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State Dept. review completed

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

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MORI/CDF per C05141586

TO WHITE HOUSE

S E C R E T EYES ONLY 170838Z APR 74 [redacted]

CITE TEHRAN 872

TO: IMMEDIATE GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT, WHITE HOUSE.
NO NIACT; PLEASE DELIVER AT OPENING OF BUSINESS 17 APRIL.
FOR: SECRETARY KISSINGER.
FROM: AMBASSADOR HELMS, TEHRAN.
REF: TEHRAN 870 (BARZANI'S LETTER TO SECRETARY KISSINGER).

1. THE SHAH SENT WORD VIA SAVAK CHIEF, GENERAL NASIRI, TUESDAY MORNING 16 APRIL THAT HE WANTED ME TO READ THE KURDISH DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S PROPOSED AUTONOMY DECLARATION PRIOR TO MY AUDIENCE SCHEDULED FOR LATE THAT AFTERNOON. THE DECLARATION CONSISTING OF A PREAMBLE OF 6 PAGES AND A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZATION OF 7 PAGES WAS BROUGHT TO THE EMBASSY BY A SAVAK OFFICER IN MID-AFTERNOON. (THE COMPLETE TEXT OF BOTH PARTS [redacted] WITH A REQUEST TO SEND A COPY TO YOUR OFFICE.) SAVAK HAD INDICATED THAT THE KURDS WERE PLANNING TO BROADCAST THEIR AUTONOMY DECLARATION OVER THEIR CLANDESTINE "RADIO KURDESTAN" LATER IN THE EVENING 16 APRIL. 25X1

2. WHEN I SAW THE SHAH, HE SAID THAT HE WANTED OUR GOVERNMENT TO STUDY THE PROPOSED KURDISH AUTONOMY DECLARATION. HE WAS SEEKING AND WOULD WELCOME OUR GOVERNMENT'S COMMENTS AND VIEWS ON THE CONTENTS OF THE DECLARATION ITSELF AND ON THE ADVISABILITY OF PROMULGATING IT AT THIS TIME.

3. I POINTED OUT THAT ONCE BROADCAST, THE STATEMENT COULD NOT BE UN-BROADCAST OR RECALLED. IT SEEMED TO ME A STEP WHICH SHOULD BE VERY CAREFULLY CONSIDERED BEFORE BEING TAKEN.

4. THE SHAH SAID THAT HE HAD NOT HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER ALL ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSAL HIMSELF AND THAT IS ONE REASON HE WAS SEEKING OUR VIEWS. "SINCE WE ARE IN THIS THING TOGETHER", HE SAID, HE WANTED TO CONSULT THE U.S. BEFORE REACHING A DECISION.

5. IN MY PRESENCE HE TELEPHONED SAVAK ORDERING THEM THAT THE BROADCAST OF THE AUTONOMY DECLARATION SHOULD BE POSTPONED AT LEAST UNTIL SATURDAY, 20 APRIL. HE SAID THAT GENERAL BARZANI IS IN TEHRAN AND WILL WAIT HERE UNTIL THEN TO HAVE THE SHAH'S

*****WHSR COMMENT*****

SCOWCROFT, MCFARLANE, ROOMAN

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DECISION.

6. HE SAID THAT IN ANY CASE HE WOULD BE INCREASING HIS OWN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE KURDS WHO NOW NEED MORE AID THAN EVER DUE TO THE INFLUX OF AN ESTIMATED QUARTER OF A MILLION REFUGEES FROM THE SOUTH INCLUDING THOUSANDS OF PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE, TEACHERS, DOCTORS AND INTELLECTUALS.

7. THE SHAH POINTED OUT THAT THE PRESENT REGIME IN IRAQ IS AN AGGRESSIVE COMBINATION OF THE BA'ATH AND THE COMMUNISTS AND UNTIL IRAQ GETS A DECENT GOVERNMENT IT SEEMED DESIRABLE TO HIM TO SUPPORT THE KURDS.

8. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE WASHINGTON STAFF STUDY WHICH WAS FORWARDED TO US FOR COMMENT AS WH 40770, PUT FORTH SOME COGENT REASONS FOR THE KURDS NOT ISSUING THEIR OWN DECLARATION OF AUTONOMY AT THIS TIME. SUCH A DECLARATION WILL BE A PUBLIC BURNING OF BRIDGES WHICH WILL VIRTUALLY FORECLOSE FURTHER NEGOTIATION AND WILL GIVE THE BAGHDAD REGIME A FURTHER PRETEXT FOR MAJOR COERCIVE MILITARY ACTION. THE KURDS CAN ALWAYS ISSUE THE DECLARATION AT SOME FUTURE TIME IF IT APPEARS ADVANTAGEOUS TO DO SO. IF THE SHAH AND WE INDICATE WE APPROVE OF ISSUING THE DECLARATION AT THIS TIME, WE SHALL BE IMPLICITLY BOUND TO SUPPORT THE KURDS THROUGH THE CONSEQUENCES WHICH FOLLOW. WE KNOW THAT THEIR PROJECTED MINIMUM BUDGET IS 180 MILLION DOLLARS PER YEAR AND THAT THEY ARE GOING TO NEED MASSIVE SUPPLIES OF FOOD AND OTHER MATERIALS TO SUPPORT THEIR POPULATION OF ONE AND A HALF MILLION PEOPLE (TEHRAN 869). WITH AN AREA WHICH IS ECONOMICALLY UN-VIABLE, IS IT IN THE KURDISH INTEREST TO MAKE THIS IRREPARABLE BREAK WITH BAGHDAD. WE IN TEHRAN DO NOT THINK SO AND RECOMMEND THAT WE TELL THE SHAH AND THE KURDS THAT WE DO NOT RECOMMEND THAT THEY ISSUE THE AUTONOMY DECLARATION FOR THE TIME BEING.

9. NEED YOUR COMMENTS BEFORE SATURDAY LOCAL TIME. WARM REGARDS.

6'30

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