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AGAINST THE
PEACEFUL NUCLEAR INSTALLATIONS
IN IRAQ**

Statement made by
DR. SA'ADOUN HAMMADI
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Before the Security Council
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**REPUBLIC OF IRAQ
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

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Mr. President:

Allow me first to express to you, and through you to the members of the Security Council, my gratitude for convening this meeting and for giving me the opportunity to address the Council on the question of the flagrant act of aggression committed by Israel against Iraq.

On Sunday, 7 June 1981, at 1837 hours Baghdad local time, Israeli warplanes raided the nuclear installations situated near Baghdad, causing many civilian casualties and much material damage. The Zionist aggressors announced on the following day their responsibility for the attack, brazenly claiming the total destruction of the installations.

It is worth recalling that this was not the first attack of its kind carried out by the Zionist aggressor. We believe that Zionist warplanes carried out two raids aimed at the same installations on 27 September 1980.

In order to put the Israeli act of aggression in its proper perspective, it is necessary to deal with the motives and objectives of Zionist policies, and particularly those in the nuclear field.

It is no longer a secret that the founders of the Zionist entity had contemplated from the very beginning the possession of nuclear weapons as a means to guarantee the continued exile of the Palestinians, and continued expansion over Arab territories in order to realize the Zionist dream of a "Greater Israel".

The Israeli nuclear programme goes back as far as 1949. The most important experiments conducted by the Weizman Institute in the early 1950s concerned the development of techniques of uranium extraction from phosphates in the Negev Desert, as well as those relating to the production of heavy water. In 1952 the Ben Gurion Government established the Atomic Energy Commission within the framework of the Ministry of Defense, with a separate budget and special laboratories. The existence of that Commission was kept secret until 1954. In 1953 a nuclear co-operation agreement was concluded with France which marked a turning point in the Israeli nuclear programme. The fact remains, however, that the United States was the first country to provide Israel with a nuclear reactor under an agreement concluded in 1955 - namely, the reactor at Nahal Sorek, which had a five-megawatt capacity. The United States contributed \$350,000 towards the cost of that reactor and provided Israel with a vast library of books, studies and reports, as well as six kilograms of enriched uranium-235. Furthermore, 56 Israelis were trained in American nuclear establishments. Subsequently, Israel obtained another American reactor with an eight-megawatt capacity; it was installed at the Technion Institute. In 1957 the decision was taken to construct the highly secret reactor at Dimona, and in 1958 a reactor at Rishon Lizion with a five-megawatt capacity was constructed in co-operation with the United States.

The decade of the 1950s also witnessed the provision to Israel of nuclear material and technology by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the beginning of co-operation in the nuclear field with the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1964 the Dimona reactor became operational with a 24-megawatt capacity and a possible production of 5 to 7 kilograms of plutonium annually. That quantity is sufficient for the production of a nuclear bomb with 1.2 times the force of the Hiroshima type.

It is to be noted that the Dimona reactor was obtained from France, and the truth about it was not disclosed until the CIA revealed in 1960 that what the Americans were told was a textile factory was in fact a nuclear reactor. *The New York Times* stated

on 20 December 1960 that the Dimona reactor was “particularly well-suited for producing fissionable plutonium used in nuclear bombs”. The same newspaper reported in its issue of 18 July 1970 that American experts who had visited the reactor had complained in 1969 that there was no guarantee that work relating to armament was not being undertaken in Dimona, in view of the restrictive procedures imposed by Israel on inspection.

It is well known that Israel has had a nuclear capability for a number of years. As far back as 1969, the Buffalo *Evening News* carried on its front page on 9 May a *Reuters* report published in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* stating that Israel had become the world’s sixth nuclear power and had six Hiroshima-type bombs of 20 kilotons, produced at Dimona.

On 5 December 1974, *The New York Times* quoted Israeli President Ephraim Katzir as saying that Israel “possesses the potential to produce atomic weapons” and will do so “if we need it”.

At the Conference on a Non-Nuclear Future, held at Salzburg in May 1977, Paul Leventhal, a former staff nuclear-weapons expert for the Senate Government Operation Committee of the United States, revealed that 200 tons of natural uranium, enough to build 42 nuclear weapons, which had been placed on a ship that had disappeared nine years before, had ended up in Israel. The uranium had been loaded onto a cargo ship named *The Scheersburg A* which had sailed out of Antwerp bound for Genoa, where it never arrived. The cargo of *The Scheersburg A* was reported to be capable of keeping a Dimona-type reactor operating and producing plutonium for 20 years.

