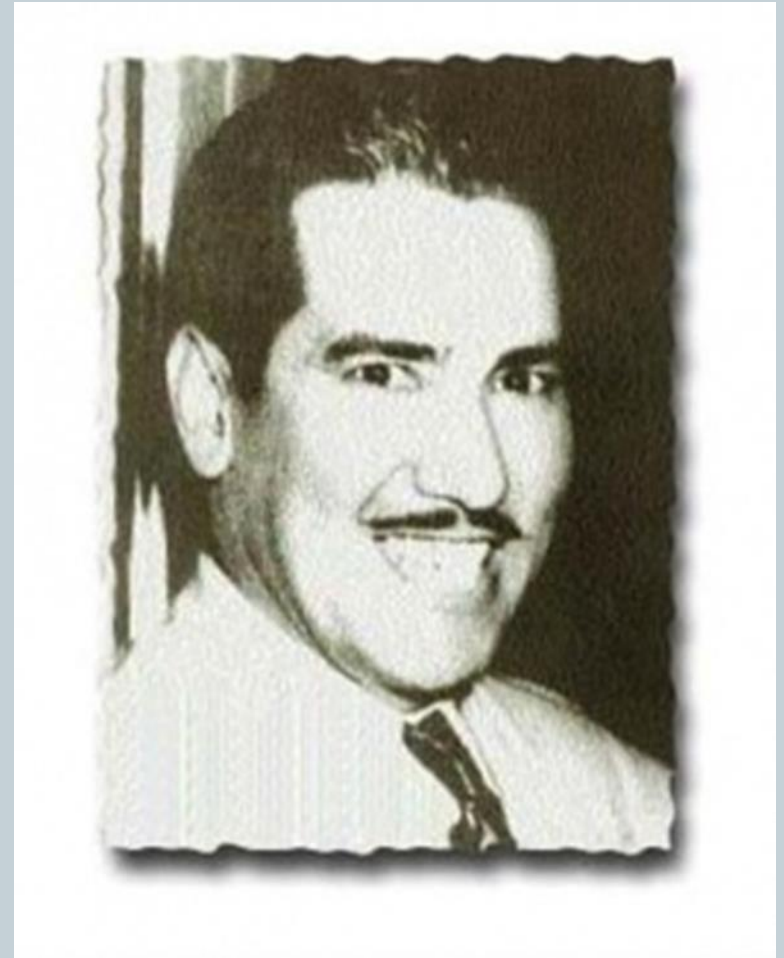




Nationalism, Dictatorship, Canal Treaties, Invasion, and Contemporary Panama

W. Frank Robinson
Department of History
Vanderbilt University

Arias Madrid Brothers

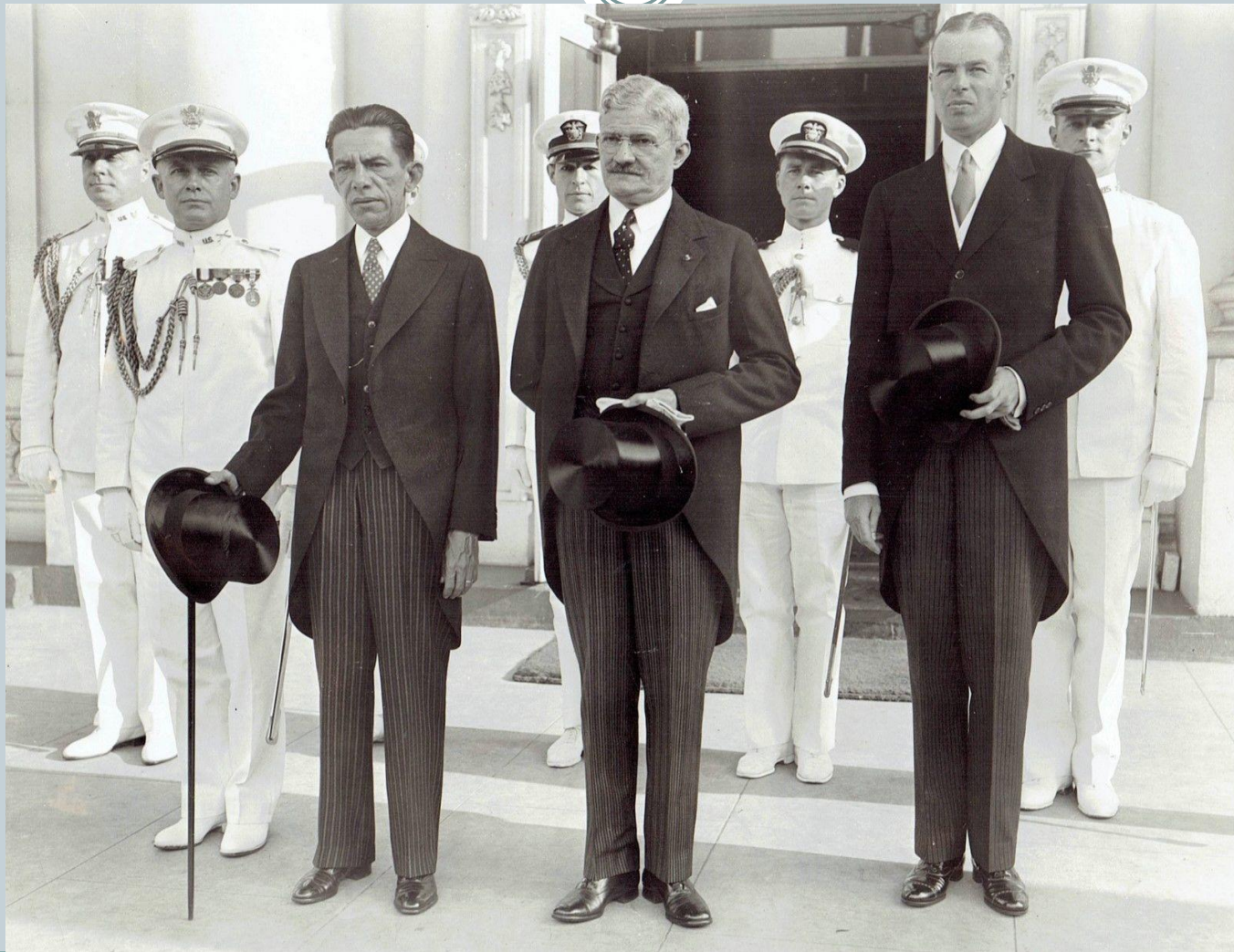


President Harmodio Arias

(3 January 1931 – 16 January 1931, June 5, 1932, to October 1, 1936)



Harmodio in Washington, 1932



FDR Visits Panama in 1934



Universidad de Panamá



President Arnulfo Arias

(June 1940–October 1941, November 1949–May 1951, and October 1–12, 1968)



Panameñismo



new coalition of middle-class professionals

Panamanian frustration with U.S. occupation

ardent nationalism

populist politics: “panameñismo”

“Panama for Panamanians”

“Speak Spanish and count in balboas.”

defensive nationalism

effective vote-getter – election of 1940

authoritarian and autocratic measures

Arnulfo Part I: First Presidency



Growing Nationalism



1. geopolitical events worldwide
2. “sellout” of Panamanian governments
