**HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE BRIEFING #5:**
**THE HUMAN RIGHTS CRISIS IN HONDURAS**
**Society for Applied Anthropology – www.sfaa.net**

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## THE SITUATION

Saturday night, September 27, 2012, Tegucigalpa, the Honduran capital. It had been a tense week for Antonio Trejo, legal advocate for a peasant organization in the midst of a land struggle in Honduras' northern Aguan Valley. Although they had won their case in court, Trejo and the peasant leaders had recently been arrested, harassed, and threatened. Trejo was getting death threats via text messages on his cell phone. But tonight he was in his other role, as evangelical pastor. He had just celebrated a wedding when he went out to his car to retrieve the marriage certificate. He was cut down in a hail of bullets.[1]

Honduras is in a human rights crisis. Some liken it to Colombia at its most violent. Others are beginning to use the term "failed state." The country has the highest murder rate in the world (now 91 per 100,000), and is considered one of the most dangerous places for journalists.[2] Since President Manuel Zelaya was forcibly removed from office in June, 2009, by the army on orders from the Honduran Congress and the Supreme Court, there have been massive popular protests and massive state repression against protestors and critics of the government. Death squads and members of the state security forces have targeted peasants, teachers, students, journalists, lawyers, human rights and LGBT activists, priests, ministers, and others.

In the three years since the removal of Zelaya, prominent individuals and organizations have issued reports documenting hundreds of cases of human rights abuse and violence in Honduras. Among others, such reports have come from the Inter-American Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States, the United Nations Human Rights Rapporteur and the UN Rapporteur for Freedom of the Press and Expression, the independent International Truth Commission (Comision de Verdad, often referred to in English as the "True Commission" to distinguish it from the government-sponsored Truth and Reconciliation Commission) and even the government's own Commission.[3]

Photo: Lucy Edwards, January 2011. Honduran Police face demonstrators on the steps of the Supreme Court of Justice, Tegucigalpa.

Human rights activists and leaders of popular organizations say the current situation is as bad as, or worse than the national security state of the 1980s.[4] At that time, the Honduran elite and military reacted to the successful Sandinista revolution in neighboring Nicaragua and the guerrilla warfare in El Salvador by imposing some of the most repressive measures of national security ideology used earlier in Argentina's dirty war.[5] Trained in the United States and in Honduras by Argentine military

advisors, the notorious 316 Battalion and other military units assassinated, tortured, and disappeared victims in the name of protecting the country from communism. Today a former head of the 316 and other figures from the repression of the 1980s occupy roles in the current government, and Hondurans remember that the current national police chief was involved in the death squads of that time.

While Honduras was enduring the national security measures of the 1980s, the United States developed a large military and intelligence presence there in reaction to the imagined threat of communism in the region. In Honduras, the U.S. military presence raised issues of national sovereignty, caused some to say Honduras was under foreign occupation, and earned the country the title, "Battleship Honduras." Since then, the U.S. military presence has remained in ways that circumvent existing Honduran law but with the approval of the Honduran government. In the past few years that presence has been increasing again under the rubric of narcotics interdiction in the east and north of the country.

The crisis goes deeper than the current political unrest. It is rooted in historic patterns of unresolved social, economic, and political problems, including in particular poverty and inequitable access to land and resources. Honduras has long been ruled by a small group of families that form an economic elite controlling both major political parties and routinely enforcing its position through repression of popular dissent using both state and private security forces.[6] Human rights abuses committed by state and private security go unpunished, while peasants who take over unused land for farming are accused of terrorism. For years, authorities and large landowners ignored the Agrarian Reform Law, and finally swept it aside. They have increasingly criminalized most peasant activism.[7] Today the situation is exacerbated by an invasion of drug trafficking in which the security forces are widely perceived to be involved, and by an infusion of guns and military aid to the country. Drug violence has increased, and it provides a cover for political violence. Official agencies and the press routinely attribute almost all acts of violence to narcotics or common crime, as if the country suffered not from a human rights crisis but a crime wave. Drug violence also provides an excuse to request more U.S. security aid, much of it going to the same security forces accused of human rights violations.

