence-and-protection-north-central-america-redlac-snapshot-8-extortion-key>

265 <https://theintercept.com/2020/06/26/coronavirus-ice-detention-deportation-haiti-guatemala/>

Public Health

The fight between the JOH regime and the company Diálisis de Honduras continues on the back of Hondurans in need of dialysis (see previous months). The company that it will be forced to reduce sessions of hemodialysis for kidney patients from three to two per week because Health Secretary Alba Consuelo Flores does not want to resolve the payment of some 250 million Lempiras owed to them.²⁶⁶

Education

Congress additionally approved \$80 millions to remodel, improve and sometimes build from scratch 105 schools. The money comes from the Central American Bank for Economic Integration (BCIE). Opposition politicians denounce a lack of transparency regarding the credit, e.g. they don't even know the names of the schools.^{267 268}

And Light at the End of a Month

The coordinator of MASSVIDA and human rights defender German Chirinos was awarded the Oscar Romero Award 2020.²⁶⁹ MASSVIDA is active in the south of Honduras. This month, COFADEH published a new report on the human rights situation there.²⁷⁰

266 <https://confidencialhn.com/bajaran-a-dos-sesiones-de-hemodialisis-a-pacientes-renales-por-negligencia-de-secretaria-de-salud/>

267 <https://criterio.hn/mas-endeudamiento-para-honduras-ahora-a-traves-de-idecoas/>

268 <https://www.proceso.hn/actualidad/7-actualidad/congreso-aprueba-prestamo-de-80-millones-para-construir-y-reparar-mas-de-100-escuelas-del-pais.html>

269 <http://www.conexihon.hn/index.php/libertad-de-expresion/1625-coordinador-del-massvida-recibe-premio-internacional-oscar-romero-2020-por-su-lucha-en-defensa-de-los-bienes-comunes-en-honduras>

270 <http://defensoresenlinea.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/BOLETIN-La-Zona-Sur-el-nuevo-escenario-de-la-violencia-capitalista.pdf>

Another Month at the Honduras Forum Switzerland

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-

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-

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