

**THE COLLAPSE OF THE RULE OF LAW  
IN VENEZUELA: WHAT THE UNITED STATES AND  
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN  
DO TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY**

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**HEARING**

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON WESTERN  
HEMISPHERE, TRANSNATIONAL CRIME,  
CIVILIAN SECURITY, DEMOCRACY, HUMAN  
RIGHTS, AND GLOBAL WOMEN'S ISSUES

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**WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 2017**

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON WESTERN HEMISPHERE,  
TRANSNATIONAL CRIME, CIVILIAN SECURITY, DEMOCRACY,  
HUMAN RIGHTS, AND GLOBAL WOMEN'S ISSUES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
*Washington, DC.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 4:16 p.m. in Room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Marco Rubio, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senators Rubio [presiding], Gardner, Menendez, and Kaine.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. MARCO RUBIO,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM FLORIDA**

Senator RUBIO. Good afternoon. This is a hearing of the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, Transnational Crime, Civilian Security, Democracy, Human Rights, and Global Women's Issues.

This committee has jurisdiction over a large number of issues. It is rare that every single one of them is being challenged in one place at one time, and I think the subject of today's hearing is a place where you can argue that transnational crime is present. Civilian security is in danger. Democracy is severely endangered. Human rights is violated on a regular basis. And as far as global women's issues, some of the bravest activists on behalf of Venezuelan democracy have been women, including Lilian Tintori, among others, who have been treated brutally by the Maduro regime.

The title of this hearing is "The Collapse of the Rule of Law in Venezuela: What the United States and the International Community Can Do to Restore Democracy" and today we will have one panel and one witness, and it will feature the Honorable Luis Almagro, the Secretary General of the Organization of American States. It is a unique privilege and honor to have him here today. As the ranking member commented in the hearing we had in this very room about an hour ago, it is not a commonplace occurrence in which an ambassador of an international multinational organization such as the OAS is before us.

Secretary Almagro was elected Secretary General of the OAS on the 18th of March, the year 2015. He is a career diplomat. He was the Foreign Minister of Uruguay from 2010 to 2015, and he has extensive regional and international experience. In 2014, "Foreign Policy" magazine named him a leading global thinker, one of 10 decision-makers in the world who have been granted this international distinction.

But the area in which we have seen him, I believe, exhibit extraordinary leadership is as a staunch voice on efforts to restore democracy in Venezuela. And we are fortunate to have him here with us today.

I am going to abbreviate my opening statement because I do want to get into the Secretary General's statement. And I know that the ranking member, who has been working on this issue even before me being here in the Senate, has comments that he needs and wants and should make as well.

I want to be fundamentally clear. There is a lot of misunderstanding about the conflict that is occurring in Venezuela. A lot of people talk to me about the opposition, and while, indeed, they are in opposition to Maduro's regime, they are in fact the majority party in the National Assembly. In essence, they are the majority, not the opposition. The problem is that the people with the guns and the army who are in charge of Venezuela have canceled democracy.

For those, I imagine, attending this hearing today you do so because you have an interest in it. For those who may watch it now or in the future, you need to understand that what has happened there is the following. And I apply what has happened there to what it would be like if it happened here.

Imagine if the United States had an executive branch that basically took over the Supreme Court and put political cronies on it, canceled all funding and all function of the Congress, both House and Senate, went further and actually ordered the Capitol Police to attack the United States Congress if we tried to conduct our functions, cut off all operations, no salaries, no paper, no ink, nothing, no lights in terms of being able to meet, in essence, completely wiped out an elected National Assembly under the constitution of that country.

Imagine further, that they announce we are not holding elections. We are not holding elections this year for governors and the legislative branch. We are not holding elections in the future for President. In fact, we are going to put together this fraudulent assembly, and we are going to impose a Cuban-style dictatorship under the guise of some sort of popular governance. That is the situation in Venezuela.

Imagine even further, as an element of all this, that elements within the government armed non-uniformed individuals and ordered them into the streets to attack protesters and beat them. That is the situation in Venezuela.

Imagine that they make trumped-up charges where they basically arrest political opponents, accuse them of ridiculous things, and jail them for extensive periods of time without charging, without recourse to the courts. That is the situation in Venezuela.

And that is what brings us to this point. What the overwhelming majority of people in Venezuela are asking for is simply a return to constitutional order. And I would say to you that it is not just the people that do not like the current leadership. It is people that actually agreed with Hugo Chavez. There are people who were supporters of Hugo Chavez and of the constitution of Venezuela, and they have now aligned themselves with that cause, not because they ideologically agree with some members of the opposition but because, above all else, they want to see the rule of law restored. Chief among those voices is the current Attorney General of Venezuela, who, on a steady pace over a period of time, has begun to be critical of the Maduro regime. Today, she is now being charged with crimes for having done so. This is the horrifying situation.

And if on the 30th of July they move forward with this constituent assembly, which is a fraud, it will be—for the first time in my recollection—nullification of the constitution of the democratic order of a nation in this hemisphere in probably over 40 years. There have been coup d'états. There have been strongmen that have emerged from time to time and disrupted the constitutional and democratic order, and there have most certainly been non-democratic leaders elected who then have not governed as democrats. But we have never seen a structural imposition of a Cuban-style model in over 4 decades in the region. It would be tragic. It would be tragic anywhere.

It is especially tragic that it is happening in Venezuela, a nation blessed with educated, entrepreneurial people with a deep culture of democracy and, by the way, one of the richest nations in the world, with natural resources and human resources. It's tragic that today its people cannot buy toilet paper, cannot buy toothpaste, and cannot access basic medications in their hospitals, all as the direct result of the Maduro regime's decisions.

And finally, further complicating this matter is the existence within that government of narco-trafficking elements, multiple leaders and figures in that regime who, in addition to operating governmental entities, are also involved in narco-trafficking activity to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars, if not billions. We have a catastrophe.

And I conclude my remarks by saying that it is my hope that we can continue to work through organisms like the OAS in partnership with nations in the region such as Mexico, Canada, Brazil, and Argentina, among others who have stood forward on this. I am encouraged to see statements out of the European Union, out of Spain, and from multiple other nations that have pronounced themselves on this. I am hopeful of that. I think that is the ideal way forward.

I also know this. And I do not speak for the President, but I have certainly spoken to the President. And I will only reiterate what he has already said, and I have been saying this now for a number of days. I have 100 percent confidence that if democracy is destroyed once and for all in Venezuela on the 30th, in terms of the Maduro regime, the President of the United States is prepared to act unilaterally in a significant and swift way. And that is not a threat. That is the reporting of the truth.

But in any event, we are hopeful that there is another way forward, but time is running out. And I certainly, within that context, continue to be hopeful that a real resolution can come about in the OAS, but not through some fake negotiation designed to extend and buy time, but through a process that restores the democratic order, restores the National Assembly, holds free, fair, and internationally supervised elections, and frees political prisoners. There is nothing to negotiate, other than who is in charge of making that happen. Anything else is a waste of time and nothing but a diversionary tactic on behalf of the Maduro regime to try to hold onto power.

So we are very excited that the Secretary General is here. We look forward to hearing from him.

And I recognize the ranking member, Senator Menendez.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT MENENDEZ,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY**

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this most important hearing today.

And I especially want to thank our esteemed witness, the Secretary General, Luis Almagro. We are fully aware that it is not quite standard for the sitting Secretary General of an intergovernmental organization to testify before this committee, but your testimony and participation today speak to the gravity and importance of the crisis in Venezuela and in our hemisphere. I want to say that you have been an outspoken and vocal advocate for the values that bind democratic nations together and form the basis of regional and international cooperation that will ultimately bring peace and prosperity to our hemisphere. Given the stature of your position, I appreciate your leadership on Venezuela in particular, but beyond that, the important point of ensuring that the OAS stands for the principles of the rule of law, of democratic values, and shared responsibility, in essence, the democratic charter of the OAS.

Now, between the referendum last Sunday, the proposed election on the 30th, and the ongoing humanitarian suffering of many Venezuelans, this hearing could not be more timely. The more than 7 million Venezuelans who braved intimidation and violence from their president to express themselves in a peaceful democratic process are testaments to the remnants of democracy that still thrive in Venezuela. They not only overwhelmingly express rejection of Maduro's efforts to further consolidate his own power but also show the hemisphere and the world the power of organization and mobilization in the face of an autocratic president.

Venezuelans who have, for the past few years, suffered a serious humanitarian crisis—nearly 90 percent of the population reported last year that they did not have enough money to buy basic food supplies. Diseases that had previously been eradicated from the country, diseases such as malaria and diphtheria have reemerged—are still marching in the streets and petitioning for their basic rights.

Even as their president prevents international support for the basic humanitarian needs of its citizens, blocking an effort by the



National Assembly to facilitate international assistance, they are voting to demand fundamental freedoms.

Despite the suffering of his people and the international outcry, Maduro insists on clinging onto the shards of a failed ideology his predecessor and a few colleagues in the region still champion. Without going into a full history of the calamitous actions he has taken in the name of the people or the revolution, some highlights include dissolving the National Assembly and then holding the legislative body in contempt, preventing the democratically-elected assembly from passing laws, stacking the Supreme Court with loyalists to prevent an effective judicial branch or check on executive power, jailing opposition leaders and preventing them from running for office, expelling foreign media and curbing freedom of the press, violently attacking peaceful protesters, giving control of food supply to the military, who turn the responsibility of providing for the population into a profitable black market operation. This is happening in our own hemisphere with significant consequences for regional peace and stability.

In 2016, Venezuelans became the top United States asylum seekers, with claims increasing 150 percent from 2015 to 2016. Venezuelans are also fleeing to neighboring Colombia, itself in the process of implementing a precarious peace accord, and Brazil.

Without vigilance and accountability, our adversaries will be quick to step in. So I was pleased to work with the chairman earlier this year to bring the Treasury Department's attention to Venezuela's state-owned oil company, PDVSA's mortgage of debt to a Russian state-owned company Rosneft. PDVSA, in turn, owns CITGO, which has significant infrastructure here in the United States. And this deal could potentially put critical energy infrastructure into the hands of Russia.

China has also stepped in to help Venezuela's failing economy.

In 2014, I was pleased to help the Congress pass into law the Venezuela Defense of Human Rights and Civil Society Act, which imposed sanctions on officials in the government most responsible for the erosion of democracy. And I am pleased to see Congress extend those sanctions in 2017.

I also urged the full committee to consider the Venezuela Humanitarian Assistance in Defense of Democratic Governance Act, which we introduced in May. This comprehensive legislation authorizes humanitarian support, expands the scope of sanctions, calls on the administration to develop a multilateral strategy and express support for the OAS's democracy restoration and election monitoring efforts.

The United States, of course, cannot act alone. Democratic countries in the Western Hemisphere must be united in our values to uphold the rule of law and to champion democratic values. In that vein, it is critical that the Organization of American States maintain pressure not just on Venezuela, but to try to ensure that member countries are working in a unified fashion. I know the Secretary General has that as part of his mission.

I have been disappointed to see many countries in the region, particularly in the Caribbean, continue to stand with the assault on Venezuelan democracy or refrain from explicitly condemning undemocratic actions at the OAS. Along with Senator Rubio, I have

expressed the importance of standing up with the people of Venezuela and unequivocally against usurpations of power and undemocratic actions to various foreign dignitaries. I know that I am banned from going to Venezuela by the Maduro regime, but I will continue to speak out for democracy and human rights in the Western Hemisphere wherever it may be and certainly in Venezuela.

Mr. Secretary, we welcome you and we look forward to your insights.

Senator RUBIO. Thank you to the ranking member.

Secretary, thank you for being here today, and we recognize you for your statement.

**STATEMENT OF HON. LUIS ALMAGRO, SECRETARY GENERAL,  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Secretary General ALMAGRO. Senator Rubio, Senator Menendez, members of the subcommittee, thank you for this opportunity to be with you today as we address the ongoing crisis in Venezuela.

The OAS, the Organization of American States, is the only multilateral forum that has taken action against the dictatorship in Venezuela.

On April 3rd, 2017, the Permanent Council passed Resolution 1078 declaring an “alteration of the constitutional order” in Venezuela.

The OAS declared the Supreme Court decision to suspend the powers of the National Assembly as inconsistent with democratic practices and constitutes an alteration of the constitutional order in Venezuela.

We urged the Venezuelan Government to ensure the full restoration of the democratic order.

We requested that the Venezuelan Government safeguard the separation and independence of powers.

We said that we stand ready to support measures to return to democratic order and to take diplomatic initiatives to foster the restoration of the democratic institutional system in accordance with the OAS founding charter and the Inter-American Democratic Charter.

The international community has a vital responsibility when faced with tyranny and repression.

Venezuela is going through a decisive moment. In play is the sovereignty of the people and the survival of the constitution, the last link of the country with the rule of law. In 100 days of citizen protests, nearly 100 people have been killed, the majority of them young people, many of them minors. The number of political prisoners has risen to 473, and 415 civilians have been brought before military courts. The systematic violation of human rights and basic freedoms is the worst attack against the constitution.

The regime proposes more abuse, more repression, increasingly less freedom, and the tool that it proposes to institutionalize this is a Constituent Assembly, a Constituent Assembly imposed by decree without the people and against the people, setting the will of the dictatorship above the popular will expressed through a universal and direct vote.

I echo the words of the Venezuelan Episcopal Conference. “The mentioned constituent project seeks to impose a dictatorial regime

on the country. In addition, by privileging, in its composition, sectoral voting bases with no legal support, it violates the right to all people to elect and be elected and the constitutional principle of the proportional representation of the population according to territorial distribution.”

And it underlines that “the National Constituent Assembly would have supra-constitutional power, with the aim of eliminating the current state bodies, mainly the National Assembly, legitimately elected by the people.”

It is the right and the responsibility of all citizens to participate in decisions relating to their own development. This is also a necessary condition for the full and effective exercise of democracy. Promoting and fostering diverse forms of participation strengthens democracy.

We are in a time in which mediation efforts are taking place, all of them, of course, welcomed because they demonstrate the commitment of the international community to the search for a solution to the crisis. In this context, the institution that is in the best condition to act is the Episcopal Conference because it is Venezuelan, as we have said, because it knows people’s feelings, because it knows better than anyone the history of this process, and because of its immense moral authority.

From the international community, we have stripped the regime of its impunity. The alteration of the constitutional order has been recognized and denounced. The return of democracy to the country has been called for. Sanctions have been applied to corrupt and criminal affiliates of the regime. The freeing of political prisoners has been requested, and various mediation forums have been offered and will be offered.

The work of the OAS has been and is essential in this sense, but the solution to the crisis is Venezuelan.

Over the last month, the regime in Venezuela has buried democracy, the separation of power, justice, civil guarantees, political, economic, and social rights, as well as the principles that constitute a legitimate government. All the members of the current illegitimate government are responsible, and the role of the President of the National Electoral Council, Tibisay Lucena, has been crucial in the institutional collapse. An independent, impartial, healthy electoral body with adequate technical capabilities is fundamental to guarantee the political rights of citizens. Its responsibility is nothing less than the protection of the strict respect for the right to political expression of the people, the only sovereign that is legitimate to carry on the country.

The formula announced by Tibisay Lucena to the National Constituent Assembly is as technically absurd as it is unconstitutional and undemocratic. The convocation of the Constituent Assembly is taking place outside of that stipulated in Article 347 of the constitution, which states, “The Venezuelan people are the only ones who possess the original constituent power.” In this way, it definitely puts an end of the right of the Venezuelan people to democracy.

People like Tibisay Lucena that continue stripping democracy of its content work to serve the consolidation of the interest of the dictatorship imposed through the suffering of its people, sustained by

the killing of its people, by the political imprisonment of opposition leaders, and by torture.

The Venezuelan judiciary also has violated the fundamental principles by which the people are ensured justice, its independence. It has become an essential part of the organizational chart of institutional corruption. If justice does not follow the principles and values of democracy and the rule of law, this accelerates the legitimate functioning of the state.

