

For Six Month Period Ending September 30, 1989
(Insert date)

Name of Registrant Williams & Connolly Registration No. 4225

Business Address of Registrant 839 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

I-REGISTRANT

1. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following:

(a) If an individual: N/A

- (1) Residence address Yes No
- (2) Citizenship Yes No
- (3) Occupation Yes No

(b) If an organization:

- (1) Name Yes
- (2) Ownership or control Yes
- (3) Branch offices Yes

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2. Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in item 1.

N/A

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, and 5.

3. Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Date Connection Ended</i>
James A. Bruton, III	Partner	September 22, 1989

4. Have any persons become partners, officers, directors or similar officials during this 6 month reporting period?
Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Residence Address</i>	<i>Citizenship</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Date Assumed</i>
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5. Has any person named in Item 4 rendered services directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal?
Yes No

If yes, identify each such person and describe his services.

6. Have any employees or individuals other than officials, who have filed a short form registration statement, terminated their employment or connection with the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Position or connection</i>	<i>Date terminated</i>
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7. During this 6 month reporting period, have any persons been hired as employees or in any other capacity by the registrant who rendered services to the registrant directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal in other than a clerical or secretarial, or in a related or similar capacity? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Residence Address</i>	<i>Position or connection</i>	<i>Date connection began</i>
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II—FOREIGN PRINCIPAL

(PAGE 3)

8. Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of foreign principal

Date of Termination

The Republic of Panama
(President Eric Arturo Delvalle)

May 10, 1989

-
9. Have you acquired any new foreign principal¹ during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

If yes, furnish following information:

Name and address of foreign principal

Date acquired

-
10. In addition to those named in Items 8 and 9, if any, list the foreign principals¹ whom you continued to represent during the 6 month reporting period.

N/A

III—ACTIVITIES

11. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9, and 10 of this statement? Yes No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:

SEE ATTACHMENT 1

¹The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in section 1(b) of the Act, an individual or organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a)(9)).

A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those foreign principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity² as defined below?
Yes No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.

SEE ATTACHMENT 2

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13. In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits any or all of your foreign principals? Yes No

If yes, describe fully.

²The term "political activities" means the dissemination of political propaganda and any other activity which the person engaging therein believes will, or which he intends to, prevail upon, indoctrinate, convert, induce, persuade, or in any other way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting, or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

IV—FINANCIAL INFORMATION

14. (a) RECEIPTS—MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes No

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies.³

<i>Date</i>	<i>From Whom</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Amount</i>
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SEE ATTACHMENT 3

Total

(b) RECEIPTS—THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value⁴ other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Name of foreign principal</i>	<i>Date received</i>	<i>Description of thing of value</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
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³A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, money, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fund raising campaign. See Rule 201(e).
⁴Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

15. (a) **DISBURSEMENTS—MONIES**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you

(1) disbursed or expended monies in connection with activity on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement? Yes No

(2) transmitted monies to any such foreign principal? Yes No

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any, to each foreign principal.

<i>Date</i>	<i>To Whom</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Amount</i>
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SEE ATTACHMENT 4

Total

15. (b) DISBURSEMENTS—THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value⁵ other than money in furtherance of or in connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement?

Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Date disposed</i>	<i>Name of person to whom given</i>	<i>On behalf of what foreign principal</i>	<i>Description of thing of value</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
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(c) DISBURSEMENTS—POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

During this 6 month reporting period, have you from your own funds and on your own behalf either directly or through any other person, made any contributions of money or other things of value⁵ in connection with an election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election, convention, or caucus held to select candidates for political office?

Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Amount or thing of value</i>	<i>Name of political organization</i>	<i>Name of candidate</i>
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V—POLITICAL PROPAGANDA

(Section 1(j) of the Act defines "political propaganda" as including any oral, visual, graphic, written, pictorial, or other communication or expression by any person (1) which is reasonably adapted to, or which the person disseminating the same believes will, or which he intends to, prevail upon, indoctrinate, convert, induce, or in any other way influence a recipient or any section of the public within the United States with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party or with reference to the foreign policies of the United States or promote in the United States racial, religious, or social dissensions, or (2) which advocates, advises, instigates, or promotes any racial, social, political, or religious disorder, civil riot, or other conflict involving the use of force or violence in any other American republic or the overthrow of any government or political subdivision of any other American republic by any means involving the use of force or violence.)

