

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL-SENSITIVE~~

June 9, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: The Situation Room

SUBJECT: More Reactions to Israeli Raid

Our Baghdad interests section reports that Iraqis are reacting with calm, anger and little surprise to the attack. The government seems to be attempting to use the raid to attract sympathy and support in its fight against Iran, linking Israel and Iran and discrediting Arab states, particularly Syria, which are supporting Iran. Our strong statement of condemnation which the foreign ministry believes was made by the President, was extremely helpful, though our position in the Security Council will be closely watched. (C)

The Israeli paper Yediot notes that support for the "super-Entebbe" operation cuts across party lines, and other papers echo their acclaim. The media also note Washington's reaction, commenting U.S. officials fear the impact on Habib's mission, and are concerned about the effect on our efforts to get Iraq to move closer to the West. They do not expect congressional investigation to produce an embargo. Gideon Samet writes that Washington increasingly perceives Begin's policy as a liability. (U)

Jordanian media calls the attack "one of the most dangerous developments" and says the entire world condemns the Israeli aggression. Ad-Dustour emphasizes there can be no security or secure future for Arabs as long as Israel exists and that the Arabs will acquire nuclear weapons no matter how long it takes. Commentary also notes that Secretary Haig came to the area asking the Arab states to join the U.S. in a strategic consensus against the USSR, but the danger comes from Israel rather than from Moscow. (U)

Syrian commentary argues that the real danger to the region is from Israel not the Soviets. Our embassy comments that the attack should help to reinforce and justify Syria's stand in the Lebanese crisis as well as to the appeal for Arab unity. (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REVIEW ON JUNE 9, 1987
CLASSIFIED BY MULTIPLE SOURCES

DECLASSIFIED
NLS F76-127/L 4280

BY amf KARA DATE 2/28/05

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Homer

9 June 1981

All the referenced cables at the end of this message, if they were all received by the White House during the Carter administration, are now with the Carter archives and not in our system. The duty officer is inquiring of State as to their availability.

Frank

PS ROBERT DURHAM
(632-2540) in BREMER'S
OFFICE will be in
TODAY TO MORROW, (10 June)

SECRET

***** E C R E T *****

DATE 26/08/01

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01

WHTG ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

BT: RYA HAN COL JP VP
EORI: KPMF, SHIN, HUBERMAN
WHSR COMMENT: RED TAG

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHTV #0138/01 160104Z
O 071540Z JUN 01 ZFF+4
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7502

INFO WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 06135
NOFORN/NOFORN
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR LEWIS
E.O. 12958: R00=1,3,4 0/0/01 (LEWIS, SAMUEL W.) DR-N
TAGS: HNUC, MILI, MOPB, IS, US, IZ
SUBJECT: ISRAELI STRIKE ON IRAQI NUCLEAR FACILITY;
- BACKGROUND FOR THE DECISION
REF: TEL AVIV 0503

1. (X) ENTIRE TEXT)

2. AS I REFLECTED ON THE EVENTS OF THE LAST 48 HOURS, IT OCCURRED TO ME THAT WITH THE CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATIONS IN WASHINGTON THERE MAY HAVE DEVELOPED INADVERTENTLY A GAP IN OUR INSTITUTIONAL MEMORY. THE TIMING OF THE ISRAELI STRIKE ENORMOUSLY COMPLICATES MANY ASPECTS OF AMERICAN POLICY IN THIS REGION AND I AM NOT FOR A MOMENT TRYING TO DEFEND IT. BUT AS YOU CONSIDER HOW TO DEAL WITH THE FALL OUT, AND WITH BEGIN HIMSELF, IN THE DAYS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD, YOU AND THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE THOROUGHLY BRIEFED ON THE HISTORY OF OUR VERY SENSITIVE DIALOGUE WITH BEGIN DURING THE FINAL SIX MONTHS OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. THIS WAS A VERY FRUSTRATING SERIES OF EXCHANGES FOR BEGIN, AND VERY OMINOUS FOR US. IT LEFT ME WITH NO DOUBT THAT BEFORE THE

TEL AVIV 0135

DTG: 061040Z JUN 01 PSN: 050407
TOR: 160/1984Z

***** E C R E T *****

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
NLS F96-127/1 #1

By Amf, 2/3/05

PRESERVATION COPY

DATE 06/02/81

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

ISRAEL REACTOR BECAME OPERATIONAL. THE ISRAELI FORCES WOULD DESTROY IT.

