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[REDACTED]
TO: PRIORITY GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT, WHITE HOUSE.
FOR: SECRETARY KISSINGER.
FROM: AMBASSADOR HELMS, TEHRAN. [REDACTED]

1. I WISH TO ALERT YOU EARLY TO WHAT WILL BE A GROWING PROBLEM FOR THE SHAH IN HIS SUPPORT FOR THE KURDS, NAMELY, CARING FOR THE INCREASING NUMBER OF REFUGEES.

2. THE SHAH TOLD ME ON 2 JULY THAT 42,000 IRAQI KURDISH REFUGEES ARE NOW BEING CARED FOR IN IRANIAN CAMPS AND HOSPITALS AND THAT THIS NUMBER WILL PROBABLY GROW AS IRAQI PLANES AND ARMOR CONTINUE THEIR BATTERING OF KURDISH VILLAGES. HE EXPRESSED PARTICULAR CONCERN AS TO HOW THE REFUGEES WILL BE CARED FOR THIS WINTER WHEN TENTS AND OTHER TEMPORARY SHELTERS WILL PROVIDE INADEQUATE PROTECTION AGAINST ZERO TEMPERATURES. THE GOVERNOR OF KERMANSHAH VOICED SIMILAR FEARS WHEN I VISITED HIM ON 29 JUNE. GENERAL BARZANI AND THE CHIEF OF SAVAK HAVE EXPRESSED PARALLEL CONCERNS TO THE [REDACTED]

3. THE GENOCIDAL WAR WHICH THE BA'TH REGIME IS WAGING AGAINST THE KURDS HAS TAKEN A HEAVY TOLL OF CIVILIAN NON-COMBATANTS

RELEASED: [Signature]

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PAGE 2 TEHRAN

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UNABLE TO ENGAGE THE PISH MERGA ON FAVORABLE TERMS, THE IRAQIS HAVE RESORTED TO DAY AND NIGHT TERROR-BOMBING OF KURDISH TOWNS AND VILLAGES, USING HIGH-ALTITUDE TU-16 AND TU-22 BOMBERS AND EMPLOYING HEAVY BOMBS AND NAPALM. THE KURDS HAVE NO ANTI-AIRCRAFT WEAPONS CAPABLE OF REACHING THE IRAQI PLANES. TO ESCAPE THESE BOMBINGS, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF KURDISH WOMEN AND CHILDREN AND OLD PEOPLE HAVE FLED ACROSS THE BORDER. IN KURDISH TERRITORY INSIDE IRAQ, BARZANI'S PROBLEM OF CARING FOR NON-COMBATANTS HAS BEEN INCREASED BY THE INFLUX OF AN ESTIMATED 250,000 KURDS WHO FLED BAGHDAD AND OTHER ARAB-DOMINATED PLACES. IT HAS BEEN DIFFICULT BUT POSSIBLE TO PROVIDE FOR THESE DURING THE MILD SUMMER MONTHS, BUT IF THE IRAQI BOMBINGS ARE STILL CONTINUING WHEN WINTER COMES THERE WILL BE SIGNIFICANT HARDSHIP AND SUFFERING.

page 2
4. AS YOU KNOW, WE RECENTLY PROVIDED THE KURDS, THROUGH SAVAK, WITH \$1 MILLION FOR REFUGEE RELIEF. THIS WAS MOST GRATEFULLY RECEIVED. ALSO, IN RESPONSE TO URGENT KURDISH APPEALS, THE AGENCY WILL INCREASE ITS PAYMENTS FOR MEDICAL SUPPLIES FROM \$10,000 TO \$30,000 MONTHLY.

5. THE SHAH HAS ALLOCATED ABOUT \$74 MILLION TO ALL GATE-

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GORIES OF SUPPORT TO THE KURDS. HIS GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN IRANIAN KURDISTAN TOLD OUR VISITING VICE CONSUL OF PLANS FOR A CRASH PROGRAM TO CONSTRUCT WINTERIZED QUARTERS FOR REFUGEES, BUT IT IS UNLIKELY THAT FACILITIES WILL BE READY IN TIME OR WILL BE ADEQUATE TO COPE WITH THE PROBLEM.

6. THE SHAH AND WE BELIEVE A STRONG EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO FOCUS WORLD ATTENTION ON THE GENOCIDAL WAR BEING WAGED AGAINST THE KURDS BY THE BAGHDAD REGIME. THIS COULD BE DONE THROUGH THE MEDIA AND PERHAPS THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS. THE KURDS AND THE IRANIANS ARE AWARE OF THIS NEED AND ARE WORKING ON IT. WE ARE DISCREETLY SUPPORTING THEIR EFFORT IN THE MEDIA FIELD.

7. ANOTHER FORM OF RELIEF WOULD COME, OF COURSE, IF THE BA'TH REGIME SHOULD BE REPLACED, AS OTHERS HAVE BEEN, BY AN ARMY DISGUSTED WITH TAKING HEAVY CASUALTIES IN FIGHTING THEIR OWN CITIZENS IN THE LATTER'S HOME TERRITORY. THERE ARE SIGNS OF TROUBLE INSIDE THE REGIME, BUT AS YET NOTHING CONCRETE ENOUGH TO PERMIT OPTIMISM THAT THE KURDISH REFUGEE PROBLEM WILL BE SOLVED BY A COUP D'ETAT IN BAGHDAD.

8. SINCE EFFORTS IN THE MEDIA AND IN THE UNITED NATIONS MAY FAIL TO DETER THE IRAQIS FROM THEIR BOMBING CAMPAIGN, AND PROS-

PAGE 4 TEHRAN

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~~EX~~PECTS FOR A CHANGE OF REGIME IN BAGHDAD ARE UNCERTAIN, IT LOOKS AS IF THE SHAH WILL HAVE TO ALLOT SUCH MONEY AND RESOURCES AS WILL BE NECESSARY TO ACCOMMODATE GROWING NUMBERS OF REFUGEES THIS WINTER. WE SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF HE PRESSES US TO ASSIST IN SOME WAY. WE HAVE REACHED THE UPPER LIMITS OF CONCEALABLE ASSISTANCE, SO IF WE DECIDE TO DO MORE, IT WILL HAVE TO BE THROUGH VOLUNTARY AGENCIES OR SOME ACKNOWLEDGEABLE GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM. IN ANY EVENT YOU MAY WANT TO ASSIGN THIS DEVELOPING PROBLEM TO SOME SPECIFIC INDIVIDUAL ON YOUR STAFF, BECAUSE IT WILL PREDICTABLY BE COMING OUR WAY BEFORE ^{TOO} LONG.

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