16. During this 6 month reporting period, did you prepare, disseminate or cause to be disseminated any political propaganda as defined above? Yes No

IF YES, RESPOND TO THE REMAINING ITEMS IN THIS SECTION V.

17. Identify each such foreign principal.

⁵Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

18. During this 6 month reporting period, has any foreign principal established a budget or allocated a specified sum of money to finance your activities in preparing or disseminating political propaganda? Yes No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal, specify amount, and indicate for what period of time.

19. During this 6 month reporting period, did your activities in preparing, disseminating or causing the dissemination of political propaganda include the use of any of the following:

- Radio or TV broadcasts
- Magazine or newspaper articles
- Motion picture films
- Letters or telegrams
- Advertising campaigns
- Press releases
- Pamphlets or other publications
- Lectures or speeches

Other (specify) _____

20. During this 6 month reporting period, did you disseminate or cause to be disseminated political propaganda among any of the following groups:

- Public Officials
- Newspapers
- Libraries
- Legislators
- Editors
- Educational institutions
- Government agencies
- Civic groups or associations
- Nationality groups
- Other (specify) _____

21. What language was used in this political propaganda:

- English
- Other (specify) _____

22. Did you file with the Registration Section, U.S. Department of Justice, two copies of each item of political propaganda material disseminated or caused to be disseminated during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

23. Did you label each item of such political propaganda material with the statement required by Section 4(b) of the Act? Yes No

24. Did you file with the Registration Section, U.S. Department of Justice, a Dissemination Report for each item of such political propaganda material as required by Rule 401 under the Act? Yes No

VI—EXHIBITS AND ATTACHMENTS

25. EXHIBITS A AND B

(a) Have you filed for each of the newly acquired foreign principals in Item 9 the following:

- Exhibit A⁶ Yes No N/A
- Exhibit B⁷ Yes No N/A

If no, please attach the required exhibit.

(b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during this six month period? Yes No

If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes No N/A

If no, please attach the required amendment.
N/A

⁶The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form CRM-157 (Formerly OBD-67) sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

⁷The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form CRM-155 (Formerly OBD-65) sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

26. EXHIBIT C

If you have previously filed an Exhibit C², state whether any changes therein have occurred during this 6 month reporting period. Yes No N/A

If yes, have you filed an amendment to the Exhibit C? Yes No N/A

If no, please attach the required amendment.
N/A

27. SHORT FORM REGISTRATION STATEMENT

Have short form registration statements been filed by all of the persons named in Items 5 and 7 of the supplemental statement? Yes No N/A

If no, list names of persons who have not filed the required statement.

The undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) that he has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to the truth or accuracy of the information contained in attached Short Form Registration Statement, if any, insofar as such information is not within his (their) personal knowledge.

(Type or print name under each signature)

(Both copies of this statement shall be signed and sworn to before a notary public or other person authorized to administer oaths by the agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions who are in the United States, if the registrant is an organization.)

Vincent J. Fuller
Vincent J. Fuller
Paul Martin Wolff
Paul Martin Wolff
Brendan V. Sullivan, Jr.
Brendan V. Sullivan, Jr.
Aubrey M. Daniel, III
Aubrey M. Daniel, III
Richard M. Cooper
Richard M. Cooper

Subscribed and sworn to before me at Williams & Connolly, Washington, D.C.

this 9th day of November, 19 85

Margaret E. Puhols
(Signature of notary or other officer)
My Commission Expires June 30, 1994

²The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, constitution, and bylaws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, Internal Security Section, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530.)

ATTACHMENT 1

11. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9, and 10 of this statement?

Yes x No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:

The Republic of Panama (President Eric Arturo Delvalle)

The registrant rendered advice to the Republic of Panama in its effort to foster free and fair elections on May 7, 1989.

Furthermore, the registrant met with both domestic and international figures in an effort to monitor developments in Panama and to mobilize support for the election effort. These objectives were accomplished by encouraging delegations to travel to Panama as well as by solicitating statements of support from international leaders.

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ATTACHMENT 2

12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity as defined below?

Yes x No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matters.

The Republic of Panama (President Eric Arturo Delvalle)

On behalf of the foreign principal, the registrant had discussions regarding the funding of an Inter-American Human Rights Commission trip to Panama with: Tim Rieser, U.S. Senate Staff, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, on April 4 and 6, 1989; Randy Scheunemann of Senator David Durenberger's staff on April 5, 1989; and Norma Parker of the Agency for International Development on April 6 and 11, 1989.