3. I WILL SUMMARIZE HERE THE EVOLUTION OF THE DIALOGUE, THEN PROVIDE CITATIONS TO RELEVANT, HIGHLY SENSITIVE MEMORANDA WHICH SOMEONE CAN REVIEW FOR YOU. PERHAPS NONE OF THEM WERE EVER BROUGHT TO YOUR ATTENTION DURING OR AFTER THE TRANSITION. THE DIALOGUE LAPPED AFTER DECEMBER AND WAS NOT SUBSEQUENTLY PRESSED EITHER BY BEGIN OR BY US. THAT FACT MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE UNFORTUNATE DECISION TO STRIKE ON SUNDAY.

4. DURING JUNE AND JULY OF 1980, THERE WAS A SUDDED DELUGE OF STORIES IN THE ISRAELI AND INTERNATIONAL PRESS FOCUSING ON DANGERS THE EVOLVING IRAQI NUCLEAR PROGRAM WOULD PRESENT FOR ISRAEL. BEGIN SPENT ABOUT TEN DAYS IN THE HOSPITAL IN EARLY JULY. HE ASKED ME TO SEE HIM AT HOME ON JULY 14 FOR OUR FIRST MEETING DURING HIS CONVALESCENCE. THE ENTIRE MEETING WAS DEVOTED TO HIS FEARS THAT IRAQ WOULD SOON POSSESS NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE ASKED ME TO TRANSMIT AN EMOTIONAL PERSONAL MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT CARTER (TEL AVIV 10000-10001). IN ESSENCE THE APPEAL WAS THAT HE DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO STOP FURTHER ENRICHED URANIUM SHIPMENTS TO IRAQ BEFORE IT WAS "TOO LATE." I COMMENTED IN REPORTING THAT APPEAL "UNLESS WE CAN SOMEHOW CHANGE THE COURSE OF FRENCH POLICY AND REASSURE THE ISRAELIS, WE MUST ANTICIPATE THAT THEY WILL FEEL COMPELLED IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE TO TAKE SOME KIND OF UNILATERAL ACTION TO THWART THE IRAQI NUCLEAR PLANS WELL BEFORE THE IRAQIS ACTUALLY POSSESS A WEAPON. AND BY THE VERY NEAR FUTURE." I MEAN WITHIN THE NEXT SIX MONTHS. WE COULD NOT AND SHOULD NOT RULE OUT ANY POSSIBLE WILLING, PARALLEL OR EVEN PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKES WITH CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AGAINST THE IRAQI NUCLEAR FACILITIES

5. [REDACTED] STATE OFFICIALS LABORED TO PRODUCE A REASSURING RESPONSE WHICH I WAS FINALLY ABLE TO GIVE TO BEGIN ON AUGUST 22 (TEL AVIV 10001).

FOIA(b)(1)

AND AMBASSADOR BYRON WAS GIVEN A PARTIAL INTERIM REPLY BY THEN ASSISTANT SECRETARY SAUNDERS. BEGIN WAS NOT REASSURED; HE WAS MOST SUSPICIOUS OF FRENCH MOTIVES. HE CONCLUDED THAT DISCUSSION BY SAYING: "ISRAEL DOES NOT INTEND TO RELY ON PROMISES."

FOIA(b)(1)

TEL AVIV #130

DTG:001040Z JUN 81 PGN: 030407
TOR: 100/10007

*****~~SECRET~~*****

DATE 05/09/01

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

[REDACTED]

IN THE SUBSEQUENT WEEKS, DURING LATE AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER BEGIN ASKED ME SEVERAL TIMES WHETHER HE HAD ANYTHING MORE TO TELL HIM, AND I COULD ONLY STALL.

FOIA(b) (1)

3. ON SEPTEMBER 29, HE REPORTED THAT HE WERE PICKING UP A NUMBER OF THINLY VEILED STRAWS IN THE WIND SUGGESTING THAT ISRAEL WAS SORELY TEMPTED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE COVER PROVIDED BY THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR TO CARRY OUT AN AIR STRIKE AGAINST THE IRAQI NUCLEAR FACILITIES (TEL AVIV 17080).

