

Document 2013

[22013002]

They were the signature of his adversary , Panamanian leader Manuel Antonio Noriega .

[22013003]

The rebel officer 's slow and painful death , at the headquarters of Panama 's Battalion-2000 squad , was personally supervised by Gen. Noriega , says a U.S. official with access to intelligence reports .

[22013006]

His meals are most often prepared by women he trusts - his full-time mistress , Vicky Amado , and her mother , Norma .

[22013007]

And he is collecting the names of those who telephoned the coup-makers to congratulate them during their brief time in control of his headquarters .

[22013008]

More enemies to be dealt with .

[22013010]

Yet , while the failed coup is a major U.S. foreign policy embarrassment , it is merely the latest chapter in a byzantine relationship between Mr. Noriega and Washington that stretches back three decades .

[22013011]

America 's war on the dictator over the past two years , following his indictment on drug charges in February 1988 , is the legacy of that relationship .

[22013012]

Before American foreign policy set out to destroy Noriega , it helped create him out of the crucible of Panama 's long history of conspirators and pirates .

[22013013]

For most of the past 30 years , the marriage was one of convenience .

[22013014]

In 1960 , for example , when Mr. Noriega was both a cadet at an elite military academy in Peru and a spy-in-training for the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency , he was detained by Lima authorities for allegedly raping and savagely beating a prostitute , according to a U.S. Embassy cable from that period .

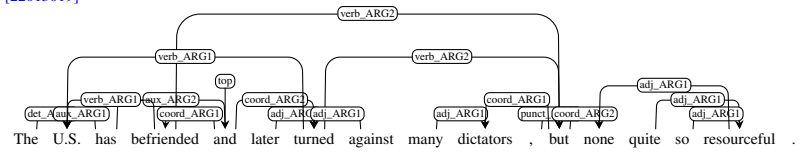
[22013015]

The woman had nearly died .

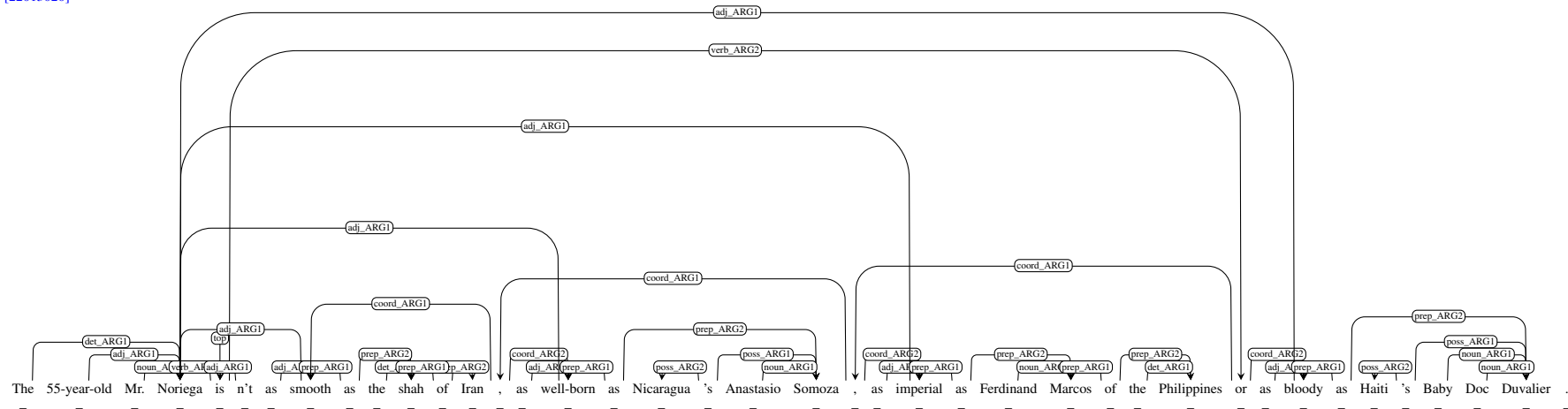
[22013017]

Mr. Noriega 's tips on emerging leftists at his school were deemed more important to U.S. interests .

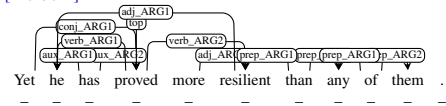
[22013019]



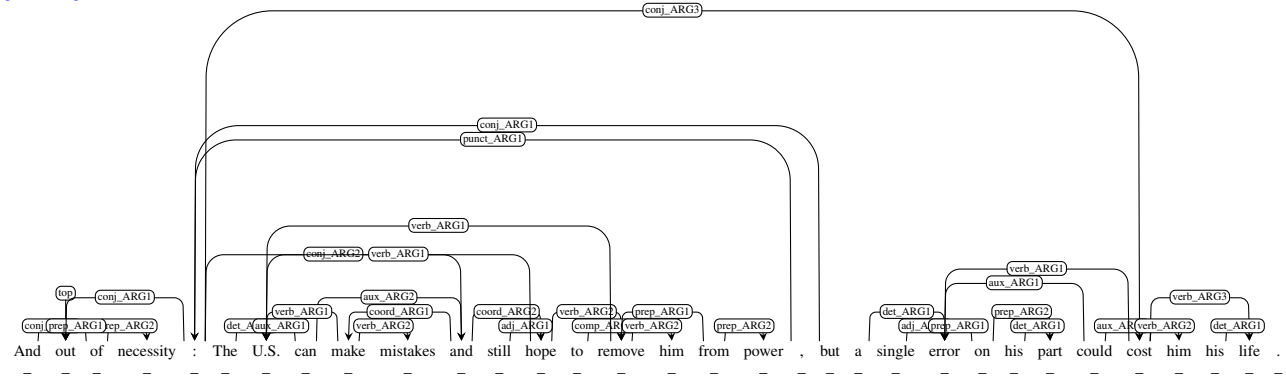
[22013020]



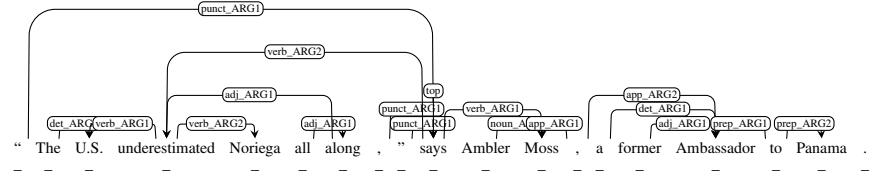
[22013021]



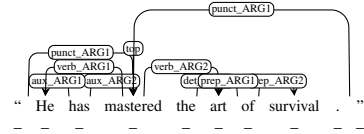
[22013022]



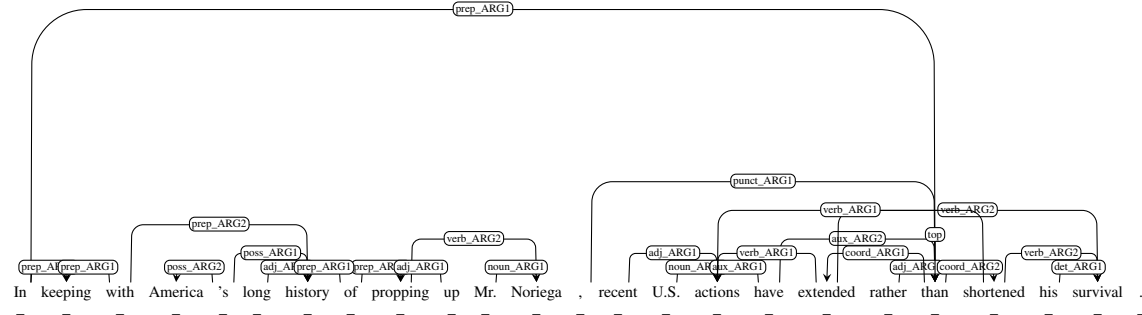
[22013023]



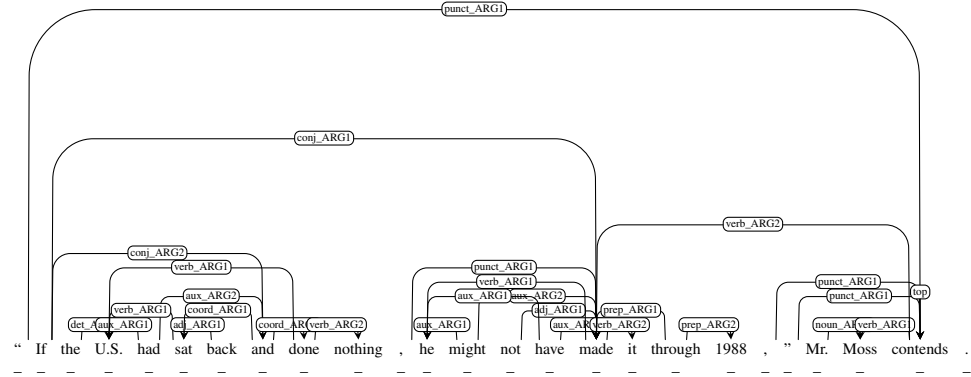
[22013024]



