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<th>CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE</th>
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<td>Lloyd Cutler to HJ</td>
<td>2/26/80</td>
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<td>HJ to Robert Byrd</td>
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FILE LOCATION
Confidential File
Chief of Staff (Jordan)/Box 7 of H.J. Panama/Texas Trip 12/11-14/79

RESTRICTION CODES
(A) Closed by Executive Order 12065 governing access to national security information.
(B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
(C) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in the donor’s deed of gift.
PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

TO: GENERAL OMAR TORRIJOS
C/o AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AMBLER MOSS
PANAMA CITY, PANAMA

MY DEAR GENERAL:

THE EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK HAVE BEEN SO RUSHED AND HECTIC THAT I HAVE ONLY RECENTLY HAD TIME TO PAUSE AND REFLECT ON WHAT WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED WORKING TOGETHER OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS.

MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE SHAH HAS RECEIVED THE MEDICAL TREATMENT HE NEEDED AND HAS DEPARTED OUR COUNTRY IN A DIGNIFIED MANNER TO VISIT PANAMA. FROM ALL THE REPORTS WE RECEIVE, BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, HE IS VERY HAPPY THERE AND GREATLY APPRECIATES YOUR HOSPITALITY AND GRACIOUSNESS. WE HOPE AND BELIEVE THAT THIS WILL ASSIST IN THE EARLY RELEASE OF OUR HOSTAGES. IT IS TOO EARLY TO TELL, BUT THERE ARE SOME ENCOURAGING SIGNS.

MY TWO VISITS WITH YOU REKINDLED OUR FRIENDSHIP AND ONLY STRENGTHENED MY FEELING FOR YOU AS A FRIEND AND AS A GREAT STATESMAN. I HOPE TO BE ABLE TO VISIT YOU SOON AGAIN TO DISCUSS FURTHER SOME OF THE MATTERS THAT WE TOUCHED ON IN YOUR HOME.

I AM YOUR GRATEFUL AND ADMIRING FRIEND.

RESPECTFULLY,

HAMILTON JORDAN
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4
TO AMBASSADOR MOSS: PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM HAMILTON JORDAN TO GENERAL TORRIJOS AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY:

QUOTE:

TO: GENERAL NIAR TORRIJOS
PANAMA CITY, PANAMA

DECEMBER 17, 1979

MY DEAR GENERAL:

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HAMILTON JORDAN

JORDAN
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DECEMBER 17, 1979

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I AM YOUR GRATEFUL AND ADMIRING FRIEND.

RESPECTFULLY,
HAMILTON JORDAN

JORDAN
INCOMING

TELEGRAM

Department of State

SECRET

NO 276

ACTION NDDS-08

INFO OCT-01 AIDS-08 /881 W

Q 191716Z DEC 79 ZFF-4

FM AMBASSADY PANAMA

to SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6418

SECRET PANAMA 10330

NOODS CHEROKEE

FOR MR. RAPHEL

E.O. 12065: GUS 12/19/85 (DESO, A,H) OR A

TAGS: PEPR, IR, PN, US

SUBJ: PANAMA-Iran CONVERSATIONS

REF: PANAMA 10324

1. (S -entire Text)

2. AT 1200 I TOU L PRES KOUV THAT THE SECRETARY HAD

CONSIDERED THE PROPOSAL RECEIVED THROUGH HIS INTER-

MEDIARY THAT A TRIPARTITE "COORDINATING COMMITTEE" BE

ESTABLISHED; AND THAT, ALTHOUGH THE SECRETARY VERY MUCH

APPRECIATED KOUV'S INITIATIVES IN SEARCHING FOR SOLUTIONS,

FRANKLY WE FELT THIS PLAN WOULD BE VERY COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

3. I EXPLAINED THAT OUR POLICY HAS ALWAYS BEEN THAT WE

WOULD NOT AGREE TO MEET WITH THE GOI UNTIL THEY HAD AGREED

to RELEASE THE HOSTAGES. I SAID THAT, JUST FOR HIS INFOR-

MATION, THE PROPOSAL HAD ALL THE EARRMARKS OF A SCHEME TO

TRY TO NEGOTIATE FOR THE EXTRADITION OF THE SHAH IN RE-

TURN FOR THE PRISONERS' RELEASE.

4. KOUV SAID THAT HE WOULD LET HIS CONTACT KNOW THAT THE

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4

DER 1979 SUB HRE MD-MRC-95-04

NARS, DATE 2/27/85

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
USG would not RPT not be agreeable to the proposal. I advised him to be definite in his statement so that the GOI did not receive the false impression that we were seriously considering it. MDSS
INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State
SECRET

PAGE 01

ACTION NOUDS-00

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 1001 W

1822472 DEC 79 ZFP-4
FM AMBASSADY PANAMA
TO SECSTATE HAHDC I MEDIATE 0412
SECT E T PANAMA 10306

NOUDS

EYES ONLY FOR MR. RAPHEL (S)

