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Dear ALLIES Members,

It is with great honor and pleasure that I present the final reports and findings for the 2012 ALLIES Joint Research Project to Panama. Since 2007, students from civilian and military institutions have embarked all over the globe studying pressing issues of our times. However, never before has a trip been so successful in the ability to produce a research report, keep an accurate budget of expenses and document lessons learned to be passed to the future.

On behalf of the delegation and the ALLIES family, I would like to extend my deepest gratitude and appreciation to Mr. Sherman Teichman, the Tufts Institute for Global Leadership, the ALLIES JRP Restructuring Committee, Lt. Col. Ben Paganelli, USAF (Ret.), LT Anne Gibbon, USN, LT Michael S. Weber, USN, Asst. Professor Nikolaos Biziouras, Midshipman Michael D. Fessenden, USN, Midshipman Connor McCubrey, USN and all those who made this project a reality and a tremendous success.

Sincerely,

Malik X. Harris
Panama Project Leader

SECTION 1
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ALLIES 2012 Joint Research Project to Panama City, Panama
A Study of Demilitarization

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Abstract

The research in this report centers on the process of demilitarization in Panama following the collapse of military rule by General Manuel Noriega in late 1989; it investigates the success of this process in Panama ever since. Over the course of eighteen days, a coalition of undergraduate students from the United States Naval Academy, Tufts University, Boston University and a recent graduate from the University of Miami interviewed thirteen different individuals from a variety of different disciplines. These disciplines included academia, journalism, private security, business, law and police work. Based on the research we conducted, we have concluded that demilitarization has been a qualified success. Although in some areas, such as lessening military involvement in politics, the government has unquestionably been successful, goals such as a transparent and accountable police force have yet to be met. In addition, military elements remain in training and weaponry among the Panamanian Public Forces.

Historical Background of Panama's Self-Governance

It is important to understand the societal trends in Panama's history that led to militarism and that still influence Panama today. Due to colonialism and other factors, such as an uneven relationship with the United States, Panama has a history of weak institutions and accepting hegemony in exchange for security.

Panama, similar to much of Latin America, was colonized by Spain. Unlike other empires at the time, the Spanish embraced the idea of strict control over governance and commerce in the New World. Nearly all of the colonies' administrative decisions (even on the local level) were determined in Madrid. Due to the tight administrative hold, citizens had very little experience with self-governance and in turn depended on individuals such as Simón Bolívar and Jose de San Martín for guidance and leadership. After Bolívar's dream of pan-Latin consolidation failed, regional political military leaders, known as caudillos, came to power. People ceded their power to these leaders in exchange for a strong sense of security (Leyva). Panama's unique geographical location at the narrowest point of Central America attracted investors interested in building a trans-isthmian canal. The French were the first to attempt such a canal; however, due to failures in engineering and widespread sickness among workers, the effort failed. In 1903, Panama gave the United States the authority to continue building the canal begun by the French and to indefinitely administer such a canal in exchange for supporting Panama's independence movement from Colombia. Panama became an independent country in 1904, but US involvement in Panamanian affairs had just begun (Conniff 8).

The Development of Panama's Security Forces (since 1903)

Throughout Panama's modern history, the United States' hegemonic impression, along with the weak governmental structures inherited from centuries of Spanish and Colombian colonialism, created an environment in which militarism thrived.

The paternalistic relationship with the United States, which was established from the outset of Panama's independence, made Panama's civilian government dependent on an

external power force to establish legitimacy. Since Panama declared its independence, a military or police force has played a critical role in the development of its political system (Guevara Mann).

The United States oversaw the creation of Panama's first national police force in 1904 to ensure that it had a monopoly on the use of force in Panama. However, this policy ended when, in the 1930s, the United States adopted the Good Neighbor Policy and decided to reduce its interventionist policies in Latin America (Guevara Mann). This policy coincided neatly with the ascendance of José Antonio Remón as commander of the police force. He transformed the National Police from a basic police force to a paramilitary force and, like his forebears, shaped the military into an institution that was involved in corruption and illicit activities. In 1941, Remón's National Police overthrew the populist and fascist sympathizer Arnulfo Arias and turned over the reins to pro-US politician Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia (Harding 33-44). This incident is noteworthy not only because it marks the first instance of a police coup d'état but also because it indicates the beginning of tensions between the security forces and the political elite, which would continue for decades. During the following decade the National Gaurd found itself increasingly involved in national governance, exhibiting the first instance of true militarism. Militarism is defined, for the purposes of this paper, as the military's involvement in political affairs (Guevara Mann). The National Guard consistently allied itself with US interests in Panama and attempted to suppress anti-US sentiment. The United States incentivized Remón's militarization of the National Guard by offering Panama hundreds of thousands of dollars through its Cold War US Military Assistance Program (Bernal). However, during this period the police chose to hand over power to politicians they felt shared their interests rather than taking power into their own hands (Harding 32-47).

The Panamanian populace continued to lose respect for the civilian elite due to its inability to achieve sovereignty in the form of Panamanian ownership of the canal. The military became increasingly involved in politics to the point where it decided to take power in 1968. It is important to note that Panama's transition to military rule took place in the 1960s and 1970s, an era in which every state in Latin America, with the exception of Costa Rica, experienced a period of either military dictatorship or one-party rule backed by the military establishment (Owens).

Under the leadership of Omar Torrijos in the 1960's, Panamanian militarism entered its newest and most advanced phase. Torrijos used the National Guard to consolidate his hold on power and introduced social reforms that focused on the middle and lower classes disenfranchised by over half a century of elite rule. At the same time, he used the National Guard to suppress all opposition, including free press and opposing political groups. He followed the traditional Latin American *caudillo'*s method of *pan o palo*, meaning that one could either accept the economic improvements and stability of his regime or prepare to face violence (Leyva). Furthermore, Torrijos enlarged the National Guard, created Panama's first air and naval service, and founded Panama's first military academy (Harding 87-95). Torrijos achieved legitimacy for his regime by gaining Panamanian sovereignty over the canal. The ratification of the Torrijos- Carter treaties signaled America's retreat from the region, and the National Guard's ascendance as a powerful source of legitimacy (Harding 107-119).

As American forces withdrew from the Canal Zone, Torrijos realized that, absent a perceived enemy, the National Guard's authority would be lessened. Although his reasoning is controversial, he attempted to take some control away from the military, despite its

entrenchment in politics. Before he could complete the transition, he died in a plane accident on July 31, 1981. As a result of his death, the military continued to exercise control over Panama's political system for the next nine years (Harding 127-152).

Following Torrijos' death, his former head of intelligence, Manuel Noriega, took control. He quickly overturned all of the democratic reforms that Torrijos had put in place in the final years of his regime. Noriega dramatically changed the structure of the military by instituting Law 20, which transformed the National Guard into the Panamanian Defense Force (PDF) and tripled its size. By the late 1980s, the PDF had grown to be a complete military of 16,000 professional soldiers that had complete control over almost every function of Panamanian governance. Noriega tried to position himself as an American ally, but his blatant repression of free press and political opposition, as well as his forays into international drug trafficking, ultimately spelled his downfall and caused the United States to invade Panama in December 1989. In less than a month, US forces completely defeated the PDF and Noriega was extradited to the United States (Harding 155-177).

Military or Police? A Difficult Question

In the Panamanian context, differentiating a military, a paramilitary force, and a police force can be very difficult, partly because, as discussed above, the transition from police force to powerful military force in Panama happened very gradually, over decades. In order to understand the steps the government took to demilitarize the country, it is important to recognize the differences between a military and a police force. Carlos Guevara Mann, a consultant for the United Nations, characterized the central distinction in between a military and a police force as a difference in ideology. According to Mann, the goal of a police force is to protect within the

country against violations of the law. A military protects a country from external aggressors and, to some degree, operates under its own legal code (Guevara Mann). Certain levels of casualties are more acceptable when completing military operations, whereas minimal force should be used when executing police missions (Owens). Miguel Antonio Bernal, a lawyer, human rights advocate, and longtime politically active Panamanian citizen, stated that the crucial characteristic of any policing institution is that "police obey the Constitution and work inside the community" (Bernal). These differences provide a foundation for understanding the demilitarization process in Panama.

Demilitarization: A Difficult Process

After the US invasion, Panama was thrown into barely contained chaos. The defeat of the PDF left a power vacuum that resulted in rampant looting and riots throughout Panama City. Guillermo Endara, assumed the presidency and was immediately faced with the challenge of reestablishing security without losing what little legitimacy he attained as a democratically elected leader. However, the military was wildly unpopular, and utilizing the PDF in the name of the new president was out of the question.

Under the heightened circumstances, the new government, after consulting with the United States, rushed to create the first demilitarized police force in Panama's history. Although the immediate stabilization of the country was their first priority, they also knew that if they dissolved the PDF without creating a new institution in which the former soldiers could find employment, the former soldiers could represent a serious security threat (Fishel 12).

The first steps towards the demilitarization of security forces, therefore, were intended to officially eliminate the last traces of the military in Panama, and to create a new civilian force

whose mission and ideology would be distinct from their military forebears. In February, just a few weeks after the invasion, Cabinet Decrees No. 38 and No. 40 created the Panamanian Public Forces and officially eliminated the Panamanian Defense Forces. The former military forces were split into several divisions to decentralize the armed command structure and were put under civilian control. A few years later, in 1994, the government amended the Constitution to eliminate any future possibility of a Panamanian military (Calderon 100).

However, the transition to a civilian police force would not be as simple as passing a law. The twenty-two-year long military rule of Torrijos and Noriega served to drastically expand both the physical and the political power of the National Guard and PDF to the point where, by 1990, the PDF was involved in every facet of political and social life in Panama. The PDF had effectively instilled a culture of militarism in its members. Members lived in barracks and benefitted from separate health services, supermarkets, and social club facilities (Calderon 102). Bolivar Castillo, a private security professional and a former PDF member, said that the transition was also difficult mentally for the members of the PDF. He said that because he was able to foresee the changes following the invasion, he was able to adapt more readily than other members of the PDF (Castillo).

Although some of the former PDF members, such as Alex Omar Garrido, who is currently a successful business owner in the private security industry, chose to leave the public sector and make a new life for themselves through other means, many PDF members remained, complicating the process of creating a new identity for the police force and delegitimizing the government's claim of a new beginning. The government tried to destroy the military culture by demolishing the barracks, changing the types of weapons officers were issued, eliminating the separate health and banking systems, and ending the scheme of "institutionalized prerogatives

and illicit privileges" that had characterized the PDF (Calderon 104). A new khaki uniform was issued, to separate the police in the minds of the populace from the military, who wore dark green. The language was also purposefully changed. Bases became stations and all military ranks above Major became Commissioners or Sub-Commissioners (Calderon 105).

The public reaction to the police was at first negative. However, by 1993, a national poll reflected the reality that a third of the population felt "sure" to contact the police in a time of crisis. Just a year later, over 51 percent of the country reported that they found the new police force somewhat "efficient." This helped the police force begin to validate its own existence and experiences, as opposed to the experiences of the PDF before it (Calderon 108).

The model of demilitarization had not only popular success, but also support within the government and the international community. Although initially the US had pushed to create a police system with a militarized component, once the Panamanian government decided to eliminate the military entirely, the US military was instrumental in operations on the ground such as training the new police force (Fishel 23).

By the end of the 1990's, the legal model had proven itself. There had been no coups and the Panamanian Public Forces were still under civilian control. Officers were graduating from the Police Academy and patrolling the streets with some consistency. But was this a true transition? Or do military elements remain in the PPF today?

Panama's Security Today

Currently, the Panamanian Public Forces (PPF) are divided into three branches: the National Police (PNP), the aero-naval branch (SENAN), and the Panamanian National Border

Service (SENAFRONT). The PNP is responsible for general security throughout Panama, and employs 16,000 police officers. SENAN focuses on naval security and supports operations that intercept drug-running vessels. SENAFRONT is responsible for establishing security checkpoints and combating drug trafficking along the Colombian border, protecting the nation against members of Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), Colombia's oldest and most sophisticated drug trafficking group. SENAFRONT experiences different demilitarization challenges than the other Public Forces. Although our research focuses primarily on the National Police Force, we will discuss these difficulties briefly later in the paper.

Panama's security concerns can be placed into two categories: external and internal threats. Although Panama has no natural enemies, the nation has three major external threats: drug trafficking, immigration, and risks associated with the Panama Canal (Guevara Mann). Land-based immigration is handled by SENAFRONT and waterborne immigration by SENAN. The PNP focuses on internal security issues relating to common criminality and domestic concerns such as theft, crime, and traffic (Pousa).

Overall, Panama is considered one of the most secure countries in Latin America (Della Sera). The American Chamber of Commerce cites security as a primary appeal for foreign investors, and Panama's foreign direct investment has drastically risen over the past decade, alluding to the fact that investors believe that Panama is a safe place to conduct business. Moreover, the Panama Canal, one of Panama's major security concerns, is well protected by the Canal Authority, not the PNP (Owens).

The Police and the People

While there is no specific definition as to what comprises police doctrine, there was a consensus amongst interviewees as to the qualifications of a healthy, well-functioning police force. This consensus emphasized the use of appropriate force and an interaction with a well-infromed citizenship (Owens, Bernal).

One of the ways to reduce the use of force is to focus on communication with the populace. The PNP has official programs that strengthen their relationship with the Panamanian community, including Programa de Comercios Vigilantes and Programa de Vecinos Vigilantes, which educate businesses and neighborhoods, respectively, on crime prevention (Lasso).

However, the National Police does not place an equal importance on educating people about their personal legal rights. According to Article 22 in the Constitution, a citizen must be informed of the reason for their arrest when the arrest occurs. After the arrest, the apprehended citizen must be informed of his or her constitutional and legal rights, which are very similar to the Miranda Right in the United States. In the interview with Police Sub-Commissioner Lasso, it was unclear as to whether these rights were always explicitly stated during arrests (Lasso). Dr. Bernal frequently hands out small note cards dictating rights given to Panamanian citizens under articles 21, 22, 23, 25, and 28 in the Panamanian Constitution, in hopes that people will become more informed and educated about their rights (“Constitución Política de la República”). This aspect is important because a police force should answer to civilian law and not the priorities of the security institution; an informed populace is an essential check to the misuse of police power (Bernal).

As in all democratic systems, a series of checks and balances are put in place to maintain order and accountability. In Panama, the checks on police power are technically in place, but they are not always practiced. If a police officer uses excessive force against a citizen, that citizen has a right to take the officer to court. According to multiple interviewees, including Alex Omar Garrido, Jamie Owens, and a source at the US Embassy in Panama, it is highly likely that any lawsuit brought against a member of the police for use of excessive force will turn out in the police officer's favor. Undue use of force is a problem in any institution that exercises physical force. However, in Panama, as the US Embassy source astutely stated, the problem is not that some excessive force cases exist, but that excessive force incidents are dealt with ineffectively (US Embassy Source). This weakens the relationship between the civilian sector and the PNP and undercuts civilian and constitutional ownership of the police. This lack of transparency has the potential to become precarious when viewed through the eyes of demilitarization.