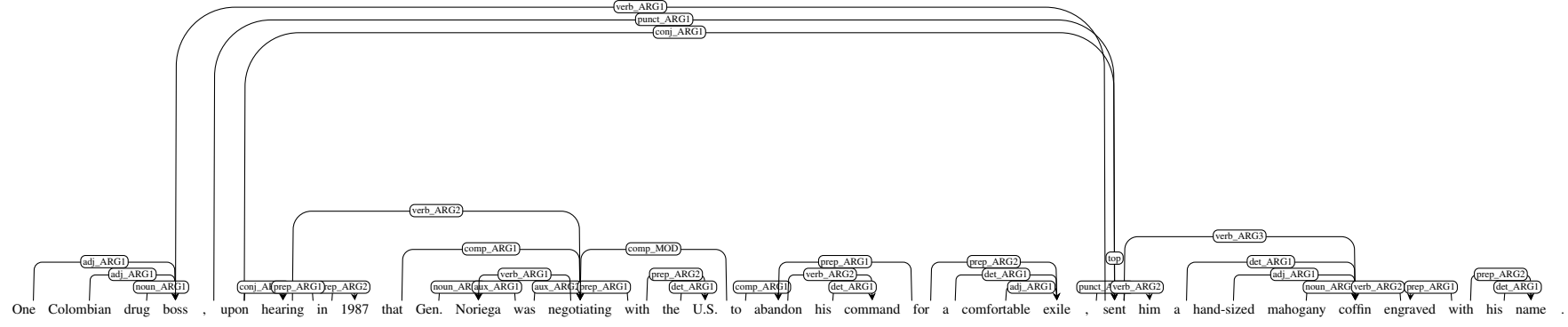
[22013025]



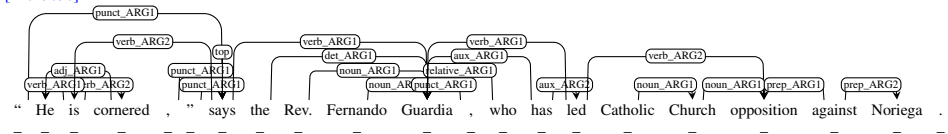
[22013027]



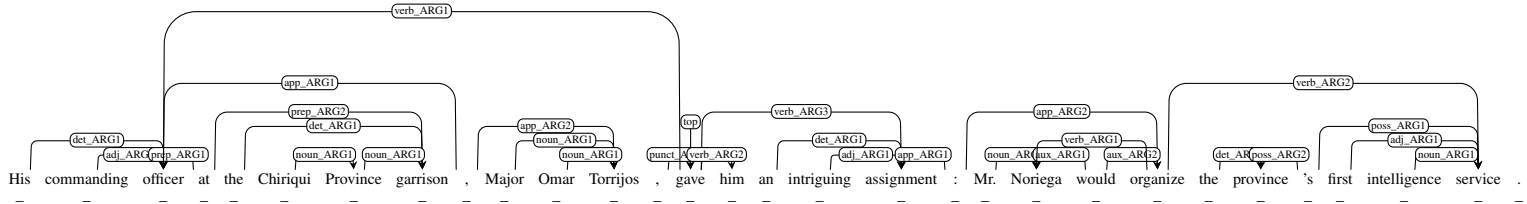
[22013029]



[22013030]



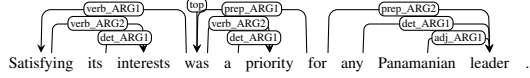




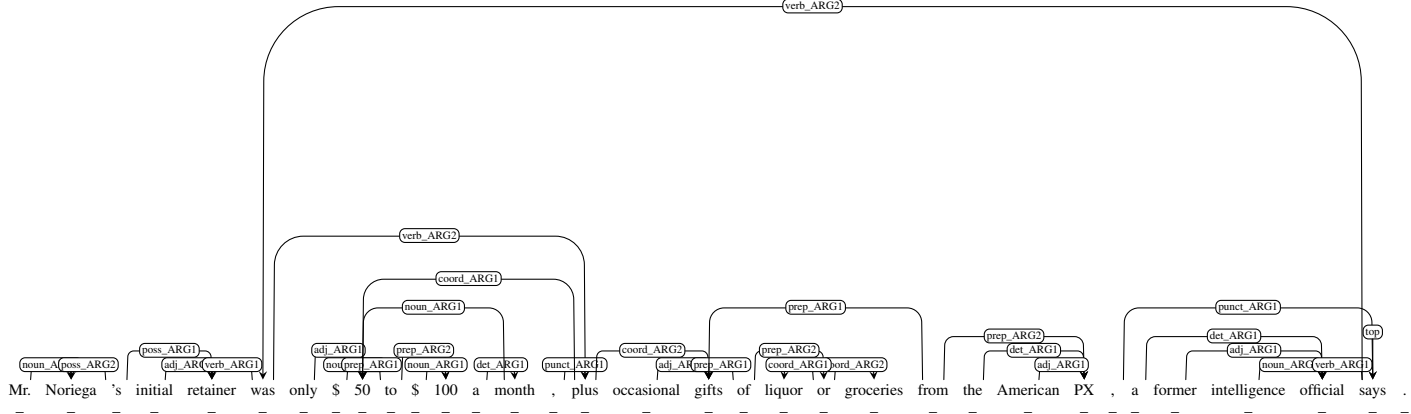
[22013048]



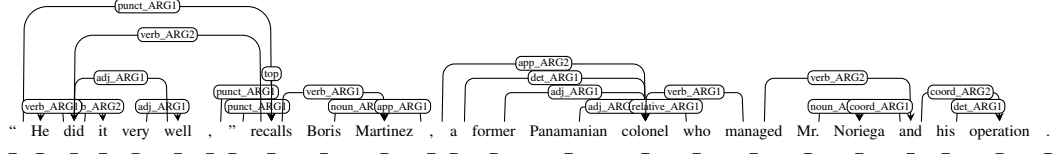
[22013049]



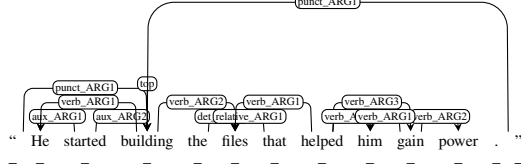
[22013050]



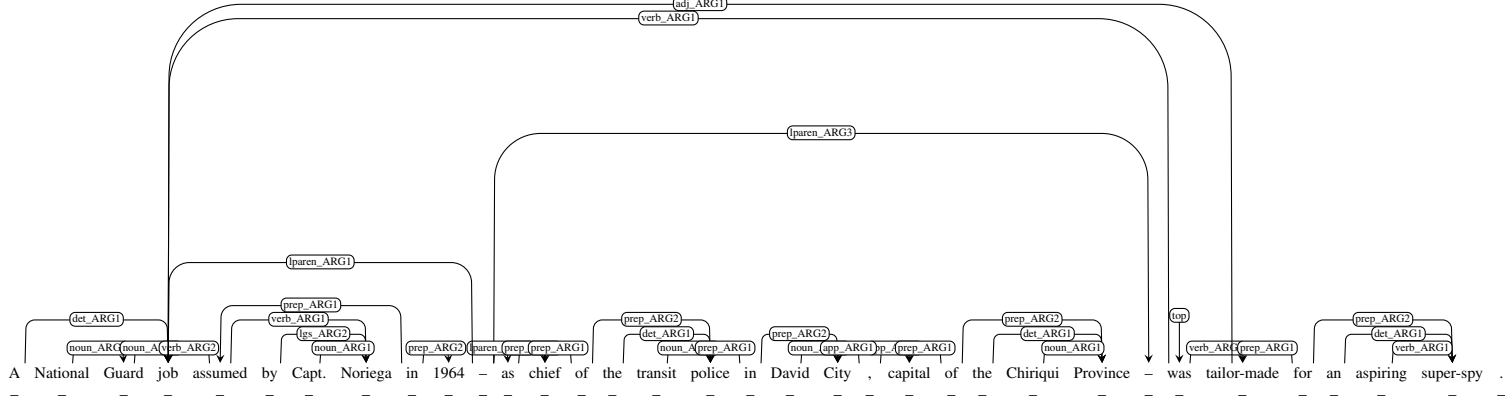
[22013052]



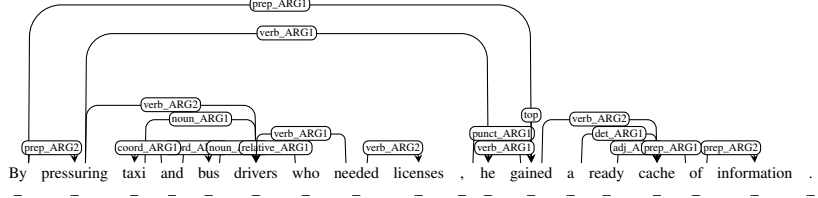
[22013053]



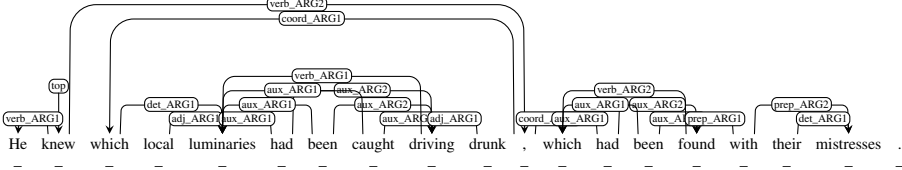
[22013054]