[REDACTED]

HE CONCLUDED THAT THERE WAS A 25 TO 45 PERCENT POSSIBILITY OF A STRIKE TAKING PLACE WITHIN THE NEXT FEW

FOIA(b) (1)

TEL AVIV 0136

DTG:001640Z JUN 01 PSN: 036407
TOR: 100/1900Z

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DATE 05/09/01

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PAGE 01

WHIS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

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WHIS COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE

DE RUENTY #0100/02 100100Z

O 001040Z JUN 01 ZFF-4

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7503

INFO WHITEHOUSE WASHDC

BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 TEL AVIV 00100
DAYS AND DESCRIBED HOW HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE CARRIED OUT.
IN THE EVENT, THERE WAS A STRIKE BY TWO F-4'S THE FOLLOWING
DAY, SEPTEMBER 20. IT TURNED OUT TO BE AN IRANIAN OPERA-
TION WHOSE ONLY "SUCCESS" WAS TO SCARE AWAY THE FRENCH AND
ITALIAN TECHNICIANS AT THE FACILITY FOR SEVERAL MONTHS.
WHEN I CAN BEGIN OCTOBER 5, HE VOLUNTEERED THAT IT WAS NOT
ISRAEL WHICH HAD ATTACKED THE BAGHDAD FACILITY. HE THEN
REMINDED US THAT HE HAD BEEN ASKING US TO DO EVERYTHING
POSSIBLE TO STOP FRENCH AND ITALIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE IRAQ
PROGRAM (TEL AVIV 10100). IN RETROSPECT, I AM EVEN MORE
CONVINCED THAT THE ISRAELIS HAD INDEED PLANNED A STRIKE
BUT CALLED IT OFF WHEN THE IRANIANS GOT THERE FIRST. SINCE
THE TECHNICIANS IMMEDIATELY LEFT THE SITE FOR A PROLONGED
PERIOD, THEY PUT THEIR PLANS ON ICE UNTIL THE THREAT THEY
PERCEIVED OF THE REACTOR'S BECOMING OPERATIONAL WAS AGAIN
RENEWED AFTER THE RETURN OF TECHNICIANS EARLIER THIS YEAR.

7. DURING OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER

FOIA(b) (1)

THE THEN-ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR OES,
AMBASSADOR TOM PICKERING, WAS THE CHIEF ACTION OFFICER IN

TEL AVIV 0100

DTG:001040Z JUN 01 PSN: 000019
TOR: 10071000Z

DATE 06/09/81

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

THE DEPARTMENT ON THIS PROBLEM.

HE PLANNED TO VISIT ISRAEL IN LATE NOVEMBER TO BRIEF BEGIN IN DETAIL ON THE PROGRESS OF OUR EFFORTS. HIS TRIP WAS CANCELLED BUT I WAS EVENTUALLY AUTHORIZED BY DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER TO CARRY OUT THE BRIEFING FROM INSTRUCTIONS FOUNDED TO ME BY PICKERING.

FOIA(b)(1)

I WAS INSTRUCTED TO MAKE THE PRESENTATION BUT TO REPORT ON THE MEETING ONLY BY LETTER TO TOM PICKERING.

FOIA(b)(1)

B. I MET WITH BEGIN FINALLY DECEMBER 17 (AND REPORTED BY LETTER ON DECEMBER 24 IN DETAIL). AT THAT MEETING INTER ALIA, I WENT THROUGH THE TALKING POINTS PROVIDED ME WHICH INCLUDED SOME OF THE FOLLOWING:

A. THE UNITED STATES SHARES ISRAEL'S SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT IRAQ'S NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.

B. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NO HARD EVIDENCE THAT IRAQ INTENDS TO BUILD NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE PACE AND SCOPE OF THE PROGRAM SECRET

EXCEEDS IRAQ'S APPARENT NEEDS AND, WE BELIEVE, ARE INTENDED TO GIVE THAT COUNTRY'S GOVERNMENT THE OPTION OF DEVELOPING NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES IN THE FUTURE.

C. THE IRAQI MILITARY HAS TAKEN CONTROL OF THE NUCLEAR SITE. THOSE FRENCH TECHNICIANS WHO REMAIN IN THE BAGHDAD AREA DO NOT HAVE ACCESS TO IT AT PRESENT, ALTHOUGH IT IS THEIR OPINION THAT THE HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM HAS NOT BEEN TAMPERED WITH.

D.

FOIA(b)(1)

E. IT IS OUR STRONG BELIEF THAT PRECIPITATE ACTION AGAINST IRAQ'S NUCLEAR INSTALLATIONS WOULD BE A SEVERE SET BACK TO THE PROSPECTS FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE.

F. THE UNITED STATES IS UNDER NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE DANGER THAT IRAQ'S POSSESSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD POSE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO DEVOTE SIGNIFICANT EFFORT TO MONITORING IRAQI NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENTS AND WILL WELCOME VIEWS AND INFORMATION THAT YOU MAY WISH TO SHARE WITH US.