Demilitarization in Today's Panama: Successes and Failures

While the Panamanian government has achieved some notable successes in demilitarization, in many ways, the Public Forces still has retained vestiges of militarism. Key remnants of militarism that remain in the PPF include equipment, training, lack of transparency and accountability, and military mindset and ideology.

In many ways, demilitarization has been a success; since Panama chose to eliminate its military, there have been four peaceful and free elections. Direct military intervention has not occurred within Panamanian politics and elections. Moreover, an overwhelming amount of Panamanians do not believe that a military is necessary, which demonstrates a sense of disengagement from its militaristic past. The process of disbanding the command structure and

instilling civilian leadership has remained; Julio Molto is currently the Director of the PNP, despite the fact that he does not have a background in law enforcement. Since 1990, the government has not faced any serious threats of a coup, largely because of the diffusion of power within the PPF (Guevara Mann).

However, the cultural aspects of militarism within the armed forces have proved difficult to eradicate. Despite the PNP's charter to protect and serve the Panamanian populace, their equipment and weaponry sends a completely different message (Lasso). On the streets of Panama City, it is very common to see police officers with automatic weapons or shotguns. This type of equipment, while appropriate for military and SWAT operations, hinders the ability of officers to conduct standard police work such as chasing criminals. Large weapons slow down police during a pursuit and make it difficult for them to apprehend criminals once caught (Owens). Furthermore, many members of the police still wear uniforms that are militaristic in style. During a visit to the PNP's headquarters in Panama City, the delegation was greeted by armed sentries in green camouflage uniforms. While the usage of automatic weapons and the donning of military-style apparel are not necessarily tantamount to operating like a military, it suggests that the PPF has not yet overcome some military elements. Owens claimed that "[Panama] doesn't have a professional police force or a professional military force. Instead, it has a police force that acts like a military force."

As mentioned previously, SENAFRONT faces an even more difficult challenge regarding demilitarization. There is no doubt that Panama faces a significant threat from international drug trafficking. The FARC rebel group often uses Panama as a safe haven to evade the Colombian military, and drug cartels often use Panama as a transit point for drugs between

South America and the United States. A source at the US Embassy described, “Panama is the neck of the funnel between drug producing countries and drug consuming countries”. Therefore, Panama needs a force that will adequately patrol the border and protect against these threats. However, SENAFRONT functions as a paramilitary force, which seems to conflict with the Panamanian constitution.

SENAFRONT’s primary area of operation is Darién, a sparsely populated jungle region on the Colombian border. SENAFRONT commonly sets up roadblocks in this region to check passing automobiles. Carlos Guevara Mann calls these roadblocks “arbitrary and unnecessary” and claimed that they have not helped to decrease crime in Panama. However, a source from the US Embassy claimed that, given the difficult challenges that SENAFRONT is facing on the Colombian frontier, the majority of their equipment and techniques are necessary to satisfactorily handle the threat. Furthermore, the source asserted that SENAFRONT does not constitute a military force because of the geographical constraints on its operations and its inability to take aggressive action (US Embassy Source).While it may be that SENAFRONT does not necessarily meet the full definition of a military force, its militaristic nature is certainly troubling.

Another prominent obstacle that has prevented the PPF from demilitarizing has been their lack of full transparency and accountability. The lack of transparency stems partly from the fact that police officers answer to an internal review board instead of public courts. This issue was emphasized during a public clash between the Minister of Public Security, José Raul Mulino, and the former Chief of the PNP, Gustavo Pérez that occurred in March 2012. Mulino attempted to form a new review board for incidents of police misconduct that would operate outside of the PNP. However, Pérez lobbied President Ricardo Martinelli to table the proposal so the cabinet could not approve it (“Martinelli apoya a director Pérez”). Pérez was able to circumvent

Mulino's authority and directly influence the president's decision making. This incident demonstrates that the police are not quite committed to being a fully transparent and accountable organization (Jackson).

The PPF's influence in government, as demonstrated by this incident, leads to a lack of accountability. As a central goal of demilitarization was to create a new force that answered to civilian leadership and was transparent to the public, this implies that the police force has been unsuccessful in this aspect of demilitarization. In addition, the PNP has faced accusations of excessive force and police neglect over the past few years. According to a report published by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor at the US Department of State, "police neglect led to the deaths of five juvenile detainees and injury of two additional detainees during a prison fire" at the Tocumen Juvenile Detention Facility in January of 2011 ("Country Reports on Humans Rights Practices for 2011: Panama").

Finally, there are vestiges of militarism in the training methods of the PPF. There are two different police academies in Panama, one for enlisted personnel and one for officers. The officer's academy is a four-year institution, which some say is analogous to United States military service academies (Riggs). The existence of such an officers' academy suggests that Panama still has not overcome the hierarchical structure that is more commonly found in a military. Moreover, the US military often holds joint exercises with the different branches of the PPF. While the US embassy source claims that most of American military aid comes in the form of technical assistance, US forces also train SENAFRONT in how to fight insurgencies. This type of training suggests that the PPF are not fully demilitarized. Furthermore, Owens claims that the fact that the US Navy and not the US Coast Guard is training SENAN is

significant because SENAN ostensibly is supposed to serve as Panama's Coast Guard and not as a militarized force (Owens). The presence of American military assistance, in addition to military aspects in training, contributes to a continually military outlook among the PPF.

Why Demilitarization Has Been Partially Successful

Demilitarization has been an extremely difficult process for both the Panamanian government and populace. The reasons why it has not achieved complete success are much the same as the reasons why militarism thrived in Panama in the first place. Panama has been plagued by weak civil institutions throughout its history. The civilian government always relied on an external force to provide it with the legitimacy necessary to govern with any degree of effectiveness. From the Spanish to the Colombians to the US military, Panama has always depended to differing degrees on external forces. After the US military gradually withdrew from the region, the National Guard took its place, eventually taking control of every facet of governance in the nation. One of the most significant problems with the transition from military to police force was its sudden nature. Given that a military force had been an integral part of governance in Panama for almost 90 years, to expect Panama's civilian institutions to function completely independently was somewhat unrealistic. While elections in Panama have been free and fair since the American invasion, the government has not been strong enough to govern without the assistance of the PPF. Furthermore, the consistent involvement of the United States in Panama has not helped with demilitarization. Throughout its relationship with Panama, the presence of the United States has served to promote militarism through funding Panama's armed forces (Guevara Mann). While this influence has been lessened since the 1989 invasion and the departure of US forces from Panama in 2000, the existence of joint exercises has played a part in reinforcing militarism in Panama.

Another key reason for the challenging nature of demilitarization has been the culture based around militarism. Thousands of men built their careers and centered their lives around the military during the years of the dictatorship. While some of those men have been able to move on to different careers, a great number of them stayed on to become part of the PPF. Having police officers with military training on patrol and in leadership positions can be very problematic as most likely they will rely on what they learned in the military when making decisions. Many of the people who served in the PDF had trouble letting go of military ideology and carried that mindset into their work with the PPF (Garrido). Another cultural factor hampering the success of remilitarization has been the attitude of Panamanian society. There still exists a culture of fear of the armed forces that persists from the days of Torrijos and Noriega. This fear has manifested in a number of different ways, from some civilians avoiding the police to Martinelli's deference to Peréz on the issue of external review for police misconduct.

Conclusion

Since the Panamanian government outlawed the military force in the aftermath of the American invasion, Panama has made significant strides towards demilitarization. Specifically, the fact that Panama has sustained four successive free and fair democratic elections without any military intervention is a significant sign that the PPF have nowhere near as much influence as the National Guard and Panamanian Defense Forces used to have in Panama's politics. Furthermore, the overall focus of the PNP, in particular, seems to be on internal, rather than external, threats. However, Panama is still not close to complete demilitarization. The PPF still have a significant influence in the political sphere, as evidenced by the Chief of Police Gustavo

Perez's successful attempt at undermining Minster of Public Security Raul Mulino on the issue of external police tribunals. Furthermore, in many areas, such as equipment and training, the Public Forces continue to act in a militaristic fashion. These problems in the implementation of demilitarization can be traced to Panama's continuing tradition of weak institutions and the culture of militarism that was still retained even after the official demilitarization process. The Panamanian Public Forces can be best described as a police force with a militaristic outlook.

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SECTION 2
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2012 JOINT RESEARCH PROJECT AFTER ACTION REPORT: PANAMA CITY, PANAMA

WRITTEN BY AMALIE STEIDLEY

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this document is to share the successes and failures of the 2012 ALLIES Joint Research Project (JRP) to Panama so that other trips can benefit from our experience. It is separated into three sections: pre-departure, project, and post project. Each section contains an analysis of our process and recommendations for the future.

BACKGROUND OF THE JOINT RESEARCH PROJECT

The Joint Research Project (JRP) is an annual opportunity for students from different academic backgrounds to work together and research a question related to civilian-military organizations. In the past there have been successful JRPs to Jordan, Chile, and Ukraine, among other locations. However, in 2011 there was no Joint Research Project. In direct response to the lack of a JRP last year, this year's JRP to Panama put special emphasis on documenting and analyzing our process so that ALLIES could have a Standard Operating Procedure to facilitate the organization of future JRPs provide a foundation for future leaders.

JRP GOALS

This year, the Joint Research Project focused on three equally important goals. The first was to research an issue related to civilian-military relations and to write a research paper based on what we learned. The second was to experience the culture and day-to-day reality of Panama, the country in which we worked. The third goal was to strengthen civilian-military relations at a grassroots level, and to take advantage of participants' different academic backgrounds in order to experience a unique, integrated perspective of the topic at hand.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

Our original questions centered on the Panamanian perception of security and how it was affected by Panama's military history. However, as our research progressed, we began to focus more specifically on the process of demilitarization and the current status of the Panamanian Public Forces, comprised of the National Police, Navy, Air Force, and Border Patrol.

Our background research was conducted using previously written materials. Our research in the field was composed of a series of 13 interviews conducted with subjects from many different fields of experience. We interviewed professors, journalists, lawyers, and private security professionals among others. We relied on the recorded interviews themselves and our notes for data. We also documented each interview (when possible) with photographs.

PRE-DEPARTURE PROCESS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Choosing a Location and Delegates

The Pre-Departure process begins as soon as the destination and mission are selected.

Malik Harris and other members of Navy chose Panama because, as this year was meant to rebuild the JRP, they thought it best to choose a destination that had few inherent challenges such as security concerns or a language barrier. Funding, as always, was also an issue, and Panama was much more affordable than Taiwan, which was the other option. Most of the planning for Panama occurred before the Rwanda project began this year after EPIIC.

Once Panama became the agreed upon destination, the Project Leader began the process of making an application (see Appendix A) and choosing delegates. Each delegate was required to

fill out an application and a telephone interview. There was some difficulty with retaining delegates; because of the civilian students' internship situation and the military students' summer training schedule, there was some delegate turnover. This has historically been the case, which can make building a group difficult. This year's Project Leader emphasized responsibility, a history of ALLIES involvement, and perceived fit with the group.

Recommendation: JRP groups should be diverse in every way. Delegates should be different ages, from different institutions, cultural backgrounds, etc. There should be at least one delegate from each institution in every JRP delegation. Delegates should be interviewed during the selection process.

Setting a Foundation

This year, the Project Leader wrote and sent out an extensive Preliminary Report (see Appendix B) that laid the practical and ideological foundation for the trip. It listed history, goals of the trip, and a tentative schedule. It was a crucial tool that helped get us all "on the same page." In the future, the Preliminary Report should also be used as a funding document. We updated our preliminary report to include our final schedule and our pre-departure information.

Recommendation: A Preliminary Report should be produced by the Project Leader before each JRP to ground the trip in concrete goals and information and to provide information to possible financial backers.

Delegation of Responsibilities

In order to facilitate the planning process for the trip, the Project Leader delegated responsibility to 4 positions: Assistant Project Leader, Operations Officer, Administrative Officer, and Curriculum Officer.

This delegation of responsibilities gave each delegate ownership of the trip and enabled the project leader to focus on big picture concerns and coordination. This system was a definite improvement over past JRP's, after which project leaders expressed exasperation about the fact that they were forced to do everything.

Recommendation: Responsibilities should be shared throughout the JRP group and not shouldered exclusively by the project leader. Project Leaders should be aware of the outside pressures placed on delegates and hold them accountable for trip tasks nonetheless.

Delegation long-distance is difficult. All ALLIES members have hectic schedules, and prioritizing a trip that seems far in the future can be challenging. The leaders of the trip must maintain constant focus on the trip and set up a communication structure that ideally not only allows delegates to check in with each other, but also provides a space for active and engaged planning and conversation.

Recommendation: Project Leaders should remain aware of distractions and understand it is their responsibility to keep the delegates on track.

Description of Roles

Project Leader: Responsible for the overall success of the trip. Specific tasks include choosing delegates, delegating responsibility, coordinating pre-departure efforts, establishing clear lines of communication pre-trip, and keeping the group focused while in country. It is the duty of the

project leader to keep the project goals always in mind and, at the end of the day, it is his or her responsibility to make sure that those goals are achieved. For example, Malik kept us on track during briefs and debriefs by establishing an efficient meeting format. He paid constant attention to the goal of military-civilian relations and instituted a tradition of watching military-themed movies so as to stimulate informal conversations about the reality of the military. In addition, he put constant emphasis on cultural excursions and was responsible for our sole excursion outside of Panama City during the trip. In addition to these stated responsibilities, Malik wrote the Preliminary Report mentioned above, which was instrumental in informing delegates about goals and JRP background and which formed the foundation for our project.

Assistant Project Leader: Serves in a support position for the Project Leader. The Project Leader and Assistant Project Leader should be in constant contact. The Assistant Project Leader should be able to take over in the event of the Project Leader's inability to perform his or her duties. For example, this year, Amalie stepped into Malik's role during summer training, as Malik was on a submarine and unable to fulfill his responsibilities. Amalie coordinated last minute details (vaccinations, final conference calls, etc.) and wrote a Pre-Departure Packet (which has been included in the appendices as Appendix G in the Preliminary Report). She also put together this After Action Report and edited together the final paper.

Curriculum Officer: In charge of academic portion of the trip. Responsible for sending out reading material, films, etc. relevant to the project area. This year, the Curriculum Officer wrote a 20-page briefing document that covered basic information about Panama and Panamian Public Forces. During the trip, the Curriculum Officer should be constantly accessing the academic value of interviews and integrating that information with background information about the

country or subject topic. During the Panama JRP, Michael was responsible for taking meeting notes during briefs and debriefs and then compiling the group notes to send out before writing the final paper. He was our resident Panama expert. The Curriculum Officer should always be searching for new and interesting ways to impart information to the group and should work with the Operations Officer to ensure that the interviews in country are on-topic.