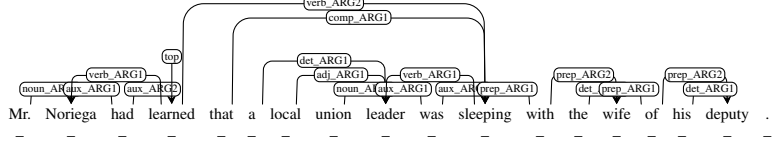
[22013055]



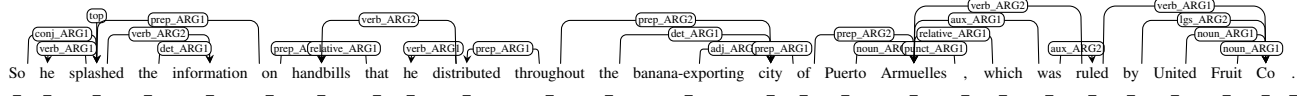
[22013056]



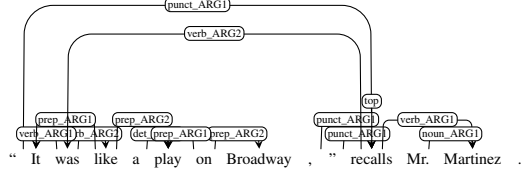
[22013058]



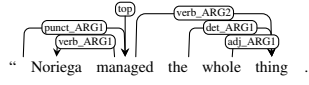
[22013059]



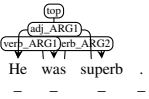
[22013061]



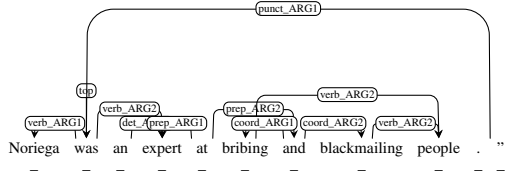
[22013062]



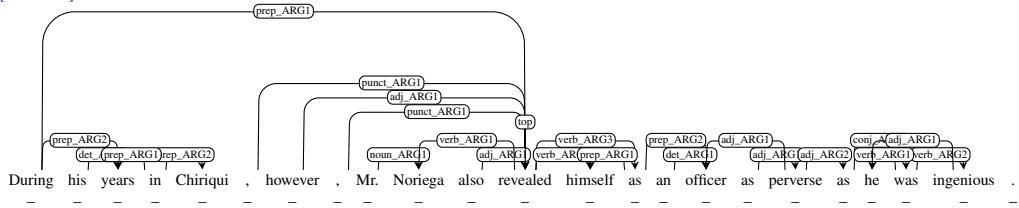
[22013063]



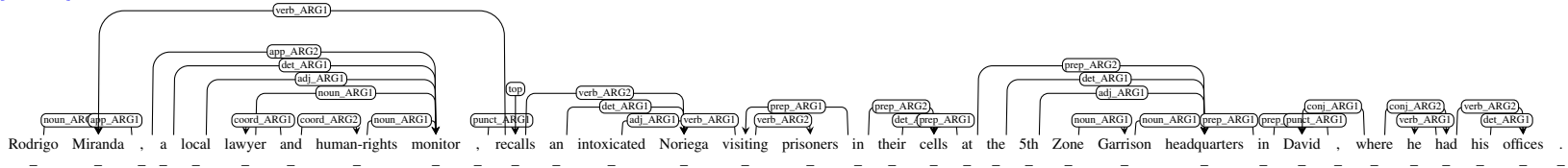
[22013064]



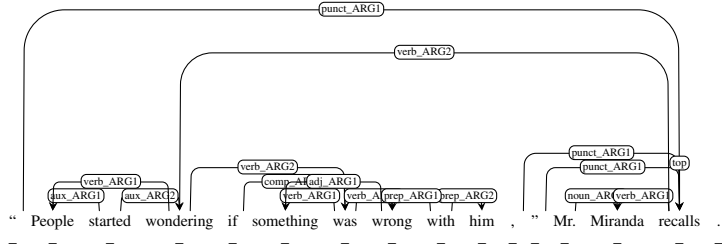
[22013065]



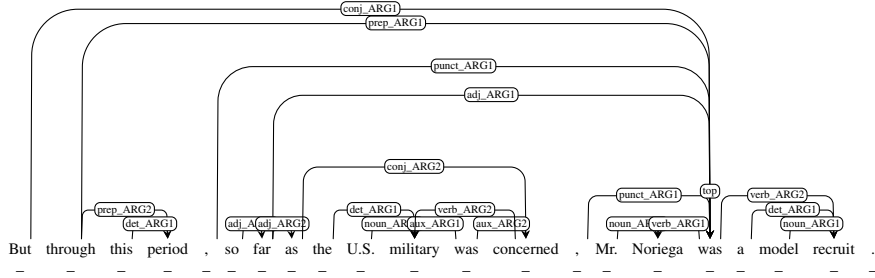
[22013066]



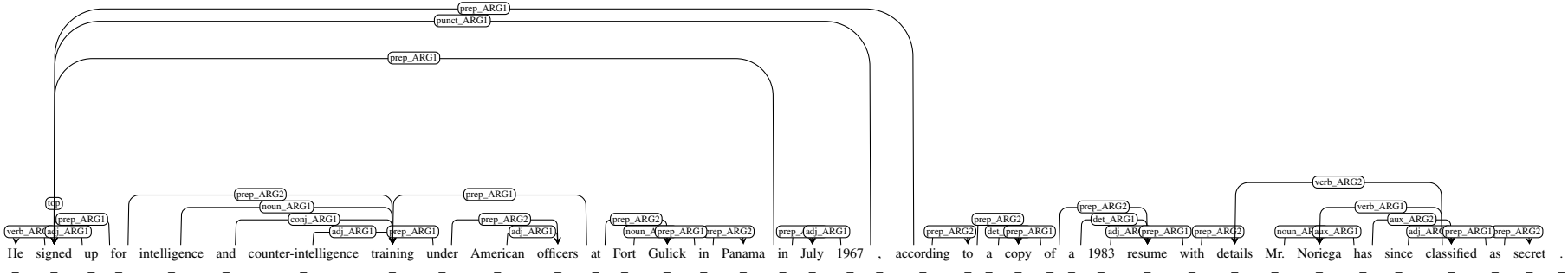
[22013068]



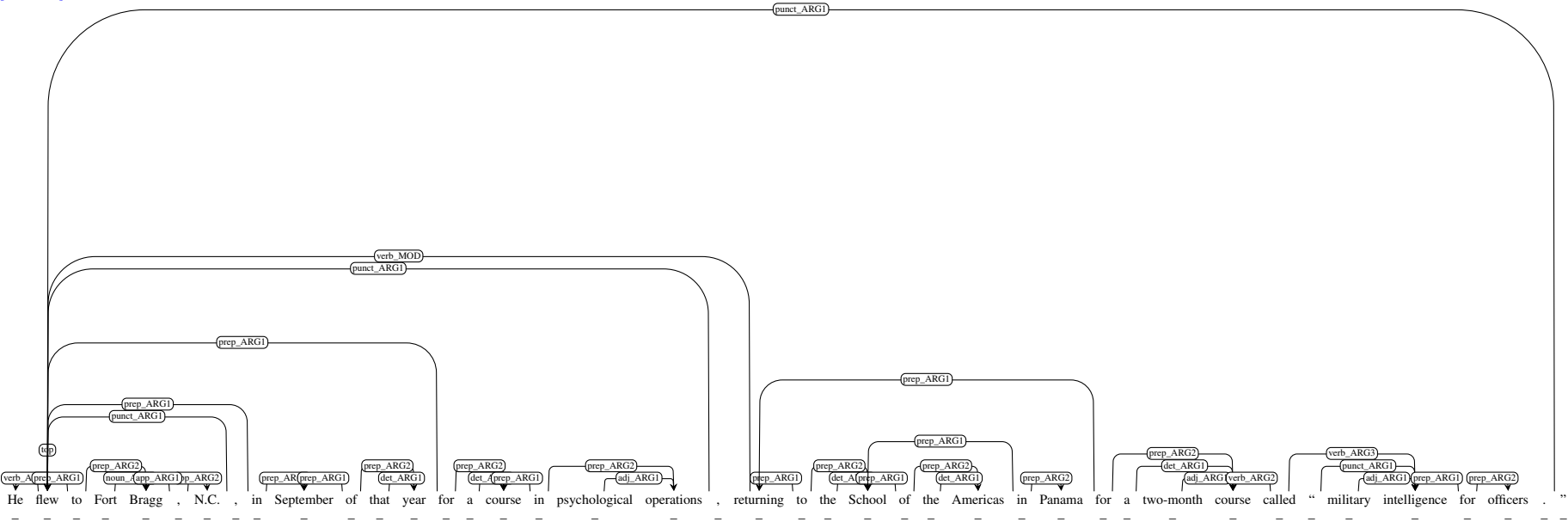
[22013069]