IN THAT CONVERSATION I ALSO NOTED FOR BEGIN THAT THE ASSESSMENTS OF THE SITUATION MADE BY OUR RESPECTIVE EXPERTS WERE

TEL AVIV 9138

DTG:001840Z JUN 81 RBT: 030319
TOR: 100/1900Z

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DATE 06/09/81

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

IN BASIC AGREEMENT. THERE WAS NO DISAGREEMENT ABOUT WHERE IRAQ'S STATE OF THE ART WAS AT THAT TIME, OR ABOUT THE GRAVE DANGERS INHERENT IN ANY IRAQI ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THERE WERE SMALL DIFFERENCES IN OUR JUDGMENTS REGARDING THE DATE AFTER WHICH IRAQ COULD EXPLODE A NUCLEAR DEVICE. IN RESPONSE BEGIN THANKED US FOR WHAT HE WERE DOING IN PARIS AND ROME BUT MADE CLEAR THAT HE WAS STILL DEEPLY WORRIED THAT THE DIPLOMATIC TRACK WAS NOT SUCCEEDING. I CONCLUDED MY REPORT ON THIS MEETING WITH THE FOLLOWING WORDS: "THIS SESSION WILL SATISFY THE NEED HERE FOR A TIME. I SHOULD BE GIVEN THE INFORMATION AND AUTHORITY TO UPDATE BEGIN AT TWO-THREE MONTH INTERVALS IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN CREDIBILITY. GENERAL EITAN WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS BEGIN HARD. HE RAISED THE SUBJECT YESTERDAY WITH GENERAL JONES.

TEL AVIV 0135

DTG: 091040Z JUN 81 PGM: 035319
TOR: 160/19802

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DATE 08/09/01

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01

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WHEN COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE

DE RUENTY 001000Z JUN 01 100100Z

O 001000Z JUN 01 ZFF*4

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7004

INFO WHITEHOUSE WASHDC

BT

SECTION 05 OF 05 TEL AVIV 001000
CHARACTERIZING IT AS THE MOST SERIOUS THREAT ISRAEL FACES
ANYWHERE. TO MAINTAIN ANY KIND OF INFLUENCE OVER THE VERY
DANGEROUS POSSIBILITIES FOR DIRECT ISRAELI MILITARY PRE-
VENTIVE MOVES, IT IS VITAL THAT HE CONTINUE TO CARRY ON A
FRANK DIALOGUE WITH BEGIN OR HIS SUCCESSOR. AT SOME POINT,
THE NEW ADMINISTRATION SHOULD BE CAREFULLY BRIEFED, WITH
THIS POINT UNDERSCORED."

8. THAT WAS THE LAST OF SUCH EXCHANGES BETWEEN BEGIN AND
ME. HE HAS NOT PRESSED FOR FURTHER MEETINGS ON THIS SUB-
JECT, AND WE HAVE NOT INITIATED THEM.

FOIA(b) (1)

SEVERAL MONTHS
PASSED. THEN THE STRIKE OCCURRED AT A MOMENT WHEN IT COULD
SCARCELY HAVE BEEN MORE DAMAGING TO OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS
IN THE REGION. BEGIN SAID PUBLICLY YESTERDAY THAT "THE
DECISION TO ATTACK IRAQ'S NUCLEAR REACTOR WAS ADOPTED MANY
MONTHS AGO. BUT THERE WERE HINDRANCES, AND THERE WERE ALSO
VARIOUS CONSIDERATIONS AND A NUMBER OF DELAYS. WE THEN
ARRIVED AT A SITUATION WHERE IT WAS CLEAR TO US THAT IF WE
DID NOT ACT NOW WE WOULD MISS THE PROPITIOUS TIME." I HAVE
NO DOUBT THAT THROUGHOUT THE MONTHS SINCE DECEMBER, GENERAL
EITAN AND ARIK SHARON IN PARTICULAR HAVE CONTINUED TO PRESS

TEL AVIV 0136

DTG:001000Z JUN 01 PSN: 000027
TOR: 100/19192

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Department of State

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NOD849

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 TEL AV 13256 01 OF 02 191243Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 /001 W

-----C-043003 191249Z /44

O 191217Z JUL 80 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0276

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 13256

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY MUSKIE FROM LEWIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 7/19/00 (LEWIS, SAMUEL W.) OR-M
TAGS: MNUC, MILI, FR, IZ, IS, US
SUBJECT: BEGIN'S APPEAL TO PRESIDENT CARTER CONCERNING
FRENCH ENRICHED URANIUM SHIPMENTS TO IRAQ