Operations Officer (OO): Responsible for crafting schedule in country. Finds and contacts possible interview subjects. Arranges meetings, excursions, and cultural events. It is the Operations Officer's job to obtain a relevant, diverse, and high-quality interview pool. In order to do this, Anna sent out emails to many possible candidates. It is also crucial for the Operations Officer to remain in constant contact with the rest of the team so that they are informed about process made before the trip itself.

Administrative Officer: Responsible for food, lodging, budget and transportation during the trip. Pre-trip, the Administrative Officer is responsible for arranging lodging and researching transportation. In addition, the Administrative Officer should research any health or security concerns. Allison did an incredible job with our housing; she found us a comfortable, affordable apartment where all members of the project could live and cook together. She also kept an exact record of our financial progress.

Inter-Chapter Communication

Effective communication is the only thing that makes long-distance delegation possible. Our inter-chapter communication was handled mainly through emails and conference calls, although we did have meetings at the IR and EPIIC to discuss the project and so that members could meet

face to face. Because of the constant changing of delegates, these conferences were not that helpful.

Our conference calls were sporadic, unevenly timed, and sparsely attended until the very end of our process, which limited group understanding and cohesion. Several delegates felt unprepared due to the confusing communication structure.

Recommendation: JRP conference calls should happen during a set time every week and all JRP members should be in attendance except in the case of extraordinary circumstances. Meeting notes should be taken during each call and sent out afterwards. Future leaders should take advantage of regularly scheduled conference calls to inspire and engage delegates so that tasks are done on time and to a superior standard.

In addition, it is important the chain of communication be clear within each university. Because some chapters have Program Coordinators independent of specific JRPs, the procedure for contacting individuals should be clarified and standard. For example, what interaction does the Project Leader have with a Program Coordinator that is not going on the trip? What does communication between the Project Leader and the delegates at that school look like? How do the program coordinator, the institution, and the delegate communicate?

Recommendation: Lines of communication should be clarified in between the Project Leader and the delegates, the delegates and the program coordinator at their school, and the delegates and the institution.

Institutional Collaboration

This last topic was especially relevant to our experience. The Tufts delegates did not complete the pre-departure process required by the IGL (IRB etc.) until a few days before the trip because they were not aware of those requirements. The midshipmen from the Naval Academy encountered their own roadblocks within the Academy when they applied for credit for the JRP.

For future Tufts students, this website: *http://tuftsgloballeadership.org/programs/global_research/global-research-process* contains the details of what you must do before leaving the country to work on research.

Recommendation: Project Leaders must make it a point to ask about institutional requirements and continuously follow up on progress.

Funding

Funding is, as always, a vital concern for ALLIES in general and the JRP in particular. Malik and other Navy members put a lot of effort into the creation of request for money from the Compton Foundation, which ultimately did not provide funding for this JRP, although it may provide funds for projects in the future.

Recommendation: Project Leaders must be aware of the financial constraints of their delegates and remain in close contact with the ALLIES treasurer to stay abreast of financial developments. In addition, if seeking funding independent of general ALLIES funding, use documents developed in the pre-departure process (such as the Preliminary Report) to interest backers.

General Preparedness

When taking a group of students to a foreign country, it is essential to be ready for the challenges of traveling in a group. Malik was comfortable and had experience in this role; as a result, our

trip went relatively smoothly once in country. It is crucial that every Project Leader is prepared for the challenges of coordinating a group made of very different students in a stressful foreign environment.

Recommendation: Project Leaders go through a standard training process and speak to former leaders of the JRP so they are as prepared as possible.

In addition, each delegate must be prepared for the trip. For our trip, this process was scattered and only codified in the Pre-Departure packet, which was released very close to the trip. In the future, delegates should be aware of the following considerations long before the trip takes place:

- Necessary safety precautions
- Vaccinations or other health needs
- Complete schedule (as is possible) of time in country
- An expected budget
- Packing list
- Contact list for all delegates
- Address and phone number of lodging
- Common phrases in the country's language
- Emergency phone numbers in country
- Any other pertinent information

Academic Preparedness

ALLIES expects a high level of commitment from all JRP delegates regarding academic contribution. In order to be prepared for the interviews, all JRP delegates should have a solid understanding of the historical and cultural background of the topic at hand. For this year's JRP to Panama, we attempted to do this by having our Curriculum Officer write a 20-page general information packet and supplemented that by having each participant write a two-page essay on a topic of choice. **This was not an effective academic preparation strategy.** Writing a 20-page briefing packet absorbed the Curriculum Director's time and energy and provided information that delegates could have found on their own time. In addition, the two page papers were general and some delegates did not finish their papers on time. This resulted in an uneven distribution of academic preparation among delegates.

Academic preparation should have two components. The first is in-depth research of the country and topic. The second is a project that ensures that delegates have done the reading and are prepared. This project does not have to be a paper; it could be, for example, a series of blog posts published on the JRP blog regarding a certain sub-topic with links to relevant information, so that the JRP can reach out to readers online. It could be an online presentation given during a Skype call. Leaders should be aware of institutional academic preparedness requirements and work with them; if Tufts requires a briefing paper, let delegates work from that to make their briefing project. Previous JRPs recommended papers because papers are easy to deliver to the IGL and other stakeholders as evidence of the JRP's academic integrity. However, if the Preliminary Report serves this role, briefing papers are not necessarily an imperative and Project Leaders/Curriculum Officers can be creative with academic assignments if they wish.

Recommendation: All JRP members must be academically prepared. Curriculum Officers should design a pre-trip schedule of in-depth study to make sure delegates are ready for interviews in country. In addition, there should be an individual Academic Project that proves delegate readiness.

Outreach

This JRP was the first to actively attempt to engage a population outside of ALLIES through a trip blog that reflected our progress. We updated our blog daily, including accounts of our trip, lists of interviews, and pictures of the group interacting. By the end of the trip, the blog had more almost 600 views.

Recommendation: Future trips make documentation during the trip a priority, and use blogs, social media, etc. to reach out to the population at large.

THE RESEARCH PROJECT PROCESS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We found that, while in country, many important things happened during the time when we weren't actively pursuing academic goals. In response to that, our analysis of the project itself discusses food and lodging in addition to group cohesion and academic gains.

Housing and Food

Our Administrative Officer, Allison Jeffery, arranged our housing. We stayed in an apartment on Ser Ancon, a hill in the middle of the city. It allowed all 7 JRP participants to stay in the same place, which was crucial in forming group cohesion and ensuring that we all coordinated our efforts. It was a full immersion for each group of students in the culture of the other. For

example, when the civilian students arrived, Malik showed us the Navy protocol of entering a room. The fact that we lived together also allowed a constant and continuing conversation about everything from long-distance relationships to sexual assault to the best way to stimulate small businesses to the possible outcome of the Navy-Army game (see more about this in the Civ/Mil Interaction section below).

Recommendation: When possible, groups should live in close proximity and do activities together outside of academic pursuits.

During the trip, we chose for the most part to grocery shop ourselves, which greatly cut down on cost and was a significant element in relationship building. Almost all of the participants mentioned cooking a group dinner every night as one of the most meaningful experiences of the trip. It is important to note that, if future groups want to follow this model, the Project Leader should take a moment to state basic hygiene requirements. Things like not eating directly out of communal containers and rinsing raw meat before cooking it may seem obvious, but all group members may not know basic culinary hygiene.

Recommendation: Groups should cook or, at the very least, eat together routinely to help build relationships among participants and allow time for personal interactions that do not revolve solely around the "military" or "civilian" identity.

Scheduling the Trip

Scheduling is a constant challenge during the JRP. The ideal schedule is full of relevant, high-quality interviews from a variety of perspectives that center on a concrete and specific research question; it should also leave adequate time for travel, rest, and down time. This year, we scheduled no more than two interviews a day. This allowed us to have extensive debriefing

meetings and thoroughly discuss the specific concepts discussed that day in the context of our project. Most of our active learning took place in these meetings. It also allowed us to focus on other objectives, such as cultural trips and civ-mil interaction. Several participants stated that this schedule was beneficial as it allowed them to avoid academic exhaustion.

Recommendation: The schedule for the JRP should be full of relevant interviews and experiences but also allow time for rest, travel, and group interaction outside of academic pursuits.

This year, we only had five definite interviews when we arrived in Panama. Thanks to advice from ALLIES mentor Benjamin Paganelli, we were confident that we could pick up interviews while in country. This was, in fact, our experience, as we scheduled 8 interviews across disciplines while in Panama, including interviews that we could not have scheduled from the United States, such as our interview with the National Police. That being said, one of the weaknesses of our trip was a concentration on security professionals in lieu of other points of view. It is important that future JRPs formulate a specific research question so that the Operations Officer has a concrete idea of what sort of people would be useful to reach out to. All members should find possible contacts and send those along to the OO so that he or she can actually contact them.

Recommendation: The team should formulate a concrete and specific question in order to focus possible interviews. Attempt to gather the highest quality (most relevant) interviews available. Work as a team to find contacts, then forward contacts to the Operations Officer so that he or she can work with them.

Interviewing

One of the benefits of conducting a large number of interviews over a short period of time is developing a concrete interviewing technique. When in a room with seven interviewers and one interviewee, establishing a good rhythm can be difficult. However, we found the following method to be the most effective.

Group greets interview subject.

Project Leader provides a concise, concrete explanation of ALLIES

Ex: We're part of an undergraduate organization that aims to bridge the civilian-military gap in the United States. We have chapters at (name schools). We are here in Panama to study the demilitarization process and to look at the operational and ideological differences in between a military and a national police force.

Project Leader presents the IRB form (ethically required to use interview in research) and explains it to interview subject; interview subject must sign before interview begins.

This process is important because we found halfway through that some of the interviewees were not fully informed about what ALLIES was or why we were studying demilitarization. After learning more about ALLIES, several expressed deeper interest in our programs and our research. In addition, many interviewees (especially those with an academic background) were prone to launching into involved explanations of topics of secondary importance to our research. By immediately setting a frame for the conversation, the Project Leader avoids truly extraneous

information and centers the conversation on the topic at hand. The IRB form should be presented at the beginning of the interview so that participants can be informed of their rights.

We also took time before every interview to develop a set of questions that we wanted to ask the subject in order to make sure that all participants were on the "same page" so far as the questions we wanted to ask. This also ensured that all participants knew the background and expertise of each interview subject ahead of time, so that even our improvised questions were relevant and informed.

In addition, it is important for all participants to constantly maintain a professional manner before, during, and after interviews. JRP participants should not doodle, pass notes, or drift off during interviews.

Recommendation: Groups should develop a short introduction and specific questions before entering an interview in order to maximize the amount of useful information gathered. In addition, all JRP participants should practice professional manners during interviews.

Academic Process During the Project Itself

Our academic process was centered on our briefing and debriefing meetings every night. These meetings were extensive and on more than one occasion ran to several hours. These meetings were the time when we processed the information that we had gathered that day and contextualized it within the greater framework of our project and previous interviews. This process was invaluable to our academic progress.

Recommendation: Groups take time to debrief and discuss the enormous amount of information they receive each day.

During these meetings, we discussed the history of Panama from colonial times to the present. We talked about cultural constants of Panama and how that has affected the growth of institutions in the country. We brainstormed operational differences between a military and a police force and focused on different manifestations of ideological differences between the two. We also prepared for the next day's interviews and ran up a list of interview questions for the next day's subjects. Finally, all of our notes from debriefings were consolidated into one document by the Curriculum Officer and sent out to all participants as material that could be used for their final papers.

Writing the Paper

We believed that writing a research paper about what we learned during our time in Panama was critical to the JRP. Due to the fact that we could find no precedent, we came up with a new formula for doing so. First, everyone chose a background topic (history, American-Panamanian interaction) to write an individual report on. Then, we peer edited these papers before piecing them together into a cohesive whole. Finally, we discussed the core of our paper (demilitarization) as a group and delegated pieces of our group argument to each person before editing a final time.

This process failed for the most part. The individual papers were incredibly work intensive and diverse, and editing them together into a cohesive whole was not only difficult in terms of ensuring continuity, it also presented problems because huge portions of each essay were discarded because they were off-topic in the context of the paper. The peer editing process was useful; however, since ultimately those papers were chopped up to fit into a larger whole, that

progress was lost. In the end, there was much effort wasted on editing the papers into a cohesive whole and on technical tasks like reworking citations and making a communal bibliography.

Recommendation: Groups should think in depth about the purpose and audience of their research papers before beginning the process. In addition, focus not only on the purpose of the paper, but also integrate the paper writing process into the trip's overall purpose. Have civilian students edit military students' papers and vice versa. Do not simply write a paper to write a paper.

However, we did accomplish one very important task, which was to finish our academic paper before the trip was over. Due to diminished motivation and difficulty in communication post-JRP, all trips should finish papers if not during the JRP itself then within the following week. One of the strengths of our schedule was that we blocked out time at the end of our trip specifically for writing the paper. Without this, the paper could not have been finished before leaving Panama.

Recommendation: Trips should complete their research paper during their time in country, or at the very least within a week of the JRP's completion. Schedule extra time at the end of the trip for the writing of the paper.

Group Interaction/Cohesion

One of the major benefits of this trip was the bond that formed between group members. The group was formed of students of all ages and academic interests and backgrounds. However, it would have been beneficial to have cadets from Air Force in order to add another military perspective.

Recommendation: Make delegations as diverse as possible. Include people from different academic specializations, of different ages, and from different schools.

As stated elsewhere in this report, living together was an essential part of group cohesion during this year's JRP. Because we were together constantly, topics ranging from small business to politics to relationships were discussed thoroughly and often. We were not just research partners; we grocery shopped together, we cooked together, we ate together, we watched movies together. We had a perfect balance of personalities. We ran into several differences of opinion characteristic of a civ-mil discourse; civilian students were comfortable with a flatter command system that encouraged dialogue while some of the military students preferred a more direct leadership approach that gave us more focus. However, in many ways, these two styles of thinking complemented each other. For example, Malik had a very direct leadership style, while I (the Assistant Project Leader) was more focused on process and a thorough examination of issues; the pull between our two styles allowed us to find a balance.

This also offered us the opportunity to talk about serious questions relating to the military lifestyle. For example, during a routine walk to the neighborhood grocery store, Allison, Robert and I had a talk that ranged from how Public Health and the military were related to alcohol abuse and mental health in the military. Robert had important insights on both of these topics; moreover, he commented that he had never thought about some. Both groups of students grew as a result of this interaction. Also, the Navy students were in the habit of running daily. Over the course of two weeks, the civilian kids often joined them in running, despite varying levels of physical fitness. This illustrated that talking is not the only method of communication or togetherness, and that an open mind is a required aspect of this trip. By the end of the three weeks, we had become a cohesive unit.