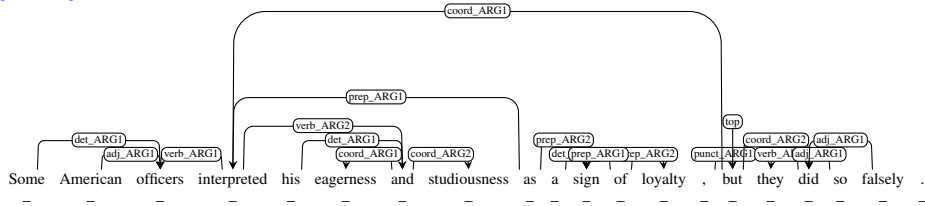
[22013070]



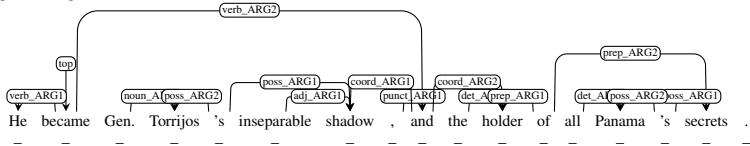
[22013071]



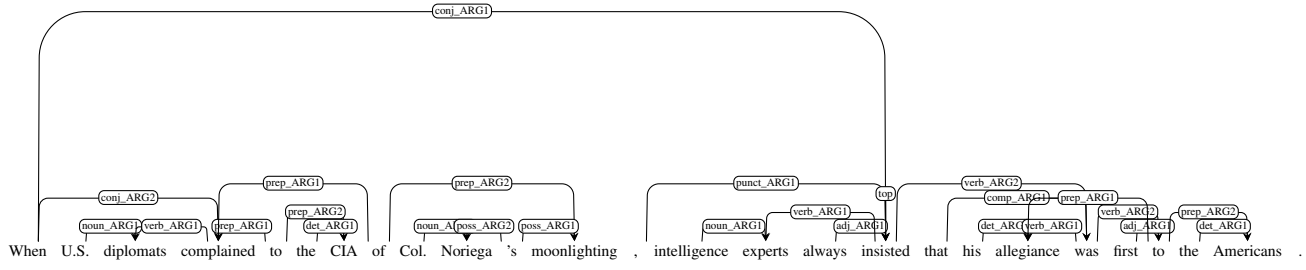
[22013072]



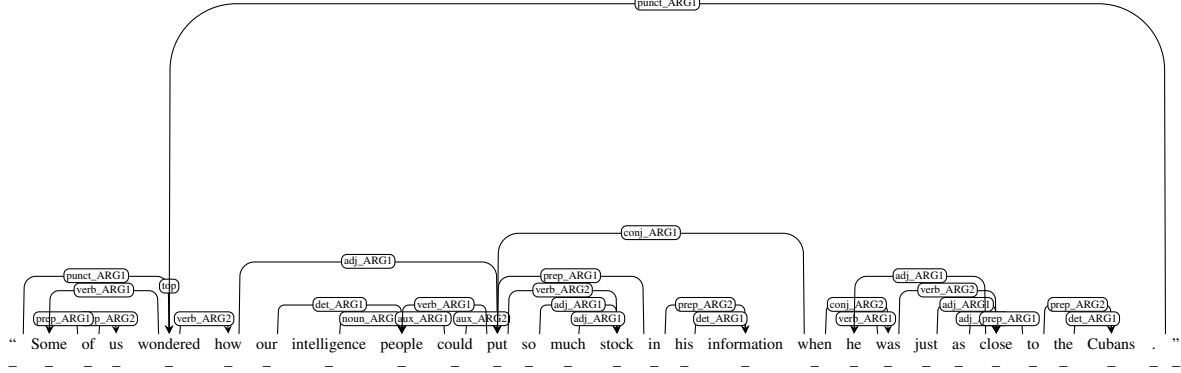
[22013074]



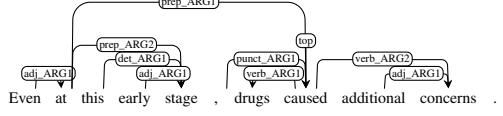
[22013076]



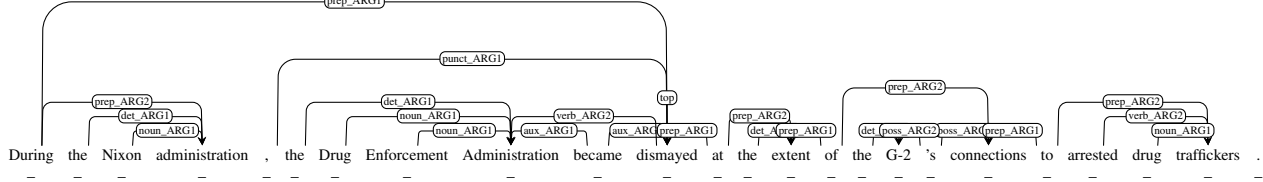
[22013078]



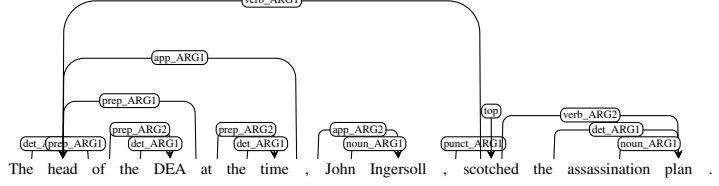
[22013079]



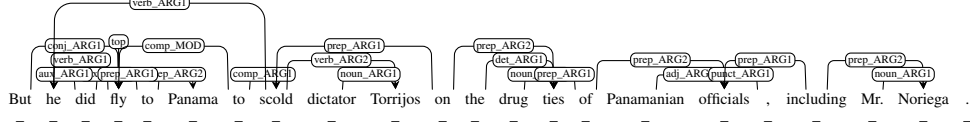
[22013080]



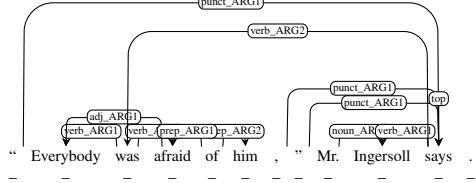
[22013082]



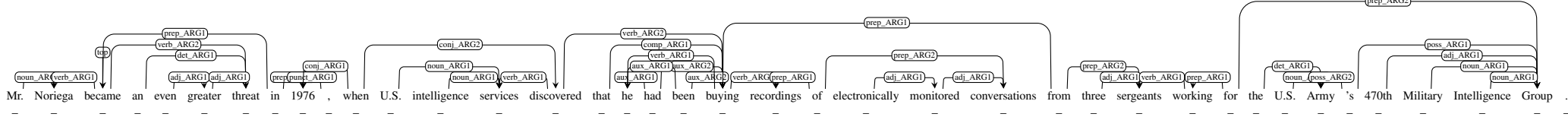
[22013083]



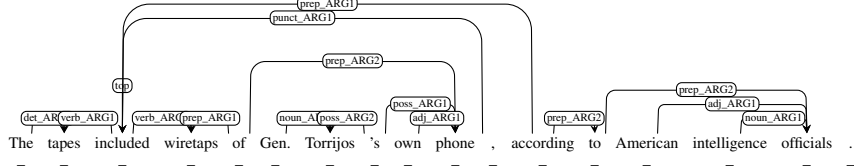
[22013085]



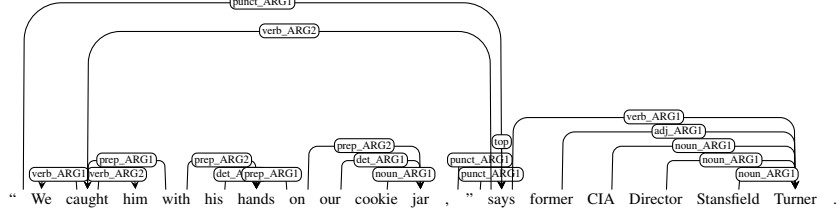
[22013086]



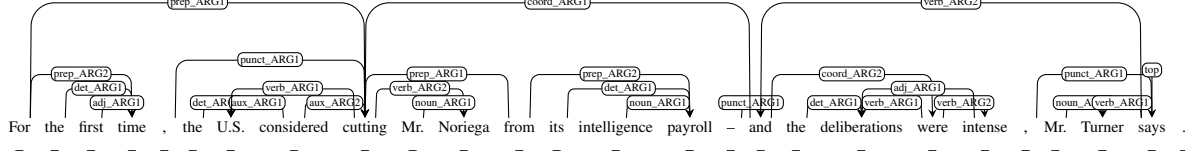
[22013087]



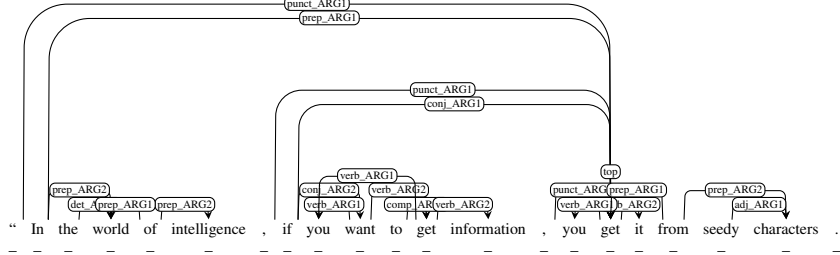
[22013088]