The Bolivarian National Guard and its head are directly responsible for the repression that has murdered, imprisoned, and tortured people. The brutal repression shows the National Guard as the perpetrator of the violation of right to life, freedoms, and guarantees of due process. Behind every detainee, every political prisoner, behind every person tortured and killed, there is something institutionally responsible in Venezuela.

The Minister of Internal Relation, Nestor Reverol, Benavides Torres, General Zavarse lead the two institutions charged with the use of force in Venezuela. In this sense, they are responsible for every aggression, every shot, and every death.

The return of democracy to Venezuela and the restoration of the rule of law is urgent. Legitimacy will only be returned to its institution when those in power assume their functions according to the constitution and the popular mandate. The Minister of Defense, General Vladimir Padrino Lopez, has separated the armed forces from their fundamental commitments to respect the constitution, the laws, and the institution itself.

What can we do? We need to speak at the highest level, at the level of presidents, to make joint declarations at the highest level. Member states and leaders of the world must speak up all together and explore what tools they have at their disposal to act.

I am often asked about sanctions. Let me be clear. The sanctions will not worsen the suffering of the Venezuelan people.

A clear message must be sent to Maduro and his colleagues that the criminals whose corruption, whose strategy, and whose orders have created this crisis and killed countless of their citizens should be targeted and held to account.

We support sanctions to individuals that have committed crimes and are accused of corruption, and we need more economic pressure on a government that is investing the money it earns through the natural resources that belong to the people to fight and kill that very same people.

Torture is a crime against humanity. We intend to support investigations, and we ask everybody to do so that may help to identify the practices of torture in Venezuela and those responsible for them, especially in front of the International Criminal Court.

All our actions should be oriented to resolve this agenda. The agenda is free, transparent, just general elections; the freeing of political prisoners; restoration of the powers of the National Assembly; and an emergency plan to resolve the humanitarian crisis of the country.

Thank you very much.

[Mr. Almagro's prepared statement is located at the end of this transcript, beginning on page 24.]

Senator RUBIO. Thank you so much.

I will be brief in my questions. They are rather to the point.

From your understanding on the issue of revenue, to the extent that Venezuela continues to derive revenues from its oil industry, is it your understanding that that money is being used simply to try to finance its debt at a discount? Or in essence, they are selling that oil now at a steep discount. Is it not correct that the majority of the revenues they continue to generate are largely being used for corruption and/or to finance the debt and that very little of it is being used—and is the reason why, for example, there is a humanitarian crisis in food, medicine, and other matters?

Secretary General ALMAGRO. If we see all figures about health and nutrition in Venezuela, we see that practically the government is not investing at all in its people. All figures are awful and demonstrate a clear humanitarian crisis in the country: the rates of child mortality, the rates of maternal mortality, the rates of bad nutrition of children. And diseases that were extinguished in Venezuela for decades like malaria or diphtheria have reappeared in the country.

So we have definitely a government that is not investing at all in its people but just trying to buy some wills, the will of—through CLAP bags given in order to achieve some political support and, of course, to keep working in their political agenda in the continent and abroad.

Nothing is improving. The Government of Venezuela is practically the antithesis of any government. Any government will try to bring the crisis down to problems, problems back down to difficulties and to make the difficulties disappear. What we see in Venezuela is the contrary. From nothing, they create problems. From the problems, they create crisis, and further they escalate this crisis. The situation of the people shows that the money of the national resources that belong to the people is used to kill these people. The only action of government that we see is repression these days.

Senator RUBIO. The question of humanitarian aid and assistance, which the Maduro regime continues to block because they continue to refuse to acknowledge they have a humanitarian crisis. There was, however, a negotiation sponsored by the Vatican, mediated talks in November of 2016, and there was discussion about establishing a channel for allowing humanitarian aid to reach Venezuela possibly through Caritas Venezuela, which is an organization affiliated with the Catholic Church. To date, that has not happened.

For those who were not involved or did not see that process of negotiation when it comes to the humanitarian aid, to this day are they allowing humanitarian aid into the country?

Secretary General ALMAGRO. They are not allowing humanitarian aid into the country. And the only measure that somehow release some pressure, some social pressure, was when they opened the border with Colombia in order to allow the people that live in border states to be able to buy their basic needs on the other side. But no international help is able to get into the country. There is definitely a need for action about that. And when you do these political measures, at the expense of the suffering of people is the

most awful way of doing politics and is the most covert way of doing politics.

Senator RUBIO. As you are aware, the Treasury Department of the United States has imposed financial sanctions on at least 17 Venezuelans for narcotics trafficking, including nine current or former Venezuelan officials. For example, in February, the Treasury Department imposed drug trafficking sanctions against the vice president of the country. There are also very strong allegations made by defectors and others about the involvement of an individual by the name of Diosdado Cabello who I, in my personal view based on everything I have seen—he is not simply a political leader. He is in my view the Pablo Escobar of Venezuela today. He is a narcotrafficker.

How complicated in this political dynamic is the existence of this narcotrafficking presence in Venezuela to the political overall crisis?

Secretary General ALMAGRO. When you see the structure of government and you see the closest relatives of the presidential family are in jail in New York and are just in New York for narcotrafic, then you see that the vice president is the second in charge has resources for about \$2 billion in the United States that have been sanctioned, when you see that number three is that the Minister of Interior Reverol is also accused by the DEA by narcotrafic, then you have really a serious problem because it looks like the whole structure is taken by narcotrafic.

So it is not how you move out of—how you push the dictatorship out and bring back democracy. It is also now how you dismantle narcotrafic from the state, and that is a completely new challenge for our organization and for our community. That is a very serious problem like corruption is a very serious problem.

Venezuela is the most corrupt country in the continent. That in itself shows that nobody is judged by corruption in the country. The only way to judge them—it is international like the cases that involved corruption of PDVSA in Houston. So to attack these issues definitely is an imperative in all our country to apply sanctions that can help solutions in this field are extremely necessary.

Senator RUBIO. And my final question, at least for this round, because Senator Kaine has joined us as well, and I want to make sure multiple members have a chance to speak to you about this topic, is the following.

It is our natural inclination as a nation and as a people and in the region, as is your job working a multinational forum, to seek for there to be a negotiated process forward. In this perfect world, the Maduro regime would realize that this is unsustainable and there would be some sort of conversation, a serious one, about holding elections for governor, holding elections for president, freeing political prisoners, and creating that space. However, while I am not against that happening, I do not believe it is going to happen, and there is no indication that it is going to happen.

I would ask you to give us some insight into your views on negotiations, not in general, but as it pertains to Venezuela and, in particular, how the Maduro regime has used the ruse of dialogue and negotiation to buy time and divide the opposition and extend itself and perpetuate itself in power.

Secretary General ALMAGRO. Yes. We have seen that, and we have denounced that.

The way that the government uses dialogue is just to achieve two things mainly: to release internal pressure and to release international pressure. That happened in the first week of November last year. There were not a single commitment to deal with the agenda that is necessary to resolve in Venezuela.

In fact, in Venezuela, we do not call for free general elections. If we do not free the political prisoners, if we do not establish the constitutional powers to the different branches of government, then no solution is possible. We can go around that agenda as much as we can, but there will not be a solution. The government so far has not been able to push for a solution like that.

And it is very clear that the main task—and we saw it last year during the procedure of the recall referendum. We see it this year again—is how they remain in power, no matter what. Imagine that in any country in the continent could be demonstrations and 100 demonstrators were killed anywhere—anywhere—that government would not be standing anymore. It is against the basic rules of democracy and human rights.

The government, when they cannot use this tool of dialogue, they just go to repression. And then they try to move back to create some conditions of a dialogue without facing the real agenda of the country.

I think these days—you know, when the real negotiation to put down a dictatorship happens, it is because the dictators come and say, look, how is the best way we get out. And that is how it starts. It does not start by bringing down the National Constituent Assembly. It does not start trying to create side effects with the negotiations. You have to address the real agenda. So you put a date for elections. Okay, then we can have a dialogue. You free the political prisoners. Okay, we can have a dialogue. You establish the power of the National Assembly. Okay, we can have a dialogue. If nothing like that happens, then the conditions definitely are not there.

It is awful that the people of Venezuela has been condemned to be killed in the street or to be submitted to the peace that the dictatorship provides that is a complete lack of rights.

Senator RUBIO. Well, as I turn it to the ranking member, my observation is when the Pope says he is no longer interested in continuing to participate in a dialogue because he does not think the Maduro government is serious about it, when the Pope says that, it is a pretty strong indication of how they have used these negotiations as a farce.

The ranking member.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Mr. Secretary, for your testimony.

I do not often read from the written testimony of witnesses, but you synthesized your testimony in order for brevity. I think there are things here worthy of reading into the record.

These are your words in your statement, and I often recite words such as these when I am asked by reporters about the interventionist elements of our views:

The reluctance of the international community to act in defense of democracy has allowed the situation to deteriorate incrementally, but consistently, to the point where today it has become a full-blown humanitarian and security crisis.

Every step of the way it has been too little and too late.

The Democratic Charter was designed as a preventative tool. When it was agreed, it established a very explicit authority to act in every signatory state, when necessity requires,

Venezuela signed onto the Democratic Charter, and the Democratic Charter calls, as you very explicitly note here, authority to act in every signatory state, when necessity requires.

When used as intended, it can prevent or stop any backsliding in the regions' hard-earned democracies.

It is true that only the people of Venezuela must solve the crisis in their country. However, in Venezuela, the words of civilians are met with the weapons of the Regime.

The people of Venezuela peacefully took to the streets in defense of their fundamental rights and freedoms. The Regime responded strategically and systematically, targeting an unarmed, civilian population with violence and terror.

More than 100 people have been killed since the protests began. That is close to one person each day.

Of those killed, more than 30 were under the age of 21; 24 were students; 14 were teenagers.

Since the protests began, more than 450 investigations into human rights violations have been opened. Civil society estimates that the number of civilians injured is above 15,000.

As of July 12, there are 444 political prisoners in Venezuela; the highest number since the military dictatorship of Marcos Pérez Jiménez.

These statistics do not include the thousands of lives lost in the humanitarian crisis.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Regime has consistently rejected any and all offers of international humanitarian assistance. Instead, they have weaponized what little resources they do have, selecting who gets what. President Maduro, his cabinet, and his military leaders have blood on their hands and they must be held accountable.

Those are not the views of some members of the United States Senate or the statements of some members. It is the view of many of us, but it is a statement of the Secretary General of the OAS. And it is a powerful statement. And it is so sad in a country that has enormous human capital and tremendous potential.

So, Mr. Secretary, [Spanish spoken]. I really appreciate—you know, it is very often that in diplomacy we mitigate what is clearly the harsh in the light of day cannot be mitigated. And I appreciate your straightforwardness.

I want to ask you—and I do not subscribe this as a personal failure. Institutionally I am trying to understand.

In June, the OAS failed to garner the 23 votes necessary in favor of a resolution on Venezuela that was introduced by Peru.

This is not an official sheet, so I may be wrong, and I will stand corrected. But I am going to read from what was a photograph of a sheet of who voted how. So here are the people who abstained: Antigua and Barbuda, Ecuador, El Salvador, Grenada, Haiti, Republica Dominicana, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago. And then the people who voted outright no: Bolivia, Dominica, Nicaragua, Saint Kitts and Nevis, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.



Why do you think that you could not achieve 23 votes in what is so clear? I mean, your statement is so clear, so unambiguous, so powerful. Why do you think that countries in the face of that would abstain and/or outright vote no?

Secretary General ALMAGRO. Because countries vote because of their interests and not because of principles and values always. They have strong economic, political, social links with the Government of Venezuela, and those links they definitely value a lot, enough not to vote against Venezuela in those circumstances.

In any case, I have to say that the importance of that resolution was to create a group of friends in order to deal with the Venezuelan case. The past 2 weeks before that, it happened that there were something like eight or nine initiatives of a group of friends, mediators, and facilitators for the Venezuelan crisis. So that solution could have helped in Venezuela I think. In fact, I do not think the government would have accepted that way of negotiating.

In any case, we have to keep working on those votes and we have to keep making evident what is going on in Venezuela. And the situation is clear enough, but also we have to say it around. We have to be loud about. And I think it also would be extremely useful, as I said before, that this group of friends in any case can start working and they can start working on the level of presidents and can make joint declarations. In fact, the biggest countries, those with the biggest GDP, the biggest populations—they were there in that consultation concerned about the situation in Venezuela. So it is possible to do it and to implement it and to create that group of friends at that level of president and to make it work and to have a loud voice about what is going on in Venezuela.

Senator MENENDEZ. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce for the record all of the names of the countries that did vote in favor. And for the interest of time, I have not mentioned them all because they should be applauded. But I do think it is important to name and shame those who, in essence, voted to allow a continuing—that is the way I look at the vote. If you abstain or you vote no, in the midst of what is clearly a violation of the Democratic Charter of the OAS, which you are a party and signatory to, then you are, in essence, permitting it.

The last question. I have many other questions, but I will cease because of my colleague here who is waiting.

Do you believe that—I look at all of the Caribbean countries. So many of them voted either to abstain or no. Do you believe that in fact Petrocaribe and its influence have influence on some of the voting patterns here without specifying any specific country?

Secretary General ALMAGRO. There is something that makes this case very particular, and it is that we are dealing with a big country that has fallen into dictatorship. That is something that the Organization usually did not do. Usually what we in the Organization, in general, international organizations are small countries with small populations that have a significant coup d'état and then the action comes. When we have seen this process of Venezuela, we see that these kind of problems happened in the past.

I mean, I can quote, for example, the case of the mission that observed elections where Fujimori made the fraud. And that Permanent Council, those days, did not approve the report of the mission

and supported Fujimori. The countries that were sitting there supported Fujimori in that case. So it is not the first time that happens that it is difficult to collect the votes of countries that they just do not want to vote against their national interest or their political interest.

So we have to keep working. And the principles are there. The values are there. And we may be able to keep convincing people and keep convincing countries. We have convinced a lot of public opinion. We have taken the impunity away from the government, and we keep pushing. If we see the process since the 31st of May when I presented my first report to now, when I presented my first report, I was practically alone talking about political prisoners in Venezuela, talking about the needs to implement the recall referendum that was the institutional solution of the country, and of course, to stop stripping the powers of the National Assembly. If we see me myself alone there and now we have 20 votes in Cancun, we have improved a lot.

And I think if you ask me, I support the decisions of the countries that went through the process of consultation meeting of minister of foreign affairs, but the rules of the meetings of minister of foreign affairs is that the decision have to be approved by two-thirds of the member states. If we would have gone through the application of the Inter-American Democratic Charter, we should have just needed a simple majority, and that I think was the problem, more the procedure than the number of votes.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you.

Senator RUBIO. And the ranking member has entered into the record, without objection, a portion of your statement that he read. He also entered the name of the 20 countries, and that of course will be entered into the record without objection.

[The information referred to above was not available when this hearing was printed.]

Senator RUBIO. And I would just note for the record that those countries, those 20 countries, represent a billion people, and 90 percent of the population of the member states are represented in those 20 countries.

With the Senator from Virginia's indulgence, I just want to go ahead and put some things on the record. I do not want to forget.

I am going to ask that three reports that you presented to the Permanent Council, Secretary General, of the OAS on the situation in Venezuela be entered into the record as part of the statement. The first two reports lay out the deterioration of the humanitarian situation, as well as the complete alteration of the constitution on democratic order. They also represent a series of recommendations that offer guidance for the international community.

The third report was released this week. It details the strategic and systematic violent repression targeting the unarmed civilian population in Venezuela.

And in addition, I also ask that the Permanent Council Resolution 1078 recognizing the alteration of the constitutional order be entered into the record.

And finally—this is interesting—a report from the Office of the Attorney General of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, meaning

the Attorney General of theoretically the Maduro regime itself, released a report on July 10th detailing the 92 deaths of demonstrators at the hands of Venezuelan security forces during the first 100 days. And I ask and, without objection, it will be entered into the record.

[The information referred to is located at the end of this transcript.]

Senator RUBIO. Senator Kaine?

