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State Dept. review completed

OP IMMED

#0857 0871538

N 281450Z ZYH MAR 74

FM TEHRAN

25X1

TO THE WHITE HOUSE

S E C R E T 281450Z SENSITIVE

MAR74

CITE TEHRAN 857

TO: IMMEDIATE THE WHITE HOUSE

FOR: GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT, EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

MORI/CDF per C05141601.

FROM: AMBASSADOR HELMS, TEHRAN

REFS: A. TEHRAN 847

B. TEHRAN 849

C. WH 40770

1. REF C PARALLELS OUR THINKING IN TEHRAN. WE AGREE WITH THE PACKAGE WHICH YOU PROPOSE, AND RECOMMEND IT TO SECRETARY KISSINGER.

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3. TO BOTH BARZANI AND GENERAL NASIRI THE IDEA WAS ADVANCED THAT IT WOULD BE TO BARZANI'S ADVANTAGE TO AVOID, IF POSSIBLE, A COMPLETE RUPTURE WITH BAGHDAD. INSTEAD HE SHOULD TRY TO KEEP SOME NEGOTIATION GOING; AND TRY TO PRESERVE SOME FLOW OF GOVERNMENT FUNDS INTO KURDISTAN AS LONG AS POSSIBLE.

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***** W H S R C O M M E N T *****

SCOWCROFT MCFARLANE RODMAN

RECALLED

PSN:049864

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4. WE BELIEVE THE SHAH, RECOGNIZING BARZANI'S INCREASED NEED, WILL RESPOND GENEROUSLY TO HIS REQUEST FOR MORE FINANCIAL, MATERIAL AND MILITARY SUPPORT, BUT HE IS NOT LIKELY TO GIVE HIM ALL HE WANTS EVEN IN THE "MINIMUM BUDGET". YOUR STAFF ASSESSMENT OF THE SHAH'S MOTIVATION IN HELPING BARZANI APPEARS VERY SOUND TO US. HE HAS NO UNLIMITED COMMITMENT TO BARZANI, AND NO ILLUSIONS THAT BARZANI HAS UNIVERSAL KURDISH SUPPORT. THE SHAH SPOKE ON 9 MARCH OF THE NEED TO ESTABLISH CONTACTS WITH OTHER KURDISH LEADERS AND HE HAS REFERRED TO THE KURDISH MOVEMENT AS HIS "KURDISH CARD" IN THE POWER GAME AGAINST IRAQ.

5. THE SHAH, AS EMERGENCY AID, ALREADY HAS SENT 500 GAS MASKS TO BARZANI AND WILL SEND 2,000 MORE. (WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED \$25,000 TOWARD THIS PROGRAM). HE HAS PROVIDED 1,000 ANTI-TANK ROCKETS FROM IRANIAN ARMY STOCKS. HE HAS ORDERED IMMEDIATE PROCUREMENT OF BRITISH-MADE HAND-HELD GROUND-TO-AIR ROCKETS. HE HAS ORDERED SAVAK TO PROCURE AND SHIP EMERGENCY SUPPLIES OF FOOD, MEDICINE, CLOTHING AND TENTS FOR THE REFUGEES. HE WILL SURELY INCREASE HIS ALREADY LARGE CASH SUBSIDY OF \$740,000 PER MONTH. (OURS HAS AVERAGED ABOUT \$400,000.)

6. WE BELIEVE THAT EVEN OUR TOKEN CONTRIBUTION OF ONE-HALF MILLION DOLLARS IN CASH FOR REFUGEE RELIEF AS ENVISAGED IN REF C WOULD BE WELL-RECEIVED BY THE SHAH AND THE KURDS AS AN ATTEMPT TO DO THE BEST WE CAN WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF OUR OBJECTIVE SITUATION.

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7. THE SHAH IS IN THE GULF ON KISH ISLAND AND IS NOT EXPECTED BACK IN TEHRAN BEFORE EARLY APRIL. IF THE SECRETARY APPROVES THESE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OUR RESPONSE TO THE SHAH AND BARZANI, WE CAN CONVEY THIS INFORMATION IN WRITING TO THE SHAH OR FLY TO KISH IF DESIRED. AFTER WE HAVE OBTAINED THE SHAH'S REACTION, WE CAN INFORM BARZANI. WARM REGARDS.

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