3. popular outrage at Filios-Hines agreement in 1947
 - a. return of over 100 sites
 - b. 20-year extensions on others
4. Youth Patriotic Front
5. National Assembly voted to reject U.S. offer
 - a. popular movement blocked U.S. intentions
 - b. dissatisfaction with status quo
 - c. key role of university students

Student Demonstrations



Rise of Military and Arnulfo Part II



shift in political power toward military

José Antonio Remón – “king-maker”

Arnulfo Arias reinstalled as president

autocratic tendencies reemerge:

a. jailed former presidents

b. closed newspapers

c. suspended constitution

d. attempted to dissolve National Assembly

shootout in presidential palace

second toppling of Arias = military in politics

José Antonio Remón



Overthrow of Arnulfo in 1951

Vol. XLV—N° 29247 PANAMA, P. R. VIERNES 11 DE MAYO DE 1951

Golpe de Estado **10 de mayo de 1951**

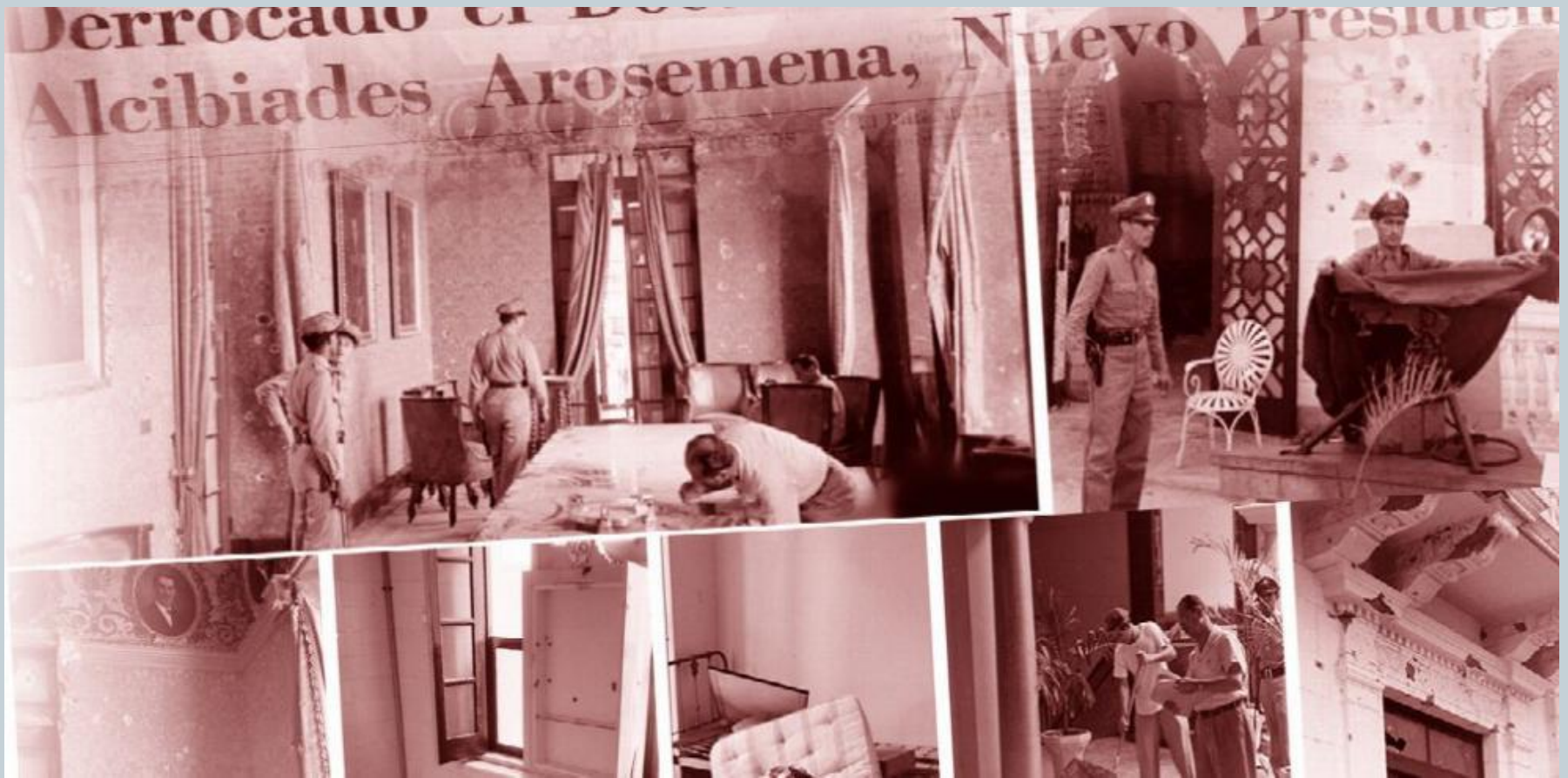
Derrocado el Doctor Arnulfo Arias; Don Alcibiades Arsemena, Nuevamente se Muertos Gráficas de los Últimos Sucesos