On behalf of the foreign principal, the registrant also engaged in the following activities relating to the Panamanian election:

- a) March 10, 1989 meeting with Andy Semmel of Senator Lugar's office to review the situation in Panama and to seek his support for the recently issued statement of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights;
- b) March 20, 1989: Preparation of a draft document pursuant to a telephone conversation with Bob Pastor of the Carter Center. The draft was sent to Mr. Pastor for his use and was to be employed at Mr. Pastor's discretion.
- c) March 24, 1989 meeting with staffers of the offices of Senators Graham, Boren, Kennedy, Lugar, Cranston, D'Amato, and Durenberger. The meeting was a briefing by the National Democratic Institute of its trip to Panama and its assessment of the electoral situation in that country;
- d) April 7, 1989 meeting with Andy Semmel of Senator Lugar's office and Dick McCall of Senator Kerry's office to discuss U.S. and international initiatives relating to the Panamanian election;

- e) April 12, 1989 meeting with Arthur Davis, United States Ambassador to Panama, to discuss U.S. policy and the Panamanian elections;
- f) April 13, 1989 telephone conversation with Mr. Saacchitano of the Panamanian Desk at the Department of State relating to the status of international delegations to monitor the Panamanian election;
- g) April 14, 1989: Editing document entitled "Corruption in the Panamanian Electoral Process" for the Panamanian embassy. The document was to be used by the Republic of Panama at its discretion;
- h) April 19, 1989 meeting with Ambassador David Miller of the National Security Council and his assistant Randy Beers to discuss recent developments in Panama;
- i) April 20, 1989 meeting with George Tenant of the Senate Intelligence Committee to discuss recent events in Panama, as well as U.S. policy and initiatives;
- j) April 20, 1989 meeting with Dick McCall of Senator Kerry's staff to discuss recent events in Panama as well as U.S. initiatives and policy;
- k) April 20, 1989 meeting with Randy Scheunemann of Senator Durenberger's office and his special assistant, Richard Rademacher, to discuss recent events in Panama as well as U.S. policy and initiatives;
- l) April 20, 1989 meeting with Al Cumming of Senator Graham's office relating to his upcoming trip to Panama;
- m) April 20, 1989 meeting with Andy Semmel of Senator Lugar's office relating to U.S. initiatives in Panama as well as the recent events in that country;
- n) April 25, 1989 telephone conversation with Mark Richard, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, to discuss the impact of the Eleta case on the Panamanian elections and to discuss U.S. policy;

- o) April 26, 1989 telephone conversation with Mike Kozak, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, relating to the situation in Panama;
- p) April 27, 1989 meeting at the Panamanian embassy between Eric Arturo Delvalle, President of the Republic of Panama, Ambassador Sosa of the Republic of Panama, and aides from the staffs of Senators Durenberger, D'Amato, Graham and Pell. The meeting was convened so that President Delvalle could seek the support of the various senators in the Panamanian electoral process;
- q) April 28, 1989 meeting with Mike Kozak and Richard Wyro of the Panamanian desk at the State Department to discuss the impact of the Eleta case on Panama and the threat to Channel 4 in Panama from the Noriega tax initiative;
- r) April 28, 1989 telephone conversation with Ed King, Foreign Policy Advisor to the Democratic Policy Committee, U.S. Senate, to discuss the possibility of fraud in the Panamanian election, the impact of the Eleta case on the election and U.S. policy;
- s) April 28, 1989 telephone conversation with Randy Scheunemann of Senator Durenberger's staff relating to the Senate response to election fraud in Panama;
- t) May 2, 1989 telephone conversations with Randy Scheunemann relating to the Senate response to election fraud in Panama;
- u) May 2, 1989 telephone conversation with Al Cumming of Senator Graham's staff relating to the Senate response to election fraud in Panama; and
- v) May 7, 1989 meeting with Randy Scheunemann of Senator Durenberger's office to discuss the election returns.

ATTACHMENT 3

14. (a) RECEIPTS-MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise?

Yes x No

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies.