## THE UNITED STATES CONNECTION

Hondurans themselves say that it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the United States in shaping Honduran affairs. The United States has a long history of economic, political,

Photo: Noah Phillips-Edwards, August 2012. Private security guards detain two local men.

and military involvement in Honduras going back to the mid-1800s. U.S. influence has been exercised primarily through economic and military means. Economic investment—first fruit companies, then more diversified investments in mining, logging, and sweatshop assembly industries (maquiladoras)—has also meant political influence over Honduran governments. U.S. economic influence has continued during the past decade through free trade agreements (CAFTA-DR) and programs of expanded investment supported by the U.S. State Department and promoted under the slogan, "Honduras is open for business." Many of these investments have included practices that popular organizations condemn for causing environmental harm, displacement of rural communities, and the taking of indigenous lands (www.caftadr.net/home.html).[8] A common perception in Honduras is that the government and the elite are enthusiastically selling the country's resources for private profit.

United States military influence in Honduras is exercised in three ways: direct U.S. military presence in the country, training of Honduran military and security forces, and security aid given directly and through regional security arrangements. The U.S. military presence, in Honduras since the 1980s, has recently been augmented by anti-drug enforcement support for Honduran security forces under a program named Operation Anvil. This has resulted in at least one internationally publicized incident. On May 11, 2012, near the community of Ahuas along the Patuca River in the eastern Mosquitia region, anti-drug units that included Honduran security forces, Guatemalan pilots, and U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency commandos using State Department helicopters killed four local villagers in what Honduran authorities said was probably a case of mistaken identity (www.cispes.org/documents/DR-CAFTA.Effects_and_Alternatives.pdf), (www.cnn.com/2012/07/11/world/americas/honduras-operation-anvil/index.html).[9] Due to the international notoriety of this case in particular, Operation Anvil was suspended in October, 2012, but other forms of anti-drug assistance continue. Anvil may be an apt name, since local people seem caught between complying with the demands of drug lords and the raids of authorities who accuse the people of participating in drug smuggling. Eastern Honduras has become a major transshipment hub for drugs destined to the United States. Additional security aid was suspended after several incidents in which Honduran air force units reportedly shot down civilian airplanes.

Training Honduran security forces is another avenue of U.S. influence. Since at least the 1980s, many Honduran military officers have been trained at the U.S.-run School of the Americas (known to some Latin Americans as the "school of the assassins"). Some of these officers, past and present, have been accused of or implicated in human rights abuses. In addition, U.S. aid has financed equipment and vehicles for Honduran security forces. When Ebed Yanez, an unarmed teenager was killed by a Honduran security patrol near a checkpoint in Tegucigalpa early in 2012, it was later (November 12, 2012) reported that officers who were involved in the killing and the subsequent attempted cover-up were alumni of the School of the Americas, and that the patrol's vehicle and some of its equipment were part of a package of U.S. security aid (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/12/violence-in-honduras_n_2118971.html).[10]

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In the past two years, members of the United States Congress have sent at least two "Dear Colleague" letters (the second with ninety-four signatures) to Secretary of State Clinton condemning rights abuses in Honduras. In Autumn, 2012, Senator John Kerry (D-MA), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and nominee to become the next Secretary of State, expressed the view that security aid to Honduras should be suspended, at least until a review of its use can be conducted. Such measures are enjoined under the so-called Leahy Amendment that may be applied in the case of Honduras. The Leahy

Amendment mandates suspension of aid to foreign military units that are implicated in human rights violations against their own citizens.