El Doctor Arnulfo Arias Madrid levantó su mano derecha y, en un acto de profundo dramatismo, declaró: "Ustedes, copartidarios, cumplieron su deber. Yo, como mandatario, cumplí con el mío".

Y señalando a los guardias que miraban atónitos, levantó el tono de voz y declaró: "Estos son unos traidores... Volveremos".

Armed Attack on Presidential Palace 1951



Trial of Arnulfo Arias



Flag Incident



clash: flying Panamanian flag in Canal Zone

Department of Defense vs. Department of State

Zonian defiance

continued restricted presence of Panamanian flag

Balboa High School incident – January 9, 1964

violence, vandalism, rioting

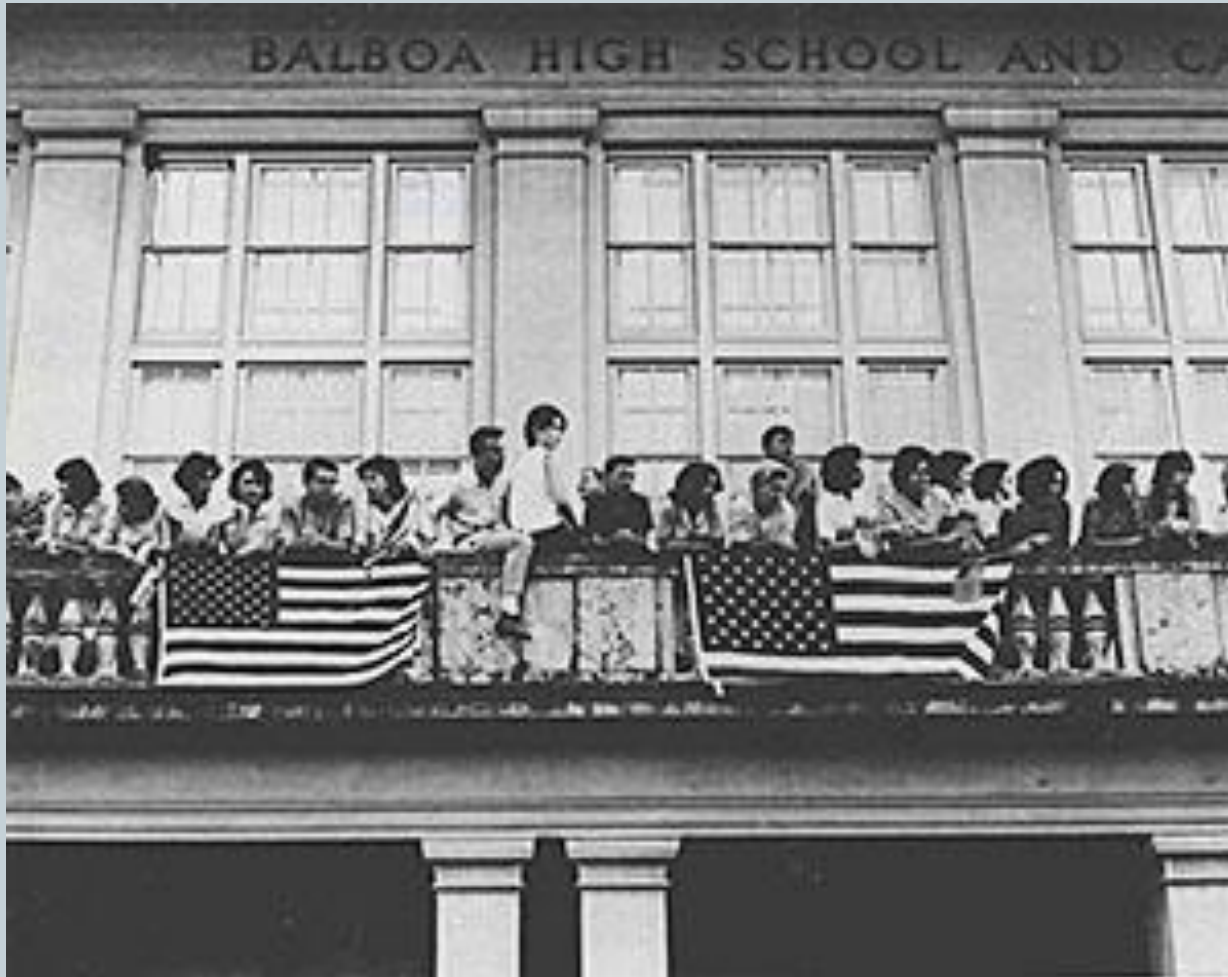
President Roberto Chiari broke diplomatic relations