REF: A) STATE 189464, B) PARIS 22137

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. DURING MY FIRST MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN
SINCE HE CAME OUT OF THE HOSPITAL, AN HOUR LONG SESSION
AT HIS RESIDENCE BEDROOM JULY 17, HE ASKED ME TO DELIVER
TO PRESIDENT CARTER A PERSONAL AND VERY EMOTIONAL MESSAGE
CONCERNING HIS FEARS THAT IRAQ WOULD SOON BE IN POSSESSION
OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. BEGIN SAID THAT THE RECENT REPORTS
THAT THE FRENCH ARE GOING AHEAD TO SHIP HIGHLY ENRICHED
URANIUM TO IRAQ, IN A QUANTITY (72 KG.) WHICH WOULD PER-
MIT THE MANUFACTURE OF AT LEAST THREE NUCLEAR WEAPONS,
HAS GIVEN HIM AND HIS COLLEAGUES CONTINUOUS SLEEPLESS
NIGHTS. BEGIN STRESSED THAT THE IRAQIS ALREADY HAVE
SOVIET TUPOLOV-22 BLINDER BOMBERS WITH WHICH BOMBING RUNS
TO THE HEART OF ISRAEL AND RETURN TO BAGHDAD, CARRYING

~~SECRET~~

7-13
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DECLASSIFIED IN PART

NLS F96-127/1 #2

By SMF, NNS, 2000 2/3/05



Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02

TEL AV 13256 01 OF 02 191243Z

NUCLEAR WEAPONS, ARE PERFECTLY POSSIBLE. EVEN ONE OR TWO NUCLEAR WEAPONS DROPPED INTO THE CENTER OF ISRAEL'S CIVILIAN POPULATION "WOULD WIPE OUT OUR CITIZENS."

3. BEGIN STRESSED THAT YOU SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THAT IRAQ "IS THE BLOODIEST AND MOST IRRESPONSIBLE OF ALL ARAB REGIMES, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF KADDAFI IN LIBYA, HAS SENT SUBSTANTIAL FORCES TO FIGHT AGAINST ISRAEL IN ALL OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI WARS, AND HAS NEVER AGREED TO SIGN ANY ARMISTICE AGREEMENT AFTER ANY OF THESE WARS, UNLIKE THE OTHER ARAB STATES ALL OF WHICH DID SIGN ARMISTICES."

BEGIN THEN RECOUNTED A STORY [REDACTED]

FOIA(b) (1)

[REDACTED] ACCORDING TO WHICH MUBARAK WAS SHAKEN UP CONSIDERABLY DURING A VISIT TO PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN'S OFFICE IN BAGHDAD TO FIND HIM WITH A LOADED PISTOL ON HIS DESK DURING THEIR CONVERSATION. THIS, BEGIN SAID, ILLUSTRATES WHAT KIND OF IRAQI LEADER WE ARE DEALING WITH.

4. BEGIN CONCLUDED HIS APPEAL BY ASKING ME TO PUT TO THE PRESIDENT IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS HIS PERSONAL REQUEST THAT THE PRESIDENT DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE WITH THE FRENCH TO STOP FURTHER ENRICHED URANIUM SHIPMENTS TO IRAQ. I TOLD HIM I WOULD CONVEY HIS APPEAL IMMEDIATELY.

5. COMMENT: IN RECENT DAYS, ISRAELI OFFICIALS, JOURNALISTS, ACADEMIC EXPERTS, AND KNESSET MEMBERS HAVE BEEN WORKING THEMSELVES UP INTO A STATE OF NEAR PANIC ABOUT THE IRAQI NUCLEAR ISSUE. ISRAEL'S MOST WIDELY RESPECTED NUCLEAR PHYSICIST, YUVAL NE'EMAN, HAS GIVEN SEVERAL INTERVIEWS STATING FLATLY THAT ISRAEL CANNOT AFFORD TO MAKE ANY OTHER ASSUMPTION BUT THAT THE IRAQIS WILL TAKE ALL OR

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Department of State

INCOMING
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PAGE 03

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PART OF THE ENRICHED URANIUM WHICH THE FRENCH ARE SUPPLY-
ING AND TURN IT INTO SEVERAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS OF ROUGHLY
THE YIELD OF THE HIROSHIMA BOMB. THIS, HE AND OTHERS
HAVE INSISTED, CAN CONFRONT ISRAEL WITH AN IRAQ ARMED WITH
NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITHIN ONE YEAR OR LESS, ALTHOUGH

FOIA(b) (1)

IRAQI NUCLEAR CAPABILITY IS A
FEW YEARS FURTHER OFF, THEY CANNOT AND DO NOT DISMISS BY
ANY MEANS NE'EMANIS "WORSE CASE" SCENARIO. NOR, OBVI-
OUSLY, DOES BEGIN.