Recommendation: This is not just a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity because of the travel aspect. This is also a very unique and very real chance to speak honestly and pose real problems with civilian and military cultures and to approach hard topics with humor and humility. Students should not shy away from hard conversations; rather, they should actively cultivate relationships and engage in every way possible.

POST-TRIP ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Finishing Up

Post-trip is usually a period of decompression and winding-down. Project Leaders need to be aware of this and stay on top of wrapping up the final project tasks before the group completely loses motivation.

After Action Report

The most important post-trip task is the After-Action Report. The AAR is an opportunity for the trip to share its experience with the leaders of future JRPs. This year, we put someone in charge of accumulating information throughout the trip and made it a point to collect individual After Action Reports before the end of the trip. We then consolidated that information into this group After Action Report. The After Action Report should include information from every step of the process. The documentation attached to this report stretches back to the very first steps of this year's JRP. Also include photographs and any literature accumulated during your trip that you believe can be useful to future JRPs.

Completing the Research Report

All JRPs should produce some sort of academic report at the end of the trip. Leaders for this trip were unable to find any solely academic report submitted it the IGL post-project. Although our paper writing process was less than smooth, we produced a thorough analysis of the subject matter that we hope to submit to publication.

ACCOMPLISHMENT OF GOALS AND MISSION

At first, the mission of the project was not clearly understood by all of the participants, partly because of lack of communication, although the goals were clearly articulated in the Preliminary Report. However, after arriving in Panama, participants were briefed on the three goals mentioned previously, namely: to foster strong civ- relationships; to conduct academic research on a civ-mil topic; and to experience the culture of our host country.

First and foremost, all participants felt that strong civ-mil bonds were fostered. All 7 participants named this as one the strongest benefit of the trip. We were able to explore aspects of the military lifestyle that we had not yet explored, and to ask honest questions about the life at the Academy and get honest answers. This was an unquestioned success.

Academically, this trip was an eye-opening experience. Speaking to security professionals allowed us to see the practical differences in between a military and a police force, and why a military paradigm can be harmful to the effective operation of a civilian force. The process of sitting at a table for two hours and arguing about the difference in between “militarism” and “militarized” or “militaristic” allowed all of us to develop and sharpen our critical thinking and debate skills. However, it would have been useful to interview a more diverse group; more high-profile defense experts in the government; and to focus more specifically on a concrete question.

The weakest part of our trip was probably cultural experience. We did undertake some cultural immersion. One of our delegates, Robert Detchon, had family in Panama who to a large extent took us in. We were invited to take part in a large family dinner. Afterwards, their family took us out to explore Panama City. This was excellent. We all bonded with the youngest member of the family, Robert's baby cousin Isabella. We also explored Panama City thoroughly, from downtown to the Amador Causeway to Caso Viejo to some low-income neighborhoods where we found interesting political graffiti. However, most of our conversations with non-professionals took place with taxi drivers or restaurant employees; our research and our experience could have benefitted from a more "man on the street" perspective.

CONCLUSION

The JRP is unique among ALLIES programming. It allows for extended interaction and cooperation in between civilian and military students. As the JRP students worked together, mutual respect and trust formed that allowed us to interact with each other honestly. That mutual respect and trust is one of the greatest gifts that ALLIES has to give, and why ALLIES, although an undergraduate group, has real potential to change how conversations happen in the future. As Anna Patten, one of this year's participants said, "This is the experience I've been looking for since I joined ALLIES." The Joint Research Project is an essential ALLIES experience, and this year's trip to Panama was undoubtedly a success.

APPENDIX A: APPLICATION FOR THE PANAMA JOINT RESEARCH PROJECT

ALLIES

ALLIANCE LINKING LEADERS IN EDUCATION AND THE SERVICES

2012 Joint Research Project: Panama
Application

Please type all information. All applications must be completed and turned into your chapter JRP Representative by 11:59PM on January 10, 2011.You will be notified of your acceptance status by January 20, 2011.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Part 1

Name:_____

University:_____

Major/Minor:_____

Phone Number:_____

Email Address:_____

Mailing Address: _____

_____

Date of Birth: _____/_____/_____ Class Year (Circle/Bold One): 2013 2014 2015

Are you an American citizen? Yes No

If no, what citizenship do you hold (please indicate all that apply):

_____

Hometown:_____

Language Expertise:_____

Part 2

Please attach a personal resume to this application.

Academic Interests:_____
_____
_____

Personal Interest:_____
_____
_____

Do you have any Spanish language skills? Assess your proficiency and describe the duration and location of your study, if applicable._____
_____
_____
_____

What involvement have you had, if any, with ALLIES? _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

WRITTEN RESPONSE

In no more than 3 pages, double-spaced, please respond to the following:

A. Please provide a personal statement explaining your interest in the JRP and Panama (1 page).
    a. What are your research interests?
    b. What do you hope to gain from the trip?
    c. What interests you specifically about the civil-military aspect of the JRP?

    d. Feel free to include any personal, academic, and/or extracurricular information that you feel is relevant.

B. Describe a hardship or challenge that you have faced while working in a group and how you overcame it. (1 page)
C. Impress us. (1 page)

APPENDIX B: PRELIMINARY REPORT (Adapted to include Pre-Departure information and final schedule)

ALLIES

ALLIANCE LINKING LEADERS IN EDUCATION AND THE SERVICES

2012 Joint Research Project
Preliminary Research Report

INTRODUCTION AND INFORMATION

Description

The Alliance Linking Leaders in Education and the Services (ALLIES) has selected Panama as the destination for its sixth Joint Research Project (JRP) during the summer of 2012.

The focus of this year's project is to analyze states without militaries and evaluate their effectiveness in meeting the demands of their government and citizens. Panama presents an interesting case study due to its lack of a strong established military but a history that includes a period of military dictatorship. Although the Panamanian Defense Forces (PDF) has dissolved, their small public defense forces are becoming more militarized. We wish to study the implications of this potential change and the public's opinion and views of the current establishment. Our timing is of particular interest as the dictator Noriega was extradited back to Panama in December 2011 to serve his prison sentence.

The annual JRP is one of ALLIES' core inter-chapter programs in which civilian and service academy students have the opportunity to investigate topics of shared interest and release findings in an integrated civil-military setting. The trip's destination and research focus are determined by the participants on a year-to-year basis. After their research and travels, participants work together to produce research output in the form of publications, media presentations, and policy memos.

Beyond our specific research, a major component of the trip is improving civil-military relations at the undergraduate level. We hope that collaboration between civilian and military students on the same project will help foster a better understanding of and appreciation for each other's careers, choices, and viewpoints. Ultimately, the mission of ALLIES is improving civil-military relations at a grass-roots level, and the JRP is one of the most exciting and unique ways to make this a reality.

Purpose Statement

This research project is a forward looking collaboration between future leaders of the civilian and military sectors. For the last decade, the Institute for Global Leadership at Tufts University (from which the group was founded) has been pursuing an educational "civil-military" partnership with United States Armed Services. It has done so to increase the healthy debate over both national and global security and to increase the interaction between students receiving a liberal arts education and those receiving a military education. This collaboration with the

academies has developed a wide scope of dialogue and debate and has expanded the academic and personal perspectives of all students involved.

Our goal is to combine the intellectual capacities of students from two distinct academic backgrounds to generate a more coherent and comprehensive approach to undergraduate research. This endeavor is unprecedented for institutions of higher education. We believe that this is a first critical step in fostering a dynamic civil-military relationship in the United States.

Democratic principles are based on elected representatives making decisions on behalf of the citizens. Therefore, the leaders of the military are bound to the command of elected civilians. Power politics has played an increasingly large role in the gap between sectors, a fact exposed by common criticism of America's international policy. We assert that a genuine collaboration between civilian and military sectors is vital to formulating and executing effective national security strategy. Our initiative addresses this issue by establishing relationships between the future leaders of both sectors at the earliest stage. We strive to make our commitment to this alliance a model for improvement by developing a framework to address dilemmas central to our common future.

Alliance Linking Leaders in Education & the Services (ALLIES)

The Alliance Linking Leaders in Education and the Services (ALLIES) is an undergraduate student led initiative which began at Tufts University. In 2006, Tufts students who partook in the Institute for Global Leadership's Education for Public Inquiry and International Citizenship (EPIIC) and hosted military cadets from U.S. Military Academy in West Point and U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis realized that the most beneficial experience of the weekend not the conference itself, however, it actually was the interaction between the civilian and military students. From then forth, the idea of creating a routinized and purposeful relationship between the civilian and military institutions arose with the purpose of creating a new generation of informed civilian and military leaders ready to tackle 21st century challenges in an integrated, collaborative manner. Since its emancipation, ALLIES has grown to three of the U.S. service academies and Boston University with partnerships at several other universities.

Academic and Professional Value

The proposed Joint Research Project (JRP) in Panama City, Panama, carries a range of academic and professional benefits, both for the participants and their respective sponsoring institutions.

The principal professional benefit, which is unique to this project, comes from the structure of the delegation itself. A relationship between future civilian and military leaders whose relationship is based upon mutual understanding and respect is crucial to the development and execution of a sound and sustainable foreign policy program. Starting this relationship at the undergraduate level will encourage the both groups of leaders to become better suited for

positions of senior leadership in the future. By preparing, traveling, and researching together, students will gain a reciprocal awareness of each other's thought processes and conceptual frameworks.

The combination of each group's respective analytical and problem-solving attributes will enhance the quality of our research strategy, the examination of the research, and the final research product. Moreover, participants will take away self-reflective experiences of their own techniques and adapt that which they have learned from the other participants to their own methods. The experience of collaborating in these intellectually formative years will help each student work more efficiently and successfully in future academic and professional careers in positions of leadership.

Previous Action

During the inaugural JRP in 2007, students from Tufts and West Point traveled to Jordan to research a variety of topics. In 2008, the group returned to Jordan along with midshipmen from the United States Naval Academy to research the effects of the Iraq War on Jordanian society. In 2009, the group explored civil-military relations in Chile following the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. In 2010, United States Air Force Academy cadets joined the group to travel to Ukraine where they studied civil-military relations post-Soviet. In 2011, students from the Naval Academy led a group to Uganda to study post-conflict reconstruction. Each of these projects successfully accomplished their various research goals and helped create lasting bonds between the civilian and military students who participated in the project. The relationships developed will help both parties work together with greater understanding and respect in their future careers.

PLAN OF OPERATION

Details

The delegation will travel to Panama City, Panama and conduct their research. The delegates will live and work with each other for eighteen days from May 30, 2012 to June 18, 2012 to research the subject matter and to achieve their goals.

Target Size

The delegation will include four civilian students, two military students and one graduate student liaison. The civilian schools included are from Tufts University (3) and Boston University (1). The military students are midshipmen from the United States Naval Academy. One of the midshipmen will serve as the group's primary translator, as he was born in Panama and is fluent in Spanish. The graduate student liaison is a 2012 graduate from the University of Miami and was a member of the Navy's Bachelor Degree Completion Program.

Research Goals

The overarching goals of the Joint Research Project are threefold:

1. To gain substantive knowledge of a modern nation without a military establishment, to learn how this country approaches security and domestic concerns, and to uncover the feelings of the population on moving towards a more militarized public defense force.

2. To utilize the different analytical and decision-making techniques of students from vastly different higher education institutions and to formulate a more comprehensive and coherent analysis of the research subject. Partake in cultural immersion and regional expertise experiences to enhance knowledge and obtain a better and more substantial understanding.

3. To establish a professional relationship between individuals from the civil and military sectors which will be nurtured and strengthened over time as both groups enter positions of responsibility and leadership in the future.

Activities

The group intends on touring historical and cultural Panamanian sites (including the canal) in order to better understand the country and the population. We intend to visit important civilian, government and military leaders, sites and facilities (current and those during the Noriega regime) in order to better understand the relationship between the civilian sector, the PDF and current national police force.

MANAGEMENT PLAN

Management Authority

The ALLIES organization and the Institute for Global Leadership at Tufts University have approved and support this event. The management of the event will be handled by the ALLIES JRP Committee and the Project Leader, Malik Harris (U.S. Naval Academy).

Delegates

The delegates will be the individuals conducting research in Panama are as follows:

Project Leader	Malik Harris, U.S. Naval Academy
Assistant Project Leader	Amalie Steidly, Boston University
Operations Officer	Anna Patten, Tufts University
Administration Officer	Allison Jeffrey, Tufts University
Curriculum Officer	Michael Marks, Tufts University
Delegate	Robert Detchon, U.S. Naval Academy
Delegate	Hannah Ringel, University of Miami

BUDGET

Transportation: $700 flight with insurance (estimate from Baltimore Washington International Airport) + $100 ground transportation = **$700**
Lodging: **$500**
Meals: $30 (a day) for 18 days = **$540**
Incidentals (gratuities, taxes, gifts, etc.): **$360**
Total Cost (per person): **$2,100**
Total Cost (entire group): **$14,700**

CONTACT INFORMATION

For any questions about the ALLIES organization, please visit our website at www.tuftsgloballeadership.org/programs/allies.

For any question, comments or concerns about this proposal or to request more information please contact the group at alliesjrppanama2012@gmail.com.

During our time in Panama, we can be followed by our blog alliesjrppanama.wordpress.com.

APPENDICES

A. Descriptions and Functions of Delegates
B. Delegate Biographies
C. Project Itinerary
D. General Information on Panama
E. Interviewee Biographies
F. Research Topic Questions
G. Safety and Security Information
H. Pre-Departure Information

APPENDIX A: Description and Function of Delegates

The following roles will be assigned to delegates to ensure that everyone is equally contributing to the success of the group.

A. The **Project Leader** is the head delegate and is in charge of the execution of the project. In addition, the Project Leader determines valuable cultural sites to visit while in country and makes executive decisions they deem necessary to ensure the smart and responsible execution of the trip.

B. The **Assistant Project Leader** is the head assistant to the Project Leader and takes over in cases in which the Project Leader cannot assume responsibility. The Assistant Project Leader is primarily tasked with overseeing safety and security concerns for the delegation.

C. The **Operations Officer** is in charge of the logistics and scheduling of events for the trip. The Operations Officer coordinates with the translator (if applicable) and points of contact on the ground.

D. The **Administration Officer** is in charge of record keeping, correspondents, project documents and finances. They are tasked with developing a comprehensive trip budget with prospective costs for various items and possible alternatives. They determine if institutional affiliations can provide funding and locate outside sources to apply for grants and make appeals for funding. They serve as the historian for the group as well.