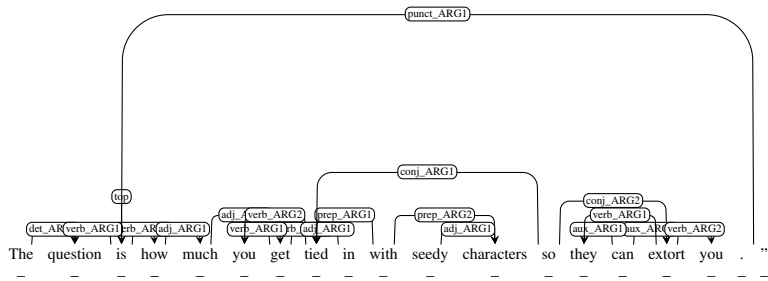
[22013089]



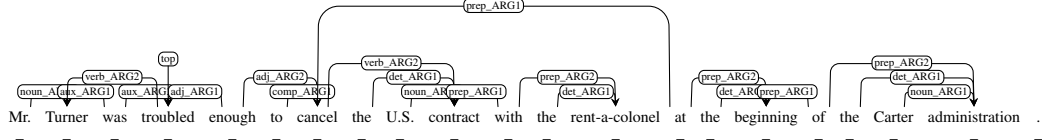
[22013090]



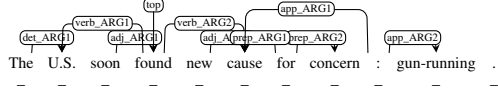
[22013091]



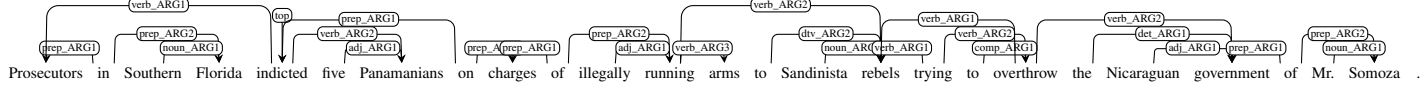
[22013093]



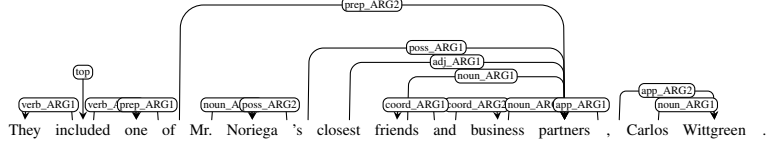
[22013094]



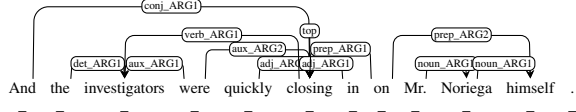
[22013095]



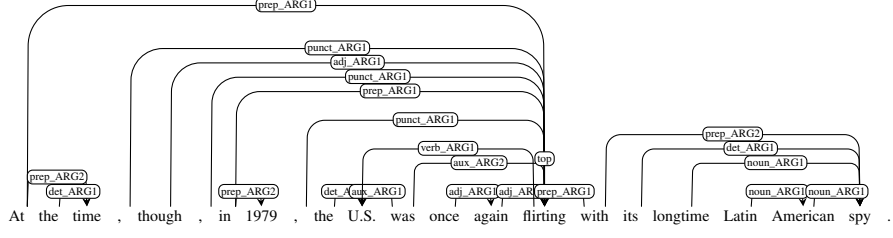
[22013096]



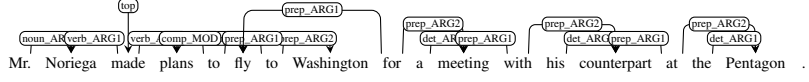
[22013097]



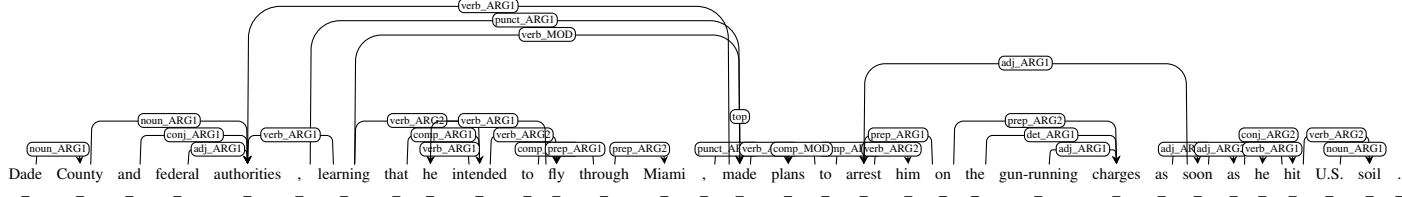
[22013098]



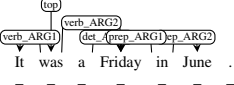
[22013099]



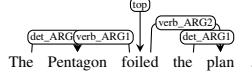
[22013100]



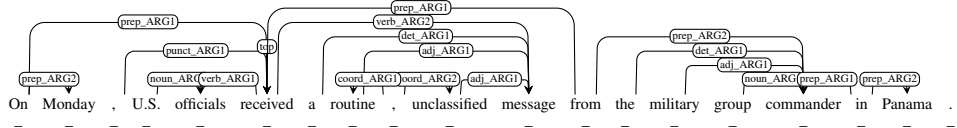
[22013101]



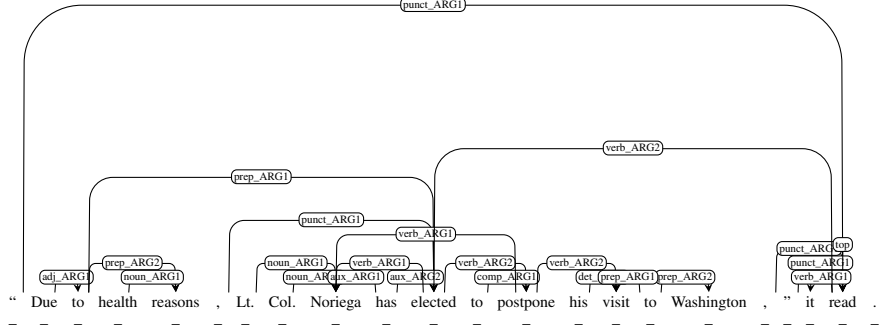
[22013102]



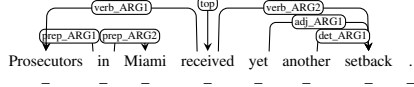
[22013104]



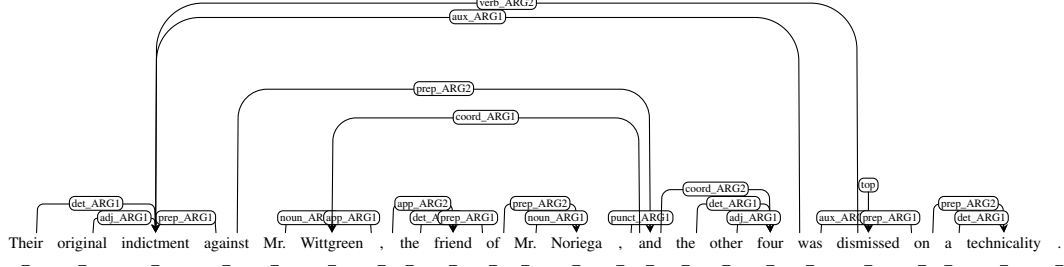
[22013105]



[22013106]

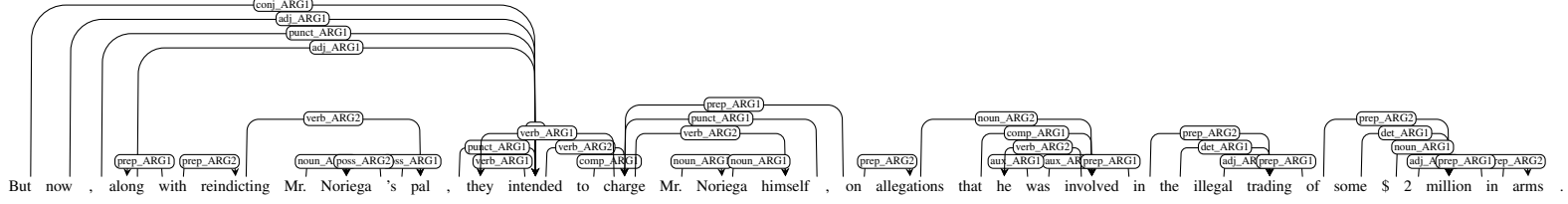


[22013107]