6. FROM DISCUSSING THIS ISSUE WITH BEGIN AND A NUMBER OF
OTHERS HERE IN THE LAST FEW DAYS, I FIND THAT ANY ARGU-
MENTS ABOUT FRENCH INSPECTION OF THE USE OF THE NUCLEAR
MATERIAL, OR INTERNATIONAL IAEA INSPECTION SAFEGUARDS
FALL ON COMPLETELY DEAF EARS. THE ISRAELIS ASSUME FROM
THEIR OWN EXPERIENCE THAT THE FRENCH CAN AND WILL TURN A
BLIND EYE TO DIVERSION OF THE MATERIAL, AND THAT IN ANY
CASE INSPECTORS ARE NOT THAT DIFFICULT TO FOOL. THE
ISRAELI EXPERIENCE IN SPIRITING WEAPONS OUT OF FRANCE IN
EARLIER TIMES UNDER THE NOSE OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS
ONE OF THE FACTORS IN THEIR LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN ANY
FRENCH ASSURANCES THAT THE NUCLEAR MATERIAL, ONCE IN
BAGHDAD, WILL BE KEPT UNDER EFFECTIVE OBSERVATION.

7. BEGIN'S APPEAL TO YOU SHOULD BE SEEN AGAINST THE BACK-
DROP OF THIS RISING TIDE OF ANXIETY. FROM WELL-INFORMED
JOURNALISTS WE KNOW THAT THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES ARE NOW
LOOKING VERY SERIOUSLY AT HOW ISRAEL ITSELF CAN STOP THE
IRAQI NUCLEAR PROGRAM, IF THE U.S. IS NOT EFFECTIVE IN
"BRINGING THE FRENCH TO THEIR SENSES." WE ALSO KNOW THAT
THE ISRAELIS ARE LAUNCHING DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS IN EUROPE
TO TRY TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE FRENCH, AND THAT
THEY ARE MAKING A MAJOR EFFORT TO FOCUS THE WEIGHT OF
PUBLIC OPINION AND JEWISH INFLUENCE WITHIN FRANCE ON
GISCARD D'ESTAING. SHIMON PERES TOLD ME JULY 18 THAT HE

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Department of State

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NOD850

PAGE 01 TEL AV 13256 02 OF 02 191246Z
ACTION NOD5-00

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 /001 *
-----043018 191250Z /40

O 191217Z JUL 80 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0277

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 13256

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY MUSKIE FROM LEWIS

AND HIS FRIENDS IN THE LABOR PARTY WERE LAUNCHING PARALLEL
EFFORTS IN FRANCE, SINCE ON THIS ISSUE THERE IS NO DIF-
FERENCE OF VIEW BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION.

8. I AM UNAWARE OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY
MADE STRONG EFFORTS WITH THE FRENCH ON THIS ISSUE. BUT
I AM CONVINCED THAT AS THINGS ARE NOW DEVELOPING IN THE
REGION, THERE IS NO MORE DANGEROUS ISSUE THAN THIS ONE.
UNLESS WE CAN SOMEHOW CHANGE THE COURSE OF FRENCH POLICY
AND REASSURE THE ISRAELIS, WE MUST ANTICIPATE THAT THEY
WILL FEEL COMPELLED IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE TO TAKE
SOME KIND OF UNILATERAL ACTION TO THWART THE IRAQI NUCLEAR
PLANS WELL BEFORE THE IRAQIS ACTUALLY POSSESS A WEAPON.
AND BY THE "VERY NEAR FUTURE," I MEAN WITHIN THE NEXT SIX
MONTHS. INITIAL ISRAELI MOVES WOULD PROBABLY BE CLANDES-
TINE, BUT WE COULD NOT AND SHOULD NOT RULE OUT ANY POSSI-
BILITIES, PARAMILITARY, OR EVEN PREEMPTIVE STRIKES WITH
CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AGAINST THE IRAQI NUCLEAR FACILITIES,
REGARDLESS OF THE AWESOME CONSEQUENCES SUCH ACTS COULD
PRODUCE.

