

**SANITIZED** PER SEC. 3.3(b)(1)

TO: TEHRAN/EYES ONLY FOR AMBASSADOR HELMS

FROM: WHITE HOUSE/HENRY A. KISSINGER *B for*

REFERENCES: TEHRAN 857  
WH 40770  
TEHRAN 869  
TEHRAN 872

1. You are now authorized to tell the Shah that US is prepared to respond to the Kurdish request for assistance along the following lines: In addition to continuing our subsidy, we are prepared to offer refugee relief in amounts up to \$1,000,000 if it can be used effectively. We are willing to apply our refugee relief assistance to purchase of food as suggested by Shah (Tehran 869) or to other emergency supplies which may be needed. The Government of Iran would have to handle the purchase and delivery of food supplies. We are also prepared to begin airlifting to SAVAK our current stockpile of some 900,000 pounds of non-attributable small arms and ammunition.
2. Before making this offer to Kurds, you will be exchanging views with Shah on subject of whether Kurds should make early declaration of autonomy. After describing above decision, suggest you make following points which are in accord with your views in Tehran 872.

XGDS - 2

DECLAS - Date Impossible to Determine

BYAUTH - Dr. Henry A. Kissinger

SECRET (XGDS)

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Section 3.5  
NLN 09-22/20 PER SEC. 3.3(b)(1), Hr 7/1/2010  
By AM NARA, Date 11/12/2010  
[ P. 1 OF 2 ]

**SANITIZED**

--US does not repeat not believe early Kurdish promulgation of autonomy would serve US or, we believe, Iranian interests. As we see them, US interests are (a) to give Kurds capacity to maintain reasonable base for negotiating recognition of rights by Baghdad government, (b) to keep present Iraqi government tied down, but (c) not to divide Iraq permanently because an independent Kurdish area would not be economically viable and US and Iran have no interest in closing door on good relations with Iraq under moderate leadership.

--Support for a Kurdish government on a long-term basis on the scale which Barzani requests could no longer be kept covert. Also, given nature of our interests, we feel present level of support as augmented by foregoing is about the level we could sustain over any prolonged period. If we indicated we approve issuing autonomy declaration now, we would be implicitly bound to support Kurds through consequences which follow and to long-term open confrontation with Iraq. We do not feel an open confrontation with Iraq would serve US and Iranian interests or the interest of long-term Kurdish survival.

3. If after talking with Shah you perceive no considerations which require Washington rethinking of decision in para. 1 above, you may in consultation with Iranians convey decision to Kurdish representatives in way you think best.

SECRET (XGDS)