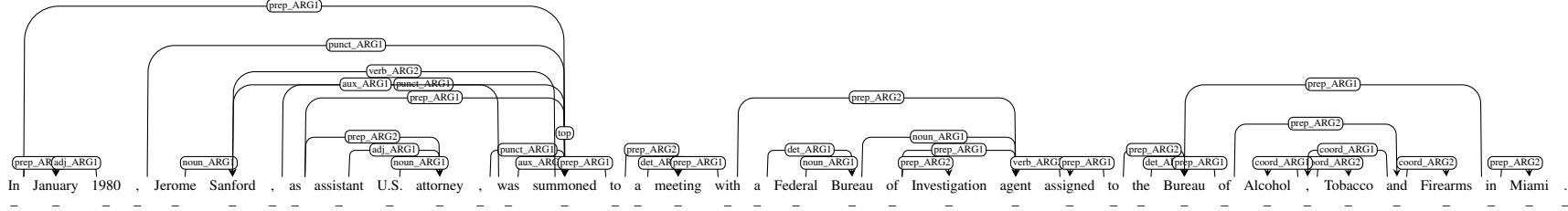




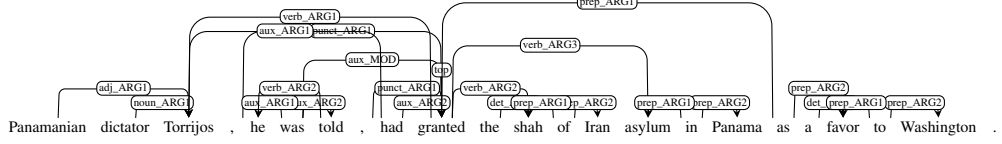
[22013108]



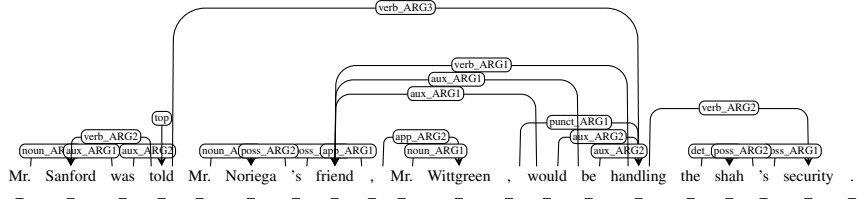
[22013109]



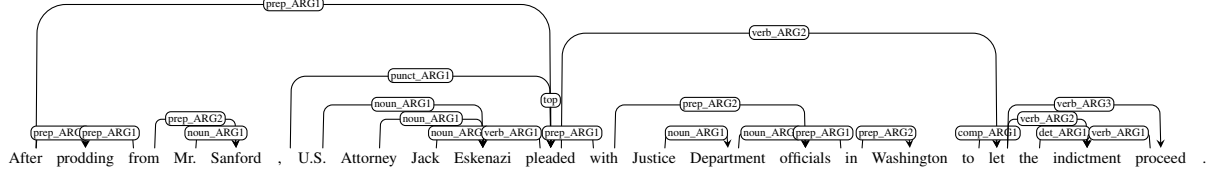
[22013110]



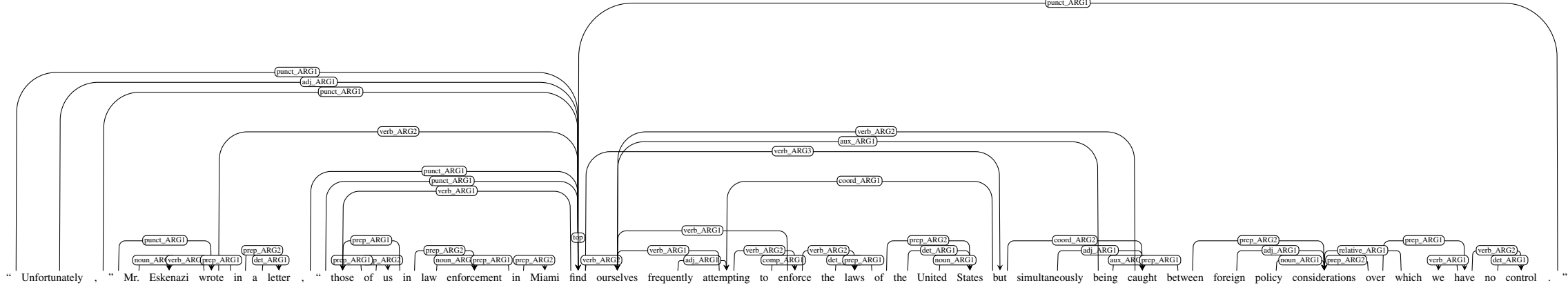
[22013111]



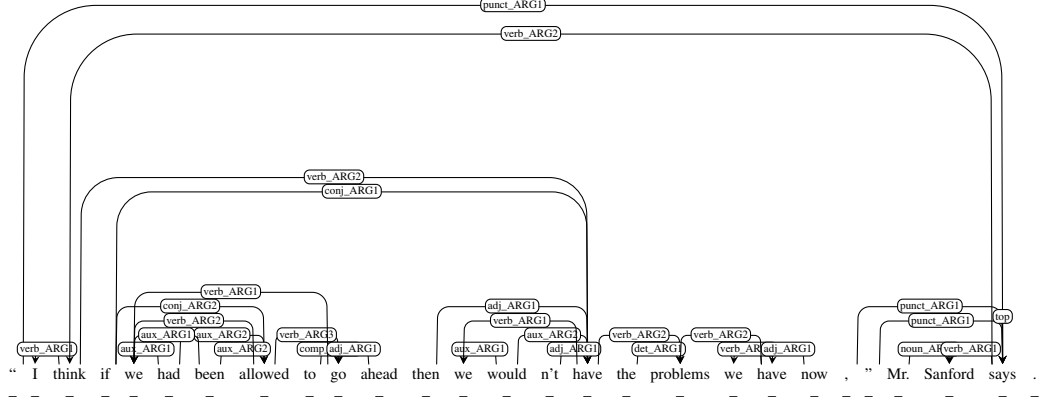
[22013113]



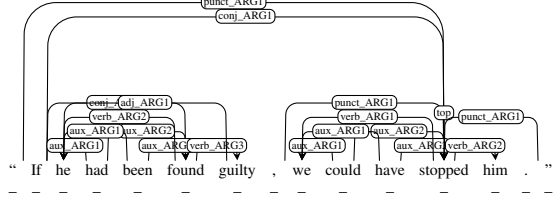
[22013114]



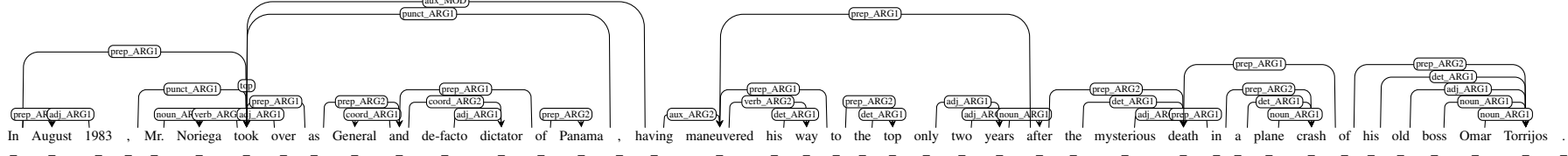
[22013116]



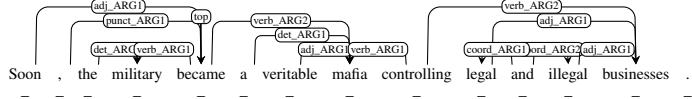
[22013117]



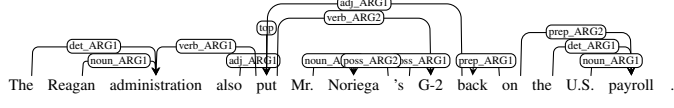
[22013118]



[22013119]



[22013120]



[22013121]



Payments averaged nearly \$ 200,000 a year from the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency and the CIA .

[22013122]

Although working for U.S. intelligence , Mr. Noriega was hardly helping the U.S. exclusively .

[22013123]

During the Reagan years he expanded his business and intelligence contacts with the Cubans and the Sandinistas .

[22013124]

He allegedly entered into Panama 's first formal business arrangement with Colombian drug bosses , according to Floyd Carlton , a pilot who once worked for Mr. Noriega and who testified before the U.S. grand jury in Miami that would ultimately indict the Panamanian on drug charges .

[22013125]

But Mr. Noriega was convinced the Reagan White House would n't act against him , recalls his close ally Jose Blandon , because he had an insurance policy : his involvement with the Contra rebels in Nicaragua .

[22013126]

Mr. Blandon says the general allowed the Contras to set up a secret training center in Panama .

[22013127]

Mr. Noriega also conveyed intelligence from his spy operation inside the Nicaraguan capital of Managua .

[22013128]

And on at least one occasion , in the spring of 1985 , he helped arrange a sabotage attack on a Sandinista arsenal in Nicaragua .

[22013129]

Although , his help for the Contra cause was limited , it was enough to win him important protectors in the Reagan administration , says Sen. Patrick Leahy , a Vermont Democrat who then served on the Senate Intelligence Committee .

[22013130]

" Noriega played U.S. intelligence agencies and the U.S. government like a violin , " he says .