9. FOR THESE REASONS, I URGE YOU TO RESPOND AS CONVINC-

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PAGE 02

TEL AV 13256 02 OF 02 191246Z

INGLY AND EFFECTIVELY AS POSSIBLE TO BEGIN'S APPEAL.
LEWIS

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80 TEL AVIV 13396

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ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ADS-00 SSO-00 INRF-00 PM-05
SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00 INF-10 NSAE-00 OES-00 SSN-02
ACDA-12 /003 W

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O 221718Z JUL 80 7FF-4
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7350
INFO DIA WASHDC PRIORITY
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PAPIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
USINT BAGHDAD PRIORITY
USCINCEP VAHINGEN PRIORITY

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 13396

E.O. 12065: RDS-3 7/21/00 (BROWN, WILLIAM A.) OR-M

TAGS: MMOL, MNUC, IS, IZ, FR

SUBJECT: ISRAELI CONCERNS OVER IRAQI NUCLEAR INTENTIONS

REF: (A) STATE 189224, (B) USDAO TEL AVIV 13162 (NOTAL)

1. (C) DIVERSE ELEMENTS OF ISRAELI SOCIETY, INCLUDING
PROMINENT POLITICAL FIGURES, ACADEMIC ANALYSTS, MEDIA
COMMENTATORS AND EVERYDAY EMBASSY CONTACTS, HAVE COALESCED

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PAGE 02 TEL AV 13396 01 OF 02 221730Z

INTO THE CLOSEST THING TO A FULL NATIONAL CONSENSUS ON
A SECURITY ISSUE SEEN HERE SINCE THE OCTOBER WAR OF 1973.
THE POSSIBLE ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY IRAQ HAS
OCCASIONED HIGHLY ALARMIST SPECULATION IN THE MEDIA AND
ONLY A SLIGHTLY MORE MEASURED LEVEL OF CONCERN BY POLITICAL
LEADERS. A COMMON THREAD THROUGHOUT COMMENTARY IS THAT
A CONTINUING ADVANCEMENT BY IRAQ TOWARD NUCLEAR CAPABILITY
WILL PROVIDE MORAL JUSTIFICATION FOR VIRTUALLY ANY ACTIONS
ISRAEL MAY FEEL COMPELLED TO TAKE TO ERADICATE THIS NEW
AND OMINOUS THREAT. A SAMPLING OF COMMENTS OVER THE LAST
FEW DAYS FOLLOWS:

2. (U) --- LABOR PARTY LEADER SHIMON PERES STATED
- THAT THE SITUATION IS A "SERIOUS THREAT"
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NLS F96-127/1 #3

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TO HUMANITY."

- DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER ZIPPORI, IN A BLUNT MANNER, SAID, "IF ISRAEL FAILS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE IRAQI NUCLEAR PLANT THROUGH DIPLOMATIC MEANS THE CABINET WILL HAVE TO RECONSIDER ITS WAYS."
- HAGGAI ESHED, IN A COMMENTARY IN DAVAR, RECOMMENDED A PREEMPTIVE STRIKE. "IT MUST BE QUITE CLEAR TO ANYONE IN HIS RIGHT MIND THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT YIELD TO ANY IRAQI EXTORTION AND WILL REGARD IT AS CASSUS BELLI."
- MINISTER OF ENERGY MODA'I STATED THAT "THIS DEVELOPMENT IS A DANGER FOR THE WELFARE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, NOT ONLY OF THE REGION."

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PAGE 03

TEL AV 13396 01 OF 02 221730Z

- A DAVAR EDITORIAL, USING SUCH LANGUAGE AS "ANNIHILATION AND EXTERMINATION," FOCUSED ON THE "MUSLIM BOMB" AND THE TIME ISRAEL HAS TO REACT TO THIS DEVELOPMENT.
 - A HA'ARETZ EDITORIAL HAMMERED AWAY AT FRENCH IRRESPONSIBILITY AND TERMED THE IRAQ NUCLEAR SITUATION A NEW DANGER TO ISRAEL AND ARAB STATES SOUTH AND EAST OF IRAQ. THE U.S. AND SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN KEEPING NUCLEAR ARMS OUT OF THE AREA, HA'ARETZ NOTED, BUT FRENCH ACTIONS ARE NOW UPSETTING BOTH THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL STATUS QUO.
 - THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE, MATTI SHMULEVITZ, SAID "PRODUCTION OF AN ARAB BOMB WILL BE RESPONDED TO BY A SIMILAR ACTION ON ISRAEL'S PART. ISRAEL CANNOT AFFORD TO SIT AND WAIT FOR AN IRAQI ATOM BOMB TO FALL ON HER HEAD."
 - AL HAMISHMAR STATED THAT "THE NUCLEAR SHADOW IN OUR REGION IS LIABLE ONLY TO SPEED UP THE OUTBREAK OF WAR" AND SPECULATED THAT IRAQ WITH PAKISTANI HELP CAN HAVE A NUCLEAR DEVICE IN 6-12 MONTHS. IF IT BECOMES CLEAR THAT IRAQ IS PREPARING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE PAPER SAYS, THEN ISRAEL WILL HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO SPEED UP ITS OWN WEAPONS PLANS.
3. (3) COMMENT: REF B ANALYZES HOW FORCED BUDGET CUTS