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

And thank you, Mr. Secretary General. This is a very important hearing, and I think we are all in agreement on the diagnosis and we are looking for the prescription [Spanish spoken].

And one of the questions I want to ask to follow up on Senator Menendez's question is this: the vote in Cancun. You started in a lonely position, as you say, and then in Cancun, 20 votes. What would the effect have been in your estimation if the vote in Cancun had followed this referendum, 7.2 million Venezuelans turning out in the referendum and overwhelmingly rejecting the prospect of a dramatic rewrite by the Maduro Government of the constitution? Do you think there are abstentions or no votes, within that Cancun vote, that seeing this significant turnout and the significant will of these voters, might rethink their position, or do you think if we had this Cancun vote, it would likely come out the same? I am curious.

Secretary General ALMAGRO. This is not so easy to speculate about votes in international organizations. It will depend on the circumstance. It will depend a lot on the words that we use for the resolutions that we are planning to instrument.

The thing is, in any case, that I am extremely positive about the 20 votes, and I am extremely positive about how loud the minister of foreign affairs were during the General Assembly in Cancun. I think all those are very positive actions that happened in Cancun. It was not at all a failure. I would not describe it like that, not in the wildest dreams.

Senator KAINE. Let me ask it this way if I could. What would you predict—setting aside voting in the OAS, what would you predict would be the follow-on consequence of this referendum vote, which was so strong? Do you think it will have any affect on the situation going forward, or is the Government just going to say we do not care about it and will it then sink back en silencio?

Secretary General ALMAGRO. The government did not like it but showed something very positive: the extraordinary capacity of organization on mobilization of the opposition and the National Assembly. We have to see the positive of what went on there. The government is not ready yet to respond in a positive way to that consultation that was done. Those questions that were asked, the way that people answered are mandatory for all of us, and we should take it as mandatory for all of us, are mandatory, in fact, for the president of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, and he should be implementing this measure now. But that is not the logic of the government.

The logic of the government is keep playing games or will find somebody that will keep playing games with them. And if playing the game does not work like Senator Rubio said, then will come

more repression on the country. How long they can hold that repression I do not know. But the scenarios that we see are very ugly for Venezuela, are awful for Venezuela.

Senator KAINE. Let me switch to another topic that is related. The Attorney General Luisa Ortega had been a loyalist and ally of the Maduro regime, but in March of this year, as you described, she spoke against an attempt by the Supreme Court to strip the National Assembly of powers, and she has since been critical of President Maduro for creating, “a climate of terror.” The Supreme Court has banned her from leaving the country and frozen all of her assets.

How significant is her decision to break with the regime? And would you see additional prospects or think there would be additional prospects for key defectors from the regime, people who have been allies to defect and become opponents in the near future?

Secretary General ALMAGRO. I mean, we have also to see that a substantial part of the Chaveista had democratic rules, and a lot of them—they believe in democracy. And the permanent electoral exercise that Venezuela did during the years of Chavez, of course, came to an end because mainly dictators—they like elections when they are going to win them. If not, they are not useful for them.

Senator KAINE. I have been on the side of a losing election recently. I like elections I am going to win too. [Laughter.]

Senator KAINE. That is not just dictators.

Senator RUBIO. Well, I won and lost one in the same year. Try that. [Laughter.]

Secretary General ALMAGRO. But that is a very good thing and talks very well of you and of the system.

And, of course, more people have moved. Former Minister of Interior Miguel Rodriguez del Toro has moved. You know there are something like about 100 officers of the military, of the army that are in jail. So there are a lot of cracks in that organization. So somehow we expect more people may come to the sides of democracy at the end of the day.

Senator KAINE. Let me ask one other question. I was pleased to see the Trump administration state that they are looking at new sanctions against Venezuela, especially if they were to go through with the Government’s plan to try to do a dramatic rewrite of laws and the constitution. Your testimony talked about sanctions as having a significant and salutary impact, and it is imperative that sanctions do not worsen the suffering of the Venezuelan people. But, however, targeted sanctions that hold those criminals responsible for the crisis and repression to account have been helpful.

The news reports that I have read in “Bloomberg” suggest that the administration is definitely looking at targeted sanctions against key individuals, but also there is some suggestion there is tension inside the White House about which measures to adopt and whether to wait to see how Venezuela’s constitutional issue plays out. Among the measures creating division is whether to impose some sort of ban on crude oil imports from Venezuela. What opinion would you have of that, just to give us your thought and perspective about how that might help or hurt the situation?

Secretary General ALMAGRO. You know, dictatorships stay only if they are pushed within the country, from inside the country. Un-

less you bomb them—and that is not the solution definitely—there is no way to push a dictatorship down from abroad. So sanctions may work and may not work. It depends of the internal pressure in the country.

For example, there are sanctions that have worked, those against the apartheid in South Africa. They worked and at the end there were democracy in South Africa. But the whole country was committed to have democracy and to have one man, one vote.

There are cases where these sanctions have not worked because the internal pressure was not enough to bring the dictatorship down like the Cuban case, for example.

So at the end of the day, the most dramatic measure that can be taken are sanctions, but those sanctions have to be in order to back the people, in order to regain democracy. But it depends of the people of the country, and it will depend on the Venezuelans and their struggle to be able to achieve this solution. I think sanctions should be supportive of the Venezuelan people. I think sanctions should farther come and should have farther economic pressure on the Maduro dictatorship.

Senator KAINE. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Senator RUBIO. The Senator from Colorado.

Senator GARDNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you, Mr. Secretary, for being here today.

I had an interesting conversation with a gentleman last night from Colombia. He grew up in Colombia. He lives in the United States now. And he was talking about when they were children, if they wanted goods, if they wanted certain fresh products or produce, they would go to Venezuela, and they would have access to the goods, the produce that they could not get in Colombia. And he talked about the excitement they had in the family, when they were looking for that, to bring it home. And, of course, now what is happening in Venezuela is truly tragic because that is certainly not the case today.

I want to get a little bit into some of the global policies affecting Venezuela as well. According to a report from Brookings Institute, on May 8, 2017, China—banks in China lent about \$118 billion to Latin America between 2007 and 2014. During this time period, about 53 percent went to Venezuela. It is about \$63 billion to Venezuela from Chinese banks.

So could you talk a little bit about the extent of Chinese involvement in Venezuela, whether it is helping to prop up the Maduro government? Your perspective.

Secretary General ALMAGRO. Thank you very much.

I can talk a little, of course. There are Chinese economic interests in Venezuela. Of course, I am sure China would like to have those interests completely safe, and that means that they will deal with the political situation in an objective manner.

I think the interests there were mainly in projects of infrastructure. There were a lot of trade, and of course, there are big interests in energy. And those interests will remain there. And I think they do not have a strong connection with the institutional situation of the country. The institutional situation of the country—it

happened in parallel to that and were not affected by this relation with China.

Senator GARDNER. Thank you.

And with that investment infrastructure or otherwise, what type of leverage does China hold in Venezuela, and could the U.S. work with them to find a solution there?

Secretary General ALMAGRO. Mainly there were investments in the industrial sector. There were investments in the oil exploration, exploitation. There were investments in infrastructure, roads and ports and such for energy. So mainly those were the business I remember. So I think also there was some financial agreements, of course, the exchange of oil. There were a big joint commission, but that is like a normal bilateral relation, let us say.

Senator GARDNER. So in your opinion, the U.S. should not be concerned about Chinese financing of the Venezuelan Government?

Secretary General ALMAGRO. I do not think we should have a concern about that, and I think those agreements were done in good faith by the Chinese Government. And of course, a new Venezuelan Government should be able to reformulate them as possible in any agreement with China.

Senator GARDNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RUBIO. And just for a point of clarity on it—and I am going off the Congressional Research Service here. First of all, let us just describe the situation in Venezuela today. By estimates, Venezuela has international reserves of approximately \$10 billion according to this report, but its financing needs for 2017 are \$17 billion. So they got a \$7 billion hole at minimum. So they are taking extraordinary measures to repay creditors and unusual steps to raise cash.

For example, it has turned to loans to China and to Russia. These loans are paid with oil deliveries. So they are, in essence, taking the oil that belongs to the people of Venezuela and selling it at a discount to China or giving it to China and Russia at a discount in exchange for the cash, and even there, they have fallen behind on the arrangements.

And, of course, the well-reported sale of \$2.8 billion in bonds issued by the state-run oil entity that was sold to Goldman Sachs for \$865 million. So \$2.8 billion of bonds in exchange for \$865 million in cash. They are now also attempting to sell \$5 billion in bonds issued in December at a steep discount.

So one of the things that people do not realize is what the regime has done is they have taken oil, which belongs to the people of Venezuela. Instead of selling it at market price, they are using it as payment in exchange for funds. And in the case of Russia, Russia has even taken a 49.5 percent stake in CITGO, which is an American subsidiary of the state-run entity. They own multiple pipelines and refineries in the United States of America.

They are also engaged in the same sort of trade with Cuba where they pay the Cubans in oil in exchange for doctors and other services such as intelligence and repressive advisory services, which Cuba is one of the few countries in the world that offers that as a service as they teach you how to repress your people.

And that is the question that I wanted to get to in my second round here. We have not spoken about it. Not enough attention has

been paid to it. I am not sure that people are fully aware of the extent to which the Cuban Government is deeply entrenched in the security apparatus of the Venezuelan Government. And we have seen the reports that they are deeply entrenched and control everything from passports and travel documents to the personal security of Chavez and now Maduro and others.

And certainly their hand is visible in all of these measures that are being taken, including the release of Leopoldo Lopez to his home. He is not released. He is on house arrest. We are very happy he is with his family and his wife. He should not be detained at all. But it is a very typical Cuban Government move where they release someone into house arrest, but they are still not free and able to operate.

We have not discussed the role of Cuba providing assistance to the Venezuelan Maduro Government. I know they have other allies in the region, but Cuba is a critical ally.

I guess I will ask you, in the way you deem appropriate, if you could describe the role that Cuba plays in sustaining the Maduro operations that we see today.

Secretary General ALMAGRO. First of all, we have to say that everybody is taking profits of this weak Venezuelan Government, weak in the sense that they do not have the economic and financial possibilities that they had in the past. So if we see any agreement that they have done, they have given away a lot of these resources of the people. Every negotiation have given away a lot of these resources of the people. And everybody is taking profit of that, even Goldman Sachs as we have seen. They bought bonds for 30 percent of their values. That is like taking advantage of somebody that just needs money in order to stay alive. The same kind of agreements happen all the time.

Cuba has been there longer, has taken more profit than any other country of the region. If we see, the Cuban involvement is a serious one, and I think the Cuban management is like the worst advice that can exist in Venezuela these days.

The Cubans passed a special period in the early 1990s. They passed it without energy, cash, or possibility to import food. And so, more or less, they are saying to Venezuelans, look, at your conditions. You have energy. You have cash. You can import some food in order to implement the CLAP bags. So this logic to sustain yourself through the repression is Cuban logic. You just keep repressing and keep repressing and you just stay in power because of that.

If we see, they are practically everywhere. There are at least 15,000 Cubans in Venezuela. The colonial occupation army of Spain had 22,000 people. So this is like an occupation army that exists of Cuba in Venezuela. And, of course, they are not ready to leave this very profitable relation and they are not ready to leave behind a regime that is sustaining this relationship. And so that is one of the biggest problems that we have.

Senator RUBIO. I am looking forward in your statement. I know I saw it somewhere. You discussed—but here are some of the things, again from the Congressional Research Center. A 2016 national survey released in March of this year found that 27 percent of the people in Venezuela eat only once a day. 93.3 percent of households lack enough income to purchase food. I believe I saw it

in your statement or somewhere else about the amount of weight that Venezuelans have lost in the last year. Am I correct?

Secretary General ALMAGRO. Yes.

Senator RUBIO. What was the number?

Secretary General ALMAGRO. From 8 to 10 kilograms on average they lost during last year.

Senator RUBIO. So that is 19 pounds.

Secretary General ALMAGRO. Yes.

Senator RUBIO. So the average Venezuelan has lost 18 to 19 pounds in the last year because of hunger.

Secretary General ALMAGRO. Two sizes smaller.

Senator RUBIO. Well, I saw a recent video of Nicolas Maduro and Diosdado Cabello. They have not lost any weight. [Laughter.]

Secretary General ALMAGRO. No. We have improved a lot.

Senator RUBIO. In fact, I have not seen any weight loss among virtually anyone at senior levels of the government.

Secretary General ALMAGRO. This is something that the people are suffering. People are suffering these shortages. Their children usually are abroad in Europe or here in North America. They do not run in the same conditions as the rest of their people.

Senator RUBIO. Well, the last point you raise in your testimony had to do, I believe, with infant mortality, and you compared it to the infant mortality rate in another country. And I am searching for it now, but I think, if I am not mistaken, you state in your testimony in 2016, seven children died each day before reaching the age of 1. There are better survival rates for newborns in Syria. Does that, in your recollection, remain an accurate assessment? In Syria. The survival rate of newborns is better in Syria than it is in Venezuela under the Maduro regime.

Secretary General ALMAGRO. Yes.

Senator RUBIO. And for the record, there is no U.S. embargo against Venezuela or any embargo from anyone. The only embargo on the people of Venezuela is self-imposed by the Maduro regime.

Secretary General ALMAGRO. Yes. But it is what I said in my presentation. The money of the resources that belong to the people—they just go to kill the people, torture the people, and nothing is provided to them. So any sanction in Venezuela will not worsen the situation of the people at all.

Senator RUBIO. The ranking member.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, again thank you for your testimony, for your insights, for your leadership.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that we can think about some other possibilities here. For example, it seems to me that if those who invest in PDVSA, which seems to be the cash cow for the regime, ultimately know that their stock, for example, that the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States will look seriously about whether or not such an investment, particularly in critical infrastructure of the United States, in energy would not be permitted, that it would reduce the value of PDVSA's engagement. It would reduce the allure of those both in the private sector and governmentally who are looking at PDVSA and taking shares.

I look at the countries that I named earlier, and whether it is a Millennium Challenge account that we have had or whether it is



a series of our other aid, I mean, peaceful diplomacy is a combination of the use of your aid, your trade, and of course, the denial of aid or trade in a pejorative way to get countries to move in a direction that is in their national interests.

I really believe that the dramatic testimony of the Secretary General about what is happening in Venezuela, which I largely knew, but it has been dramatized by his testimony, and the incredible importance of Venezuela, the country, its size, its energy, its people in the midst of Latin America is a national security question of the United States. What happens if people massively seek to flee? What happens with the questions of illicit narcotic flows and the use of money laundering and a whole host of other things?

So I would hope that we would urge the State Department to use all the tools of foreign diplomacy and the administration, which has seemed predisposed to seeking to do things, to look at a wide variety of things, CFIUS, the Committee on Foreign Investment, the use of our aid, the use of our trade, the denial of such because as the Secretary said, at every step in this crisis, it has always been too little too late. I do not think that we can afford to continue too little too late on behalf of the people of Venezuela or for that fact in our own national security interest.

Senator RUBIO. And just to echo the ranking member's comments—first, let me add this. We did not get a chance to get to it today, but I would remind those watching here in the United States that we should not forget the case of an American citizen from Utah named Joshua Holt. He is an innocent American who has been unjustly detained in Venezuelan jails now for over a year caught up in the middle of all this crisis with absurd and ridiculous accusations.

On the ranking member's point, I have said this in the past and people took it as a threat. It is not a threat. It is an honest observation about the state of affairs. I do not think you need to be a daily watcher of the news and politics to understand there is a vibrant debate in the United States about how much money this Nation should be investing in foreign aid. And I have long been a supporter, as has the ranking member, for U.S. engagement in the world and in the region. But we have a debate about how much money the United States should be investing.