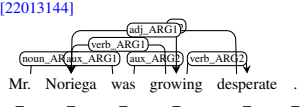
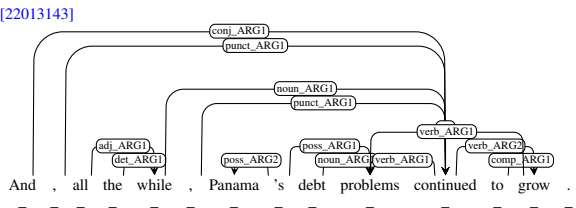
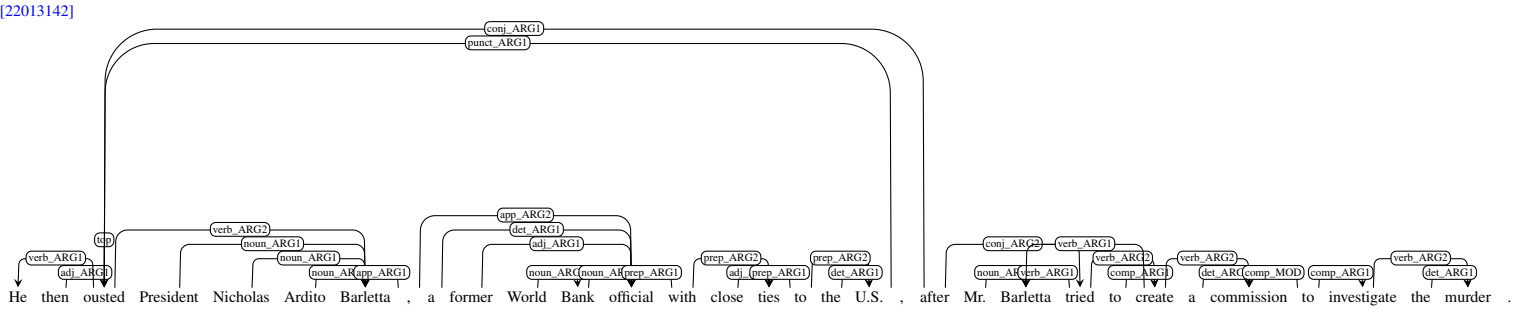
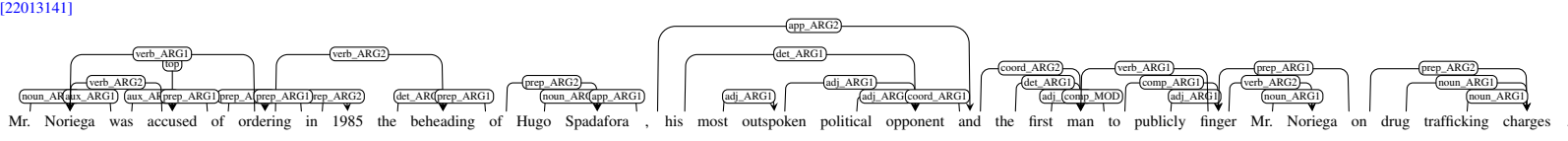
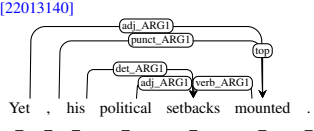
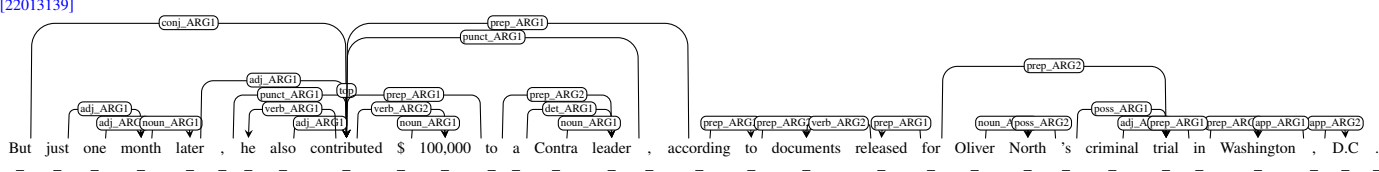
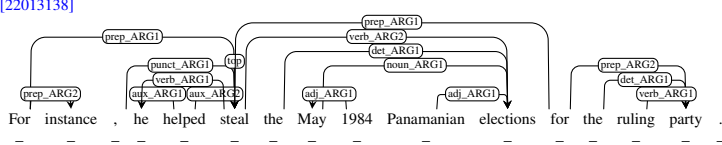
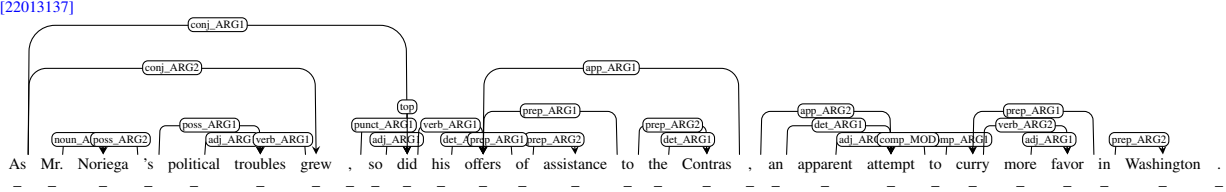
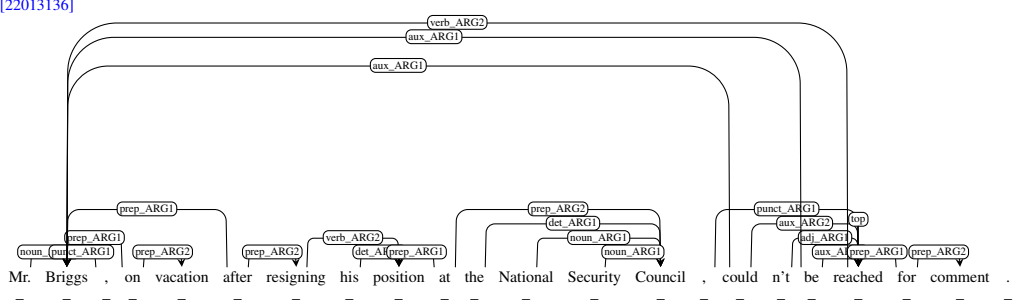
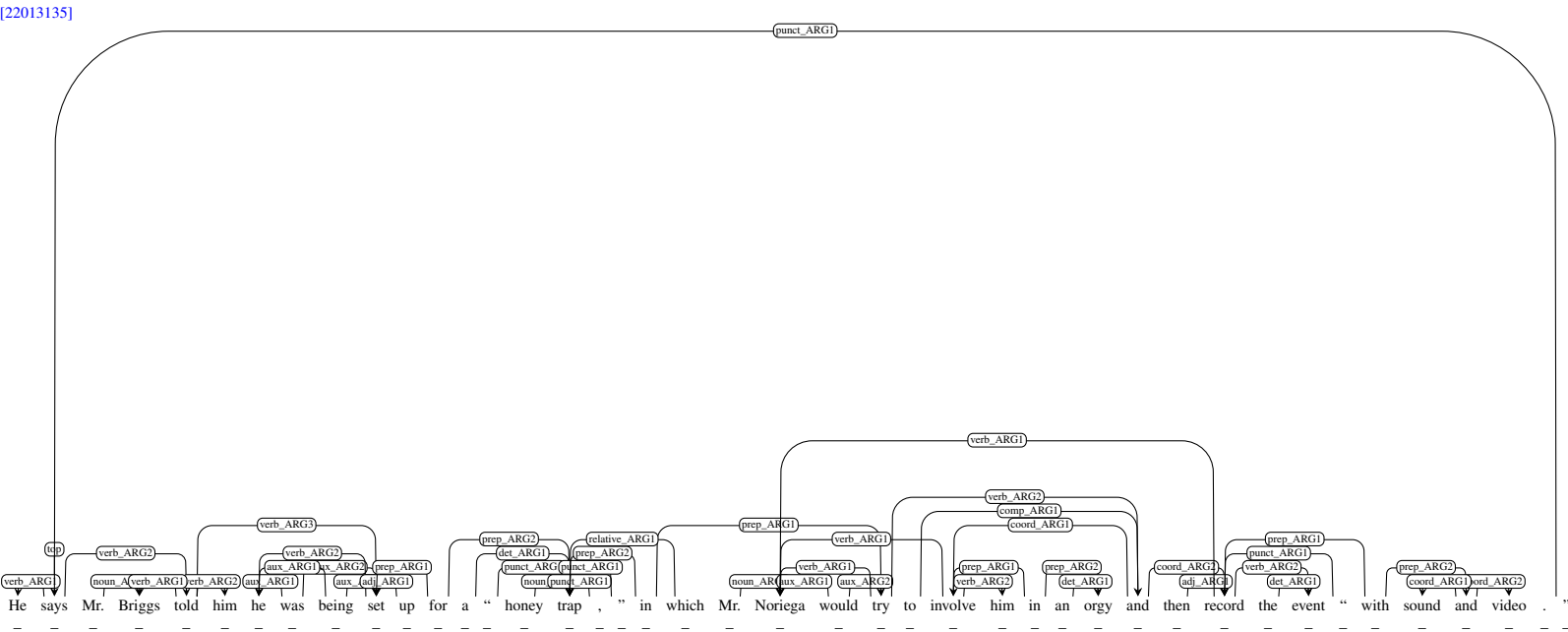
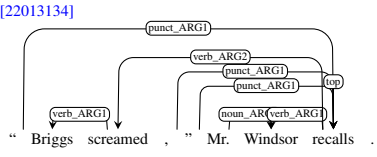
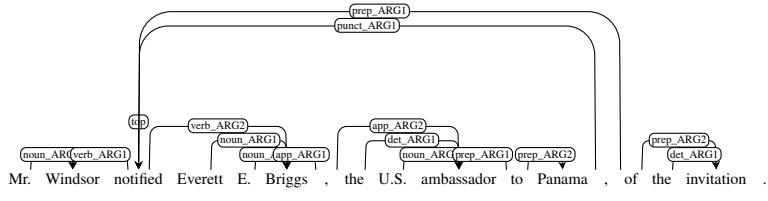
[22013131]

An incident in 1984 suggested one additional means by which Mr. Noriega might have maintained such influence with Washington - by compromising U.S. officials .