Why will the United States be interested in Honduras in the coming decade? Honduras is the base from which the United States projects its military influence in the Central American and Caribbean region, a role Honduras has played faithfully since the 1980s. For years there have been reports of large oil reserves off the northeastern coast of Honduras and Nicaragua. Honduras is fast becoming a major producer and consumer of narcotics, as well as a transshipment channel to the United States. And Honduran emigration to the United States is rapidly growing. By some estimates, ninety percent of the illegal immigration coming to the United States in the past few years from Latin America has been composed of young Hondurans fleeing their country.[11]

## DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CRISIS

The current Honduran government has adopted several positions regarding the question of violence and human rights. Shortly after the 2009 coup, government officials projected an image of a country where everything was normal—Honduras was open for business. There was little mention of violence since that would have dampened the attraction of foreign investment. Then the popular resistance grew, and the North American and European media became more aware of the infiltration of drug cartels into Central America. Honduran officials began to portray Honduras as a country plagued by drug violence, while portraying acts of violence by state security forces as legitimate actions against drug traffickers, common criminals, and even terrorists. Government officials, including President Lobo, called for more U.S. aid to Honduran security forces to stem the criminal violence and help the country restore a healthy climate for foreign investment. Attributing all violence to criminal activity rather that state sponsored repression is a narrative used by the government and major news outlets in Honduras since the national security state policies of the 1980s. Honduras today is living a situation in which all forms of violence seem to contribute to a context of fear, insecurity, and repression.

Until quite recently the United States government and most Honduran news media generally accepted the interpretation of the Honduran government that violence plaguing Honduras was almost entirely attributable to common and drug-related crime. This dominant narrative has only recently begun to change because of several incidents that drew worldwide news coverage. The Comayagua prison fire of February 14, 2012, in which 361 inmates died while confined inside the prison raised questions about official misconduct and the nature of the judicial system in Honduras (www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-17055231), (www.nytimes.com/2012/02/16/world/americas/prison-fire-in-honduras-leaves-high-death-toll.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0).

Photo: Lucy Edwards, August 2012. Family members vigil outside the prison in Coamayagua six months after the fire that killed 362

The May, 2012, killings near Ahuas in the Mosquitia raised more questions about United States involvement with Honduran security forces. Members of the U.S. Congress began to pay closer attention to Honduras.

Honduran popular attitudes toward the current situation are complex. Many blame the Honduran government and those who control it for the violence and abuses, but they also believe that the country has not dealt with its longstanding issues of poverty, inequity, and official impunity. While this seems to be a widespread interpretation, there is also among some a tendency to see ordinary Hondurans as a people prone to violence, accepting the interpretation common among government officials and much of the media that the problem lies with the people, not with the elites and the government. There is also a general sense of insecurity in daily life. A nationwide poll of Hondurans taken in 2010 by a Central American university and a Honduran social research group showed widespread lack of confidence in most of the major institutions of national life.[12]

Photo: Lucy Edwards, October 2012. Musical graffiti in Tegucigalpa

## CULTURE OF RESISTANCE

The June, 2009, coup that removed President Zelaya from power sparked a large movement of popular protest that has endured in the past three years. Popular resistance in Honduras has roots that go back to colonial times but it emerged as an important social and political force with the famous banana workers strike and the labor and peasant protests of the 1950s and 1960s. Popular resistance in Honduras has gradually evolved into a broad movement that today includes groups and organizations of both working class and middle class origin. After the 2009 coup, a portion of the broad formal resistance organized into the FNRP (*Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular*). In the past year some segments of the FNRP and others have formed a political party (*Libre*) that intends to contest national elections next year. Other sectors of the resistance remain wary and critical of participation in the partisan electoral process. The resistance has its own problems of disunity and the threat of cooptation, but it draws on elements of Honduran history and culture—religious beliefs and symbols, music and art, humor, a philosophy of nonviolence, rituals of remembrance, unique forms of organization and education, revival of older indigenous patterns of resistance to colonial rule, and more—to form what can be characterized as a "culture of resistance." This culture brings together people of widely different backgrounds and characteristics in an attitude of protest against the abuses of those in power. New images of society are beginning to emerge from this milieu.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY

The crisis in Honduras has implications for anthropology both in practice and in theory. In the context of increasing reports of repression and human rights violations in Honduras after the 2009 coup, American Anthropological Association members passed a resolution condemning violations of human rights and calling on the United States government to stop, at least temporarily, security aid to Honduras. An engaged anthropology could offer a deeper understanding and a different image of the Honduran people not merely as the voiceless

victims of unaccountable elites, foreign interests, and drug lord, but rather as active agents in shaping and protecting their fundamental human and cultural rights, land, and sovereignty. The following are some areas that should be of concern to applied anthropologists.