And I can tell you it is a debate that becomes very difficult when the debate is about investing money in nations that are our partners under the guise of we want to support them because they are democracies when these nations and the only international forum in the region designed to defend democracy are unwilling to do so for whatever the reasons may be. Maybe some of them have been involved in illicit activity that they do not want to be outed on and blackmailed by the Venezuelan regime. Perhaps others have an ideological affinity, whatever it might be. It is difficult, not a threat. I am just being honest. It is as difficult as a U.S. policymaker to turn to my colleagues from all across the country and argue that we should be funding millions of dollars of aid to countries who then turn around and support this, not support this militarily, not support this economically, supported it with a vote at the organism in the region designed to defend democracy.

I do not understand how you can claim to be a democracy if you are not willing to support it at an international organism like the OAS. And that is just a fact. And that is going to be part of the debate in the months and weeks to come. Foreign aid is not charity. We do it because it defends our values as a Nation, and we do it because it is in our national interests. So I say that.

On the issue of these companies, the ranking member is absolutely right. Most Americans do not realize that if Venezuela defaults, CITGO is going to be owned by a Russian entity. And CITGO is a U.S. subsidiary that has pipelines. It has refinery operations in multiple States. I am going to take a wild guess that that will not be very popular here in the United States of America or here in the United States Congress, given recent events. I do not think that is going to happen.

And so I think if you are Vladimir Putin and his good friend who runs and owns that company and operates it for the benefit of their corrupt cronies over there, you just realize you own 49.5 percent of bad debt because the only way you are ever going to get your debt repaid is a functional society in a country that operates and has an economy, not this disaster.

As far as the Chinese are concerned, I am sure they would like to have more reach in the Western Hemisphere, but I can tell you what their number one concern is: they want to get paid back. They paid for this oil at a discount. They got a good deal. They expect to get the oil. And if they do not get the oil, it will be humiliating—humiliating—to the Chinese Government that made this bad loan where they gave all this cash in exchange for oil and they are not going to get it.

And my message to the Chinese Government is these guys will never be able to pay you back. This is a dysfunctional narco state that is in a death spiral in terms of its ability to function. If you want to get paid back on your debt, the best thing that could happen for China is for a functional nation state that restores democracy and has an economy that works and can actually produce oil again because the oil does not magically produce itself. You have to have people willing to show up to work and people that know what they are doing.

But this is what happens to an oil industry when all of your buddies and friends that know nothing about the industry get put in charge of it. And that is what has happened here. It became a piggybank for everybody.

And the third point is on those in Wall Street that are thinking about it, the reputational damage of those who bail out Venezuela is going to be extraordinary. All this stuff is being documented as much as anywhere in the world. The list is extensive of people that have been jailed and oppressed. And I know that there are some good deals to be had in their minds in terms of the balance sheet, but I can tell you that whether they are a large multinational entity or a hedge fund looking to make a quick buck, the reputational damage of lending money to this regime will be extraordinary. It is not a threat. It is a promise that I intend to talk about you if you do it. And people will know it, and we will see what that means in the short and long term.

So this is a distressing situation. We are 13 or 12 days away from what I think will be, if it happens, a tragic and unacceptable outcome in our own hemisphere. As I said at the outset, it will be the first time in almost 4 decades that you have a formal structural abandonment of democracy in exchange for a Cuban-style dictatorship, perhaps even worse in some ways if that is even possible. And I just do not know how that is going to go over very well. And I hope we can get more of our colleagues interested in this topic because my bigger fear on this side of the equation, meaning as policymakers in the United States, is this is a very serious situation that could lead to all sorts of destabilizing effects in the region, including mass migration problems beyond what we have already seen now, a deep, endemic humanitarian crisis and, God forbid, violence probably initiated by the regime. And it could come upon us very quickly here if we are not prepared to address it.

I believe from everything I have seen and heard and talked about with them that the U.S. administration not only wants to address it and be serious but is looking for partners in the hemisphere to work with, hopefully through the OAS or perhaps as a group of friends through the OAS. But July 30th will not come and go with a press release. Of that, I am 100 percent confident.

I thank you for being here today. I know how busy you are, how much time you spent on this. By the way, for those who do not know, you have been the subject of extraordinary personal attacks by the Maduro regime and the other thugs that surround them. I know it does not necessarily matter to you directly but your efforts have been noticed there, and I think anyone who they attack, I think that is a badge of honor. And so I just thank you for the efforts. They have been extraordinary, and we hear that from everyone everywhere.

And you say you were alone when you started. It is true. There is no way we would be at 20 votes without your leadership on this topic. I am convinced that that number will grow in the weeks to come.

So thank you so much. We are honored that you came here today.

Secretary General ALMAGRO. Thank you.

Senator RUBIO. And with that, I thank everyone for being here.

The record will remain open for 48 hours. I intend to submit additional questions for the record. We will get them to your office. We will work out a process to make sure they are part of our record.

And with that, our hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 5:37 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

PREPARED STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY LUIS ALMAGRO, SECRETARY  
GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES



**THE COLLAPSE OF THE RULE OF LAW IN VENEZUELA:  
WHAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL  
COMMUNITY CAN DO TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY**

**HEARING BEFORE THE  
SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON WESTERN HEMISPHERE,  
TRANSNATIONAL CRIME, CIVILIAN SECURITY,  
DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND  
GLOBAL WOMEN'S ISSUES  
JULY 19, 2017**

**LUIS ALMAGRO LEMES  
SECRETARY GENERAL  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES**

Antigua and Barbuda  
Argentina  
The Bahamas  
Barbados  
Belize  
Bolivia  
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Chile  
Colombia  
Costa Rica  
Cuba  
Dominica  
Dominican Republic  
Ecuador  
El Salvador  
Grenada  
Guatemala  
Guyana  
Haiti  
Honduras  
Jamaica  
Mexico  
Nicaragua  
Panama  
Paraguay  
Peru  
Saint Kitts and Nevis  
Saint Lucia  
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines  
Suriname  
Trinidad and Tobago  
United States of America  
Uruguay  
Venezuela

Senator Rubio, Senator Menendez, members of the subcommittee,

As Secretary General of the Organization of American States, I fulfilled my duty to activate the Democratic Charter on May 30 of last year when I submitted my first Report on the situation in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to the Permanent Council, requesting a meeting under the Democratic Charter.

As the situation continued to deteriorate, I submitted my second report on March 14, 2017

On April 3, 2017, the Permanent Council passed Resolution 1078 declaring that there had been a "alteration of the constitutional order" in Venezuela.

This past Sunday, the people of Venezuela came out in force to defend their democracy.

More than 7.5 million people voted peacefully to reject Nicolas Maduro's proposed National Constituent Assembly, calling on the armed forces to defend Venezuela's constitution, and demanding full elections.

The citizens of Venezuela came out to vote despite fear and terror of the retribution threatened by their government; a regime that is already

responsible for more than 100 deaths of their friends, their family and their neighbors.

Xiomara Solidad Scott, a 61 years old, nurse gave her life Sunday trying to vote for a free and democratic Venezuela.

When others were content to look the other way as Venezuela collapsed into dictatorship, I raised my voice to denounce the systematic violation of the Constitution and the escalating violent repression.

There is no greater crisis facing our hemisphere today. We must stand in solidarity with the brave people of Venezuela in restoring democracy and the rule of law in their country.

My *raison d'être* at the OAS is "More Rights for More People". This is a solemn commitment I take seriously every single day. It is a responsibility of which I will never tire.

It is the fundamental role of the Organization of American States-- to stand vigilant in defense of democracy throughout the Americas.

This is why the Inter-American Democratic Charter was created.

It is a commitment that all member states must take seriously at this moment of truth for Venezuela.

Senator Rubio, Senator Menendez, members of the Subcommittee,

Thank you for this opportunity to be with you today in support of the people of Venezuela.

I want to commend you for your strong commitment to this issue. The United States Congress, its leadership, and members of this Subcommittee, have been vital voices in denouncing the abuses inflicted daily upon the Venezuelan people.

Your bipartisan efforts to draw attention to this crisis, as well as the work of Senators to reach out to legislators throughout the Americas, have marked important moments in rallying the international community to the cause of the Venezuelan people.

As part of your ongoing efforts, this hearing is essential and comes at a critical time as the people of Venezuela deserve our support and need it now more than ever before.

Today's hearing is entitled "The Collapse of the Rule of Law in Venezuela: What the United States and the International Community Can Do To Restore Democracy."

As the Secretary General of the OAS, I am not here to tell United States or any other individual country in the Americas what to do. That is the sovereign decision of each Member State.

I will speak to what I have done in the face of Venezuela's collapse into dictatorship what I believe is the responsibility of the inter-American community of States to do in the face of that collapse.

The international community has an important responsibility in the face of tyranny and repression. And the OAS continues to be the only multilateral forum willing to address the crisis in Venezuela.

In a Hemisphere of close to 1 billion people, 20 countries that represent nearly 90% of the population of the Americas joined to speak in defense of democracy in Venezuela.

Twenty foreign ministers advocated for the lives and human rights of the Venezuelan people, at the General Assembly that took place in Mexico in June.

But as the violence in Venezuela escalates and the death toll continues to rise, it is clear that words are not enough.

The reluctance of the international community to act in defense of democracy has allowed the situation to deteriorate incrementally, but consistently, to the point where today it has become a full-blown humanitarian and security crisis.

Every step of the way it has been too little, and too late.

The Democratic Charter was designed as a preventative tool. When it was agreed, it established a very explicit authority to act in every signatory state, when necessity requires.

When used as intended, it can prevent or stop any backsliding in the regions' hard-earned democracies.

It is true that only the people of Venezuela must solve the crisis in their country. However, in Venezuela, the words of civilians are met with the weapons of the Regime.

The people of Venezuela peacefully took to the streets in defense of their fundamental rights and freedoms. The Regime responded strategically and systematically, targeting an unarmed, civilian population with violence and terror.

More than 100 people have been killed since the protests began. That is one close one person each day.

Of those killed, more than 30 were under the age of 21; 24 were students; 14 were teenagers.

Since the protests began, more than 450 investigations into human rights violations have been opened. Civil society estimates that the number civilians injured is above 15,000.

As of July 12, there were 444 political prisoners in Venezuela; the highest number since the military dictatorship of Marcos Pérez Jiménez.

These statistics do not include the thousands of lives lost in the humanitarian crisis.

Countless Venezuelans are dying without food or medicine- between 4 and 6 children die every week from malnutrition.

In 2016, seven children died each day before reaching the age of one. There are better survival rates for newborns in Syria.

Almost 2 million people have fled their homeland in recent years.

Having lost the rule of law, Venezuela now has one of the highest murder rates in the world.

The Regime has consistently rejected any and all offers of international humanitarian assistance. Instead, they have weaponized what little resources they do have, selecting who gets what.

As Secretary General, I have a responsibility to stand up for the people of Venezuela.

I will be relentless and continue to denounce the dismantling of democracy and the Constitution, the violations of human rights, and the violent repression taking place.

However, my voice alone is not enough. Member States and prominent leaders around the world must speak up together and explore what tools they have at their disposal to act.

President Maduro, his cabinet, and his military leaders have blood on their hands and they must be held accountable.

I am often asked about sanctions. It is imperative that the sanctions do not worsen the suffering of the Venezuelan people. However, targeted sanctions that hold those criminals responsible for the crisis and repression to account have been helpful.

It is a clear message to perpetrators that they can no longer act with impunity.

Senator Rubio, I ask that the three reports I have presented to the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States on the situation in Venezuela be entered into the record of this hearing as part of my statement.

The first two reports lay out the deterioration of the humanitarian situation, as well as the complete alteration of the constitutional and democratic order in Venezuela.

These Reports also present a series of Recommendations that offer guidance for action by the international community.

The third report, I released this week, details the strategic and systematic violent repression targeting the unarmed, civilian population in Venezuela.

Senator Rubio, I also ask that Permanent Council Resolution 1078 recognizing the "alteration of the constitutional order" in Venezuela be entered into the record of this hearing.

Finally, I ask that a report from the Office of the Attorney General of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela released July 10, detailing the 92 deaths of demonstrators at the hands of Venezuelan security forces during the first 100 days also be entered into the record.

This damning report from the Venezuelan government itself shows the brutal extremes to which Maduro and his government will go to hold onto power.

We cannot remain distant or indifferent to the human tragedy. The international community must continue to build and exert external pressure, demonstrating that the Regime of Nicolas Maduro cannot act with impunity.

We must demand compliance with the Constitution and focus on a democratic exit from the crisis.

Thank you again for your time and attention to the tragedy in Venezuela.

I am pleased to answer any questions you may have regarding what the international community can and should do to support the Venezuelan people in their efforts to restore democracy and the rule of law to their beloved country.



## Additional Material Submitted for the Record

STATEMENT FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED BY CARLOS VECCHIO, LL.M. AND MPA, NATIONAL POLITICAL COORDINATOR OF VOLUNTAD POPULAR (POPULAR WILL, OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTY, MEMBER OF THE UNITARY ALLIANCE)

Thank you Chairman Rubio, Ranking Member Senator Bob Menendez and members of the committee, for inviting me to submit a written testimony before you today.

It has not been easy for me to get where I am today. I find myself doing what I have never been able to do in my own country; to present before an independent, public institution and give my testimony. I have experienced the political persecution imposed by the reigning dictatorship of Venezuela first hand. In 2014, after I had called for peaceful protests for the rights of the Venezuelan people, the Maduro administration decided to file a warrant for my arrest for political reasons. This was done five days after filing the arrest warrant for Leopoldo López, my party leader. I went into hiding for over 100 days. They were unable to capture me. After that I decided to leave the country in order to be able to denounce the injustices in Venezuela internationally.

I have come here in order to reaffirm what you yourselves have indicated in various resolutions approved by the United States Congress. There is no democracy in Venezuela. There is a dictatorship. A corrupt dictatorship that has driven my country into the worst historic crisis that we have seen since the twentieth century.

From a political perspective, the elections in Venezuela have been suspended. In 2016 Nicolás Maduro chose to disregard the recall referendum that had been signed and activated by the signatures of over four hundred thousand Venezuelans. Venezuelan regional elections are behind schedule. There are over 400 political prisoners, something that is incompatible with the very concept of democracy. Separation of powers is non-existent. I want to especially highlight the use of the Supreme Court under Maduro's control in their de facto dissolving of the Venezuelan National Assembly. From an economic perspective, the regime has been an unprecedented catastrophe. Our gross domestic product has gone down by almost 24% in the last three years. We have the highest inflation rate in the world, nearing 1,000%. From a social perspective, we have become one of the most violent countries in the world, as well as having an 80% poverty rate according to the latest study from the best universities in Venezuela.

We have been protesting for over 100 days in an attempt to reestablish constitutional order in Venezuela. In the course of these protests more than 90 people have lost their lives, thousands have been arrested illegally, and there have been countless wounded. The Maduro administration no longer has the support of the people. More than 80% have rejected his platform. Maduro insists on using repression and terror in order to remain in power, following Cuba's lead. He has proposed a fraudulent constitutional assembly in order to remain in power despite not having the support of the people. This aggravates the crisis even further.

On July 16, within the framework of these protests, the opposition carried out a referendum to gain popular support for our fight. It was entirely a grass-roots process, since it was done without the assistance of any Venezuelan public authority. More than 7.6 million Venezuelans took part. If the recall election had taken place on that day, Maduro's mandate would have been revoked. This level of participation sends a clear message to the country and the world that we want to reestablish constitutional order in Venezuela in a peaceful, and democratic fashion. For over 100 days, these millions of Venezuelans showed up for peaceful protests, to declare their indignation in the face of economic and social chaos, to demand liberty for political prisoners, and to put an end to the fraudulent constituent assembly.

Maduro has sought to manipulate the international community with his proposed constituency, as he would if their formation had come about from something resembling a legitimate election. Even if Maduro has the prerogative to activate a constitutional assembly process, it would still need to be approved by the people by way of a referendum. This is the step that Maduro does not want to comply with. He does not want to ask the people if they want to change the constitution, and it's because he does not have the support of the people. As a matter of fact, not even the candidate selection process respects universal voting rights, something enshrined in the constitution, since Maduro has arbitrarily divided the population into groups (workers, farmers, etc), deciding for himself who gets to represent them and who gets to elect them. In this way, when determining the number of members in the assembly, the populations of each group are not taken into account. This is why

we declare that this constituency is a fraud, as it does not respect the constitution, or democratic principles.