a. “unjustifiable aggression”

b. “disproportionate amount of firepower”

event served as catalyst → new treaty

1964 Flashpoint



Flag Incident 1964



Arnulfo Arias Part III: Presidency 1968



Return of Arnulfo Arias

nationalist Partido Panameñista

election victory in an extremely divided field

purge of National Guard officers: Omar Torrijos,
Bolívar Vallarino, José María Pinilla

Arias push for total control

Coup of October 11, 1968

Arias toppled for third time

no United States intervention

rise of Col. Boris Martínez and Lt. Col. Torrijos

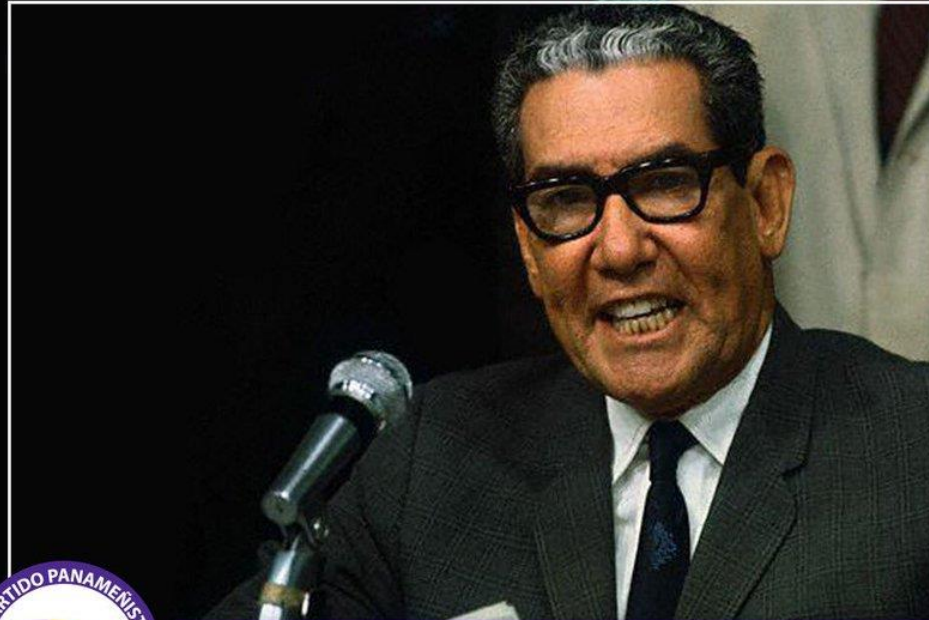
Uneasy Alliance: Arnulfo and the Military



Eleven Day Presidency: October 1968



Populist Politics



DR. ARNULFO ARIAS MADRID

**EL CAUDILLO
EL LÍDER
EL PRESIDENTE**

Monument to Arnulfo Arias



Rise of Omar Torrijos



Shadow of the Military

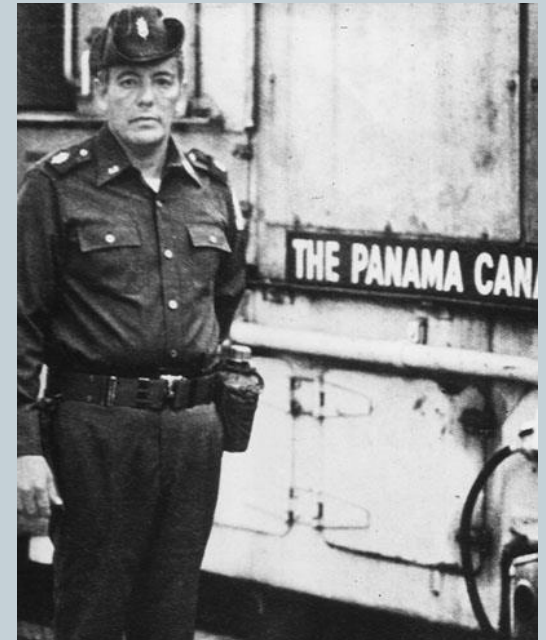


Enigmatic Dictatorship



Omar Torrijos

1. social justice and fervent nationalism
2. School of Americas (SOA) in Canal Zone
3. Panama's first military strongman
 - a. caudillo + Panamanian nationalist
 - b. pragmatism –
tempered anti-U.S. stance
4. “I do not want to enter history.
I want to enter into the Canal Zone.”
5. support of popular groups –
lower classes, laborers, students