E.O. 12065; GUS 12/18/85 (MOSS, A.H.) OK-M
TAGS: PEPR, PN, IN
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT HOYO ON IRAN

1. (S - ENHANCED TYPE)

2. I MET WITH PRES HOYO AT 4:40PM AND REVIEWED EVENTS OF
THE DAY. HE SAID HIS INTÉ VELARY, A FRENCH MUSLIM RESIDING IN PARIS, HAD CALLED EARLY THIS AFTERNOON AND SAID
THE ISLAMIC COUNCIL WAS MEETING IN WIM BEHIND CLOSED
DOORS. HOYO ASKED THAT THE MESSAGE BE PASSED TO THE
FORMIN THAT PANAMA WOULD NOT KPT NOT EXTRAULATE THE SMH
BUT WOULD BE WILLING TO HELP OUT WITH A "FACE-SAVING"
PLAN TO HELP THE HOSTAGES. IN LINE WITH HIS EARLIER
STATEMENT TO ME THIS MORNING, HOYO ALSO SUGGESTED THAT
THE FORMIN NOT KPT NOT COME TO PANAMA BUT ACT THROUGH THE
IRANIAN AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO (HOYO ADMITTED HE MIGHT BE
WRONG ABOUT THAT AMBASSADOR'S ACCOMMODATION TO PANAMA AND
SAID HE ASSUMED SO BUT DID NOT REALLY KNOW).

3. AFTER OUR TALK, HOYO AGREED THAT HE WOULD DELAY ANY
SCHEME AND WOULD CHECK WITH ME BEFORE AGREEING TO RE-
CEIVE ANY IRANIAN EMISSARY OR EXTRAUDITION REQUEST. HE

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4
PER 15SEP85 SUB HRC MB-ALL-85-04
NARS DATE 12/7/95
UNDERSTANDS WE WANT TO "PLAY OTHER CARDS" FIRST.

4. COMMENT: THIS TALK INDICATES A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PANAMANIAN RULE. ROYO EVIDENTLY HAS HIS OWN CHANNEL APART FROM THAT OF TURKIJOS AND MAY BE WORKING THE PROBLEM SEPARATELY. THIS MAY EXPLAIN TURKIJOS' DESIRE THAT I, NOT ME, GET ROYO ON FREQUENCY WITH OUR GAME PLAN. ROYO SAID THAT HE UNDERSTANDS WE MAY WISH TO "PLAY OTHER CARDS" BUT FRANKLY HOPES WE WILL TURN TO HIM "SO THAT PANAMA CAN PLAY THE RULE OF FREEING THE HOSTAGES." MOSS
MEMORANDUM

February 26, 1980

SUBJECT: Call from Robert Armao

Attached is a memorandum of a telephone message from Robert Armao this morning.

About two hours later I spoke to Armao. By that time Morse had been released at the intervention of Ambassador Moss. Armao said he would withhold any public comment for the next couple of days and would be back in touch with us before going public. However, he says that he and his assistant Morse are "finished" and will have nothing further to do with assisting the Shah in Panama.

Armao said that the Shah himself is shocked by this latest event and terrified about his own personal safety, as is the Shabbanu. They have long since lost confidence in Col. Moriega, and they have now lost confidence in Torrijos as well. Armao asks on their behalf that arrangements be made "immediately" for them to leave Panama.

I told Armao that a move now was not feasible and that any public quarrel at this time would prejudice the present negotiations to obtain the release of the hostages. I said I would consult with Mr. Jordan and that we would make our views known most forcefully, and that we would strongly object to Panama concerning the treatment of Mr. Morse.
Mr. Armao called Mr. Cutler at 12:50 today to say one of his assistants has been taken into custody by the Panamanian authorities -- for what reason he either did not know or did not say.

Mr. Armao is extremely upset and has told the Shah that he intends to bring the treatment of his staff to the public scene. As he says, he does not intend to put up with the abuse that has been hurled at his people by the Panamanians any longer, and as a courtesy called the White House to tell you and Mr. Cutler what he is doing.

He is anxious to speak to you or Mr. Cutler as soon as possible. I expect Mr. Cutler to return to the office by 2:00.

Telephone number for Mr. Armao - 212 582 1525.

Attached is a description of the details of the above incident from Arnie Raphel in Secretary Vance's office.
Arnie Raphel (Special Assistant to Secretary Vance) called with the following:

Ambler Moss called him from Panama:

Mark Morse who is one of Armao's associates working with the Shah was arrested this morning by the Panamanian FBI. He was taken to Col. Moreiga's office where he is being detained (Moreiga is head of Panamanian security). Ambler has spoken with Moreiga who contends that Morse was "disrespectful" to the head of the Panamanian security force on Contadora.

Ambler is sending the head of the Consular Section down to Moreiga's office to arrange for Morse's release and is confident Morse will be released immediately.

Armao called Ambler and was highly incensed and said he would go public over this latest incident. Ambler calmed him down somewhat but Armao said he would talk with Cutler and/or Jordan.