The international community needs to put pressure on them in order to force an effective negotiation, and they should be more stringent this time, recalling the failed dialogues of 2016, which the United States were involved in. At this time it is not enough to remove the fraudulent constituent assembly, as this would leave us back at square one with protests. In order to restore constitutional order we need: i) General elections with the presence of international observers, ii) The swift liberation of all political prisoners and anyone imprisoned arbitrarily and without due process, iii) Restore the full constitutional competencies of the National Assembly, and iv) Support for a humanitarian aid fund.

It is important to keep in mind that there is an irreversible political change that the Maduro regime won't be able to stop. We should increase the pressure so that this change happens sooner rather than later, and with the least possible suffering of our people. Our conflict should be resolved by the Venezuelan people themselves, although the international community plays an important and stellar role in helping and supporting us in the reestablishment of democracy in Venezuela.

Under these circumstances, it is a challenge for the U.S. to participate in a constructive way. Therefore, with all due respect, I would recommend the following steps or actions:

1. The continued application of necessary pressure along with allies from neighboring countries in order to force an effective negotiation. This is particularly important for multilateral organisms such as OAS and the United Nations. In keeping with this line we should also seek to continue to engage the European Union.
2. Continue and expand targeted sanctions against those responsible for human rights violations, as well as against those people connected to the regime who have profited through corrupt deals and criminal undertakings. These should also include the associates and families of the people involved.
3. To the extent that the U.S. laws permit, the U.S. should release all evidences, accounts, and assets of the people involved in corrupt deals.
4. Request not only the repeal of the fraudulent constituency, but also alert them immediately that no results from such an election will be recognized by any democratic government in the world. Additionally, ask other world governments to do the same. It should be clear that if Maduro implements his fraudulent constitutional assembly in any way, the United States will not recognize anything approved thereby.
5. To the extent that U.S. law permits, the U.S. should prohibit the use of its financial system for transactions that imply further debts or any restructuring of existing public debts for Venezuela without the approval of the democratically elected Venezuelan National Assembly.
6. To the extent that U.S. law permits, the U.S. should prevent oil and mining joint ventures associated with the Maduro regime that have not been approved by democratically elected Venezuelan National Assembly. Furthermore disseminate information about the risks involved with oil and mining companies associated with the Maduro regime. (Oil and mining associations require the approval of the National Assembly as per Venezuelan law).

CARLOS VECCHIO

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ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS)

**Report on Venezuela, Submitted by Luis Almagro,  
Secretary General—May 30, 2016**



OSG/243-16  
May 30th, 2016

Excellency,

Mr. Juan Jose Arcuri  
Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the Argentine Republic  
to the Organization of American States  
Chairman of the Permanent Council  
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. Chairman,

I am pleased to address you to request the convening of an urgent session of the Permanent Council of the Member States between June 10 and 20, 2016, in accordance with Article 20 of the Inter-American Democratic Charter, in which "...the Secretary General may request the immediate convocation of the Permanent Council to undertake a collective assessment of the situation and to take such decisions as it deems appropriate".

The Permanent Council, depending on the situation, may decide to undertake the necessary diplomatic efforts to promote the normalization of the situation and restore democratic institutions.

If diplomatic efforts prove unsuccessful or if the urgency of the situation warrants, the Permanent Council shall immediately convene a special session of the General Assembly so that it may take whatever decisions it considers appropriate, including diplomatic efforts, in accordance with the OAS Charter, international law, and the provisions outlined in the Democratic Charter.

During this process, the necessary diplomatic efforts to promote the normalization of the situation and restore democratic institutions will be undertaken.

This process should address the "alteration of the Constitutional order" and how this gravely affects "the democratic order" of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, based on the complaints

The report can be accessed by following the hyperlink below:

<http://www.oas.org/documents/eng/press/OSG-243.en.pdf>

## ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS)

**Updated Report on Venezuela, Submitted by Luis Almagro,  
Secretary General—March 14, 2017**

Antigua and Barbuda  
Argentina  
The Bahamas  
Barbados  
Belize  
Bolivia  
Brazil  
Canada  
Chile  
Colombia  
Costa Rica  
Cuba  
Dominica  
Dominican Republic  
Ecuador  
El Salvador  
Grenada  
Guatemala  
Guyana  
Haiti  
Honduras  
Jamaica  
Mexico  
Nicaragua  
Panama  
Paraguay  
Peru  
Saint Kitts and Nevis  
Saint Lucia  
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines  
Suriname  
Trinidad and Tobago  
United States of America  
Uruguay  
Venezuela

March 14, 2017  
OSG/128-17

His Excellency  
Patrick Andrews  
Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Belize  
to the Organization of American States  
Washington D.C.

Your Excellency:

On May 30, 2016, I submitted my first detailed report outlining the crisis in Venezuela, focusing on the "alteration of the Constitutional order" and the "democratic order" in the country based on Article 20 of the Inter-American Democratic Charter. In order to constructively contribute to the collective assessment by the Member States, the General Secretariat hereby presents an update of the report.

On June 23, 2016, the Permanent Council convened an urgent session under Article 20 of the Inter-American Democratic Charter to discuss the content of the report. The Secretary General's report was the sole item on the meeting's agenda.

For two and a half hours, Member States collectively evaluated the situation and what measures to undertake in order to promote the normalization of the situation and restore its democratic institutions. While noting that the presentation was made, the outcome of the discussion was that no decision was reached.

Since that discussion, Members of the Permanent Council, citizens of the Americas and the international community have all witnessed Venezuela spiral further and further into its acute economic, social, political and humanitarian crisis.

The diplomatic efforts undertaken have resulted in no progress. Repeated attempts at dialogue have failed and the citizens of Venezuela further lose faith in their government and the democratic process. The lack of results from a dialogue is the first sign of failure in a political system, because democracy cannot exist if voices are not heard or if they have been silenced.

The facts have become clear. Venezuela is in violation of every article in the Inter-American Democratic Charter. Democracy and Human Rights are values that must be above politics and the task before us is to support Venezuela and restore the rights of the people.

The report can be accessed by following the hyperlink below:

<http://www.oas.org/documents/eng/press/Informe-VZ-II-English-Final-Signed.pdf>

# RESOLUTION ON THE RECENT EVENTS IN VENEZUELA

PERMANENT COUNCIL



OEASer.G  
CP/RES. 1078 (2108/17)  
3 April 2017  
Original: English

CP/RES. 1078 (2108/17)

## RESOLUTION ON THE RECENT EVENTS IN VENEZUELA

(Adopted by the Permanent Council at its session held on April 3, 2017)

THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,

REITERATING the principles and recalling the mechanisms established in the Charter of the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Democratic Charter on the strengthening and preservation of the democratic institutional system in member states;

REAFFIRMING that the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms are a basic prerequisite for the existence of a democratic society;

REAFFIRMING also that separation of powers and independence of the branches of government are essential elements of representative democracy;

EXPRESSING our grave concern regarding the unconstitutional alteration of the democratic order in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and our continuous support for dialogue and negotiation to lead to a peaceful restoration of democratic order,

DECLARES that:

1. The decisions of the Supreme Court of Venezuela to suspend the powers of the National Assembly and to arrogate them to itself are inconsistent with democratic practice and constitute an alteration of the constitutional order of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. Notwithstanding the recent revision of some elements of these decisions, it is essential that the Government of Venezuela ensures the full restoration of democratic order.

RESOLVES:

1. To urge action by the Venezuelan government to safeguard the separation and independence of powers and to restore full constitutional authority to the National Assembly.

2. To stand ready to support measures to return to democratic order through the effective exercise of democracy and rule of law within the Venezuelan constitutional framework.

3. To remain seized of the situation in Venezuela and to undertake as necessary further diplomatic initiatives to foster the restoration of the democratic institutional system, in accordance with the Charter of the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Democratic Charter, including the convening of a ministerial meeting.

## BALANCE DE VÍCTIMAS FALLECADAS Y LESIONADAS DURANTE— MANIFESTACIONES EN ABRIL–JULIO DE 2017

BALANCE DE VÍCTIMAS FALLECIDAS Y LESIONADAS DURANTE  
MANIFESTACIONES EN ABRIL - JULIO DE 2017

1.- **Jairo Johan Ortiz Bustamante:** joven de 19 años de edad que estudiaba en la Universidad Nacional Experimental Politécnica de Caracas. Falleció el día 06 de Abril de 2017, como consecuencia de una herida producida por el paso de proyectil disparado por arma de fuego, durante una manifestación realizada en la población de Carrizal, estado Miranda. Por esta investigación se encuentra detenido el funcionario de la Policía Nacional Bolivariana, Rohenluis Leonel Rojas Mara, quien fue acusado por la comisión de los delitos de homicidio calificado y uso indebido de arma orgánica. Para investigar estos hechos se comisionó a las fiscalías 39° nacional y 24° del estado Miranda.

2.- **Daniel Alejandro QuelizAraca:** el joven a sus 20 años, era hijo único y estudiante de tercer año de Derecho en la Universidad Arturo Michelena, ubicada en San Diego, estado Carabobo. También practicó beisbol e incluso en un momento de su vida anheló jugar ese deporte de manera profesional. Falleció el 10 de Abril de 2017, tras recibir una herida por arma de fuego a nivel del cuello, durante una manifestación ocurrida en la urbanización Los Parques, parroquia Miguel Peña del municipio Valencia, estado Carabobo. Por esta causa fueron detenidos Marcos Ojeda y Edwin Romero, funcionarios de la Policía del estado Carabobo, quienes fueron acusados por los delitos de homicidio calificado y uso indebido de arma orgánica. Para investigar estos hechos se comisionó a las fiscalías 28° del estado Carabobo y 34° nacional.

3.- **Miguel Ángel Colmenarez Milano:** comerciante de 36 años de edad que vendía filtros para vehículos en un negocio familiar. Falleció el 11 de abril de 2017, cuando observaba una manifestación que se desarrolló en la calle 59 de Barrio Nuevo, Barquisimeto, estado Lara. En ese momento, fue interceptado por varios hombres, quienes lo despojaron de sus pertenencias, le arrojaron dos artefactos explosivos conocidos como aturdidoras y luego le dispararon con una

escopeta. Para investigar estos hechos se comisionó a las fiscalías 44° nacional y 6° del estado Lara.

**4.- B.D.P.G (identidad omitida de conformidad con el artículo 65 de la Ley Orgánica para la Protección de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes):** adolescente de 14 años de edad que estudiaba tercer año de bachillerato. El 11 de abril de 2017, se encontraba en la urbanización Alí Primera de la parroquia El Cují, en Barquisimeto, estado Lara, cuando fue impactado por un proyectil de arma de fuego, causándole hemorragia interna y ruptura vascular visceral, dichos disparos lo realizaron desde un vehículo. Por este hecho se solicitaron dos órdenes de aprehensión, y se encuentra detenido Yohan Zapata. Para investigar estos hechos se comisionó a las fiscalías 79° nacional, 20° y 16° del estado Lara.

**5.-Gruseney Antonio Canelón Scirpatempo:** este joven deportista tenía 32 años de edad y se dedicaba a la venta de repuestos de vehículos. Era conocido como Tony por sus amigos y allegados. Fue herido el 11 de abril de 2017 con proyectil múltiple disparado por arma de fuego, cuando transitaba por los alrededores de una manifestación que se desarrollaba en el sector Bellas Artes de Cabudare, estado Lara. Tras el hecho, fue trasladado al Hospital Central Antonio María Pineda de Barquisimeto, donde falleció el 13 de abril. Para investigar este hecho se comisionó a las fiscalías 85° nacional y 21° del estado Lara, las cuales solicitaron y le fueron acordadas 14 órdenes de aprehensión, en contra de funcionarios adscritos a la Guardia Nacional Bolivariana.

**6.-C.J.M.B (identidad omitida de conformidad con el artículo 65 de la Ley Orgánica para la Protección de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes):** adolescente de 17 años de edad, estudiante de primer semestre de economía en la Universidad Central de Venezuela. Vivía con su madre y hermana. Jugaba fútbol en sus tiempos libres. Falleció el 19 de Abril de 2017, por herida de arma de fuego en la región cefálica durante una manifestación en la plaza La Estrella, San Bernardino, Distrito Capital; cuando un grupo de motorizados arrojó bombas



lacrimógenas a los presentes y accionaron armas de fuego, resultando herido el citado adolescente, así como un adulto, fue trasladado hasta el Hospital de Clínicas Caracas donde falleció. Por la comisión de este delito fueron detenidas dos personas, entre ellas un funcionario adscrito a la Policía Municipal de Sucre. Para investigar estos hechos se comisionó a la Fiscalía 79° Nacional.

7.- **Niumar José Sanclemente Barrios:** tenía 28 años de edad, era sargento segundo de la Guardia Nacional Bolivariana (GNB) y fue ascendido post mortem al grado de sargento primero, en reconocimiento a su labor. Era padre de una niña de 6 meses de edad. En fecha 19 de Abril de 2017, se encontraba cumpliendo con sus labores de resguardo del orden público, en una manifestación en el Primer Elevado de la Avenida Perimetral San Antonio de Los Altos, municipio Los Salías, estado Miranda, un sujeto desconocido efectuó múltiples disparos en contra de los efectivos de la Guardia Nacional, donde resultó herido al igual que su compañero Juan Carlos Arias Méndez, siendo ambos trasladados a la Clínica Centro Médico Docente el Paso, donde fallece el funcionario Sanclemente. Para investigar estos hechos fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 24° nacional y 1° del estado Miranda.

8.- **Paola Andreína Ramírez Gómez:** joven de 23 años de edad, era estudiante de la Universidad Católica de San Cristóbal. En fecha 19 de abril de 2017, se encontraba en las inmediaciones de la Plaza Las Palomas del barrio San Carlos, estado Táchira, fue interceptada por varios sujetos que trataron de despojarla de sus pertenencias, al salir corriendo fue impactada por un proyectil que le perforó los pulmones. El homicida, quien ya fue imputado por el Ministerio Público, disparó desde la azotea de su casa. Fue comisionada la Fiscalía 4° del estado Táchira.