Reforms



A. Pan o Palo

1. promotion of a leftist, populist agenda
2. aid to poor
3. social programs and skyrocketing spending

B. “Democracy Without Elections”

1. new constitution of 1972
2. power and money to rural areas
3. façade of governmental structure
4. National Guard – free from civilian oversight
5. “Maximum Leader of the Panamanian Revolution”
6. labor code and unions
7. excessive borrowing, consumption, nepotism
8. expansion of commerce and banking sector → high economic cost
 - a. liberalized banking regulations
 - b. “Switzerland of Latin American banking”
 - c. crossroads of illicit trade

Torrijos and Castro

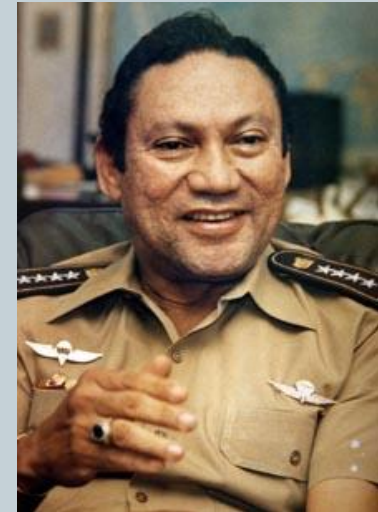


Consolidation



C. Institutionalization of Dictatorship

1. increased presence of National Guard
2. military-related institutions
3. limits on civil liberties
4. Manuel Noriega – chief of G-2
 - a. “my gangster” – violence and illicit activities
 - b. Torrijos and Noriega – symbiotic relationship
5. maximum fear, minimal collateral damage
Father Héctor Gallego



Negotiations



A. Support in World Community

1. limited antagonism
2. court of world opinion
3. UN call for a “just and equitable” treaty
4. U.S. resistance

“We built it, we paid for it, and we are going to keep it.”

B. President Jimmy Carter

1. moral righteousness
2. Panamanian economic problems
3. strategic calculations



Treaties



C. Hammering Out Treaties

1. treaty = continued rule for Torrijos
2. rhetoric and support among leftist leaders
3. signing of two new treaties
 - a. Panama Canal Commission, 12/31/1999
 - b. permanent neutrality of canal with right to defend it
4. minimal information about treaties in Panama
5. U.S. Senate debate: DeConcini condition
6. ratification and aftermath

D. Institutionalization of Rule

1. Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD)
2. slow democratization
3. plane crash of July 31, 1981
4. power vacuum

Panama Canal Treaties



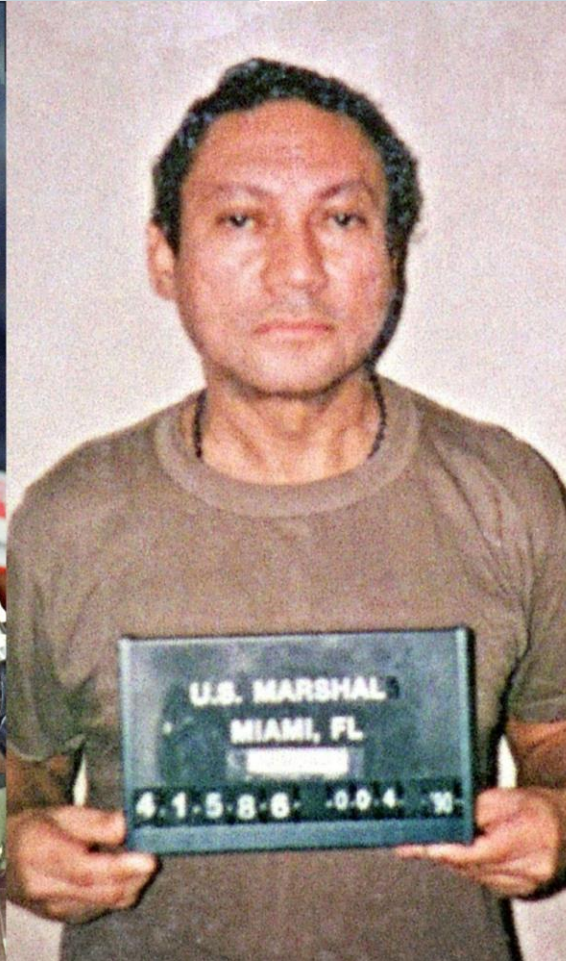
Carter and Torrijos 1978



Torrijos Tomb



The Noriega Years, 1981-1990



Noriega Takes Charge



A. Background

1. poor and illegitimate
2. military training, paid informant of CIA
3. chief of intelligence – “rent-a-colonel”
4. National Guard → Panamanian Defense Force

B. Power Grab

1. U.S. support for stable, brutal dictatorships
2. Noriega cooperation and loyalty
3. protection under a “Pentagon umbrella”
4. violence, vice, corruption, greed

C. Façade Crumbles

1. scrutiny and investigation
2. money laundering and drug trafficking
3. ties to “Iran-Contra Affair”
4. double-dealing



Vice President George H.W. Bush with Gen. Manuel Noriega



From Friend to Foe



A. From Ally to Public Enemy

1. wavering support in U.S., dissatisfaction at home
2. Noriega playing both sides – “nuestro hombre”
3. intransigence and repression