E. The **Curriculum Officer** ensures that goals and objectives are achieved, the academic aspect of the trip is maintained and the project report is overseen. They oversee the development of preliminary research and keep the group up-to-date and informed of recent developments in country.

APPENDIX B: Delegate Biographies

Malik Harris, United States Naval Academy, Project Leader

Malik Harris is a native of Jupiter, Florida, graduating from Suncoast Community High School where he was involved in student government, worked in a chemistry lab, coached youth basketball and interned in the U.S. Senate. He is currently a senior midshipman at the United States Naval Academy studying American Government and Politics. Harris is the President of the USNA ALLIES Chapter and has been involved with the organization for the past three years. He plays intramural racquetball, hockey and enjoys golfing as well. He is a licensed boater and a certified advanced and enriched air scuba diver. His hobbies include these activities as well as baking and traveling.

Amalie Steidley, Boston University, Assistant Project Leader

Amalie Steidley was born and raised in Houston, Texas. She graduated as a musical theater major from the High School for the Performing and Visual Arts, where she spent a minimum of 20 hours a week on theatre activities alone. She was involved with tutoring and community service through the school as well as independently. Steidley is now a rising senior at Boston University, studying International Relations and Anthropology. She originated the first new chapter of ALLIES at Boston University in October of 2011, and currently serves as the President. She is also the Managing Editor of *The Quad,* Boston University's only independent online magazine. In her free time, she enjoys swing and modern dance, as well as attending theater and reading.

Anna Patten, Tufts University, Operations Officer

Anna Patten was born and raised in Tempe, Arizona. She graduated from Arizona School for the Arts, where she played viola and piano and sang. She was actively involved in mock trial during her high school years. Anna currently attends Tufts University. She is a rising junior pursuing a double major in Russian studies and international relations. She has been a member of the Tufts ALLIES chapter for two years and will be one of two student leaders for the 2012-2013 school year. After the JRP, Anna will be working as an intern for the Air Force General Counsel in Washington, DC for the rest of the summer. In her free time Anna still loves to perform, either by playing music for fun or dancing with Tufts Dance Collective.

Allison Jeffery, Tufts University, Administration Officer

Allison Jeffery was born and raised in Hillsdale, New Jersey, where she graduated from Pascack Valley High School. While in high school, she was involved as a cadet in the Hillsdale Fire Department, president of Interact Club, and was a peer writing tutor. A rising sophomore at Tufts University, Allison plans to double major in International Relations and Spanish with a minor in Political Science. She joined ALLIES the beginning of her freshman year, and is additionally involved in the Institute for Political Citizenship, New Initiative for Middle East Peace, Love 146, and Tufts Freethought Society. In her spare time she likes to travel, play volleyball, and participate in community service.

Michael Marks, Tufts University, Curriculum Officer

Michael Marks is a native of Bethesda, Maryland, graduating from Sidwell Friends School in Washington, D.C. There, he was Captain of the Quiz Bowl team and editor of his school's newspaper. Outside, he worked as an English tutor and served on various political campaigns. He is a sophomore at Tufts University, studying International Relations. Michael has been involved with their ALLIES chapter for the past two years. Additionally, Michael teaches civics to local eighth grade students and is a member of the Zeta Beta Tau fraternity. His hobbies include travelling, playing guitar and street hockey.

Robert A. Detchon, United States Naval Academy, Delegate

Robert Detchon was born in Panama City, Panama and was raised in North Canton, Ohio, where he graduated from Hoover High School. At Hoover, he was a member of the band, Academic Challenge, track, and wrestling teams. He was also a member of the National Honor Society, served as the president of the Spanish Club, and became an Eagle Scout. He studies Aerospace Engineering, Japanese, and Spanish at the Naval Academy. He recently joined the USNA ALLIES chapter and is involved in intramural sports. His hobbies include traveling, hiking, cooking, and playing outdoor sports.

Hannah Ringel, University of Miami, Graduate Delegate

Hannah Ringel was born in Jupiter, Florida, and recently graduated from the University of Miami. She studies International Finance and Marketing, and has completed a minor in both Spanish and Economics. During the spring of her junior year, she studied in Madrid, Spain, and traveled extensively throughout Europe. Hannah is currently the Vice President of Delta Sigma Pi, a professional business fraternity. She also serves as a Teaching Assistant and Peer Counselor within the UMiami School of Business. Additionally, she is an active member of the Wakeboarding Team and Scuba Club on campus. Hannah spent two summers interning at a Veterans Affairs Hospital and one summer interning at an investment bank. Post-graduation, she will serve as a Supply and Logistics Officer for the US Navy.

APPENDIX C: Project Itinerary

30 May, Wednesday

All	**Arrivals**
1400	Hannah Ringel Arrive
2130	Anna Patten and Malik Harris Arrive
2230	Michael Marks and Allison Jeffery Arrive

31 May, Thursday

1200	**Check In, *United States Embassy in Panama***
1400	Necessities Shopping (Cell Phone and Grocery), *Albrook Mall*
2000	Dinner, *Residence*
2100	Project Leader Meeting with Admin Officer
2200	Movie Night "The Hunt for Red October"

1 June, Friday

0900	**Panama Canal MiraFlores Locks Tour, *Miraflores Locks Visitor Center***
1600	**Casco Viejo Self-Guided Tour (Cultural Trip), *Casco Viejo***
1900	Dinner, *Residence*
2000	Movie Night "A Few Good Men"

2 June, Saturday

1300	**Amador Causeway Bike Tour (Cultural Trip), *Amador Causeway***
1500	Lunch, *Mi Ranchito*
1930	Dinner, *Residence*
2100	Amalie Steidley Arrives
2230	Cultural Evening, *Calle Uruguay*

3 June, Sunday

All	**Personal Day**
1600	Project Leader Meeting with Operation Officer
1620	Project Leader Meeting with Assistant Project Leader
1800	Grocery Shopping, *El Rey Supermercado*
1930	Dinner, *Residence*
2000	Introductory Group Meeting, *Residence*
2200	Brief for Interview with Dr. Carla Pousa, *Residence*

4 June, Monday

1000	**Panama Viejo Self-Guided Tour (Cultural Trip), *Panama Viejo***
1500	FSU Library, *Bldg 225, FSU Panama Ciudad del Saber*
1630	**Interview with Dr. Carla Pousa, *FSU Panama in Ciudad del Saber***
1900	Dinner, *Residence*
2000	Debrief from Interview with Dr. Pousa
2030	Brief for Interview with Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal and Professor Richard

Koster
2100 Movie Night, "Crimson Tide"

5 June, Tuesday

0930 Interview with Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal and Mr. Robert Koster, *Bernal's Law Office*
1900 Dinner, *Residence*
2000 Debrief from Interview with Dr. Bernal and Professor Koster
2030 Brief for Interviews with Dr. Adolfo Leyva and Dr.Carlos Guevara-Mann

6 June, Wednesday

1600 Interview with Dr. Adolfo Leyva, *FSU Panama in Ciudad del Saber*
1730 Dinner, *Cuidad del Saber*
1900 Meet with Dr. Carlos Guevara-Mann's "History of Panama Since 1940" Class, *FSU Panama in Ciudad del Saber*

7 June, Thursday

1100 Brief for Eric Jackson Interview
1200 Lunch Interview with Eric Jackson, *Country Store*
1800 Dinner, *Residence*
1930 Latin Dancing (Cultural Trip), *Amador Causeway and Casco Viejo*

8 June, Friday

1100 Ministry of Security, *Casco Viejo*
1400 Policia Nacional HQ, *Ancon*
1800 Debrief from Interviews with Dr. Leyva, Dr. Guevara-Mann and Mr. Jackson, *Residence*
1900 Shabbat Dinner with Jewish Community, *for Michael Marks and Hannah Ringel*
2000 Dinner, *Residence*
2100 Brief for Interviews with Bolivar Castillo and Jonathan Riggs

9 June, Saturday

1100 Interview with Bolivar Castillo, *Residence*
1300 Interview with Jonathan Riggs, *Niko's Restaurant*
1300 Grocery Shopping, *Albrook Mall*
1430 Debrief from Sr. Castillo and Mr. Riggs Interviews, *Residence*
1500 Plan Structure of Research Report
1800 Cultural Evening, Dinner, *Robert Detchon's Family Residence*

10 June, Sunday

All Work Day
0930 Photograph Local Graffiti (Allison Jeffery and Anna Patten), *Chorrillo*
1300 Lunch, *Residence*

1900	Dinner, *Residence*
2000	Brief for Interviews with Alex Omar Garrido, Edguardo Dela Sera and Daniel O'Connor
2100	Project Leader Conference Call with Ben Paganelli
2200	After Action Report Meeting (Project and Assistant Project Leaders)

11 June, Monday

All	**Work Day**
1030	**Interview with Alex Omar Garrido, GM at Groupo Gresinsa, *Downtown Panama City***
1300	**Interview with Edguardo Della Sera, *American Chamber of Commerce and Industry***
1430	**Interview with Embassy Source, *United States Embassy in Panama***
1800	Dinner, *Residence*
1900	Debrief from Interviews with Mr. Garrido, Mr. Sera, and Mr. O'Connor
1930	Brief for Interviews with Mara Rivera and Jamie Owens
2300	Outlines for Individual Reports Due

12 June, Tuesday

All	**Work Day**
1000	**Interview with Mara Rivera, *Policia Nacional HQ***
1200	Lunch, *Residence*
1600	**Interview with Jamie Owens, ASIS Intl, Canal Protection and Emergency Response Division, *Residence***
1800	Debrief from Interviews with Ms. Rivera and Mr. Owens, *Residence*
1830	Panama vs. Cuba Soccer Match and Dinner, *Restaurant TBD*
2359	Individual Reports Due

13 June, Wednesday

All	**Work Day**
1100	Discussion, Recommendations and Conclusion Meeting
1200	Lunch, *Residence*
1900	Dinner, *Residence*

14 June, Thursday

All	**Work Day**
1200	Lunch, *Residence*
1900	Dinner, *Residence*
2200	After Action Reports (Up to Pre-Departure Section) Check-Up (with PL)

15 June, Friday

All	**Work Day**
0800	Overnight Group Leaves for San Blas
1200	Lunch, *Residence*
1800	Dinner, *Residence*

16 June, Saturday

All	Day Trip to San Blas (Aguja Island)
0500	Day Group Leaves for San Blas
1700	Return to Residence (All)
1800	Farewell Party, *Robert Detchon's Family Residence*

17 June, Sunday

0825	Malik Harris Departure
1200	First Review of Report
1230	Lunch, *Residence*
1900	Dinner, *Residence*
1900	Second Review of Report (Conducted by Project Leader)
2100	Final Review of Report (Skype with PL)
2230	Project Debrief and Feedback by Project Leader (Skype with PL)
2359	After Action Reports (Up to Pre-Departure Section) Due (to APL)

18 June, Monday

All	Departures
0715	Anna Patten Departure
1000	Michael Marks Departure
1005	Allison Jeffery Departure
1200	Robert Detchon Departure
1300	Amalie Steidley Departure
1400	Hannah Ringel Departure

1 July, Sunday

0000	After Action Report Due to APL

NOTE: Bolded activities represent mandatory and research related events.

APPENDIX D: General Information on Panama

Official Name: Republic of Panama (República de Panamá)
Capital: Panama City (Ciudad de Panamá)
Population: 3,405,813
Area: 29,157 square miles
GDP (total): $30.569 billion
GDP (per capita): $8,514
Currency: The Panamanian balboa and U.S. dollars are both legal tender in Panama. All bank notes are U.S. Dollars. 1 Balboa=1 U.S. dollar. Balboa coins come in denominations of 2, 1, .5, .25, .1, .05 and .01.
Government type: constitutional democracy

President: Ricardo Martinelli
Official language: Spanish
Time Zone: Eastern Standard Time (No Daylight Saving Time)
Date of Independence: November 3, 1903 (from Colombia)
Lowest point: Pacific Ocean 0 ft.
Highest point: Volcán Barú 11,405 ft.

Geographical Overview

The Republic of Panama is located in the southernmost part of Central America, on an isthmus connecting Central America to the northwest of South America. Bordered on the southeast by Colombia and on the northwest by Costa Rica, Panama is also home to long coastlines. On its northern flank, the Caribbean Sea forms a 720 mile-long coastline, while the Pacific Ocean on the Southern coast accounts for 1,050 miles of coastline. The country extends for 480 miles from east to west, but is less than 30 miles wide at certain points.

Panama is bisected by the Panama Canal, which divides the nation roughly into two halves. Panama's two largest cities, Panama City and Colón, are both located along the Canal, adjacent to the Pacific Ocean and Caribbean Sea, respectively. Topographically, Panama is characterized by hills and mountains in the interior and rolling plains along the coastlines. The dominant feature of the country's landform is the central spine of mountains and hills that forms the continental divide. The mountain range in the western part of the country is called the Cordillera Central, which is home to Panama's highest point, the Barú volcano. In the east, the Cordillera de San Blas range dominates the landscape. Panama's landscape can be described in terms of three distinct classifications: highlands, temperate lands, and lowlands.

Additionally Panama's tropical environment supports an abundance of plants. Forests dominate, interrupted in places by grasslands, scrub, and crops. Although nearly 40 percent of Panama is still wooded, deforestation is a continuing threat to the rain-drenched woodlands. Tree cover has been reduced by more than 50 percent since the 1940s. Subsistence farming, widely practiced from the northeastern jungles to the southwestern grasslands, consists largely of corn, bean, and tuber plots. Mangrove swamps occur along parts of both coasts, with banana plantations occupying deltas near Costa Rica. In many places, a multi-canopied rain forest abuts the swamp on one side of the country and extends to the lower reaches of slopes in the other.

Climate

Temperatures in Panama generally fluctuate between 80 and 90 degrees Fahrenheit, and the annual rainfall averages 51 to 118 inches per year depending on the region, giving Panama an almost yearlong tropical climate. The relative humidity often exceeds 80 percent. Panama has two seasons: the dry season, which extends from January to mid-April, and the rainy season, which runs from mid-April to December. In the summer season, between December and April, temperatures are slightly higher than average yearlong temperature. During the rainy season, the average daily rainfall is one inch. In general, rainfall is much heavier on the Caribbean than on the Pacific side of the continental divide. The annual average in Panama City is little more than

half of that in Colón. Although rainy-season thunderstorms are common, the country is outside the hurricane track.

Population and Ethnography

At the time of Spanish colonization, Native American indigenous tribes like the Chocó, Kuna, Guaymí, and others inhabited today's Panama. After colonization, a mestizo group of mixed Amerindian and European heritage emerged. After the initial migration of Spaniards, black laborers from the Caribbean were brought over to Panama in the 18th and 19th centuries. During the 19th and the 20th century, in large part due to the construction of the Panama Canal, laborers continued to stream in from the Caribbean, but new migrants entered from places like France, China, India, Greece, Italy and the United States. As a result, Panama currently has a population that is relatively heterogeneous.