9.- **Elio Manuel Pacheco Pérez:** tenía 21 años de edad. Se desempeñaba como obrero en la empresa Fospuca. cursaba cuarto trimestre de Administración. Falleció en fecha 20 de abril de 2017, mientras ingresaba conjuntamente con otras personas al local de la panadería "La Mayer del Pan", ubicada en la Calle San

Andrés Cajigal en el Valle, recibieron una descarga eléctrica que les produjo un shock cardiogénico por electrocución. Para conocer estos hechos fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 40° y 121° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

10.- **Jairo Ramírez:** tenía 46 años de edad, trabajaba como mecánico en la empresa Supra Caracas, vivía con su esposa y dejó huérfanos a cuatro hijos. Falleció producto de una electrocución el 20 de abril de 2017, por los hechos acontecidos en la panadería "La Mayer del Pan", ubicada en la Calle San Andrés Cajigal en el Valle. Para conocer estos hechos fueron las comisionadas las fiscalías 40° y 121° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

11.- **Robert Joel Centeno Briceño:** de 29 años de edad, padre de tres hijos, trabajaba como Almacenista en Suvinca y jugaba fútbol con la selección de Coche. Falleció producto de una electrocución el 20 de abril de 2017, por los hechos acontecidos en la panadería "La Mayer del Pan", ubicada en la Calle San Andrés Cajigal en el Valle. Para conocer estos hechos fueron las comisionadas las fiscalías 40° y 121° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

12.- **William Heriberto Marrero Rebolledo:** de 33 años de edad, soltero, sin hijos, de profesión estilista, residenciado en el Sector San Andrés de El Valle, vivía junto a su madre, tía y abuela. Falleció producto de una electrocución el 20 de abril de 2017, por los hechos acontecidos en la panadería "La Mayer del Pan", ubicada en la Calle San Andrés Cajigal en el Valle. Para conocer estos hechos fueron las comisionadas las fiscalías 40° y 121° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

13.- **Jonathan Antonio Menezes López:** tenía 27 años de edad. Se desempeñaba como Albañil de forma particular. Residía junto a la familia en El Valle. Era padre de dos hijos. Falleció producto de una electrocución el 20 de abril de 2017, por los hechos acontecidos en la panadería "La Mayer del Pan", ubicada en la Calle San Andrés Cajigal en el Valle. Para conocer estos hechos fueron las comisionadas las fiscalías 40° y 121° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

14.- **Romer Stivenzon Zamora:** 29 años de edad. Se desempeñaba como moto taxista de la línea El Cajigal. Fue sindicalista en el área de construcción. Solía realizar actividades deportivas dentro de la comunidad como basquetbolista. Deja huérfana a una hija de un año de edad. Falleció producto de una electrocución el 20 de abril de 2017, por los hechos acontecidos en la panadería "La Mayer del Pan", ubicada en la Calle San Andrés Cajigal en el Valle. Para conocer estos hechos fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 40° y 121° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

15.- **Kenyer Alexander Aranguren Pérez:** tenía 20 años de edad, realizaba trabajos a destajo en diferentes áreas. Vivía con su madre, hermanos menores y abuela. Residía en el sector San Andrés de El Valle. Falleció producto de una electrocución el 20 de abril de 2017, por los hechos acontecidos en la panadería "La Mayer del Pan", ubicada en la Calle San Andrés Cajigal en El Valle. Fiscalías comisionadas: 40° y 121° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

16.- **Y.B.B (identidad omitida de conformidad con el artículo 65 de la Ley Orgánica para la Protección de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes):** adolescente de 15 años de edad, estudiante de segundo año de bachillerato en el Liceo Fray Pedro De Agreda. Realizaba actividades deportivas en la comunidad en el sector El Valle. Vivía en el Barrio Zamora con su padre. Se encontraba en su casa y se trasladó con su tío hasta el lugar donde se registraban los hechos de violencia. Falleció producto de una electrocución el 20 de abril de 2017, por los hechos acontecidos en la panadería "La Mayer del Pan", ubicada en la Calle San Andrés Cajigal en El Valle. Para conocer estos hechos fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 79° nacional y 98° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas..

17.- **A.A.R.A (identidad omitida de conformidad con el artículo 65 de la Ley Orgánica para la Protección de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes):** adolescente de 16 años de edad, estudiante de bachillerato en el Liceo José Avalos. Padecía

de patologías cardíacas, razón por la cual tenía un estilo de vida tranquila, vivía con su madre. El 20 de abril de 2017 perdió la vida cuando se encontraba en la calle San Andrés de El Valle, salió de su casa junto a su tío y al llegar a la planta baja del edificio inhaló gases lacrimógenos que le produjeron complicaciones respiratorias causándole un infarto. Inmediatamente, fue trasladado hasta el Hospital Materno Infantil ubicado en El Valle, donde falleció. Fue comisionada la Fiscalía 79° Nacional, así como la 98° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

18.- **Ramón Ernesto Martínez Cegarra:** comerciante de 28 años de edad que se dedicaba a la venta de empanadas y jugos naturales en un local de su propiedad. Dejó tres hijos huérfanos. El día de su muerte se encontraba en casa pero al ser informado sobre los saqueos registrados en el sector El Valle, se dirigió al sitio para constatar la situación y al estar cerca de su local comercial tuvo un intercambio de palabras con algunas personas que posteriormente le dispararon con un arma de fuego. Fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 40° y 121° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

19.- **Francisco Javier González Nuñez:** ayudante de albañilería de 34 años de edad. Tenía una hija de dos años. Recibió un disparo cuando se encontraba en una manifestación en la calle Cajigal de El Valle, motivo por el que fue trasladado al Hospital Clínico Universitario, donde ingresó sin signos vitales. Para conocer estos hechos fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 40° y 121° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

20.- **Kevin Steven León Garzón:** joven de 19 años de edad que vivía con su madre y hermana, realizaba labores a destajo en diferentes oficios. El 20 de abril de 2017 se encontraba en una manifestación frente a la residencia Juan Manuel Cajigal de la avenida Intercomunal de El Valle, cuando fue herido por disparo de arma de fuego que le ocasionó fractura de cráneo. Para conocer estos hechos fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 40° y 121° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

21.- **Mervins Fernando Guitian Díaz:** tenía 25 años de edad, se desempeñaba como supervisor de mantenimiento de obras públicas en la Alcaldía del municipio Sucre del estado Miranda. Sufrió de epilepsia. El 20 de abril de 2017 recibió un disparo en la región abdominal mientras transitaba por el barrio 05 de Julio de Petare, donde se desarrollaba una manifestación. Para conocer estos hechos fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 80° nacional y 125° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

22.- **Almelina Carrillo Virgüez:** tenía 48 años de edad, trabajaba como camarera de la Clínica La Arboleda desde el año 1999, vivía con sus padres y su hijo. Era sostén de su hogar. El 19 de Abril de 2017, se dirigía a su lugar de trabajo y transitaba por la esquina La Esmeralda, parroquia Candelaria, cuando desde uno de los edificios le arrojaron una botella con líquido congelado, la cual impactó en la cabeza causándole traumatismo craneoencefálico severo, fue trasladada a la Clínica La Arboleda de San Bernardino, donde falleció cuatro días después. Para conocer este hecho fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 38° nacional y 121° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas. Se acusó por este hecho al ciudadano Jesús Juan Albi Zambito.

23.- **Jesús Leonardo Sulbarán:** Criminólogo de 41 años de edad, padre de una niña de un año, trabajaba en la Dirección Estatal del Poder Popular de Política Integral de la Gobernación del estado Mérida. El 24 de abril de 2017, se encontraba en la avenida Las Américas, con Viaducto Campo Elías, estado Mérida, cuando recibió varios disparos que le causaron hemorragia interna extensa por perforación bacilar, por herida al cuello y tórax posterior. Para conocer este hecho fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 38° nacional y 4° del estado Mérida.

24.- **Luis Alberto Márquez:** tenía 52 años de edad y dejó tres hijos. Se desempeñaba como jardinero en la Facultad de Ciencias de la Universidad de Los Andes. El 24 de abril de 2017, se encontraba en una manifestación en la calle 26, con Viaducto Campo Elías, estado Mérida, cuando resultó herido por arma de

fuego en la región occipital causándole la muerte. Para conocer este hecho fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 38ª nacional y 4ª del estado Mérida.

25.- **Renzo Jesús Rodríguez Rodas**, tenía 54 años de edad y dejó un hijo. Trabajó en el área de estudios demalariología durante 28 años. Actualmente, era mototaxista y reparaba electrodomésticos. Para el momento de los hechos el hoy occiso se encontraba en una farmacia de la avenida Intercomunal de Barinitas, comprando un medicamento para su esposa, cuando pasó una manifestación por el lugar y recibió un impacto de bala en la región pectoral izquierda que le causó la muerte. Por este caso se solicitaron ocho órdenes de aprehensión y actualmente se encuentran detenidas tres personas. Para conocer este hecho fue comisionada la Fiscalía 1ª del estado Barinas.

26.- **Orlando Johan Jhosep Medina Aguilar**: este joven de 22 años de edad, vivía con su madre y su hijo de un año. Trabajaba como Bedel en el Liceo Seferino Castillo del Tocuyo, estado Lara. El 25 de abril de 2017, se encontraba en una manifestación en la avenida Lisandro Alvarado, cuando recibió un disparo que le ocasionó un traumatismo craneoencefálico. Se solicitó una orden de aprehensión. Para conocer este hecho fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 44ª nacional y 6ª del estado Lara.

27.- **Christian Humberto Ochoa Soriano**: joven de 22 de años de edad, que cursaba estudios de electricidad. El 25 de abril de 2017, se encontraba en el callejón Rómulo Gallegos del barrio Francisco de Miranda, en Valencia, estado Carabobo, durante una protesta que se realizaba en las adyacencias del lugar, cuando recibió heridas por armas de fuego por parte de funcionarios de la Policía del estado Carabobo. Tal acción lo dejó en estado de gravedad, por lo que fue trasladado al Hospital Central de Valencia, donde murió a causa de un disparo de proyectil múltiple en región umbilical superior derecha. Por este hecho, el Fiscal 35º del estado Carabobo imputó a un efectivo de la policía regional, también se comisionó al Fiscal 34º Nacional.

28.- **Juan Pablo Pernaletellovera:** tenía 20 años de edad, era estudiante del segundo semestre de Contaduría Pública de la Universidad Metropolitana, pertenecía al equipo de baloncesto de esa casa de estudios y tenía una beca por excelencia deportiva. Vivía con sus padres, hermana y abuela. El 26 de abril de 2017, se encontraba en una manifestación en Altamira, donde resultó herido. De inmediato, fue trasladado a un centro asistencial del municipio Chacao, estado Miranda, donde ingresó sin signos vitales tras presentar un hematoma en el pectoral izquierdo. Para conocer este hecho fueron comisionadas las Fiscalías 62° nacional y 81° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

29.- **Eyker Daniel Rojas Gil:** este joven de 20 años de edad tenía un hijo de ocho meses, el segundo de seis hermanos y se ganaba la vida como técnico de celulares. El 26 de abril de 2017 se encontraba en una manifestación en la vía pública de la parroquia Concepción de Barquisimeto, estado Lara, donde fue herido por arma de fuego en la región temporal izquierda, por personas desconocidas. Posteriormente, fue trasladado al seguro social Pastor Oropeza de Barquisimeto, donde falleció. Para conocer este hecho fue comisionada la Fiscalía 21° del estado Lara, quien solicitó órdenes de aprehensión en contra de cuatros efectivos de la Guardia Nacional Bolivariana.

30.- **Yonathan Eduardo Quintero Arenas:** joven de 21 años de edad que trabajaba como ayudante de mecánica. El 02 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en las inmediaciones del supermercado Villa Florida, sector La Guacamaya de Valencia, donde habría intentado ingresar de manera irregular. En ese momento, se escucharon varios disparos provenientes de la parte superior de dicho local, efectuados presuntamente por el dueño del local. Uno de los disparos alcanzó a Quintero Arenas en la cabeza, quien fue trasladado al Hospital Central de Valencia, donde llegó sin signos vitales. Por este hecho se acusó al ciudadano Zhong Liang Cenhe. Para conocer este caso fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 61° nacional y 27° del estado Carabobo.

31.- **Ángel Enrique Moreira González:** tenía 28 años de edad, perteneció a la selección nacional de natación y también practicó la modalidad de nado deportivo en aguas abiertas. Había participado en competencias nacionales e internacionales en 2012 y 2013. Representó a Venezuela en los Juegos Bolivarianos de Playa, efectuados en Lima, Perú, donde obtuvo el segundo lugar en su disciplina. El 02 de mayo de 2017, se desplazaba conduciendo una moto por la autopista Prados del Este, cuando un vehículo automotor que intentó evadir una manifestación, a la altura del distribuidor Santa Fe, lo arrojó causándole la muerte. Para conocer este hecho fue comisionada la Fiscalía 159ª del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

32.- **Ana Victoria Colmenarez de Hernández:** comerciante de 43 años de edad. El 02 de mayo de 2017, se desplazaba en un autobús a la altura del Km 174 de la autopista Valencia – Puerto Cabello, donde chocó y se produjo un volcamiento por barricada, incidente que dejó como saldo varios lesionados y dos personas fallecidas, entre ellas Colmenarez de Hernández, quien presentó traumatismo craneoencefálico. Para conocer este hecho fue comisionada la Fiscalía 3ª del estado Carabobo.

33.- **María de los Ángeles Guanipa:** tenía 38 años de edad y vivía en Coro, Estado Falcón. El 02 de mayo de 2017, se desplazaba en un autobús a la altura del Km 174 de la autopista Valencia – Puerto Cabello, donde chocó y se produjo un volcamiento por barricada, incidente que dejó como saldo varios lesionados y dos personas fallecidas, entre ellas Guanipa, quien presentó traumatismo craneoencefálico. Para conocer este hecho fue comisionada la Fiscalía 3ª del estado Carabobo.

34.- **Armando Cañizales Carrillo:** joven violinista de 18 años de edad que formaba parte del Sistema Nacional de Orquesta Sinfónica de Venezuela, quien iniciaría estudios en la Facultad de Medicina de la Universidad Central de Venezuela. Vivía con sus padres y hermano. El 03 de mayo de 2017,



participaba en una manifestación en la avenida Río de Janeiro cruce con calle Jalisco de Las Mercedes, Caracas, cuando recibió un disparo en el cuello. Para conocer este hecho fue comisionada la Fiscalía 39° Nacional.

35.- **Gerardo José Barrera Alonso:** funcionario policial del municipio San Joaquín del estado Carabobo de 38 años de edad. El 03 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba cumpliendo labores de orden público durante una manifestación y evitando que personas irrumpieran en los establecimientos comerciales del sector, cuando varios hombres le efectuaron múltiples disparos logrando herirlo en la femoral derecha, fue trasladado al Hospital Central de Maracay, estado Aragua, donde fue atendido quirúrgicamente pero falleció al día siguiente. Para conocer este hecho fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 61° nacional y 5° del estado Carabobo.

36.- **Hecder Vladimir Lugo Pérez:** este joven de 20 años, practicaba natación, era bachiller y se encontraba en pruebas de admisión para ingresar al sistema educativo universitario. En fecha 04 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en la avenida Don Julio Centeno, adyacente al conjunto residencial Los Tulipanes, en San Diego, estado Carabobo, cuando recibió un disparo ocasionándole una herida en la región frontal derecha con salida parietal izquierda por proyectil disparado por arma de fuego. Para conocer este hecho fueron comisionadas las fiscalías 34° nacional y 28° del estado Carabobo.

37.- **Anderson Enrique Dugarte Dugarte:** tenía 31 años de edad, trabajaba como mototaxista. El día 08 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en una manifestación en la calle 26, con Viaducto Campo Elías, estado Mérida, cuando resultó herido por el paso de proyectil disparado por arma de fuego en la región temporal derecha. Para conocer este hecho se comisionaron a las fiscalías 38° nacional y 4° del estado Mérida.

38.- **Miguel Fernando Castillo Bracho**: tenía 27 años de edad, era comunicador social mención audiovisual egresado de la Universidad Santa María. El día 11 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en avenida principal de Las Mercedes, municipio Baruta, Caracas, cuando recibió un disparo de arma de fuego a la altura del intercostal izquierdo. De esta investigación conocen las fiscalías 34° nacional y 126° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

39.- **Luis José Alvarez Chacón**: joven de 18 años de edad, único hijo, bachiller, era atleta en la disciplina de Ping Pong. En fecha 15 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en una manifestación en la parroquia Palmira del municipio Guásimos, estado Táchira, cuando recibió un disparo en el tórax, razón por la que fue trasladado al Hospital de Fundahosta. Por este caso, fueron detenidos dos funcionarios de la Policía Nacional Bolivariana. Para conocer este hecho se comisionaron a las fiscalías 85° nacional y 20° del estado Táchira.

40.-**Diego Armando Hernández Barón**: tenía 32 años de edad, era Técnico Superior en Administración, mención Contabilidad y Finanzas, laboraba como moto taxista y era conocido en el sector donde residía por su disposición de colaboración en la comunidad coadyuvando a la distribución de alimentos. En fecha 16 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en una manifestación diagonal a la plaza Bolívar, municipio Capacho Nuevo, estado Táchira, cuando recibió un disparo de arma de fuego en el tórax. Por este hecho se encuentra detenido el funcionario de la Policía del estado Táchira, Luis Oviedo Ávila. Para conocer esta investigación se comisionaron a las fiscalías 85° nacional y 20° del estado Táchira.