B. Opposition Grows

1. defection of Col. Roberto Díaz Herrera
2. National Civic Crusade (NCC)
3. large-scale labor strikes
4. criticism of Noriega by Catholic Church
5. violence of “Dobermans” in the streets
6. U.S. Congress vote to cut all economic and military aid
7. economic warfare



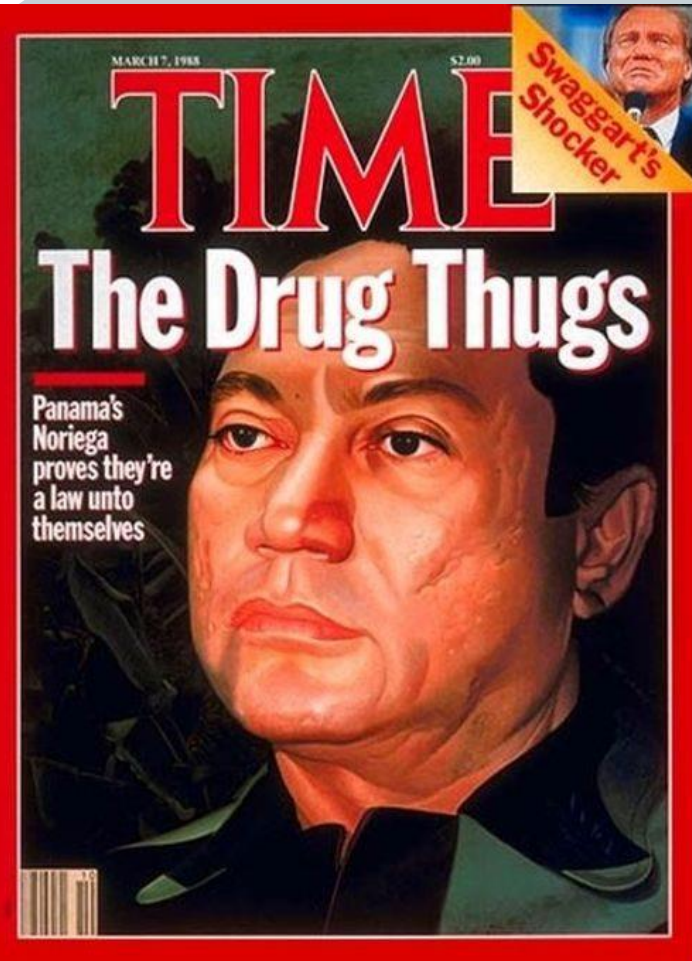
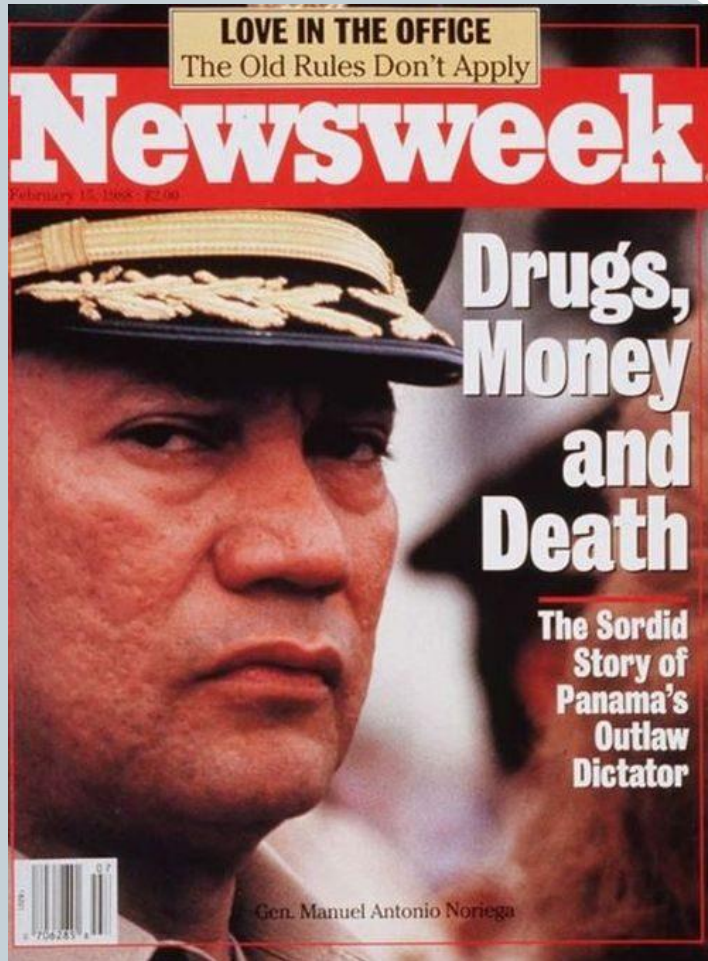
Crisis in Panama



C. Crisis Deepens

1. Noriega indicted in Florida in 1988:
drug trafficking and money laundering
2. move by Reagan and Bush to end Noriega's rule
3. Panamanian assets frozen – deep economic depression
4. attempted coups and deals
5. mixed and conflicting messages
6. PDF harassment of U.S. nationals
7. blatant fraud in 1989 election returns
8. protestors beaten and arrested by “Dignity Battalions”
9. Giraldi's failed coup
10. U.S. military buildup