Shortly after the Salzburg revelation, Norway’s former chief prosecutor stated that Israeli agent Dan Aerbel had admitted taking part in the operation to divert the uranium-laden ship. Aerbel had been seized in 1974 by the Norwegians with four other members of Israel’s Mossad, the Israeli secret service, for the killing of a Moroccan national who was mistaken for a Palestinian by the Israeli agents at a small town in Norway.

According to an article published in *The Times* of London on 14 August 1980, the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

had mistakenly released the text of a five-page secret document in 1974 which stated categorically that Israel was engaged in a nuclear-weapons programme. Part of the uranium was described as having been obtained by "clandestine means" which, although this was not spelled out, was understood to refer to various raids in Europe by squads of underground Mossad agents. The report -all but two paragraphs of which would have remained classified, had a bureaucratic slip not led to its publication - stated in a key section:

We believe that Israel already has produced nuclear weapons. Our judgement is based on Israeli acquisition of large quantities of uranium, partly by clandestine means, the ambiguous nature of Israeli efforts in the field of uranium enrichment, and Israel's large investment in a costly missile system destined to accommodate nuclear warheads."

The Times went on to say that recent foreign reports had suggested that South Africa was now Israel's main partner in a secret nuclear-weapons development programme. The article also referred to a mysterious blast detected off the coast of South Africa in September 1979 by an American spy satellite. It also referred to the manuscript of a book written by two Israeli journalists entitled *None Will Survive Us: The Story of the Israeli A-Bomb*, which contained information to the effect that the said blast was the result of a joint nuclear test by Israel and South Africa. The blast of September 1979 was followed by another in December of the same year, and the second event was recorded by another United States satellite.

The Middle East Magazine, in its issue published in London in April 1981 which contained an investigative report on the Israel-South Africa nuclear link, states that:

"...once again the White House said that the flash was 'probably not' a nuclear blast and suggested it was a 'micro-meteor hit', although scientists say this is likely to occur only once in 10 years. Even the CIA is not prepared to accept this a second time and has pointed out that, as in the previous inci-

dent, South African warships were positioned secretly at sea just below the flash point.”

The magazine further quotes Marvin Cetron, the Pentagon’s private weapons analyst, as saying:

“Were I in the White House, I would try and give as many different possible alternatives as could be technically feasible, hoping to take off the high probability of its being a nuclear explosion. Obviously, it is a cover-up.”

Nor was that the first attempted White-House cover-up of its kind. In the mid-1960s the United States Government discovered that more than 200 pounds of highly enriched weapons-grade uranium, enough for at least four atomic bombs, was missing from the Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation (NUMEC) plant in Apollo, Pennsylvania. In his well-documented book *The Zionist Connection*, Dr. Alfred Lilienthal states that:

“The most serious nuclear safeguards case the United States ever faced broke into the open in late February 1978 when the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) released a 550-page report in response to a House Committee inquiry over previous testimony given by NRC Executive Director Lee V. Gossick. In revealing that Gossick had ‘testified incorrectly’, the report confirmed that the CIA had evidence that Israel had the atomic bomb by 1968 and that bomb material in fact had been diverted from the Apollo plant. Equally important to the report was that CIA third-ranking official Carl Duckett had informed a closed meeting of the NRC in 1976 that President Johnson had been told eight years earlier that Israel had atomic weapons. The President had told CIA Director Richard Helms: ‘Don’t tell anyone else, not even Dean Rusk or Robert McNamara’ - then the Secretaries of State and Defense respectively.”

The story was broken by *The Washington Post* in its issue of 2 March 1978.

The same Carl Duckett, who is currently a consultant to the United States Senate, repeated in an interview broadcast by ABC Television on 27 April 1981 that there was a clear consensus in the CIA that indeed NUMEC material had been diverted and had been used by the Israelis in fabricating weapons. He also confirmed that President Johnson had ordered Director Helms not to tell anybody else. Duckett further stated:

“The key impression to me was that indeed it was taken very seriously by the President, and obviously he was very concerned that we protect that information.”

The above was stated on the ABC News Close-up broadcast over the ABC Television Network on Monday, 27 April 1981.

Iraq has embarked upon a vast and ambitious programme of development. In doing so my Government recognized at an early stage the importance of science and technology, including the peaceful application of nuclear energy, for the achievement of social and economic development. Working towards that goal, we have made efforts to expand our nuclear-research facilities and to widen the scope of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. We have also recognized that the development of alternative sources of energy is becoming increasingly vital and that the peaceful use of atomic energy will be one of the most important alternatives for some time to come.