41.-**Y.N.M.C (identidad omitida de conformidad con el artículo 65 de la Ley Orgánica para la Protección de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes)**: adolescente de 17 años de edad, laboraba en una ferretería. En fecha 15 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la parroquia Ciudad Bolivia, municipio Pedraza del estado Barinas, cuando varias personas efectuaron varios disparos, resultando herido por un disparo en la región infra orbital derecha. En ese

momento, fue trasladado al Hospital Dr. Luis Razetti, donde fue intervenido quirúrgicamente y falleció al día siguiente. Este caso es investigado por los fiscales 80 ° nacionales, 9° y 18° del estado Barinas.

42.- **Diego Fernando Arellano De Figueredo**: biólogo de 31 años de edad. En fecha 16 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en la Av. Perimetral en la entrada de la urbanización Los Castores, San Antonio de Los Altos, Municipio Los Salias del estado Miranda, donde recibió un disparo de arma de fuego en el tórax, motivo por el que fue trasladado a la clínica El Retiro, lugar en el que falleció. Para conocer esta investigación fueron comisionados los fiscales 62 ° nacionales y 24° del estado Miranda.

43.- **J.F.G. (identidad omitida de conformidad con el artículo 65 de la Ley Orgánica para la Protección de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes)**: adolescente de 15 años de edad, se dedicaba al trabajo de obrero, tenía seis hermanos. En fecha 16 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en un abasto ubicado en el sector Sabaneta, parroquia La Concordia de San Cristóbal, estado Táchira, lugar en el que se realizaba una manifestación, durante la cual recibió un disparo en la región umbilical inferior izquierda, siendo trasladado al Hospital Central de San Cristóbal Dr. José María Vargas, donde falleció al día siguiente. Esta investigación está a cargo de la Fiscalía 16° del estado Táchira.

44.- **Manuel Felipe Castellanos Molina**: comerciante de 48 años de edad, casado y con tres hijos. En fecha 17 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en un abasto en Tucupé, municipio Cárdenas del estado Táchira, donde se realizaba una manifestación con colocación de barricadas. En ese momento, funcionarios dispersaron la manifestación realizando varios disparos y uno de ellos impactó en la región anatómica cérvico esternocleidomastoideo izquierda (cuello). Por este caso fueron detenidos tres funcionarios adscritos a la Guardia Nacional Bolivariana. Este caso es investigado por las fiscalías 85° nacional y 20° del estado Táchira.

45.- **Paúl René Moreno Camacho:** joven de 24 años de edad, estudiante de quinto año de medicina en la Universidad del Zulia, laboraba como paramédico y era miembro de un grupo de voluntarios que prestan servicio de auxilios médicos humanitarios. En fecha 18 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en las inmediaciones de la avenida Fuerzas Armadas de la ciudad de Maracaibo, estado Zulia, cuando una ciudadana que conducía un vehículo pasó sobre la barricada logrando impactar al hoy occiso huyendo del lugar. La víctima fue trasladada al Hospital Adolfo Pons, donde falleció. Esta investigación estará dirigida por la fiscalía 4ª del estado Zulia, por este caso fueron detenidas dos personas.

46.- **Daniel Rodríguez Quevedo:** joven de 18 años de edad, estudiante universitario del primer año de Derecho en la Universidad Católica del Táchira. En fecha 18 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en la Urbanización Venecia, avenida principal de Santa Ana, municipio Córdoba del estado Táchira, en conjunto con varios vecinos acomodando unas alcantarillas, cuando varias personas que se encontraban en motos y portando armas de fuego les efectuaron disparos, logrando impactarlo en la región cefálica. Inmediatamente, fue trasladado al Hospital Central, lugar en el que falleció. La investigación estará dirigida por las fiscalías 22ª nacional y 4ª del estado Táchira.

47.- **Jorge David Escandón Chiquito:** tenía 37 años de edad, era licenciado en seguridad ciudadana y realizaba una maestría en administración del trabajo y relación laboral en la Universidad de Carabobo. Dejó dos niñas huérfanas. Contaba con dieciocho años de servicios como funcionario policial y se desempeñaba como Supervisor Agregado de la Policía del estado Carabobo, adscrito a la Brigada Motorizada de Naguanagua. En fecha 15 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en el Conjunto Residencial Palma Real de Naguanagua, estado Carabobo, donde se realizaba una manifestación en la que surgió una confrontación, durante la cual fue herido Escandón en la región cefálica por un

proyectil disparado por arma de fuego, siendo trasladado al Hospital Metropolitana del Norte, donde falleció el 19 de mayo de 2017. La investigación estará dirigida por las fiscalías 61ª nacional y 5ª del estado Carabobo. Actualmente, se encuentra detenida una persona.

**48.-Edy Alejandro Terán Aguilar:** estudiante del quinto semestre de administración de recursos humanos en la Universidad Simón Rodríguez, tenía 22 años de edad. En fecha 20 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en el sector El Murachí, parroquia Mercedes Díaz de Valera, estado Trujillo, cuando personas desconocidas accionaron armas de fuego contra los manifestantes y Terán Aguilar fue impactado por un proyectil disparado por arma de fuego, causándole una perforación cardíaca. De inmediato, fue trasladado al Hospital Central de Valera, donde falleció. Por este caso se comisionó a la Fiscalía 3ª del estado Trujillo.

**49.- Yorman Alí Bervecia Cabeza:** joven de 18 años de edad que había culminado sus estudios de Bachillerato. En fecha 22 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en la avenida cuatricentenaria de la ciudad de Barinas, estado homónimo, cuando se desarrollaba una manifestación y varias personas comenzaron a atacar el destacamento 33 de la Guardia Nacional Bolivariana. Durante esa situación, el joven recibió un disparo del lado izquierdo del tórax que le causó la muerte. Para esta investigación se comisionó al Fiscal 1º del estado Barinas.

**50.- Elvis Adonis Montilla Pérez:** tenía 20 años de edad, estudiaba en la Universidad Francisco de Miranda de Coro, estado Falcón. En fecha 22 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la avenida Los Llanos, frente a la urbanización Palma de Oro, parroquia Alto Barinas del estado homónimo, cuando fue impactado por un proyectil disparado por arma de fuego en la región pectoral. La investigación está a cargo de la Fiscalía 18ª del estado Barinas.

51.- **Alfredo José Briceño Carrizales**: tenía 25 años de edad, dejó un hijo de tres años. El 22 de mayo de 2017, siendo aproximadamente las 7:30 horas de la noche, se encontraba durante una manifestación que se efectuaba frente a su domicilio en la calle Cedeño del estado Barinas, momento en el cual fue impactado por un proyectil disparado por arma de fuego, causándole una herida en el intercostal izquierdo. Se comisionó a la Fiscalía 1° del estado Barinas.

52.- **Miguel Ángel Bravo Ramírez**: obrero de 25 años de edad. En fecha 22 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la Plaza Bolívar de Socopó, parroquia Ticoporo, municipio Antonio José de Sucre del estado Barinas, cuando recibió varios impactos de bala. Falleció al ser trasladado de la clínica San José al Hospital Dr. Luis Razetti. Se comisionó a la Fiscalía 10° del estado Barinas.

53.- **FreiberDario Pérez Vielma**: joven de 21 años de edad. En fecha 22 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en el caserío La Mula, parroquia Dominga Ortiz de Páez del estado Barinas, cuando recibió una herida producida por disparo de arma de fuego a nivel del pulmón. De inmediato, fue trasladado al Hospital Dr. Luis Razetti, donde falleció. Se comisionó a la Fiscalía 1° del estado Barinas.

54.- **Juan Antonio Sánchez Suárez**: joven de 21 años de edad, practicaba Voleyball y trabajaba en una panadería. En fecha 23 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la Urbanización José Antonio Páez, parroquia Rómulo Betancourt del estado Barinas, cuando recibió dos disparos de arma de fuego a nivel de la región pectoral y otro en la región intercostal, siendo trasladado al Hospital Dr. Luis Razetti, donde falleció. Esta investigación será conocida por la Fiscalía 2° del estado Barinas.

55.- **Erick Antonio Molina Contreras**: tenía 35 años de edad, trabajaba en un restaurante y dejó tres hijos huérfanos. En fecha 23 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en una manifestación en la Urbanización Los Próceres, parroquia

Corazón de Jesús de Barinas, donde fue herido por un proyectil disparado por arma de fuego en la región escapular, por lo que fue trasladado al Hospital Dr. Luis Razetti, donde posteriormente murió. Se comisionó a la Fiscalía 2 del estado Barinas.

56.- **Augusto Sergio Puga Velásquez:** joven de 22 años, estudiante del cuarto semestre de Medicina en la Universidad de Oriente (UDO). En horas de la tarde del 24 de mayo de 2017, Puga Velásquez se encontraba en las adyacencias del decanato de la UDO, ubicado en la parroquia Catedral, municipio Heres del estado Bolívar, donde se llevaba a cabo una manifestación durante la cual recibió un disparo en la cabeza que le causó la muerte. El fiscal 4° del estado Bolívar investiga este caso. Por este hecho están detenidas seis personas.

57.- **Adrián José Duque Bravo:** Contador público de 23 años de edad. En horas de la noche del 24 de mayo de 2017, Duque se encontraba en una manifestación que se desarrollaba en las Torres del Saladillo, ubicadas en la avenida Padilla de Maracaibo, estado Zulia, cuando recibió un impacto en la región abdominal izquierda, por lo que fue trasladado al Hospital Chiquinquirá, donde posteriormente falleció. Se comisionó al Fiscalía 45° del estado Zulia para investigar este caso.

58.- **Manuel Alejandro Sosa Aponte:** tenía 33 años de edad y trabajaba como obrero de control de calidad de una empresa de alimentos ubicada en Cabudare. Dejó huérfano a un niño de 5 años. El 25 de mayo de 2017, Sosa Aponte se encontraba en una manifestación en la urbanización Valle Hondo de Cabudare, estado Lara, cuando recibió un disparo en el cuello. De inmediato, fue trasladado al Centro Quirúrgico Los Leones, en Barquisimeto, donde murió luego de una intervención quirúrgica. Por este hecho se solicitó una orden de aprehensión. La Fiscalía 21° de Lara es la encargada de investigar este caso.

59.- **Danny José Subero:** tenía 34 años de edad, era efectivo retirado de la Guardia Nacional, alcanzó el rango de teniente, dejó una niña de cuatro meses de

nacida. En fecha 27 de mayo de 2017, se encontraba en Urbanización Valle Hondo, avenida principal, parroquia Cabudare, municipio Palavecino del estado Lara, cuando la caravana fúnebre de Manuel Sosa se trasladaba hacia el cementerio, hizo un alto en a la altura del distribuidor a fin de rendir un homenaje a este ciudadano, momento en el cual un grupo de personas que se encontraban en el lugar lo agredieron con objetos contundentes e igualmente le propinaron tres heridas causadas por proyectil disparado por arma de fuego, y la moto en la cual se trasladaba fue quemada por los agresores; el ciudadano fue auxiliado por funcionarios de la policía del estado Lara quienes lo trasladaron al Ambulatorio de Cabudare, siendo trasladado inmediatamente al Hospital Universitario Antonio María Pineda en Barquisimeto, donde falleció luego de su ingreso. Se comisionó a la Fiscalía 6° del estado Lara para investigar este caso. Por este hecho se encuentran detenidas seis personas.

60.-**César David Pereira Villegas:** era un joven de 20 años de edad, estudiaba publicidad y mercadeo en el Instituto Universitario de Tecnología Industrial Rodolfo Loero Arismendi (IUTIRLA). El día 27 de mayo de 2017, siendo aproximadamente las 06:30 horas de la tarde, el joven César Pereira se encontraba en una manifestación que se llevaba a cabo en las adyacencias del Centro Comercial El Peñón del Faro, Intersección de las Avenidas Arismendi y Mariño, municipio Diego Bautista Urbaneja, parroquia Lechería, estado Anzoátegui, cuando fue herido en la región abdominal por un disparado de arma de fuego, siendo trasladado al Centro Médico más cercano, en donde fue intervenido quirúrgicamente extrayéndole una metra y falleció al día siguiente. Se comisionó a la Fiscalía 20° del estado Anzoátegui para investigar este caso.

61.- **Nelson Antonio Moncada Gómez:** tenía 37 años de edad y se desempeñaba como Juez de la Sala 1 de la Corte de Apelaciones del Tribunal Supremo de Justicia en el Circuito Judicial Penal del Área Metropolitana de Caracas. En fecha 31 de mayo de 2017, el jurista transitaba por la avenida Páez de El Paraíso a la altura del Colegio de Abogados, cuando observó una barricada



e intentó evadirla. En ese momento, personas armadas que se encontraban en el lugar le dispararon en varias ocasiones y luego lo despojaron de sus pertenencias. El Fiscal 36° nacional fue comisionado para investigar este hecho.

62.- **María Estefanía Rodríguez:** tenía 45 años de edad, trabajaba como camarera en un hotel. En horas de la tarde del 01 de junio de 2017, la víctima recibió varios disparos cuando caminaba junto a otras personas por la avenida Intercomunal de Barquisimeto, a la altura de la Escuela La Granja, municipio Iribarren, estado Lara, lugar en el que se desarrollaba una manifestación. Se comisionó a la Fiscalía 1° de Lara para investigar este hecho.

63.- **Luis Miguel Gutiérrez Molina:** era un joven de 20 años de edad, trabajaba como caletero descargando materiales de construcción. En fecha 17 de Mayo de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la Carrera Cuarta de Tovar, estado Mérida, cuando recibió una herida en la región abdominal, ingresó al Hospital Universitario Los Andes y falleció diecisiete días después. En este caso fue comisionado el Fiscal 4° del estado Mérida.

64.- **Yoinier Javier Peña Hernández:** joven de 28 años de edad con discapacidad psicomotora de nacimiento que a pesar de su condición era un individuo activo. El 10 de abril de 2017, Peña Hernández se encontraba con un grupo de personas en las inmediaciones de la avenida Florencio Jiménez con avenida La Salle de Barquisimeto, donde se desarrollaban manifestaciones. En ese instante, los presentes en el lugar fueron sorprendidos por un vehículo desde el que dispararon en varias oportunidades, resultando herido el joven en la región intercostal derecha. De inmediato, fue trasladado al Hospital Central Universitario Dr. Antonio José María Pineda, donde falleció el 03 de junio de 2017. La Fiscalía 6 del estado Lara se encuentra investigando este caso.

65.- **Orlando José Figueroa Esparragoza:** tenía 22 años de edad y se dedicaba al oficio de cuidar y aparcas vehículos en un supermercado en Las Mercedes. El 20

de mayo de 2017, Figuera se dirigía a la casa de su tío en Petare luego de haber culminado su jornada laboral. Ya en camino, específicamente en el sector Altamira, se encontró con un sujeto con el que había tenido un altercado anteriormente y que le había herido con arma blanca por una plaza de trabajo en Parque Miranda. Al verlo, el hombre inmediatamente lo agrede con un arma blanca ocasionándole una herida y comenzó a gritar a los manifestantes que estaban cerca “este estaba robando” para que la multitud lo agrediera física y verbalmente. En ese momento recibió varias heridas con armas blancas y una persona le roció gasolina y lo prendió en fuego. Minutos más tarde, personal de Salud Chacao lo asistió y trasladó al Hospital Domingo Luciani de El Llanito donde se encontraba en la unidad de cuidados intensivos hasta el pasado domingo 04 de junio de 2017, cuando falleció en horas de la madrugada. Desde que ocurrió el hecho, fue comisionada la Fiscalía 48 del AMC para investigar el caso.

**66.- N.A.L.A (identidad omitida de conformidad con el artículo 65 de la Ley Orgánica para la Protección de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes):** adolescente de 17 años, bachiller. En fecha 07 de junio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la avenida Francisco de Miranda, municipio Chacao, cuando recibió un impacto con un objeto que le produjo una herida a nivel de tórax, siendo trasladado a la clínica El Ávila donde ingresó sin signos vitales. En este caso se comisionó a las fiscalías 79° nacional y 98° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

**67.- Sócrates Jesús Salgado Romero:** tenía 49 años de edad, estaba casado desde hace 25 años, dejó dos hijos, era jubilado con el rango de sargento de la extinta Policía Metropolitana, se desempeñaba como supervisor de rampa en el Aeropuerto Internacional Simón Bolívar. En fecha 12 de junio de 2017, se encontraba en la avenida principal Carlos Soublette, parroquia La Guaira, estado Vargas, cuando se traslada en su moto y en el trayecto se encontró con una manifestación, la cual estaba siendo dispersada con gases lacrimógenos, esto le ocasionó asfixia y le produjo un infarto. La Fiscalía 1° del estado Vargas se encuentra investigando este caso.