Manuel Noriega



Invasion



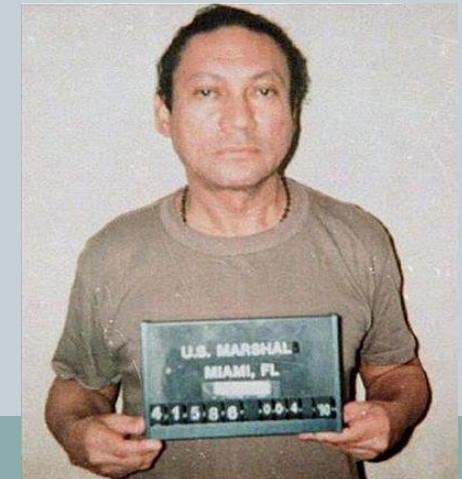
A. Operation Just Cause

1. swearing in of Guillermo Endara, Ricardo Arias Calderón, and Guillermo Ford
2. largest military operation since Vietnam
3. overwhelming firepower
4. destruction of El Chorillo
5. Noriega sought sanctuary in Vatican nunciatura
6. surrender of Noriega



B. Aftermath

1. catastrophic economic damage and loss of life
2. post-invasion looting and vandalism
3. continuing problems of power and legitimacy

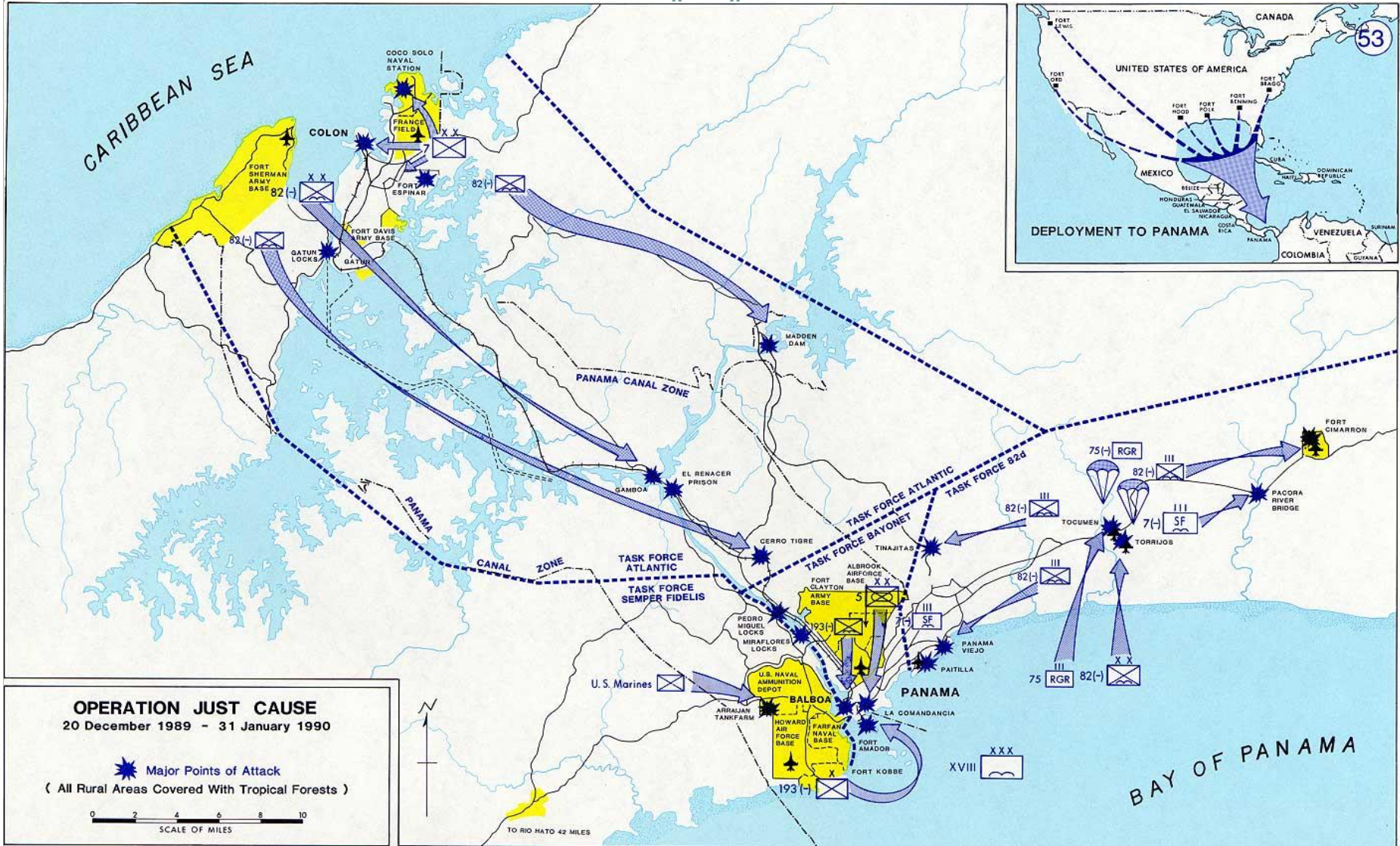


Human Rights Watch 1991



“With respect to the United States forces, our report concluded that the tactics and weapons utilized resulted in an inordinate number of civilian victims, in violation of specific obligations under the Geneva Conventions. [...] [Panama's civilian deaths] reveal that the "surgical operation" by American forces inflicted a toll in civilian lives that was at least four-and-a-half times higher than military casualties in the enemy, and twelve or thirteen times higher than the casualties suffered by U.S. troops. By themselves, these ratios suggest that the rule of proportionality and the duty to minimize harm to civilians, where doing so would not compromise a legitimate military objective, were not faithfully observed by the invading U.S. forces. For us, the controversy over the number of civilian casualties should not obscure the important debate on the manner in which those people died.”