DATE	FROM WHOM	PURPOSE	AMOUNT
3/8/89	Republic of Panama	Fees & Disbursements	\$20,000
4/26/89	Republic of Panama	Fees & Disbursements	<u>\$30,000</u>
		TOTAL	\$50,000

ATTACHMENT 4

15 (a) DISBURSEMENTS-MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you

- (1) disbursed or expended monies in connection with activity on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement?

Yes x No

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any, to each foreign principal.

Republic of Panama (Government of Eric Arturo Delvalle)

<u>DATE</u>	<u>TO WHOM</u>	<u>PURPOSE</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
2/1/89	Eastern Airlines, Tampa Hotel, meals, etc.	Caracas, Venezuela	\$1,424.00
Various	Various	Meals	\$ 83.73
Various	Various	Cabs	\$ 91.00
Various	C&P/AT&T	telephone	\$ 124.37
Various	Ginns	Supplies	\$ 16.04
Various	U.S. Postal, Federal Express	Mailings	\$ 12.80
Various	Alpha Courier	Messengers	\$ 57.95
Various	Xerox Corporation	Xeroxing & Facsimile	<u>\$ 171.95</u>
		TOTAL	\$1,981.84

STATEMENT

DRAFT

During the years 1978-1979 when we served as heads of state of our respective governments, we, the undersigned, were personally and directly involved in the negotiations that led to the historic treaties between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama setting forth the conditions for the transfer of the Panama Canal from the United States to Panama in the year 2000. Those Treaties were duly ratified by the governments of both countries and witnessed by the heads of state of all the governments in the Hemisphere. Those Treaties have become a permanent part of international law, and the parties must comply with the terms of those Treaties in every respect.

An integral part of the negotiations that produced these historic Treaties was the commitment by then Chief of Government Omar Torrijos of Panama to return Panama to genuine democratic government. General Torrijos made this commitment not only on his own behalf but -- after separate discussions and negotiations with the military leadership of Panama -- on behalf of the Panama Defense Forces as well. General Torrijos repeated this pledge on many occasions -- in public and in Panama -- during the plebiscite campaign in support of the Treaties. For these reasons, we view General Torrijos' commitment to democracy as having been a solemn personal pledge as well as a commitment by the Panama Defense Forces as an institution. Without this commitment from General Torrijos and the PDF, the Treaties would not have been approved by the United States and would not have received the support of democratic governments throughout the Hemisphere.

We make reference to the Torrijos-PDF commitment because of our concern about the elections scheduled to occur, in accordance with the Constitution of Panama, on May 7, 1989.

Consistent with General Torrijos' pledge and the PDF's commitment, we call upon the government of Panama and the leadership of the Panama Defense Forces -- as well as all persons and parties in Panama -- to work to establish conditions in Panama that will allow genuinely free and fair elections to take place in May.

We take no view as to what the outcome of those elections should be. That is a matter entirely within the province of the Panamanian people, a matter for them to decide, freely, independently, democratically.

But we do believe that certain basic guarantees should exist -- such as freedom of the press, freedom of association and freedom of speech -- if the elections are to be genuinely free.

And we do believe that certain basic procedures should be followed -- such as a secret ballot, an honest count, an accurate computation, and the presence of impartial international observers -- if the elections are to be genuinely fair.

If these elections are genuinely free and genuinely fair, if the balloting is secret and the count is accurate, and if the results of the elections are respected by all persons and parties, Panama will have taken an historic step toward democracy and toward the fulfillment of Omar Torrijos' final promise to his own people and to all the people of the Hemisphere.

CORRUPTION IN THE PANAMANIAN ELECTORAL PROCESS

I. ELECTION IRREGULARITIES

According to the Electoral Laws of Panama, the Electoral Board (Tribunal Electoral) has the last word in decisions pertaining to the electoral process. To be legitimate, an electoral process not only must be clean, but it must also appear to be clean if it is to instill confidence in the people. Yet, since 1984, Noriega's regime has removed two of the three Electoral Judges from the Board:

- (1) Cesar Quintero, a noted attorney and President of the Electoral Board, resigned under pressure and allegations of government fraud. He was replaced by Carlos Villalaz, presently Noriega's Attorney General. Villalaz was replaced by Luis Chen, a member of a splinter group from the Partido Republicano that was allowed by the Electoral Board to assume control of that party.
- (2) Rolando Murgas, a prominent member of the PRD, the political party who has supported the military for years, and a former Minister of Labor was replaced by Aurelio Correa. He was General Counsel of the Electoral Board in 1984, when charges of fraud were brought against the Board, and he has been a close associate of the regime for the last fifteen years.
- (3) Yolanda Pulize, who became President of the Electoral Board when Dr. Quintero resigned, was reconfirmed last year as President of the Board despite criticism from the opposition. Mrs. Pulize is a close associate of Noriega.
- (4) The regime has repeatedly ignored opposition requests to establish an independent Electoral Board which would have the trust and confidence of the Panamanian people.