Despite the basic imbalances and discrimination which are to be found in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Iraq was one of its first adherents. We signed the Treaty on 1 July 1968 and ratified it on 29 October 1969. In 1972 my country concluded an agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency for the application of safeguards to all our nuclear activities, as required by the Non-Proliferation Treaty. On numerous occasions my Government has expressed its conviction that full and faithful implementation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty would make a major contribution to its twin objectives - namely, horizontal and vertical non-proliferation and the promotion of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. We attach special importance to international co-operation in the field

of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Besides being a member of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Iraq has concluded bilateral co-operation agreements with a number of countries. With a view toward strengthening and promoting co-operation in scientific and technical research, the Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission has, together with other organizations, sponsored several conferences and seminars, with the participation of scientists from other countries.

It can no longer be denied that it is the sovereign right of every country to seek knowledge and to pursue the application of science and technology, including nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, in the interests of economic and social development. We firmly believe that the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries cannot be narrowed without the full utilization of science and technology, including the peaceful application of nuclear energy.

Article IV of the Non-Proliferation Treaty provides as follows:

1. "Nothing in this Treaty shall be interpreted as affecting the inalienable right of all the Parties to the Treaty to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with articles I and II of this Treaty.
2. All the Parties to the Treaty undertake to facilitate, and have the right to participate in, the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Parties to the Treaty in a position to do so shall also co-operate in contributing alone or together with other States or international organizations to the further development of the applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, especially in the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States party to the Treaty, with due consideration for the needs of the developing areas of the world. (*General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII)*)"

Moreover, at the Havana Summit Conference in 1979, the non-aligned countries reaffirmed the inalienable right of every country to undisturbed and independent development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. A similar position was adopted by the Extraordinary Meeting of Foreign Ministers of Islamic Countries held in Fez, Morocco, in September 1980. In addition, repeated resolutions of the General Assembly have reaffirmed that right, subject to appropriate safeguards.

Israel prepared the ground for its act of aggression by a vast propaganda campaign alleging that Iraq was engaged in a programme of nuclear-weapons production. The countries which had concluded co-operation agreements with Iraq were denounced and vilified. The severity of the campaign prompted Mr. Jean François-Poncet, the then Foreign Minister of France, to question the reasons for such a campaign. He recalled that Iraq was, after all, the thirty-fifth country to buy a nuclear research reactor. There were 34 other countries which had imported 78 atomic reactors for such purposes, working with enriched uranium. Most of the reactors were of American construction. The countries included South Africa, South Korea, Thailand, Philippines, Zaire and so on. The French Government also issued a statement on 29 July 1980 which expressed astonishment at the fabricated accusations being levelled against it for its co-operation with Iraq. The statement pointed out Iraq's right, together with that of all other States, to utilize nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and found no basis upon which Iraq could be prevented from exercising that right. In conclusion, the statement reaffirmed that the co-operation of the French Government with Iraq was carried out with perfectly legitimate objectives and was covered by all the necessary safeguards.

The Zionist campaign did not stop at that. There were acts of terrorism, sabotage, international piracy and physical liquidation carried out by Zionist undercover agents in order to obstruct Iraq's peaceful nuclear programme.

The motives behind the Zionist campaign and aggression against Iraq are, first, the desire to cover up Israel's possession of

nuclear weapons and secondly and more importantly, the determination not to allow the Arab Nation to acquire the scientific or technical knowledge necessary for their development and progress. The Zionists believe that they can thus impose their *diktat* on the Arab Nation. The more the Arabs advance in their scientific knowledge, the weaker the Zionist chances of maintaining their occupation of Arab territories and their denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

It is evident that the Israel nuclear programme has been geared to military purposes from its very inception and that all sorts of illegal means have been employed for its enhancement, in total violation of internationally accepted standards. Despite the repeated calls upon Israel to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), it has bluntly refused to do so. Iraq, in contrast, by accepting the terms of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, has fully subscribed to those standards in its nuclear programme. In that context, I should like to quote the following from the statement made by the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) at the opening meeting of that Agency's Board of Governors on 9 June 1981:

“Iraq has been a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty since it came into force in 1970. In accordance with that Treaty, Iraq accepts Agency safeguards on all its nuclear activities. These safeguards have been satisfactorily applied to date, including during the recent period of armed conflict with Iran. The last safeguard inspection at the Iraqi nuclear centre took place in January of this year and all nuclear material there was satisfactorily accounted for. This material included the fuel so far delivered for the Tammuz reactors.”