## Threats to Cultural Research and Scholars

Anthropologist Dario Euraque was director of Honduras' national museum of anthropology and culture before the 2009 coup. After the coup, he was summarily dismissed, along with other cultural researchers. In his book, *The Coup d'Etat of June 28, 2009, Cultural Patrimony, and National Identity (El Golpe de Estado del 28 Junio de 2009, el Patrimonio Cultural, y la Identidad Nacional*, San Pedro Sula: Centro Editorial, 2010) Euraque details the harm being done to preservation of the country's cultural history and heritage, and to the study of culture in Honduras. Ethnographic and other researchers in Honduras have expressed concern that the rising level of violence and repression may jeopardize the safety of informants and Honduran scholars and make open communication and investigation more difficult. Honduran and foreign scholars have signed letters to Honduran authorities protesting the repression of human and cultural rights.

## Survival of Indigenous Communities and Cultures

By some estimates, thirteen percent of the people of Honduras are identified as indigenous or autochthonous.[13] Historically, these communities have been ignored and marginalized in the country's economic, political, and social life, although their presence and cultures are in fact deeply woven into the history and identity of the country. Honduran anthropologists and other scholars have assisted indigenous communities in gaining voice and preserving culture, but their work is also made more difficult in the current situation. Meanwhile, foreign scholars, including anthropologists in the United States, have helped to raise the international profile and appreciation of Honduran indigenous cultures.

The ongoing crisis, fuelled in large part by a development ideology based on the "need" for inequality, poses threats to the resource and territorial bases and traditional ways of life of indigenous and peasant communities that are confronted with well-financed foreign and Honduran mining, lumber, tourism, and other projects, and the killings of their activists. Throughout much of 2012, Garifuna communities along the north (Caribbean) coast have been trying to publicize their struggle to remain on their traditional land in the face of harassment from tourism developers, drug dealers, and local large landowners who want more land to expand production of palm oil for export.[14] In some places, Garifuna people have been engaged in land occupations to reclaim communal land legally theirs but contested and seized by others. Garifuna communities report being subjected to sporadic nighttime gunfire and the poisoning of lagoons on which they depend for food and livelihood (http://www.ofraneh.org). Offshore from some of these communities lies the area believed to hold large undeveloped oil reserves.

Tawahka, Pech, and Miskito communities along the Patuca River are concerned about reports that the Honduran government plans to build a hydroelectric dam on the river.[15] Their traditional homelands have been invaded by drug traffickers and by militarized Honduran and U.S. anti-drug units. In Olancho and other areas, indigenous communities have been actively trying to protect their environment and cultural rights against mining and illegal logging operations.[16] Both of the largest and most active indigenous organizations, OFRNEH and COPINH, have made such struggles a primary concern. Together they represent a range of indigenous and autochthonous peoples. They also work with environmental and human rights organizations that are not specifically indigenous. Indigenous leaders and activists

have been threatened and assassinated, but indigenous communities have been among the most active in the popular resistance, especially since the 2009 coup.

## Rural Peasant Communities, Neoliberal Development, Globalization, and Inequality

Honduras today provides many examples of what happens when neoliberal development and globalization encounter an organized popular resistance in the context of violence, oppression, and the prospect of a "failed' state. National economic development in Honduras has been based on foreign resource exploitation and the private enterprise of a small economic and political elite comprised of about thirteen families that control most of the non-foreign-owned sources of wealth in the country. The dominant development model embodies the idea that economic and social inequality is an essential component of national development. This development "model" assumes that the land, resources, and working people are assets to be disposed of as needed for the large development projects sponsored by foreign investors or members of the Honduran economic elite or the government. Active resistance to this model, such as peasant land takeovers, may be interpreted as obstructing national development, as unpatriotic or even terrorist. Development projects in different areas of Honduras based on this set of assumptions present situations that raise fundamental questions about neoliberal development, local community responses to globalization, and human and cultural rights in context.