The illegalities committed by the Tribunal Electoral have been numerous, below we present examples of the most significant:

1.1 THE HIJACKING OF POLITICAL PARTIES

In the past two years, Noriega's regime has replaced the Directors of four political parties with its own cronies through its control of the Electoral Board. Those parties are:

- (1) Partido laborista Agrario (PALA): a member of the Government Coalition. Its President and Founder, industrialist Carlos Eleta, was ousted and replaced by Ing. Medrano, an associate of Ramone Siero, Secretary General of PALA and brother-in-law of General Noriega.
- (2) Partido Liberal: another member of the Government Coalition. Dr. Roderick Esquivel, President of the party and Constitutional Vice-President of Panama, was replaced by Mr. Rodolfo Chiari, a close friend of Noriega and presently the Minister of Government and Justice.
- (3) Partido Republicano: the President of the Partido Republicano and constitutional President of Panama, Eric Arturo Devalle, was removed and replaced by Mr. Jorge Young, a close associate of Noriega.
- (4) Partido Panameñista Autentico: When Dr. Arnulfo Arias Madrid, President and leader of the party died in September 1988, the Electoral Board recognized Mr. Hildebrando Nicosia as its leader instead of Mr. Guillermo Endara. Mr. Nicosia has fallen out of favor with the leaders of the party and has refused to join the opposition against Noriega. His entry into the presidential election is designed to siphon off votes from the real opposition.

The regime's process for infiltrating and hijacking the parties follows a consistent pattern:

- (1) The regime buys off a few of the party's directors.
- (2) This splinter group - a minority - calls for a meeting of the directorate of the party.
- (3) Para-military forces from the Defense Forces allow only the directors friendly to Noriega to attend the meeting.
- (4) The Noriega group approves a new directorate.
- (5) The Electoral Board controlled by Noriega rubberstamps the decision taken at the illegal meeting and hands the party over to the new directorate.

1.2 DELETION OF OPPOSITION NAMES FROM VOTERS' LISTS

The Electoral Board is aware of the voters who align themselves with opposition parties. By deleting those names from the voters' lists, the Board eliminates their right to cast a ballot.

Voters' lists have now been published. A random analysis of these lists show that anywhere from 5 to 30% of those voters aligned with the opposition have been deleted.

1.3 INCORPORATION OF DECEASED PEOPLE IN VOTERS' LISTS

The electoral population over the last thirty years has been as follows:

	<u>electoral population</u>	<u>election purpose</u>	<u>annual average increase</u>
1956	386,672	presidential	
1960	435,454	presidential	+ 3.2%
1964	484,420	presidential	+ 2.8%
1968	544,135	presidential	+ 2.7%
1972	595,737	council	+ 2.4%
1978	787,251	council	* + 5.4%
1980	833,000	legislators	+ 2.9%
1984	917,251	presidential	+ 2.5%
1989	1,184,320	presidential	+ 5.8%

The jump in the electoral population for 1989 does not correspond with average population increases. This discrepancy suggests a minimum of 100,000 more potential voters on the rolls than actually should exist. Moreover, with the average family size decreasing, changes in demographics alone cannot justify the increase.

A preliminary analysis of voters' lists has found the names of a number of individuals who have been dead for some time. Undoubtedly, there are many more such names on the lists.

1.4 SWITCHING THE NAMES OF OPPOSITION MEMBERS TO INCORRECT VOTER'S LISTS WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF CREATING CONFUSION AND DISCOURAGING THEM FROM VOTING

This is one of the most sophisticated and effective ways to rig an election. By placing voters on the "wrong list", the regime can always claim, if detected, that a human error was made. Yet, the effect of "the error" is to confuse and delay voters since their names must first be identified in the lists before they will be allowed

to vote. Consequently, "the error" serves the ends of the regime by causing people to return home without supporting the opposition.