Iraq, being mindful of the danger posed to international peace and security by the Israeli armament programmes, has taken the initiative since the convening of the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament in 1978, in bringing to the attention of the world the dangers of those Israeli programmes. The General Assembly, at its thirty-third session, adopted a resolution sponsored by 36 States Members of the Organization

entitled "Military and Nuclear Collaboration with Israel". The second paragraph of that resolution requested the Security Council in particular to call upon all States under Chapter VII of the Charter and irrespective of any existing contracts:

- (a) to refrain from any supply of arms, ammunition, military equipment or vehicles, or spare parts thereof, to Israel, without any exception;
- (b) to ensure that such supplies do not reach Israel through other parties;
- (c) to end all transfer of nuclear equipment or fissionable material or technology to Israel. (*General Assembly resolution 33/71 A, para. 2*)

The resolution further requested the Security Council to establish machinery for the supervision and implementation of the measures referred to in the paragraph just quoted.

During the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, Iraq, supported by 25 other States Members of the Organization, inscribed an item on the agenda entitled "Israeli nuclear armament". The Assembly adopted resolution 34/89, in which it called upon Israel to submit all its nuclear facilities to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency. It also strongly condemned any attempt on the part of Israel to manufacture, acquire, store, test or introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle East. It further requested the Security Council to adopt appropriate measures to ensure the implementation of the relevant resolutions concerning Israeli nuclear armament.

Furthermore, Iraq has actively supported the initiatives taken in the General Assembly concerning the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, particularly in the Middle East and in the Indian Ocean.

The attack carried out by Israel against Iraq is clearly an act of aggression in accordance with the provisions of the Charter as expounded on in the definition of aggression in resolution 3314 (XXIX) of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The Israeli allegation that it acted in legitimate self-defense is totally unfounded, in fact and in law.

The Israeli act of aggression is a severe blow to the internationally accepted system for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, in his statement to the Board of Governors, which I referred to earlier, said:

“This attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor is a serious development with far-reaching implications. The Agency’s safeguards system is a basic element of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. During my long time here, I do not think we have been faced with a more serious question than the implications of this development. The Agency has inspected the Iraqi reactors and has not found evidence of any activity not in accordance with the Non-Proliferation Treaty. A non-NPT country has evidently not felt assured by our findings and about our ability to continue to discharge our safeguarding responsibilities effectively. From a point of principle, one can only conclude that it is the Agency’s safeguards régime which has also been attacked. Where would this lead us in the future? This is a matter of grave concern which should be pondered well.”

Iraq had already warned the Security Council in a letter distributed in document S/14073 and dated 29 July 1980 that the Zionist campaign against Iraq was a prelude to an air strike against the Iraqi nuclear reactor, as Israel had in its possession American-manufactured aeroplanes with a range that enabled it to strike within Iraqi territory. This Zionist act of aggression against Iraq constitutes a qualitative change in the aggressor’s policy in the area. It is a clear indication of the determination of the Zionists, after the failure of Camp David, to escalate their provocations with acts of armed aggression prior to launching a full-scale war in order to subjugate the Arab countries and to impose full Zionist domination over the whole Middle East.

In conclusion, I should like once again to emphasize that the Israeli attack against my country is a clear-cut act of premeditated aggression. The whole world has recognized that fact. The elaborate preparations that preceded the commission of

that act were fully described by the Prime Minister of Israel and other Israeli leaders in their press conference held in Tel Aviv on 10 June. What is worse is that Begin stated categorically at that press conference that, if Iraq tried to rebuild the reactor, Israel would do all it can to destroy it again.

Faced with this grave situation, the Security Council cannot, in our opinion, limit itself to a mere condemnation of this act of Israeli aggression. The Council should reaffirm the right of all States to develop nuclear programmes for peaceful purposes. Mandatory sanctions in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter should be imposed upon Israel to remove the grave menace to international peace and security posed by its actions. Israeli lawlessness should be brought to an end. The Security Council must decide that all States - and especially the United States of America - shall, under Chapter VII of the Charter, refrain from providing Israel with any military material or technical co-operation or assistance which might encourage it to pursue its policy of expansion and aggression. Something more than condemnation should take place if we really want to have a world of law rather than a world of blind force. In addition, the Security Council should, in the interest of peace and stability in the Middle East, demand that all Israeli nuclear installations be opened to inspection, and subject to the safeguards system of the IAEA.

There should be very little doubt, especially among the members of the Council, that Israel's real target on Sunday, 7 June 1981, was not merely our peaceful nuclear installations. The Zionists and their friends were actually aiming at Iraq's crucial role in rallying the Arab nations against the Camp David conspiracy, in making a real contribution towards strengthening the world of Islam and the Non-aligned Movement, and in being the vanguard of the fight against colonialism, racism including Zionism, and all other forms of domination. They want to undermine the new Iraq and all that it stands for. That target is indestructible.