In the escalating political and human rights crisis and popular resistance of the past three years, Honduran government officials and members of the economic elite have become interested in the idea of achieving their development goals by eliminating the constraints of Honduran law, custom, history and culture, and starting anew. The Honduran Congress passed and President Lobo strongly supported a law that would enable establishment of a Charter City community on Honduras' north coast. The Charter Cities proposal would have constructed a city or enclave on "vacant" or "remote" lands that would be almost totally independent of Honduran law and governance and open to investment and colonization from anywhere--a model of neoliberal globalization at its purest (www.chartercities.org/concept). The supposedly vacant and remote area of Honduras chosen by the foreign promoters for the building of this enclave has long been home to various Garifuna communities that apparently would be considered expendable in the new model. Even the Honduran Supreme Constitutional Court found this too extreme, a violation of national sovereignty, and declared unconstitutional the law that would have enabled the Charter City. Foreign promoters have abandoned plans for Honduras and have moved on to Jamaica. But in early December, 2012, President Lobo and the Congress summarily (and some say illegally) removed four of the five Constitutional Court justices from office. This series of events exposed some of the conflicting interests within the ruling economic elite (http://ofrneh.wordpress.com/).

For anthropologists, the Charter Cities model itself poses questions about sweeping aside local and national cultural traditions and cultural identity, and attempting to construct a new "culture" with a new or different legal system, built out of global pieces and a dominant ideology of economic growth. Charter Cities would have introduced a new global enclave "culture" where foreign investment and enterprise could provide development. In Honduras, the intensified conflict between the development plans of the ruling powers and the resistance of popular organizations—a struggle over land, resource access, cultural identity and national sovereignty—was the context in which the Charter Cities model seemed to some to offer either a fresh start or simply a more effective way to achieve old objectives.

Photo: Lucy Edwards, February 2012. Family members light candles for murdered loved ones, at a vigil, northern Aguan Valley

## Constructing an Ethnographic Case against Impunity and for Accountability

A major theme of the popular resistance in Honduras is the call for accountability and an end to official impunity. Hondurans pursue this goal in various ways that include documentation of human rights violations from the perspective of the victims, in order to provide a counter narrative to the official version that rarely implicates those in power or the agents of state or private security.[17] Anthropology's ethnographic approach, emic perspective, and analysis of power relationships are useful in providing voice and context to the documentation for accountability, and especially in helping to introduce the voices of the victims and their communities into the developing Congressional and media discussion of United States aid to and policy in Honduras.

## Evolution and Contextualization of Concepts of Human Rights and Their Application

Recent anthropological work has focused on understanding how groups and communities adapt concepts of human rights in different contested contexts.[18] Honduras offers an important area for the study of the evolution and application of concepts of human rights in a context of state and generalized violence, resistance, social change, identity and identification, and some aspects of both colonialism and globalization. Several anthropologists have studied the effects of the perception of violence as a daily reality in Honduras. They have examined how this perception is transformed or internalized by Hondurans who struggle to construct personal and national identities. Such identities can embody personal responsibility for the violence, thereby relieving the state and those engaged in political violence of any responsibility. Or people can establish a more positive identity that in some way transcends and externalizes the causes of violence.[19] In Honduras, human rights discourse has become an integral part of meetings, workshops, and other forms of collaboration between middle class and working class organizations, and is fashioned and adapted to reflect the concerns and needs of groups.[20] A common discourse in rights spanning social class and cultural condition may be developing out of this ongoing interaction, and seems to be a component in an emerging culture of popular resistance specific to the Honduran situation.


Photo: Lucy Edwards, January 2011. Placards with photos of some of those killed or disappeared since the 2009 coup d'état.