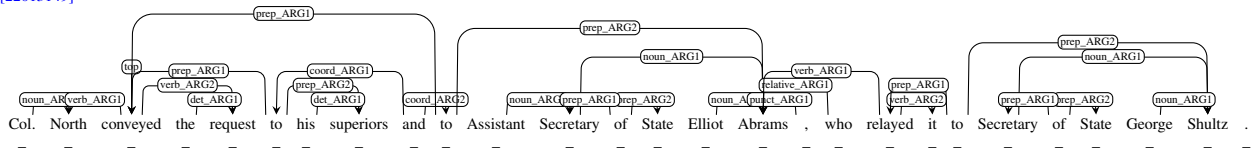
[22013132]

Curtin Windsor , then the ambassador to Costa Rica , recalls being invited to Panama by Mr. Noriega 's brother Luis Carlos for a weekend of deep sea fishing and " quiet , serious conversation " on the Aswara Peninsula .

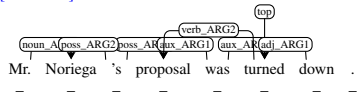
[22013133]



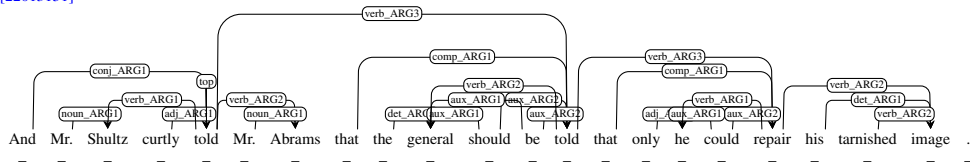
[22013149]



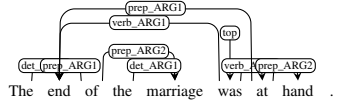
[22013150]



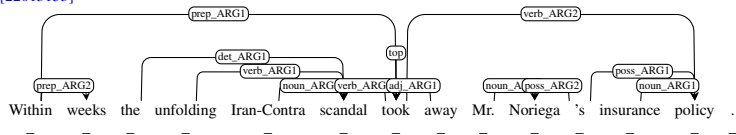
[22013151]



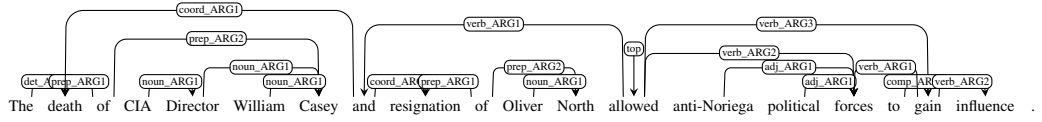
[22013152]



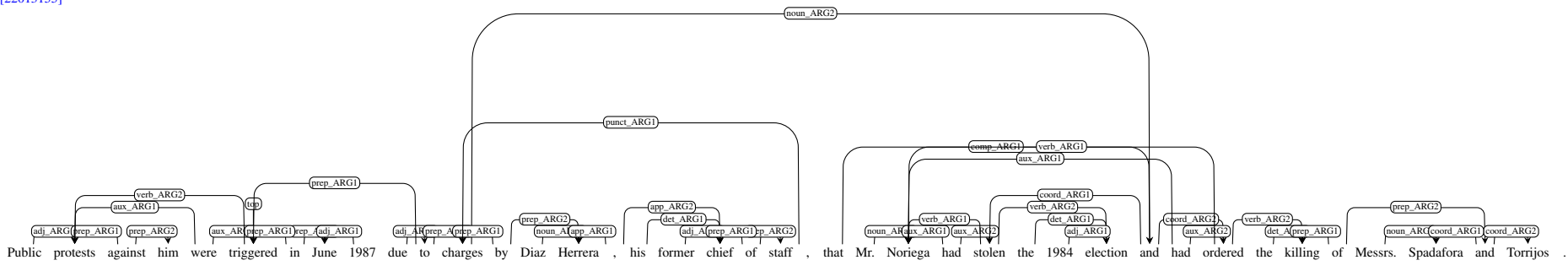
[22013153]



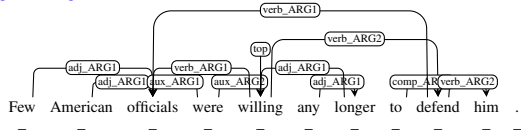
[22013154]



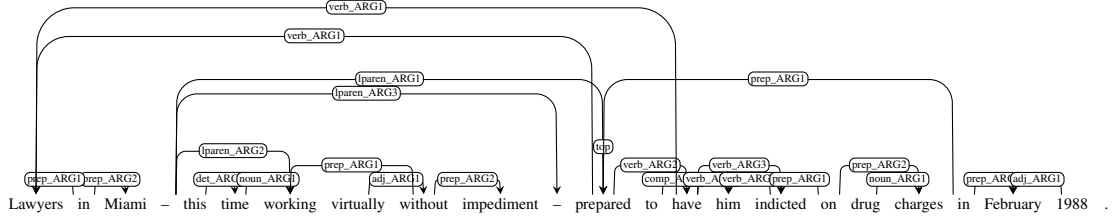
[22013155]



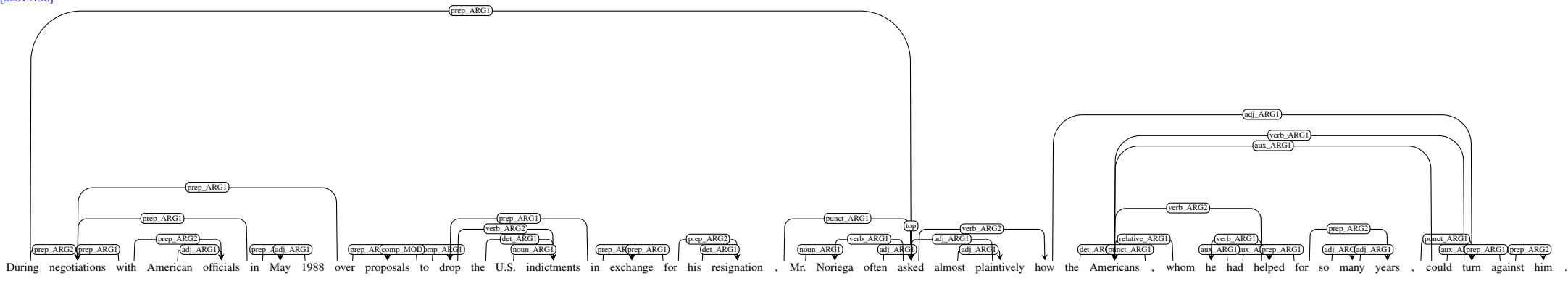
[22013156]



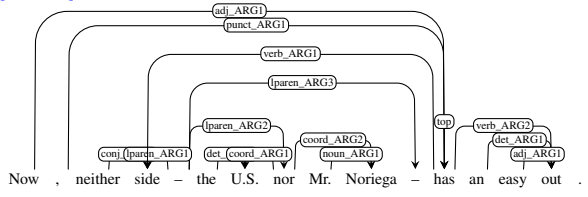
[22013157]



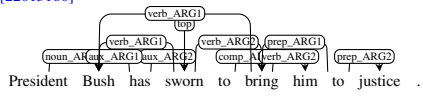
[22013158]



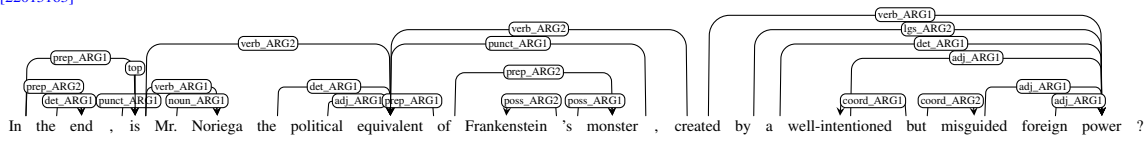
[22013159]



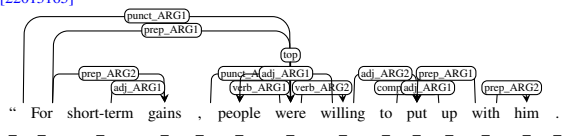
[22013160]



[22013163]



[22013165]



[22013166]