Ambler and I think it important that either Cutler or Jordan talk with Armao to help calm him down. Ambler believes that if we point out that going public now might effect the national interest and be harmful to our efforts in Iran, that that will be enough to keep Armao from going public on this issue.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 18, 1979

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

SUBJECT: Letters of Appreciation to Panama on the Shah

Hamilton asked Bob Pastor to draft three letters of appreciation from you to Royo, Torrijos, and Ambassador Moss. They are attached. Hertzberg has cleared them.

cc: Hamilton Jordan
December 18, 1979

Dear General Torrijos:

On behalf of the American people, I wish to express the deep appreciation we feel toward you, President Royo, and the Panamanian people for the support you have provided during the present crisis.

At this time when we celebrate the coming into this world of the Prince of Peace, I hope that our efforts toward a peaceful resolution of this issue will bear fruit. I am especially grateful for Panama's humanitarian gesture in welcoming the Shah.

Our peaceful accord on the Panama Canal, an issue in which deep emotions were felt on both sides, stands in marked contrast to Iran's use of force and terror. Our two countries will once again be able to teach the world that the path of peace is also the path of justice and honor.

Please accept my deep and genuine gratitude.

Sincerely,

Brigadier General Omar Torrijos Herrera
Commander of the National Guard
Panama
Dear Mr. President:

Your decision to invite the Shah to Panama is a demonstration of the graciousness and the magnanimity of the people of Panama.

The invitation to the Shah also demonstrates to the world that the relationship which our two countries developed during the negotiations for the Panama Canal Treaties is deep, genuine and mutually respectful. As Negotiator for Panama, you played a major role in forging our new relationship. As President of Panama, you have enriched that relationship greatly; it has become a model for industrialized and developing countries.

The United States has endured a terrible trauma during the last month while friends and colleagues have been held hostage in the United States Embassy in Iran. We hope that the Shah's stay in Panama will facilitate a solution to the crisis.

I have been pleased to note the forthright position on the issue of the hostages taken by your government at the OAS and the UN. I am certain that my gratitude for your generosity and your assistance is shared by all the people of my country.

Sincerely,

His Excellency Aristides Royo
President of the Republic of Panama
Panama
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  

December 18, 1979  

To Ambler Moss  

I want you to know how much I personally appreciate your role in securing a place of temporary asylum for the Shah. The well-being of our people held hostage by the authorities in Iran has dominated the thoughts of the American people, uniting them in a manner seldom seen in our history. Throughout this crisis, I have sought to focus the world’s attention on the unprecedented violation of diplomatic immunity and the inhumane treatment of our hostages in contravention of the most basic rules of international conduct. The arrangement you helped make possible will enable us to focus attention even more firmly on that central issue.  

I am sending personal messages to President Royo and General Torrijos as well. Again, thank you for your efforts and support.  

Sincerely,  

The Honorable Ambler Moss  
American Embassy  
Panama City
To: Bob Porto

Can you please draft for me President messages to Torigno, Royce at Amber Mass?

These messages are needed and really deserved. I need them soon.

Thanks,

Hampton

When things settle down, I'll give you a full accounting.
Personal

Dear Senator Byrd:

I wanted to pass on to you an element of a conversation I had with General Tanigas during my recent trip to Panama.

After conveying the request for Panama to receive the Shah, one of the first questions the General asked was, "will our accepting the Shah be important to our Congressional friends, particularly Senator Byrd?"

I responded that I could not speak for you or the Congress, but that it was my strong feeling that you, as the Majority Leader of the Senate and the person most responsible for the notification of the Panama Canal treaties, would be greatly appreciative if Panama could receive the Shah. This seemed to mean a lot to General Tanigas, and it seemed to me to be a major factor in his positive decision.

Respectfully,

[Signature]

Senator Byrd
Majority Leader of the United States Senate
MEMORANDUM FOR HAMILTON JORDAN

FROM: BARBARA SACHS (Lloyd Cutler’s office)

SUBJECT: ROBERT ARMAO

Mr. Armao called Mr. Cutler at 12:50 today to say one of his assistants has been taken into custody by the Panamanian authorities -- for what reason he either did not know or did not say.

Mr. Armao is extremely upset and has told the Shah that he intends to bring the treatment of his staff to the public scene. As he says, he does not intend to put up with the abuse that has been hurled at his people by the Panamanians any longer, and as a courtesy called the White House to tell you and Mr. Cutler what he is doing.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

December 19, 1979

Ham:

Please let me have your reaction.

Warren Christopher

Attachment:

Draft letter.
Dear (To all major Presidential candidates):

In these days of prolonged crisis caused by the detention of our fellow Americans in Tehran, the President has asked us to offer you, as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, a high-level briefing on the situation in Iran.

Therefore, I am pleased to invite you to receive a briefing on this issue at the Department of State at your earliest convenience. I am writing to all the other major declared Presidential candidates in the two leading political parties to propose the briefing as well.

If you wish to receive such a briefing, please contact the State Department's Executive Secretary, Peter Tarnoff, and we will arrange a mutually convenient time for the meeting.

Sincerely,