## Evolution of a Culture of Resistance

Anthropologists have studied popular resistance as explosive, sporadic, and focused on more immediate ends that can feed into or hinder larger movements (e.g. anthropologist Eric Wolf's *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century)* or as characterized by small, daily acts of subversion, a 'nibbling away" process that makes life a bit more bearable but may not result in larger popular protest, or may even dampen the likelihood of larger forms of collective resistance (e.g. some of the work of James C. Scott). Honduras today provides an example of the nature of popular resistance and the ways in which cultural elements are integrated into a "culture of resistance" that provides a basis for addressing power. As described above, popular resistance in Honduras has evolved over decades in a way that seems to incorporate and transcend these other forms of resistance. Both the apparatus of repression and the current popular resistance in Honduras are complex and evolving.

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*These issue briefings are commissioned by the SfAA's Human Rights and Social Justice Committee in an effort to educate our members, our students, and the general public on timely matters relating to social justice or human rights. It is the hope that policymakers, media, and the general public will come to appreciate an anthropological perspective on contemporary issues.*

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**Notes**

[1] InterAmerican Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States press release, "IACHR Condemns Murder of Human Rights Defenders in Honduras," Sept. 28, 2012

[2] Dana Frank, "Honduras Gone Wrong: How Playing Tegucigalpa as a Proxy Is Undercutting U.S. Influence." *Foreign Affairs*, Oct. 16, 2012. Council on Foreign Relations. Ismael Moreno Coto, S.J., Director of Radio Progreso, Honduras, testimony before the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, "Worldwide Threats to Media Freedom," U. S. House of Representatives, June 25, 2012

[3] Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. *Honduras: Human Rights and the Coup D'etat.* Organization of American States, 2009. OEA Series L/V/II Doc. 55.
When two university students, one studying law, the other sociology, were murdered by a police unit in Tegucigalpa in October, 2011, Julieta Castellanos, Rector of the National University (UNAH) and mother of one of the boys stated that continuing foreign aid to the Honduran security forces was "feeding the monster."

[4] Giorgio Trucchi, "Esta dictadura es peor que la de los 80." Rel-UITA, 29 Nov, 2009. www.honduraslaboral.org/leer.php/4659112. Also personal communications from and conversations with other leaders of human rights and popular organizations.

[5] Margarita Oseguera de Ochoa, *Honduras Hoy: Sociedad y Crisis Politica*. Tegucigalpa: Centro de Documentacion de Honduras (CEDOH) y Coordinadora Regional de Investigaciones Economicas y Sociales (CRIES), 1987. [Various authors], *Honduras: Realidad Nacional y Crisis Regional*. Tegucigalpa: Centro de Documentacion de Honduras (CEDOH) y Universidad Internacional de la Florida, 1986.

[6] Marvin Barahona, *Honduras en el siglo XX: Una sintesis historica* (Tegucigalpa: Editorial Guaymuras, 2005) chronicles the development, ideology, and transformation of Honduras as a "liberal oligarchic state" ruled by a small elite.

[7] James Phillips, "Resource Access, Environmental Struggles, and Human Rights in Honduras." In Life and Death Matters: Human Rights, Environment, and Social Justice. Second edition. Edited by Barbara Rose Johnston. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2011, pp. 221-222.

[8] DR-CAFTA: Effects and Alternatives. The Stop CAFTA Coalition's Third Annual Monitoring Report (www.cispes.org/documents/DR-CAFTA.Effects_and_Alternatives.pdf)

[9] Catherine Corcoran and Alberto Arce, "U.S. Drug Strategy Led to Deadly Honduran Raid." *Huffington Post*, December 19, 2012 - www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/06/25/operation-anvil-us-drug-s_n_1623658.html. Mariano Castillo, "Behind Deadly Confrontation in Honduras, New Anti-drug Strategy." CNN, July 12, 2012. www.cnn.com/2012/07/11/world/americas/honduras-operation-anvil/index.html

[10] Alberto Arce, "Ebed Yanez, 15-Year-Old Boy Is Latest Victim of Unrelenting Violence in Honduras," Huffington Post, November 12, 2012 - http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/12/violence-in-honduras_n_2118971.html