1.5 PLACING OBSTACLES, THREATENING, AND EVEN EXILING POTENTIAL OPPOSITION CANDIDATES WHO ARE CAPABLE OF GAINING LEGISLATIVE SEATS IN THE SENATE

Noriega's regime, through its Electoral Board, has systematically denied the rightful participation of opponents who possessed the potential to defeat candidates of the regime. Some examples:

- (1) Aris de Icaza: a well known owner and anchorman of the most popular radio station was forced into exile preventing him from competing in the elections for the Legislature.
- (2) Alberto Conte: a director of the Civic Crusade and President of the Journalist Association, spent 94 days in jail and was exiled in December 1988; he was later denied the possibility of campaigning for a seat in the legislature.

1.6 OVERLOOKING ABUSES OF THE NORIEGA REGIME

An excellent illustration of this conscious ignorance on the part of the Electoral Board is the case of the PRD candidate from the electoral circuit of Parita-Pese-Santa Maria. The most popular candidate from that region was Sotero Alfonso Govea, present Legislator of the circuit. At a convention held in January, he was nominated by the PRD. Yet, hours later he was kidnapped by a helicopter of the Panama Defense Forces and forced to resign in favor of Mr. Monterrey, a favorite of Noriega who does not even live in the circuit.

1.7 REFUSING TO IMPLEMENT NECESSARY CHANGES IN THE ELECTORAL LAW AND IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY CREATING THE ILLUSION THAT IT IS WILLING TO DO SO

The need for change in the Electoral Board and the need to preclude the Panama Defense Forces from direct involvement in politics have been the source of constant complaints of Panamanians. Yet, these complaints have brought no results. More recently the closing of opposition media, the permanent harassment of independent media, the many Panamanians in exile, and the decrees prohibiting freedom of assembly have created a police state.

The PDF (Panama Defense Forces) offers the use of the media which it controls to allow opposition leaders to discuss the issues, thereby giving the appearance of fair play. Yet, the opposition has no independent avenue to convey its position.

The Defense Forces are clearly not prepared to take constructive steps to open the electoral process.

1.8 CREATING "PHANTOM" POLITICAL PARTIES

Every political party is permitted to have a representative in the voting precinct, on the Provincial Board, and on the Electoral Commission. These groups provide increasing levels of review for electoral disputes. First, a matter would be addressed in the voting precinct then by the Provincial Board and so on up to the Electoral Board:

Voting Precinct (table)
one Representative for each Party

Provincial Board
one Representative for each Party

Electoral Commission
one Representative for each Party

Electoral Board
Three Judges

Disputes are resolved by a majority of the group's members. Therefore, the coalition which has more political parties usually wins all disputes. According to the electoral law, a political party needs 30,000 members to be recognized and anyone failing to get at least 2% of the votes in an election ceases to be a recognized Party.

The following chart reflects the regime's distortion of these rules:

	<u>1984 ELECTION</u>			<u>1989 ELECTION</u>		
	<u>Govt.</u>	<u>Opp.</u>	<u>Others Independent</u>	<u>Govt.</u>	<u>Opp.</u>	<u>Others Independent</u>
Demòcrata Cristiano		X			X	
Frampo	X			Ceased to exist (1)		
Liberal	X			X		
Liberal Autèntico	Non-existent				X	
Molirena		X			X	
PALA	X			X		
PAN	Non-existent			X		
Panameñista	X			X		
Panameñista Autèntico		X				X ⁽¹⁾
PAPO			X	Ceased to exist		
PRD	X			X		
PRT			X	Ceased to exist		
PST			X	Ceased to exist (2)		
Pueblo			X	X		
Republicano	X			X		
Nacionalista Popula			X	Ceased to exist (3)		
PDT	Non-existent			X		
	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>

(1) Parties hijacked by Noriega's regime who would have been in the opposition camp in the 1989 election.

(2) Parties which did not get the required 2% in the 1984 election but were allowed to register again.

(3) New parties "created" for the 1989 election despite limited popularity.

The 1989 chart indicates that the government's eight parties are, in fact, "phantom parties"; the four political parties stolen by the regime (Pala, Liberal, Panameñista Autentico, and Republican), the two political parties recreated (Panameñista and Partido del Pueblo), the newly founded parties (PAN and PDT), and the hijacked Panameñista Autentico, which although "independent", is expected to side with the Government.