Today, the majority of the population is mestizo. This ethnic group comprises approximately 70 percent of the country; an estimated 14 percent are blacks mostly of West Indian descent; whites account for about 10 percent and Native Americans about 6 percent. While Spanish is the official language, English is spoken by approximately 14 percent of the population, primarily those of West Indian descent and working professionals. The mestizo population is found at all levels of society; nevertheless, the small group that comprises the upper class in the country is almost exclusively mestizo. Blacks in Panama have faced discrimination from the time they arrived in the country. West Indian workers were often exploited and discriminated against both by Americans and Panamanians, as their income was a fraction of what White workers were paid. A large number of white citizens in Panama form a very elite group and trace their roots back to the Spanish colonists. They make an effort to maintain the "purity" of their race and keep their inherited wealth by marrying within this tight-knit circle as much as possible. For the most party, they are rich and powerful. Because of their history and economic power, it is no surprise that they became not only the heads of state and successful business owners but also wealthier and more powerful over time. Except during the period of the Torrijos and Noriega dictatorships, this elite circle has always been in control of the government.
Most of the country's population is in the canal area, cities, and surrounding areas of Panama City and Colón. The province of Chiriquí, bordering Costa Rica, is also a major population center, especially along the Pan-American Highway. One-third of the nation's population is located in the urban areas of Panama City, primarily because the Panama Canal and the preponderance of employment opportunities in this area. In recent years, many have left the rural areas and relocated to Panama City in search of work and a better life. The province of Darién, bordering Colombia, is the least populated area, mainly due the density of its rain forest.

Historical Overview

When the first Spanish conquistadores arrived in Panama in 1501, approximately 700,000-1,000,000 indigenous people inhabited the area, mostly coming from the Kuna, Ngöbe, Buglere, and Guaymí tribes. Rodrigo Galván de las Bastides, one of Columbus's former companions, was the first to discover the isthmus. In 1513, Vasco Núñez de Balboa and his crew became the first Europeans to cross the isthmus and see the Pacific from the New World. Under Spanish colonial rule, Panama quickly became an important center for commerce between South America,

Mexico and Europe. Gold and silver from South America were transported overland across the isthmus so that it could be shipped to Spain. As a result of the trade in precious metals, by 1670 Panama City became the wealthiest city in the New World. Consequently, Panamanian ports became a popular target for piracy, and by the 18th century, much of Panama's wealth had been pilfered. Combined with the opening up of other ports in Latin America, Panama faced significant economic decline in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. From 1717 onwards, Panama was governed as a part of the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada, which also consisted of the modern nations of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador.

The beginning of the 19th century saw the growth of independence movements throughout Spanish America. While most of Spanish America was engulfed in revolution, Panama remained a royal outpost, even sending soldiers to fight against the revolutionaries. However, following the conquest of Nueva Granada by Simon Bolívar, Panama finally declared independence from Spain in 1821. After spirited discussion among Panama's mercantile elites and large landowners, the decision was made to join Bolívar's Republic of Gran Colombia, the post-independence successor to the colonial Nueva Granada. While Bolívar tried to unify all of Latin America under one government, local and regional disputes ultimately spoiled his vision, and the federation fell apart after his death in 1830. After Gran Colombia's breakup, Panama remained a province of the new country, Nueva Granada (later renamed Colombia).

For the next two decades the Panamanian province of Colombia languished in relative isolation, largely ignored by the government in Bogotá. Several minor, ill-fated attempts at Panamanian independence were thwarted by the Colombian government between 1830 and 1840. However, interest in a canal located somewhere in Central America began to grow, and Panama's strategic position put it in the crosshairs of geopolitical struggles. During the mid-19th century, the United States, Britain, and France were constantly sparring over strategic control over Central America. In 1846 the United States successfully negotiated a treaty with Colombia which gave the U.S. transit rights through Panama, for which the U.S. would guarantee Colombian sovereignty over Panama, particularly from the British. This treaty, named the Bidlack-Mallarino Treaty tacitly gave the United States to intervene militarily in Panama to protect financial and human interests. From this point on, Panama's domestic sovereignty would be tempered, and at times limited, by geopolitical policy goals of successive U.S. administrations.

The world's first transcontinental railroad, the Panama Railway, was completed in 1855 by American contractors, across the Isthmus from Colón to Panama City. From 1850 until 1903, the United States used troops to suppress separatist uprisings and quell social disturbances on many occasions, creating a long-term animosity among the Panamanian people against the US military and resentment against Bogotá. The Bidlack-Mallarino Treaty had ushered a new era of U.S. intervention and conflicts which would linger on into the new millennium. The first of many such conflicts was known as the Watermelon War of 1856, where U.S. soldiers mistreated locals causing large-scale race riots that U.S. Marines eventually put down.

Even with the construction of the Panama Railway, the desire to construct a canal across Central America still remained. Especially after the completion of the Suez Canal, the construction of a Canal in the region seemed like an inevitability. The first attempt at building a canal in Panama

was undertaken by a French company, under the direction of Ferdinand de Lesseps, the architect of the Suez Canal, after Colombia initially rebuffed an American offer.

However, the company faced insurmountable health problems such as yellow fever and malaria as well as engineering challenges caused by frequent landslides, slippage of equipment and mud. In the end the company failed in a spectacular collapse which caused the downfall and incarceration of many of its financial backers in France.

After the failure of Lesseps, plans for building a canal in Panama were abandoned for a short while, and the United States even considered building a canal further north in Nicaragua. However, a Frenchman named Philippe Bunau-Varilla, who had significant assets invested in the canal project, convinced the U.S. Senate that Panama would be a more viable option, especially considering the threat of volcanoes in Nicaragua. However, the Colombian Senate refused to ratify a proposed treaty for the canal, as it believed it could extract more money than the $10 million fee the United States was offering. Seeing their opportunity fading, Panamanians began floating rumors of revolt against Bogotá if the treaty were not approved. With the Colombians refusing to budge, President Roosevelt, in a controversial move, sent U.S. Navy ships to provide protection for the nascent Panamanian rebel movement in 1903. Unwilling to go toe-to-toe with the US Navy, the Colombians backed down, and Panama achieved independence on November 3.

In the wake of Panamanian independence, the new Panamanian government signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty with the United States. The terms of the treaty stated that the United States was to receive rights to a canal zone which was to extend five miles on either side of the canal route in perpetuity, and Panama was to receive a payment from the U.S. up to $10 million and an annual rental payment of $250,000. Subsequently, the Panama Canal was built by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers between 1904 and 1914. The Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty's ambiguous language also gave the United States broad latitude to intervene in Panamanian domestic affairs. In fact, Article 136 of the treaty stipulated that the US could intervene militarily in Panama if it thought it was necessary to maintain order. This arrangement meant that Panama's sovereignty was severely restricted and set up a system where two governments operated within the country: one for Panama and one for the Canal Zone. Panama's new Liberal party opposed the stipulation, but the Conservatives supported it.

For much of the first half of the 20th century, Panama was a republic dominated by a commercially-oriented oligarchy. From the beginning, Panama's political system was molded by the United States to promote the Conservative government, which had allied itself with U.S. interests. Any political challenge to the Conservatives was met by U.S. military force. In 1927, the Panamanian assembly rose up in protest, vociferously denying that the U.S. had such rights to infringe on Panama's sovereignty. The gradual reversal of United States policy was heralded in 1928 when the Clark Memorandum was issued, formally disavowing America's policy of intervening in Latin America. With the threat of possible American intervention removed, Panamanians tested the new political waters by electing a Populist party, Acción Communal, led by brothers Arnulfo and Harmodio Arias, to power in 1931. For more than a decade the populists, or panameñistas, ruled over Panama with little interference from the United States.

However, Arnulfo's support for Nazi Germany ultimately proved to be too much for the United States to tolerate. With tacit American support, the National Police overthrew Arias in 1941. In the post-war era, the Panamanian political landscape began to change dramatically.

Following the deposition of Arias, the National Police began to embrace a more prolific role in national politics under its leader, José Antonio Remón. Between 1948 and 1952, Remón presided over a series of military coups. Meanwhile, Remón increased salaries and fringe benefits for his forces and modernized training methods and equipment; in effect, he transformed the National Police from a police into a paramilitary force. In the spheres of security and public order, he achieved his long-sought goal by transforming the National Police into the National Guard in 1953 and introduced greater militarization into the country's only armed force. In 1952, Remón decided to take off the uniform and make his own foray into national politics, winning election to the presidency. Remón broke with tradition, however, by promoting social reform and economic development. His agricultural and industrial programs temporarily reduced the country's overwhelming economic dependence on the canal and the zone. Remón's reformist regime was short-lived, however. In 1955 he was machine-gunned to death at the racetrack outside Panama City.

Another major post-war development was the escalation of tensions between Panamanians and the United States over American control of the Canal. During his presidency, Remón had sought a renegotiation of the Canal treaties of 1903 and 1936, with an emphasis on Panama receiving more money from canal operations, instituting parity in wages between Panamanian and U.S. Canal Zone workers, and establishing Panamanian sovereignty in the Canal Zone. While the U.S. was willing to increase Panama's annuity and eventually establish wage parity, it was unwilling to concede on the issue of sovereignty. After Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal, a growing chorus of Panamanians called for even more pay equity and recognition of Panamanian sovereignty. Tensions mounted in the ensuing years, with outbreaks of protests against U.S. control of the Canal Zone occurring in 1958, 1959 and 1960. In 1959, Panamanian students attempting to plant their flag in the Canal Zone were repelled by U.S. forces, causing a riot in which many buildings were burned and the U.S. ambassador's residence was vandalized.

These riots were especially troubling for both the United States and the Panamanian government, especially considering the success of the Cuban Revolution in that same year. Panamanian citizens were temporarily mollified by a series of American concessions including some displays of "titular sovereignty" and a 10% raise for Canal Zone workers.

However, Panamanians remained dissatisfied as their flag appeared at only one location in the Canal Zone, while the United States flag flew alone at numerous other sites. An agreement was finally reached that at several points in the Canal Zone the United States and Panamanian flags would be flown side by side. United States citizens residing in the Canal Zone were reluctant to abide by this agreement, however, and the students of an American high school, with adult encouragement, on two consecutive days hoisted the American flag alone in front of their school. Word of the gesture soon spread across the border, and on the evening of the second day, January 9, 1964, nearly 200 Panamanian students marched into the Canal Zone with their flag. A struggle ensued, and the Panamanian flag was torn. After that provocation, thousands of Panamanians stormed the border fence. The rioting lasted 3 days, and resulted in more than 20

deaths, serious injuries to several hundred persons, and more than US$2 million of property damage. These riots marked a turning point in U.S.-Panamanian relations, as the United States realized that the eventual relinquishment of the Canal Zone was a necessary condition to future peace. Negotiations between the U.S. and Panama restarted in the 1964-68 period, but ultimately proved fruitless, as Panamanians refused American proposals for the continued presence of United States military bases in the Canal Zone and for the right of the United States to deploy troops and armaments anywhere in the republic.

The elections of 1968 saw a dramatic transformation of Panamanian politics. Arnulfo Arias was once again elected president, but only remained in office for 11 days. Dissatisfied with Arias's planned restructuring of the National Guard, a cabal of officers led by Omar Torrijos overthrew Arias on November 11, 1968. Instead of appointing new civilian leadership, as was the case with previous National Guard interventions, Torrijos decided to take the reins of power himself. For the next 14 years, Torrijos ruled over Panama with an iron fist. While Torrijos's rule was authoritarian and anti-democratic, he was widely popular among Panamanians, especially the working class and poor, due to his charisma and his broad-reaching social reforms, which included agricultural reform and new social and health programs, particularly targeting the areas outside of the Canal area, which had largely been ignored by the ruling oligarchy of the previous 60 years.

Torrijos's most important accomplishment as dictator was not the transformation social reforms, but instead the ratification of the Torrijos-Carter treaties of 1977 which finally set Panama on the road to full sovereignty over the Canal. Torrijos was able to astutely use the American fear of Communist intrusions in Latin America and use the weight of international public opinion to pressure the U.S. into renegotiating the treaties. Negotiations for a new set of treaties were resumed in June 1971, but little was accomplished until March 1973 when, at the urging of Torrijos, the UN Security Council called a special meeting in Panama City. A resolution calling on the United States to negotiate a "just and equitable" treaty was vetoed by the United States on the grounds that the disposition of the canal was a bilateral matter. Torrijos had succeeded, however, in dramatizing the issue and gaining international support. The United States signaled renewed interest in the negotiations in late 1973, when Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker was dispatched to Panama as a special envoy. In early 1974, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Panamanian foreign minister Juan Antonio Tack announced their agreement on eight principles to serve as a guide in negotiating a "just and equitable treaty eliminating once and for all the causes of conflict between the two countries." The principles included recognition of Panamanian sovereignty in the Canal Zone; immediate enhancement of economic benefits to Panama; a fixed expiration date for United States control of the canal; increased Panamanian participation in the operation and defense of the canal; and continuation of United States participation in defending the canal. However, after the agreement on the Kissinger-Tack principles, negotiations stalled due to deadlock on four central issues: the duration of the treaty; the amount of canal revenues to go to Panama; the amount of territory United States military bases would occupy during the life of the treaty; and the United States demand for a renewable forty- or fifty-year lease of bases to defend the canal. This deadlock continued until the election of Jimmy Carter in 1977.

Carter held that United States interests would be protected by possessing "an assured capacity or capability" to guarantee that the canal would remain open and neutral after Panama assumed control. This view contrasted with previous United States demands for an ongoing physical military presence and led to the negotiation of two separate treaties. This changed point of view, together with United States willingness to provide a considerable amount of bilateral development aid in addition to the revenues associated with Panama's participation in the operation of the canal, were central to the August 10, 1977 announcement that agreement had been reached on two new treaties. Both treaties were subsequently ratified in Panama by a two-thirds vote in a referendum held on October 23, 1977. The United States Senate advised and consented to ratification of the first treaty on March 16, 1978 and to the second treaty on April 18 by identical 68 to 32 margins. The treaties laid out a timetable for the transfer of the canal, leading to a complete handover of all lands and buildings in the canal area to Panama. The most immediate consequence of this treaty was that the Canal Zone, as an entity, ceased to exist on October 1, 1979. The final phase of the treaty was completed on December 31, 1999.

On this date, the United States relinquished control of the Panama Canal and all areas in what had been the Panama Canal Zone. While the passage of the treaties was an undoubted success for Torrijos, he invested a significant amount of political capital into ensuring its success. With the treaties completed, domestic opposition to his authoritarian regime began to rise in the late 1970s. Torrijos attempted to set up a facade of democratic rule, based on the system of one party rule in Mexico. In 1978, Torrijos created the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD). While the existence of other parties was tolerated, Torrijos was able to ensure that no other party could pose a threat to PRD dominance.