68.-**Douglas Acevedo Sánchez Lamus:** tenía 41 años de edad, se desempeñaba como Supervisor Jefe en la División de Investigaciones de la Policía del estado Mérida, con 21 años de servicio, dejó tres hijos. En fecha 13 de junio de 2017, se trasladaba en comisión hacia la avenida Urdaneta, sector Pie del Llano, municipio Libertador, Parroquia El Llano, estado Mérida, en donde se encontraba una manifestación, cuando resultó herido por arma de fuego en la región supraclavicular izquierda, siendo trasladado al Hospital Universitario de Los Andes, donde falleció. La Fiscalía 4° del estado Mérida se encuentra investigando este caso.

69.-**José Amador Lorenzo González:** tenía 50 años de edad, se dedicaba al diseño e instalación de cocinas, dejó dos hijas. En fecha 14 de junio de 2017, se trasladaba en una moto en compañía de la ciudadana Oriana Zaray Mendoza Quintero, hacía el sentido centro de la autopista Prados del Este, municipio Baruta, estado Miranda, percatándose que se llevaba a cabo una manifestación por lo que la vía se encontraba cerrada, debiendo devolverse en contra vía colisionando de frente con otra moto en donde iba a bordo el ciudadano Luis Alberto Machado Valdez, quien falleció también en este hecho. En este caso se comisionó a la Fiscalía 159° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

70.-**Luis Alberto Machado Valdez:** era un joven de 26 años de edad. En fecha 14 de junio de 2017, se desplazaba en una moto hacía el sentido centro de la autopista Prados del Este, municipio Baruta, estado Miranda, cuando colisionó con otra moto que manejaba el ciudadano José Amador Lorenzo González, quien conducía en contra vía, con ocasión a que se encontraba en desarrollo una manifestación, resultando lesionados ambos de gravedad, fue trasladado al Urológico San Román donde falleció. En este caso se comisionó a la Fiscalía 159° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

71.-**Luis Enrique Vera Sulbarán**: tenía 20 años de edad, estudiante universitario de dos carreras universitarias; Arquitectura en la Universidad Rafael Urdaneta y Contaduría Pública en la Universidad Rafael Bellosó Chacín, trabajaba en una Charcutería. En fecha 15 de junio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en las adyacencias de la Universidad Rafael Bellosó Chacín, parroquia Idelfonso Vásquez, municipio Maracaibo, estado Zulia, cuando un camión tipo cava pasó a gran velocidad y lo arrolló, causándole la muerte. Por este caso se encuentra detenido Darwin José Rubio Ferrebu, a quién se le imputó el delito de Homicidio Intencional Calificado con Alevosía y por motivos fútiles e innobles. La Fiscalía 11° del estado Zulia se encuentra investigando este caso.

72.-**José Gregorio Pérez Pérez**: tenía 20 años de edad, cursaba el séptimo semestre de Educación Física en la Universidad Pedagógica Experimental Libertador (UPEL), núcleo Táchira. En fecha 15 de junio de 2017, se encontraba en una manifestación que se llevaba a cabo en la final avenida Prolongación, sector La Y, municipio Junín, Rubio, estado Táchira, cuando unos sujetos que se trasladaban en vehículos tipo motos realizaron disparos hacia las personas que se encontraban manifestando, hiriéndolo mortalmente en el rostro. La Fiscalía 25° del estado Táchira se encuentra investigando este caso.

73.- **Nelson Daniel Arévalo Avendaño**: tenía 22 años de edad, era estudiante de Derecho en la Universidad Fermín Toro. En fecha 16 de junio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la avenida Hernán Garmendia, frente al Club Hípico Las Trinitarias, parroquia Santa Rosa, municipio Iribarren del estado Lara, cuando varios sujetos dispararon a los manifestantes, lesionándolo en el cuello, fue trasladado a un centro de salud cercano en donde ingresó sin signos vitales. La Fiscalía 6° del estado Lara se encuentra investigando este caso.

74.- **F.A.U.B (identidad omitida de conformidad con el artículo 65 de la Ley Orgánica para la Protección de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes)**: adolescente de 17 años de edad. En fecha 19 de junio de 2017, se encontraba durante una

manifestación en las inmediaciones del distribuidor Altamira, Municipio Chacao, cuando funcionarios de la Guardia Nacional dispararon sus armas de fuego contra los manifestantes, resultando lesionado a nivel del tórax, siendo trasladado a la clínica El Ávila donde ingresó sin signos vitales. En este hecho resultaron heridas cinco personas más. Para conocer este hecho se comisionó a las fiscalías 79° nacional, 98° y 125° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

75.- **David José Vallenilla Luis:** era un joven de 22 años de edad e hijo único; culminó sus estudios de enfermería en el Instituto Universitario de Tecnología de Administración Industrial, cuyo acto de grado se realizaría el próximo mes de agosto. El 22 de junio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la autopista Francisco Fajardo, municipio Chacao del estado Miranda, cuando efectivos militares y policías pretendían dispersar la concentración, por lo que dispararon con armas de fuego desde la parte interna de la base aérea La Carlota. Allí resultó herido este joven a nivel del tórax y fue trasladado a la clínica El Ávila, donde ingresó sin signos vitales. La Fiscalía 126ª del Área Metropolitana de Caracas investiga este caso.

76.- **Ronny Alberto Parra Araujo:** tenía 27 años de edad, era Sargento Primero de la Guardia Nacional Bolivariana. En fecha 27 de junio de 2017, se encontraba resguardando detenidos durante una manifestación en el sector El Castaño, municipio Girardot, estado Aragua, donde varios sujetos desconocidos comenzaron a disparar y resultó herido en la región inguinal, siendo trasladado al Centro Médico de Maracay, donde falleció. La Fiscalía 4ª del estado Aragua se encuentra investigando este caso.

77.- **Jhonatan José Zavatti Serrano:** era un joven de 25 años de edad, trabajaba como conductor de camiones. Dejó un hijo. En fecha 27 de junio de 2017, se encontraba en una manifestación que se desarrollaba en las adyacencias de su vivienda, en la calle principal 5 de julio, callejón José Gregorio, parroquia Petare, municipio Sucre del estado Miranda. Recibió un impacto de un proyectil disparado

por arma de fuego, siendo trasladado al Hospital Domingo Luciani, donde falleció. Este caso lo está investigando la Fiscalía 55ª del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

**78.-Javier Alexander Toro Trejo:** tenía 34 años de edad, era bachiller y se encontraba desempleado. Dejó dos hijos. En fecha 27 de junio de 2017, se encontraba en una manifestación en la encrucijada de Palo Negro, sector La Pica, calle Paramaconi, parroquia San Martín de Porras, municipio Libertador del estado Aragua, donde un grupo de personas pretendía ingresar indebidamente a los locales comerciales de la zona. Igualmente, una comisión de la policía regional trató de dispersarlos con bombas lacrimógenas, al mismo tiempo que varios sujetos desconocidos realizaron disparos, logrando herirlo. Fue trasladado al Hospital del Instituto Venezolano de los Seguros Sociales, donde ingresó sin signos vitales. La Fiscalía 32ª del estado Aragua se encuentra investigando este caso.

**79.- Isael Jesús Macadán Aquino:** tenía 18 años de edad, era bachiller, trabajaba, se había planteado la posibilidad de irse del país para trabajar y estudiar una carrera universitaria. En fecha 28 de junio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la avenida principal de Boyacá III, sector Troncal de Barcelona, estado Anzoátegui, cuando un sujeto salió del local comercial "El Empanadón" y efectuó varios disparos con un arma de fuego, hiriéndolo en la región cefálica. La Fiscalía 20 del estado Anzoátegui se encuentra investigando este caso.

**80.-Roberto Enrique Durán Ramírez:** tenía 24 años de edad, era vendedor. Fue camarógrafo en el canal Somos TV y dejó dos hijos. En fecha 28 de junio de 2017, se encontraba en una manifestación en la urbanización Terepaima, parroquia Concepción, municipio Iribarren del estado Lara, cuando funcionarios de la Guardia Nacional Bolivariana y policías regionales accionaron sus armas de reglamento contra los manifestantes. Recibió una herida de proyectil en el pectoral

izquierdo y fue trasladado a la clínica IDB de Barquisimeto, donde falleció. En este caso se comisionó a la Fiscalía 21ª del estado Lara.

81.-**Luiyin Alfonso Paz Borjas**: tenía 20 años de edad, era vendedor de pescado y se encontraba realizando un curso de peluquería. Dejó una hija de un año de edad. En fecha 28 de junio de 2017, estaba en una manifestación en el distribuidor Perijá, Circunvalación 1, parroquia Cecilio Acosta de Maracaibo, estado Zulia. Se encontraba en una de las barricadas que obstruía la vía y fue arrollado por un camión tipo cisterna que se desplazaba a alta velocidad, mientras el conductor huyó del lugar. Fue trasladado al Hospital General del Sur, donde falleció. En este caso se comisionó a la Fiscalía 4ª del estado Zulia.

82.-**Alexander Rafael Sanoja Sánchez**: tenía 36 años de edad. El 28 de junio de 2017 se trasladaba como parrillero en un vehículo tipo mototaxi por la calle 100 con avenida 18, parroquia Cristo de Aranza, municipio Maracaibo del estado Zulia, donde se desarrollaba una manifestación. Para evitar las barricadas, un camión que pasaba por el lugar hizo un giro prohibido colisionando con la moto, por lo que Sanoja sufrió varias quemaduras y falleció posteriormente a causa de un traumatismo craneoencefálico. El ciudadano José Bouzamayor, quien era el conductor de la moto, también resultó lesionado de gravedad. Fue comisionada la Fiscalía 4ª del estado Zulia.

83.-**Víctor Manuel Betancourt González**: tenía 18 años de edad y trabajaba descargando camiones. El 28 de junio de 2017 se encontraba en una manifestación en la avenida Cancamure, urbanización Araguañey, Cumaná, estado Sucre, cuando fue arrollada por un vehículo que retrocedía mientras evadía una barricada. La víctima falleció en el Hospital Central Antonio Patricio Alcalá. Fue comisionada la Fiscalía 2ª del primer circuito del estado Sucre.

84.-**Alfredo José Figueroa Gutiérrez**: tenía 19 años de edad. Era estudiante y se encontraba elaborando su trabajo de grado para obtener el título de bachiller.

El 26 de junio de 2017, estaba en una manifestación en la urbanización El Limón, avenida Caracas, Maracay, municipio Girardot del estado Aragua, cuando personas desconocidas a bordo de una motocicleta comenzaron a disparar. El joven resultó herido en la cabeza, por lo que fue trasladado al Hospital Central de Maracay, donde estuvo en terapia intensiva y falleció a los tres días. Fue comisionada la Fiscalía 4° del estado Aragua.

85.-**Eduardo José Márquez Albarrán**: tenía 20 años de edad, era estudiante del primer año del Programa Nacional de Formación mención Turismo en la Universidad Politécnica Territorial del estado Mérida. En fecha 13 de junio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en el sector Pie del Llano, frente a la estación de servicio Mario Charal, parroquia Domingo Peña, municipio Libertador, estado Mérida, cuando funcionarios de la policía regional contenían la manifestación; se escucharon varias detonaciones de armas de fuego y este fue herido a nivel abdominal. Fue trasladado al Hospital Universitario de Los Andes y falleció en fecha 30 de junio de 2017. En este caso se comisionó a las fiscalías 38° Nacional y 4° del estado Mérida.

86.-**José Rodolfo Bouzamayor Bravo**: tenía 33 años de edad, trabajaba como mototaxista. En fecha 28 de junio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en Sabaneta, calle 100 con avenida 18, parroquia Cristo de Aranza, municipio Maracaibo, estado Zulia, cuando se trasladaba manejando su vehículo tipo mototaxi; para evitar las barricadas un camión hizo un giro prohibido colisionando con la moto, por lo que resultó lesionado gravemente y falleció el 30 de junio de 2017. Igualmente falleció Alexander Rafael Sanoja Sánchez, quien iba como pasajero en la moto. En este caso se comisionó a la fiscalía 4° del estado Zulia.

87.-**Rubén Alexander Morillo Pereira**: tenía 33 años de edad, era comerciante, dejó dos hijos. En fecha 30 de junio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la avenida Libertador, urbanización Obelisco, parroquia



Concepción, municipio Iribarren, Barquisimeto, estado Lara, cuando se encontraban disparando funcionarios de la Guardia Nacional Bolivariana; así como varios sujetos desconocidos disparaban; resultó herido y fue trasladado al Hospital Privado de Barquisimeto, donde ingresó sin signos vitales. En este caso se comisionó a la Fiscalía 6° del estado Lara.

88.-**José Gregorio Mendoza Durán:** tenía 44 años de edad, comerciante, dejó cuatro hijos. En fecha 30 de junio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la avenida principal del barrio José Félix Ribas, parroquia Juan de Villegas, estado Lara, cuando un grupo de personas intentaba ingresar al supermercado Félix 13, momento en el cual una comisión de la Guardia Nacional Bolivariana accionó sus armas de fuego en contra de los mismos, resultando herido en por tres impactos. En este caso se comisionó a la Fiscalía 21° del estado Lara.

89.- **Fernando Rojas Rubio:** tenía 49 años de edad, laboraba como tornero, dejó seis hijos. En fecha 30 de junio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la carrera 34 con calle 42 y 43, parroquia Concepción, municipio Iribarren, estado Lara, momento en el cual fueron atacados por sujetos desconocidos que se encontraban encapuchados, con vehículos tipo camioneta y dispararon a los presentes, quienes corrieron a resguardarse en un local comercial; sin embargo, ingresaron violentamente causando destrozos y disparando. Recibió una herida a nivel abdominal, siendo trasladado al Hospital Central Antonio María Pineda, donde falleció. En este caso se comisionó a la Fiscalía 6° del estado Lara.

90.-**Ramses Enrique Martínez Carcamo:** tenía 20 años de edad, laboraba reparando teléfonos celulares, dejó dos hijos. En fecha 30 de junio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la urbanización Patarata, parroquia Catedral, municipio Iribarren, estado Lara, cuando sujetos desconocidos efectuaron disparos contra los manifestantes, resultando herido en la cabeza y

falleció el día 01 de julio de 2017. En este caso se comisionó a la Fiscalía 6° del estado Lara.

91.-**Engelberth Alexander Duque Chacón**: tenía 25 años de edad, trabajaba en una licorería. En fecha 04 de julio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la calle 14 entre carreras 10 y 11, Táriba, municipio Cárdenas, estado Táchira, cuando manipulando un artefacto explosivo (mortero), este se le explotó en el pecho causándole la muerte por inhibición estadiillo cardiaco secundario a ondas expansivas por explosión. En este caso se comisionó a la Fiscalía 4° del estado Mérida.

92.-**Jhonathan Alexander Giménez Vaamonde**: era un joven de 29 años de edad. En fecha 05 de julio de 2017, se encontraba durante una manifestación en la avenida San Martín, en las adyacencias de la estación del metro Capuchinos, en donde recibió varios impactos producidos por el paso de proyectiles disparados por arma de fuego, lo que le ocasionó la muerte. En este caso se comisionó a la Fiscalía 55° del Área Metropolitana de Caracas.

#### **VÍCTIMAS LESIONADAS**

Lesionados reportados en investigaciones de Delitos Comunes: **588**

Lesionados reportados en investigaciones de Derechos Fundamentales: **880**

Lesionados reportados en investigaciones de Protección Integral de la Familia: **51**

**TOTAL: 1519**