[11] Ishmael Moreno, S.J., address at School of the Americas Watch workshop, Columbus, GA, November 17, 2012

[12] Ishmael Moreno, S.J., "Honduras, Authoritarian Messianic Solutions: Real Dangers for a Depressed Society." *Revista Envio* English edition), No. 354, Jan 2011 - www.envio.org.ni/articulo/4301. This article cites a poll of public opinion taken by Central American University, San Salvador, and the Honduran Reflection, Research and Communication Team (ERIC) in 2010. The poll showed widespread distrust of security forces, politicians, the business community, the justice system, and even religious institutions (although these were the least distrusted). Levels of distrust ranged from over 50% to 85% of those polled. "More than 60% do not trust the police, while over 50% see the police as involved in crime." Hondurans still have some faith in the media

[13] Mark Anderson, "When Afro Becomes (like) Indigenous: Garifuna and Afro-Indigenous Politics in Honduras. The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology, Vol. 12, No. 2, November, 2007, p.389.

[14] The Garifuna originated in the eastern Caribbean islands, especially St. Vincent and Dominica, where runaway plantation slaves of African origin found refuge among Carib Indian communities in the 18th Century. The result was a people of mixed race and culture who were sometimes referred to as the "Black Carib." In 1796, British colonial authorities forcibly exiled the remaining "Black Carib" population to the island of Roatan off the Honduran coast. Today, an estimated 80,000 Garifuna live in many settlements along Honduras' north coast, retaining unique cultural and linguistic characteristics while somewhat integrated into Honduran life. For a discussión of modern Garifuna identity and political activism see Anderson, op cit.

[15] Danielle DeLuca, "In Pursuit of Autonomy: Indigenous peoples Oppose Dam Construction on the Patuca River in Honduras," *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No 4, December, 2011, 12-15.
Kendra McSweeney et al., "A River Tale: Protecting a Tawahka Way of life," *Cultural Survival Quarterly,* Vol. 35, No. 4, December, 2011, 16-20 - www.culturalsurvival.org.

[16] Maria Fiallos, "Honduran Indigenous Community in Standing Forest Area." *Honduras This Week*, June 9, 2003.

[17] James Phillips, "*Presente!* Challenging Impunity with Memory in Today's Honduras." Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, November 15, 2012.

[18] See for example, Mark Goodale and Sally Engle Merry, *The Practice of Human Rights: Tracking Law Between the Global and the Local.* Cambridge University Press, 2007.

[19] Adrienne Pine, *Working Hard, Drinking Hard: On Violence and Survival in Honduras,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. Jon Wolseth, *Jesus and the Gang: Youth Violence and Christianity in Urban Honduras,* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011.

[20] For an example of how such workshops can employ the discourse of human rights within and across social classes in Central America see Dana Frank, *Bananeras: Women Transforming the Banana Unions of Latin America.* Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005.

## SOME HONDURAS RELATED LINKS

http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/the-drug-war-devolves-in-honduras/
http://m.foreignaffairs.com/articles/138188/dana-frank/honduras-gone-wrong
http://defensoresenlinea.com/cms/documentos/2012_INFORME_Casos_Mosquitia_ingles.pdf
http://www.thenation.com/article/164120/wikileaks-honduras-us-linked-brutal-businessman
https://nacla.org/article/drugs-and-business-central-america-faces-another-round-violence
http://witnessforpeace.org/
http://friendshipamericas.org/honduras
http://friendshipamericas.org/sites/default/files/3.2012%20Shackowsky%20Aguan%20Letter%20signed_0.pdf
http://www.thenation.com/article/166313/honduras-flames
http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/other-worlds/not-our-land-land-recovery-campaign-kicks-honduras
http://www.amnesty.org/en/region/honduras
http://www.ccrjustice.org/honduras-foia
http://hondurasaccompanimentproject.wordpress.com/
http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/commentary/la-oe-frank-honduras-human-rights-20120824,0,5575021.story
http://www.envio.org.ni/articulo
http://www.cofadeh.org
http://www.copinh.org
http://www.ofraneh.org