Operation Just Cause



OPERATION JUST CAUSE
20 December 1989 - 31 January 1990

Major Points of Attack
(All Rural Areas Covered With Tropical Forests)



TO RIO HATO 42 MILES



Invasion



Destruction of Chorillo

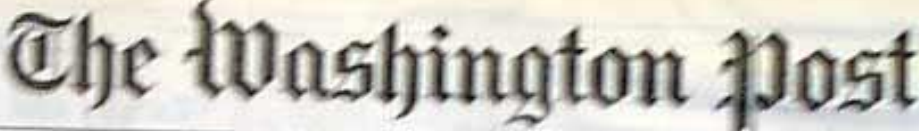


Aftermath





Search for Noriega




FINAL

THURSDAY, JANUARY 21, 1989

U.S. Forces Crush Panamanian Military; Noriega in Hiding as Fighting Continues

By Staff Writers and Thomas D. Clavin

A Panamanian military spokesman today reported that U.S. forces had crushed the Panamanian military and that Noriega was in hiding. The spokesman said that U.S. forces had killed or captured 100 Panamanian soldiers and that U.S. forces had captured 100 Panamanian soldiers.

Last night, more than 2,000 additional U.S. troops landed in Panama to support the 20,000 troops already there in the Canal Zone and other areas. U.S. forces also landed at other points in Panama City, the capital.

U.S. forces are making steady progress in Panama, military officials said. They said that U.S. forces had captured 100 Panamanian soldiers and that U.S. forces had captured 100 Panamanian soldiers.

Noriega's whereabouts were unknown, the U.S. military spokesman said today. The U.S. military official said that Noriega's whereabouts were unknown and that he was in hiding. The spokesman said that Noriega was in hiding and that he was in hiding.

Civilian deaths, an epidemic outbreak, and anarchy have been reported in Panama since the U.S. arrival.

The independence of a nation's destiny is the right of a nation. It is not a privilege. It is a right. The Panamanian people have the right to determine their own destiny.

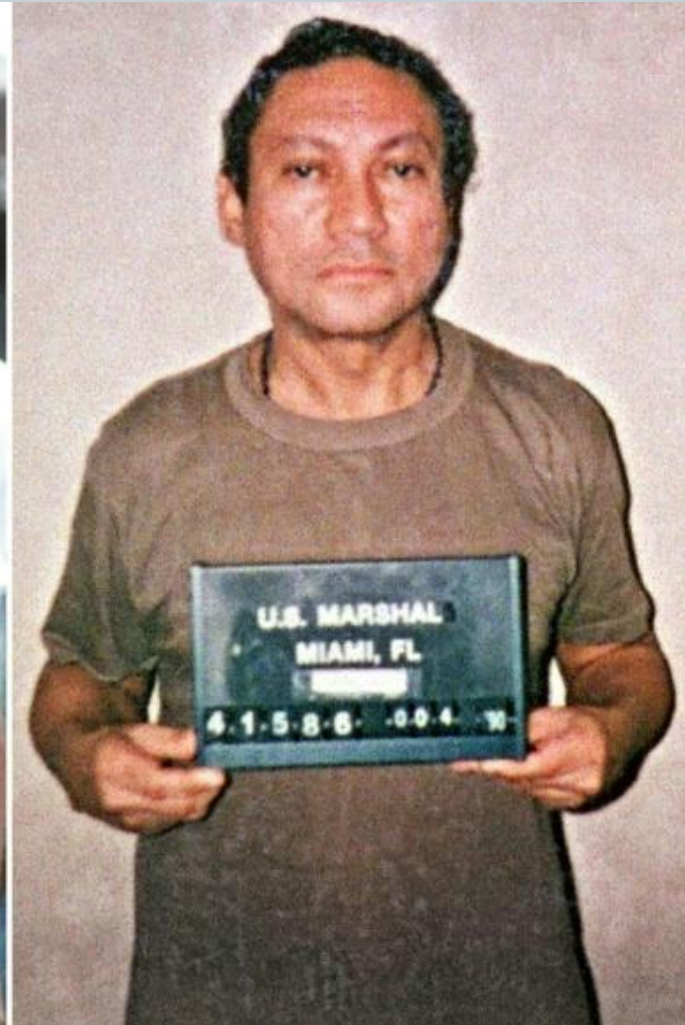
Noriega Headquarters Leveled; City in Chaos

Americans Taken Hostage

By Staff Writers and Thomas D. Clavin

U.S. military forces today leveled the headquarters of Noriega's military in Panama City, the capital. The U.S. military official said that the headquarters had been destroyed and that the city was in chaos. The spokesman said that the city was in chaos and that the city was in chaos.

Capture of Noriega



Panama Canal Returned December 31, 1999



Third Locks



Canal Expansion



Panama Canal Expansion Inauguration: June 26, 2016



Panama: Old and New