Sensing that dissatisfaction with his regime was simmering, Torrijos planned to fully democratize Panama by 1984. However, he never was afforded the opportunity to follow through with this plan, as he was killed in a plane crash in Western Panama on July 31, 1981, the causes of which to this day are still unknown. Notwithstanding his shadowy aspects, Torrijos left behind a positive legacy. In addition to the Torrijos-Carter treaties, Panama's GDP grew 5% between 1977 and 1981, and lifespan and literacy rates also saw increases.

Torrijos's death created a power struggle within the National Guard. Manuel Noriega, Torrijos's former head of intelligence, eventually seized power in August 1983. Noriega was a professional military officer who had received American training at Fort Bragg and the School of the Americas. Since the 1960s Noriega had also been a paid informant for the CIA. As such, the Reagan administration viewed him as a strong ally, and relied on him to assist their efforts in fighting the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. Noriega even facilitated the training of the anti-Sandinista Contras at bases in Western Panama.

At the same time, Noriega ruled Panama through thuggery and intimidation. In 1983, under the auspices of the newly instituted Law 20, the National Guard was renamed the Panamanian Defense Forces (PDF) and its size was tripled in accordance with its newly proposed mission to counter the growing social revolution in Central America. Unlike Torrijos, Noriega had no commitment to social development programs. Instead he used Panama simply as a tool for self-enrichment, running extensive drug smuggling networks through the nation. Noriega used the PDF to maintain order and squash domestic opposition within Panama. Noriega completely abandoned Torrijos’s plans for democratization. In the 1984 Presidential elections, Panama’s first since 1968, the initial results showed former president Arnulfo Arias on his way to a

landslide victory. However, Noriega halted the count, and after brazenly manipulating the results, the government announced that the PRD's candidate, Nicolás Ardito Barletta, had won by a slim margin of 1,713 votes. Independent estimates suggested that Arias would have won by as many as 50,000 votes had the election been conducted fairly.

About this time, Hugo Spadafora, a vocal critic of Noriega who had been living abroad, accused Noriega of having connections to drug trafficking and announced his intent to return to Panama to oppose him. He was seized from a bus by a death squad at the Costa Rican border. Later, his decapitated body was found, showing signs of extreme torture, wrapped in a United States Postal Service mailing bag. His family and other groups called for an investigation into his murder, but Noriega stonewalled any attempts at an investigation. This incident caused an international outcry and began the transformation of Noriega's Panama into a pariah state. Even his puppet president, Barletta, was shocked to hear about the alleged murder, and promised an investigation into the matter. Shortly thereafter, Noriega pressured Barletta into resignation. Barletta was close to many Reagan officials, and his dismissal marked a turning point in Noriega's relations with the United States. In 1985, the U.S. reduced its foreign aid to Panama from $40 million to just $6 million.

In the late 1980s, international attention began to focus more intensely on Noriega's abuses of power and illicit activities. The final straw was pulled when in the summer of 1986 the U.S. Congress reauthorized aid to the Contras in Nicaragua, which made Noriega's assistance almost nonessential. In 1986 the Iran-Contra scandal had broken, and during testimony before Congress Noriega's drug connections and his relationship with the United States were highlighted. Noriega became an embarrassment for the Reagan administration and quickly transformed from "our man in Panama" to a symbol of anti-U.S. illicit activities in the region. Reagan's response was initially to threaten to not honor the Torrijos-Carter treaties if a democratic government was not in place. This perception of a challenge to Panamanian sovereignty brought out large scale joint demonstrations in the streets of Panamanian cities, with citizens and soldiers joined together.

However, the unity between the PDF and the Panamanian public was short-lived. An opposition movement known as the National Civic Crusade (NCC) sprang up, supported by the Catholic Church and a number of other civil society organizations. The NCC organized massive protests marked by civil disobedience and attempted to coordinate labor strikes. Many rallies were held, with the use of white cloths as the symbol of the opposition. Noriega was always one step ahead of them however, having informants within their groups notify his police in advance and routinely rounded up leaders and organizers the night before rallies. All of the peaceful rallies were brutally dispersed by the PDF and paramilitary forces known as the Dignity Battalions. Many people were beaten severely, incarcerated, or killed during the protests. In response, the United States froze economic and military assistance to Panama in the summer of 1987 in response to the domestic political crisis and an attack on the U.S. embassy. General Noriega's February 1988 indictment in U.S. courts on drug-trafficking charges sharpened tensions. In April 1988, President Reagan invoked the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, freezing Panamanian Government assets in U.S. banks, withholding fees for using the canal, and prohibiting payments by American agencies, firms, and individuals to the Noriega regime. As a result, the nation plunged deep into economic and social turmoil.

The elections of 1989 were the last straw that caused the American invasion. In December 1988, newly elected President Bush declared unequivocally that "Noriega must go" and polls taken in panama in late 1988 showed that a vast majority of Panamanians agreed with him.

During 1988, the PDF had become ever more brazen in its harassment of the United States. Servicemen were illegally detained and others physically assaulted, U.S. mail was stopped, and diplomatic dispatches were intercepted. While Panamanians hoped for free elections in May 1989, most knew that the PDF would attempt to interfere with the results. The elections saw Noriega's pro-government coalition, COLINA, represented by presidential candidate Carlos Duque face off against an opposition coalition called the Democratic Opposition Civil Alliance (ADOC), represented by presidential candidate Guillermo Endara. At the conclusion of the elections on May 7, vote totals showed ADOC with 73% and COLINA with 26%. While this total was endorsed by a slew of international observers, PDF forces seized ballot boxes and manipulated returns to give victory to Duque. The streets of Panama City erupted in protest, and the PDF and Dignity Battalions responded with vicious abandon. In response, the United States withdrew its ambassador, signaling a major diplomatic crisis, and also initiated a large-scale military buildup at its Panama bases. In October 1989, a coup attempt by Moisés Giraldi, an officer in Noriega's inner circle, failed. In the aftermath of the coup, Noriega's forces cracked down even harder on all traces of opposition.
On December 16, an American Marine Corps lieutenant was shot and killed at a checkpoint, and on the same day a Navy lieutenant and his wife were arrested and tortured. The following day, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, recommended to President Bush that the U.S. use military force to remove Noriega from power. On December 17 Bush gave the order to execute the invasion, which was renamed Operation Just Cause. Shortly after midnight on December 20, the United States invaded Panama with 24,000 troops in its largest military operation up to that time since the Vietnam War. Though the PDF had 16,000 soldiers on paper, in reality only 4,000 were combat-ready. American forces had an extreme advantage in weapons technology, using stealth fighters and Apache helicopter gunships to attack different key targets. Panamanian military resistance largely evaporated within the first 12 hours of the invasion. However, the target of the invasion, Noriega, sought refuge in the Vatican nunciatura. After over a week of negotiations, Noriega surrendered to American forces on January 3, 1990. He was summarily arrested and flown to Miami to face trial on charges of drug smuggling.

As the PDF melted away under the U.S. onslaught, so too did law and order. The aftermath of the invasion was catastrophic for both the Panamanian population and Panamanian infrastructure, as for two weeks after the initial invasion, utter lawlessness ruled Panama City as looters ransacked stores, and armed mobs prowled the streets. It is estimated that 300 Panamanian soldiers and 60 U.S. soldiers died in the conflict. The number of civilian casualties is much harder to pin down, as estimates range from 250-3,000. At least 20,000 Panamanians lost their homes as a result of the invasion. In the weeks following Operation Just Cause, the U.S. military imposed a de facto state of martial law in which at least 7,000 Panamanian union and opposition leaders were arrested for days, weeks, or even months without charge.

After 22 years of military dictatorship, Panama began the road to recovery and democracy in the aftermath of the invasion. In the morning of December 20, 1989, a few hours after the beginning of the invasion, the presumptive winner of the May 1989 election, Guillermo Endara, was sworn

in as president of Panama at a U.S. military installation in the Canal Zone. As president, Endara endeavored to bolster Panama's weakened economy and to revive democratic institutions. Endara attempted to demilitarize the PDF and establish a national police force, under civilian control, in its stead. At first, the former PDF officers resisted these changes and a cabal of officers attempted to bring down Endara in December 1990. However, U.S. forces quickly stepped in to restore order. Following the coup attempt, Endara purged the officer corps of all remaining PDF loyalists and established a civilian police commander. Finally, in a sweeping move, a constitutional amendment was proposed that would make Panama the second Latin American country (after Costa Rica) to abolish its military. In October 1994 the amendment was ratified and the Panamanian Public Forces (PPF) was established in place of the PDF. During its 5-year term, the Endara government struggled to meet the public's high expectations. Its new police force proved to be a major improvement in outlook and behavior over its thuggish predecessor but was not fully able to deter crime. Furthermore, the administration did not meet the expectations for economic growth. By the end of his term, Endara had become deeply unpopular among the Panamanian public.

In 1994, Panama held its freest and fairest presidential election. The PRD candidate, Ernesto Pérez Balladares, won election in a close vote. A long-time member of the PRD, Pérez Balladares worked skillfully during the campaign to rehabilitate the PRD's image, emphasizing the party's populist Torrijos roots rather than its association with Noriega. He won the election with only 33% of the vote when the major non-PRD forces, unable to agree on a joint candidate, splintered into competing factions. His administration carried out economic reforms and often worked closely with the U.S. on implementation of the Canal treaties. However, towards the end of his administration Pérez Balladares tarnished his image by attempting to silence critics in the press, increasing salaries for government officials, and awarding millions of dollars in back pay to former members of Noriega's Dignity Battalions. In 1998, Pérez Balladares attempted to extend his rule by proposing a constitutional amendment that would allow sitting presidents to run for another term. However, this measure was defeated resoundingly in a plebiscite by the Panamanian people.

On May 2, 1999, Mireya Moscoso, the widow of former President Arnulfo Arias, defeated PRD candidate Martín Torrijos, son of the late dictator. During her administration, Moscoso attempted to strengthen social programs, especially for child and youth development, protection, and general welfare. Education programs have also been highlighted. Moscoso was also noted for focusing on bilateral and multilateral free trade initiatives with the hemisphere.

Perhaps most importantly, Moscoso's administration successfully handled the transfer of the Panama Canal into Panamanian hands. Many Panamanians had serious reservations about American forces leaving so soon after Noriega's ouster, but neither side wished to do the heavy lifting required to renegotiate the Torrijos-Carter treaties. So at noon on December 31, 1999, the period of American control of the Panama Canal officially came to an end. Despite its official departure, the United States remains very invested in Panama because of unabated drug trafficking coming from Colombia. The ongoing civil war in Colombia has remained a pressing security concern for Panama, as both leftist guerilla groups and right-wing paramilitary groups have repeatedly made incursions into the Darién region, and threatening the livelihoods of many indigenous peoples live in the area.

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APPENDIX E: Interview Subject Biographies

Ms. Judy Rios, Guest Services Associate, Panama Canal Miraflores Locks Visitors

***Dr. Carla Pousa**, professor at the Florida State University in Panama (focusing on international law, transnational threats and national security policies)*

***Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal**, lawyer, professor of International Affairs at the University of Panama, opinion columnist, radio talk show host, former mayoral candidate (Panama City)*

***Mr. Richard Koster**, American journalist*

***Dr. Adolfo Leyva de Varona**, professor of International Relations and Latin American History at the Florida State University in Panama*

***Dr. Carlos Guevara Mann**, professor of Panamanian History at the Florida State University in Panama*

***Mr. Erik Jackson**, reporter for the Panama News (an online English publication)*

Mr. Bolivar Castillo, former Panamanian Defense Forces officer, former Director of the Academia Policia, former Capitan in the Panamanian Public Forces and security consultants

Mr. Jonathan Riggs, security and legal consultant at Executive Security

Mr. Alex Omar Garrido, Director of the Grupo Gresinsa (private security company)

Embassy Source, United States Embassy in Panama

Mr. Edguardo Della Sera, Trade Director at the American Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Panama

Ms. Mara Riviera, Director of Public Relations at the Policia Nacional HQ

Mr. Jamie Owens, ASIS International, Canal Protection and Emergency Response Division

APPENDIX F: Research Topic Questions

Panamanian Public Forces (Panamanian National Police, National Air-Naval Service and National Border Service)

a) *Do the various branches of the PPF see themselves as military forces?*
b) *Are PPF forces becoming more militarized, and if so, what are the reasons for doing so?*
c) *Has the demilitarization of the PPF hindered its ability to effectively protect Panama from external threats? How has each branch been effected by demilitarization?*
d) *How has demilitarization affected the ability of the PPF to deal with the threat of international crime, and more specifically international drug trafficking?*
e) *How has President Martinelli's creation of the Ministry of Public Security to oversee PPF operations affected the PPF? Has the change made the forces more or less militarized?*

General Population

a) *How does the common citizen fell about the PPF?*
b) *How does the common citizen feel about the implementation of a national defense force (military)?*
c) *Do citizens feel that the current national police force does a sufficient and proficient job in securing the country and their interest?*
d) *Do Panamanian citizens resent the U.S. role in demilitarizing the PPF in the wake of the invasion?*

Economy

a) *Since the departure of U.S. forces from the Canal Zone in 1999, there has been no effective military presence near the Panama Canal. What effect has the lack of military forces had on security in the Canal Zone? What economic impact, if any, has de-militarization of the Canal Zone had?*
b) *Do shipping companies feel well protected and safe while traveling the canal? If not, is there pressure by large corporations on the government of Panama to have stronger defense forces to protect their interest or do these corporations protect themselves?*
c) *Would the institution of a military force has positive or negative effects on the economy of Panama, as it would add to the expense of the nation?*

Politics

a) *How politicized is the PPF? To what degree are PPF officers political appointees as opposed to professional staff?*
b) *How much control does the civilian government have over the PPF? How much independence does the PPF have from the civilian government?*
c) *One of Panama's major political parties, the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), was founded by military dictator Omar Torrijos. Do the party's military origins have any effect on their current stance on militarization?*

U.S.-Panama relationship

a) *It has been 23 years since the United States invaded Panama and effectively demilitarized the PPF. What ramifications has this decision had on American security?*
b) *Given the demilitarization of the PPF and the lack of American military presence in the Canal Zone since 1999, how has the United States been pursuing its security interests in Panama in the last decade?*

APPENDIX G: Safety, Security and Emergency Information

Overall, Panama is a very safe country. Based on research, the country has a whole has much fewer violent crimes than many large cities in the United States. Nevertheless, a group of American college students including military members must observe caution and preform preventative measures while on a research project in any foreign country.

Most of the protective measures that the group will take while in Panama include simple common sense that would be used by anyone traveling abroad, including:

- Staying together in a group (at minimum pairs) while on tours of the country, conducting research, interviewing locals, or while outside of the lodging area for any reason
- Staying clear of areas that appear questionable or dangerous
- "Blending in." There will obviously be other vacationers or residents that are not native to Panama, but making efforts to not be conspicuously foreign will help mitigate safety while in public. This includes measures such as wearing conservative clothing, etc.
- Staying clear of dangerous activity. While some activities are great for families on vacation, this trip is meant for research and safety of the program participants comes first. Activity that the military academies have included in its leave safety briefings (bungie-jumping, wake boarding, climbing, off-road ATV) will be avoided.
- The American-owned apartment complex in which the group will be staying has included a cell phone with the group's lodging package, one that will be operational in the country. Whatever group leaves the lodging area will have the cell phone to be able to contact the following in case of emergency:
    - American Citizen Service Department of the American Embassy in Panama
      (Phone number: 507-317-5000 or 507-317-5030)
      (Emergency Hotline: 507-207-7000)
    - Apartment Complex
      (Phone number: 915-581-9388)
    - Panama City Police Department
      (Phone number: 104 for emergencies)
- The group will ensure entryways to the lodging area are locked and secure at night as well as when the group is outside the apartment complex during the day. The group will also stow any valuables in concealed areas as to not entice break-ins.

THREATS TO SAFETY AND SECURITY:

- Avoid travel to remote areas of the Darien Province off of the Pan American Highway. U.S. citizens should not travel to the area of Panama referred to as the “Mosquito Coast,” an extremely remote and inaccessible area along the Panamanian north coast bounded by Boca de Rio Chiriquí on the west and Coclé Del Norte on the east and stretching inward from the coast for five kilometers.
- U.S. citizens should exercise caution near the campus of the University of Panama, the Presidential Palace, and the National Assembly, which have been the scenes of frequent protests.
- U.S. citizens traveling by road outside Panama City should travel with full fuel tanks, keep extra potable water and food in their vehicles, and ensure cell phones are charged during their travel.
- Visitors should be cautious when swimming or wading at the beach. (dangerous currents that cause drowning deaths every year)
- Download our (U.S. Department of State) free Smart Traveler IPhone App to have travel information at your fingertips.

CRIME:

- Panama remains relatively safe when compared to other Central American countries, yet crime rates are still higher than one would encounter in most of the United States.
- The rate of simple theft was up, with "Blackberry"-type smart phones being a particular target.
- The three provinces with the largest cities also had the highest overall crime rates: Panama, Colon, and Chiriquí.
- The entire city of Colon is a high crime area; travelers should use extreme caution anywhere in Colon.
- The high-crime areas in and around Panama City are El Chorrillo, San Miguel, Santa Ana, Cabo Verde, Curundu, Veracruz Beach, Santa Librada, Rio Abajo, San Miguelito, Panama Viejo, and the Madden Dam Overlook.
- Crimes are typical of those that plague metropolitan areas (including: shootings, rapes, armed robberies, muggings, purse-snatchings, thefts from autos, thefts of unsecured items, petty theft, and "express kidnappings," credit card and ATM card fraud, targeted kidnappings)
- In regards to non-drug related crime, the use of weapons (handguns and knives) in the commission of street robberies is common. (gratuitous violence is uncommon as long as the victim complies and hands over the property)
- Home burglaries and home-invasion robberies appear to be on the rise, especially in the more affluent neighborhoods.
- Don’t buy counterfeit and pirated goods, even if they are widely available. Not only are the bootlegs illegal in the United States, if you purchase them you may also be breaking

local law. The Computer Crime and Intellectual Property Division in the U.S. Department of Justice has more information on this serious problem.

VICTIMS OF CRIME:

- You should contact the local police and the nearest U.S. embassy or consulate.
- As in the United States, the emergency line in Panama is 911. The police can be reached directly by dialing 104.
- The Panamanian Government also sponsors a program to assist victims of crime. The program is managed by the Oficina de Asistencia a Víctimas de Crímenes, located at the Policia Tecnica Judicial in the Ancon area of Panama City. Its telephone numbers are (011) 507-262-1973 or (011) 507-512-2222.
- The U.S. Embassy can: Replace a stolen passport; for violent crimes such as assault or rape, help you find appropriate medical care; put you in contact with the appropriate police authorities, and, if you want us to, we can contact family members or friends; although the local authorities are responsible for investigating and prosecuting the crime, consular officers can help you understand the local criminal justice process and can direct you to local attorneys.

CRIMINAL PENALTIES:

- While you are traveling in Panama, you are subject to its laws even if you are a U.S. citizen.
- In some places you may be taken in for questioning if you don't have your passport with you.
- In some places driving under the influence could land you immediately in jail.
- There are also some things that might be legal in the country you visit, but still illegal in the United States, and you can be prosecuted under U.S. law.
- Persons violating Panamanian laws, even unknowingly, may be expelled, arrested, or imprisoned.
- If you are arrested in Panama, authorities of Panama are required to alert the U.S. Embassy of your arrest. (Request that the police notify the U.S. Embassy of your arrest if you are concerned the Department of State may not be aware of your situation.)

SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES:

- Anyone not bearing identification at all times, including tourists from the United States, will be penalized by the Panamanian authorities.
- U.S. tourists need to provide an original, valid passport at entry in Panama.
- While in Panama, American tourists should carry either their original passport or an original, valid photo I.D. such as driver's license **with** a photocopy of the bio-data page

in their U.S. passport **and** a photocopy of the page in their passport that contains the entry stamp to Panama.

- The U.S. Embassy in Panama regularly receives calls regarding fraudulent requests for bail funds. These calls are part of an international money-wiring fraud ring targeting older Americans in the United States. The typical scenario is that a family member – parent, aunt, or grandparent – receives a call regarding an emergency involving a son, nephew, or grandchild allegedly in Panama. The call is sometimes from a third party (such as an attorney), sometimes from someone claiming to be the actual family member in trouble. Sometimes the "emergency" is because of a traffic accident, an arrest, an immigration violation, or other ruse. In all instances, the victim needs approximately $3,000 to solve their problem with the local authorities, be it attorney, police, hospital, or immigration. Once the money is sent, more is requested. The family member is sometimes told that the U.S. Embassy in involved on behalf of the victim and is given a phone number to contact "Embassy personnel" for information on wiring funds. In other cases they are told not to contact the U.S. Embassy because it will make their situation worse. In all cases, the victim is told that sharing the information with law enforcement could have negative implications for their loved ones. These calls are fraudulent and no Embassy personnel are involved. Anyone who receives such a call is advised to first contact their loved one at their usual number in the United States. In most instances, the alleged victim has been reachable by normal means. Please notify the Embassy as well as local authorities or FBI about such schemes.

MEDICAL FACILITIES AND HEALTH INFORMATION:

- Panama City has some very good hospitals and clinics, but medical facilities outside of the capital are limited.
- U.S. citizens should consider that many foreign doctors and hospitals require payment in cash prior to providing service and that a medical evacuation to the U.S. may cost well in excess of $50,000. In Panama, most hospitals accept credit cards for hospital charges, but not for doctors' fees.
- Except for antibiotics and narcotics, most medications are available without a prescription.
- The 911 call center also provides ambulance service. However, an ambulance may not always be available and, given difficulties with traffic jams and poor road conditions, there may be a significant delay in response.

MEDICAL INSURANCE:

- You need to ask your insurance company two questions: Does my policy apply when I'm out of the United States? Will it cover emergencies like a trip to a foreign hospital or a medical evacuation?

- In many places, doctors and hospitals still expect payment in cash at the time of service. Your regular U.S. health insurance may not cover doctors' and hospital visits in other countries.
- In 2011, the Government of Panama introduced a free tourist insurance program. Tourists who enter Panama through Tocumen Airport in Panama City are eligible for this program, under certain conditions, for up to 30 days. For additional details on Panama's tourist insurance, please see visitpanama.com.

TRAFFIC SAFETY AND ROAD CONDITIONS:

- Travelers should carry identification with them at all times and be prepared to stop for unannounced checkpoints throughout the country, especially at night.
- Current Panamanian law allows foreigners to drive in Panama using their foreign driver's license for a period of 90 days.
- Panama's roads, traffic and transportation systems are generally safe, but frequently traffic lights do not exist, even at busy intersections. Traffic in Panama moves on the right, as in the U.S., and Panamanian law requires that drivers and passengers wear seat belts.
- Driving in Panama is often hazardous and difficult due to heavy traffic, undisciplined driving habits, poorly maintained streets and a shortage of effective signs and traffic signals. Night driving is particularly hazardous on the old Panama City – Colon highway. Riding your bicycle in the streets is not recommended. *Pedestrians should exercise great caution while walking alongside the streets and especially while crossing.*
- Buses and taxis are not always maintained in a safe operating condition due to lack of regulatory enforcement. Public transportation should be used with caution. Taxicabs are a better form of public transportation, especially radio dispatched taxis. U.S. citizens are advised to never get into a cab that is already occupied, never let a helpful stranger direct you to a particular taxi or taxi stand, always negotiate the fare before getting in to ensure a fixed price and that no other passengers are picked up along the way. *Buses become very crowded, but an extremely inexpensive mode of transportation. However, when traveling with excessive baggage, taxis are a more secure alternative to buses.*
- Third party liability auto insurance is mandatory, but many drivers are uninsured. If an accident occurs, a recent law requires that the vehicles be moved off the roadway, failure to do so could result in a fine. Individuals involved in non-injury accidents should take a photo of both cars and then pull their vehicle off the roadway. Exchange information with the other driver and wait for the police to arrive. Emergency response in Panama is not regularly reliable. Police may take hours to respond to routine accidents, though response is often quicker for serious accidents. Ambulances will take all injured persons to a public hospital for treatment unless proof of health insurance is provided at the time of arrival.

- Flooding during the April to December rainy season occasionally makes city streets impassible and washes out some roads in the interior of the country. In addition, roads in rural areas are often poorly maintained and lack illumination at night. Such roads are generally less traveled and the availability of emergency roadside assistance is very limited.
- *The metric system is used in Panama, therefore distance and speed (velocidad) are measured in km and kph.*
- *There are toll roads. The main highway from the airport to Panama City (Corredor Sur) is a toll road.*

APPENDIX H: Pre-Departure Information

Emergency Phone Numbers

Police: 104 Fire Department/Ambulance: 103 **Phone Number of Housing: 507-314-1845**

Housing Information

We are staying at **Panama Vacation Quarters.**
In Spanish for baggage claim or taxi driver:

Destinación: Panama Vacation Quarters
Direcciones:

1. Cerro Ancón (subiendo por la Corte Suprema o Antiguo Gorgas hasta arriba)
2. Barriada: Quarry Heights (al pasar la garita, tomar la calle a mano izquierda)
3. Calle Amelia Denis de Icaza
4. Edificio 26 (segundo edificio a mano derecha)

PVQ Address from Tocumen Airport if you are driving yourself:

1. When you leave the Airport take the traffic circle toward Panama. Stay in the right hand lane for a right exit, which will indicate PANAMA Cuota (this will be the highway Corredor Sur).
2. Follow this highway through several tollgates toward Panama City. You will pass 2 tollgates. The total amount is less than SD$3, take the lane which says EFECTIVO (cash).

3. Look for the highway AVENIDA BALBOA or VIADUCTO AVENIDA BALBOA. Follow this avenue. NOTE-BALBOA has 6 lanes with a division between. Move to the farthest lane to the left. If you are in the far right lanes you will have two places to move into the left lanes.
4. Drive almost to the end of the road until you see coming and overpass, look for the sign to your left AVENIDA DE LOS MARTIRES. This is a left exit up onto an overpass. Stay left. When the lanes divide you will stay left at the road sign. This road will merge onto AVENIDA DE LOS MATIRES.
5. Stay in the right hand lane. There is a short distance to the traffic light. Turn right. Stay on this road up the hill. It is windy.
6. At the top proceed a short distance and it will divide. Stay left, proceed straight ahead (you will pass the Episcopal Church, Supreme Court to your left.) Do not follow the road down the hill.
7. When you come to the guard gate, tell the person that you are staying at Panama Vacation Quarters. Take a sharp left up the hill.
8. We are the 2nd building on the right. Please remember that street signs are not well illuminated and sometimes they are located closely to the entrance you need to take.

If lost, call: 915-581-9388

Suggested Packing List

** A note for women: my research suggests that slacks are more common than short skirts in Panama. If you choose to bring business casual dresses/skirts, make sure that they are modest. **

Documents

- Passport
- Ticket and baggage claim ticket
- Travel cash + small bills for tips etc. ($150-$200) **money belt as well!
- Credit and debit cards, if planning to use in country
- Alternate form of government ID (Driver's license, student ID, military ID, etc.)
- **This packet!**

Clothes

- 3-4 pairs casual pants (jeans, cargo pants)
- 5-6 different business casual outfits
- 1-3 pairs of shorts
- 4-6 shirts for casual wear
- 1 more formal outfit (in case of dinner etc.)
- 1 sweater, thermal shirt, or light fleece
- 1 bathing suit
- 1 bathing towel (can also bring one beach towel)
- Socks
- Underwear

- Hat and/or bandana
- Sunglasses

Shoes

- walking shoes
- running shoes or sneakers (in case of a hike etc.)
- casual shoes
- comfortable dress shoes

Miscellaneous
Some of these items can be bought in Panama

- extra pair of glasses or contacts
- prescription medication and vitamins
- Toiletries (soap, shampoo, conditioner, face wash, toothpaste, lotion, etc.)
- umbrella or rain jacket
- watch

Technology

- laptops
- cameras
- digital recorders or camcorders
- **chargers for all electronic devices**

List of General Spanish Words and Phrases:
http://www.learnspanishtoday.com/learning_module/grammar.htm

APPENDIX C: FINAL EXPENSE SUMMARY (compiled by Malik Harris)

Expense	Estimated	Malik Harris	Amalie Steidley	Anna Patten	Allison Jeffery	Michael Marks	Hannah Ringel	Robert Detchor
Flight	600	707.9	891.9	581.9	582.4	508.9	525.03	731.4
Ground Transportation	100	51.64	51.64	51.64	51.64	51.64	51.64	51.64
Lodging	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Meals	540	224.32	154.32	191.42	195.82	192.52	201.07	159.42
Incidentals	360	113.56	113.56	113.56	113.56	113.56	113.56	113.56
Total Per Person	2100	1597.42	1711.42	1438.52	1443.42	1366.62	1391.3	1556.02
Difference		-502.58	-388.58	-661.48	-656.58	-733.38	-708.7	-543.98
Total All	10504.72							
Average	1500.67							
Average Difference	-599.33							

Note: Breakdown for individual expenses available upon request.