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 13396 02 OF 02 221734Z

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AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
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~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 13396
AND FEWER RUNWAYS AVAILABLE AS RESULT OF SINAI WITHDRAWAL
ARE INCREASING PRESSURES IN ISRAELI AIR FORCE FOR A MORE
PREEMPTIVE-PRONE POLICY. THE POSSIBILITY OF IRAQ ATTACKING
ISRAEL WITH A NUCLEAR WEAPON WILL PLACE IRAQ'S NUCLEAR
FACILITY HIGH ON ISRAEL AIR FORCE PLANNERS LIST OF
PREEMPTIVE TARGETS. WITH ISRAELIS UNITED ON THIS ISSUE
IN A MANNER SELDOM SEEN IN THIS COUNTRY, ALMOST ANY SUCH
ACTION ISRAEL WOULD TAKE TO PREVENT IRAQ FROM OBTAINING

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PAGE 02 TEL AV 13396 02 OF 02 221734Z
NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD BE CONDONED BY AN OVERWHELMING
MAJORITY OF ITS CITIZENS. GIVEN THESE FACTORS WE URGE
THAT PROBLEMS RAISED BY IRAQI NUCLEAR ACQUISITION BE
GIVEN SERIOUS AND URGENT HIGH LEVEL ATTENTION IN WASHINGTON.
AS PARTIAL, FIRST STEP, REF A MIGHT BE SCRUTINIZED FOR
ELEMENTS WE MAY PASS TO SENIOR OFFICIALS HERE IN AN
EFFORT TO DISPLAY OUR INTEREST AND, WE HOPE, ALLAY THEIR
IMMEDIATE CONCERNS SOMEWHAT. LEWIS

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PAGE 01 STATE 195154

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DRAFTED BY NEA:MDRAPER:CF
APPROVED BY D:WCHRISTOPHER
NSC - MR BRZEZINSKI
NEA - MR SAUNDERS
OES - MR PICKERING
S/S:LPBREMER
S/AS - AMB SMITH

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INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 4965

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NODIS
CHEROKEE - FOR AMBASSADOR LEWIS

E.O. 12065: RDS 1-3, 7/23/2000 (DRAPER, MORRIS)

TAGS: MNUC, MILI, FR, IZ, IS, US

SUBJECT: FRENCH ENRICHED URANIUM SHIPMENTS TO IRAQ

REF: TEL AVIV 13256

1. (S) ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AT YOUR MEETING WITH BEGIN ON THURSDAY, JULY 24, YOU SHOULD SAY THAT HIS APPEAL AS REGARDS FRENCH ENRICHED URANIUM SHIPMENTS TO IRAQ HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY.

FOIA(b) (1)

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NLS F96-1271 #4

By DMF, NARS, DATE 2/3/05

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 13553 250812Z
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NODIS CHEROKEE

FROM AMBASSADOR LEWIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1, 3 7/25/00 (LEWIS, SAMUEL W.) OR-M
TAGS: MNUC, MILI, FR, IZ, IS, US
SUBJECT: FRENCH ENRICHED URANIUM SHIPMENTS TO IRAQ

REF: STATE 195154

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. DURING MY MEETING WITH BEGIN MORNING OF JULY 24, I
ASSURED HIM THAT HIS APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT IS UNDER
SERIOUS CONSIDERATION BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY,
AND THAT HE CAN EXPECT A FULL RESPONSE SOON.

FOIA(b) (1)

[REDACTED] I COULD NOT SAY MORE
AT THIS POINT BUT WOULD BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH HIM AS
QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE,

3. BEGIN SEEMED SATISFIED WITH THIS INTERIM REPLY. I
HOPE THAT I CAN HAVE SOMETHING MORE TO SAY TO HIM WITHIN
A WEEK AT THE LATEST. LEWIS

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NLS F96-127/1#5

By DMF, NARA, Date 2/3/05

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APPROVED BY DES:TRPICKERING
S/AS:AMBASSADOR SMITH
NSC:RHUNTER, GOPLINGER
NEA:HSAUNDERS
D:RLDEITZ
EUR/WE:EBEIGEL
S/P:RGALLUCCI
INR/RMP:BRISA
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E.O. 12065: RDS-1, 7/23/00 (GUHIN, MICHAEL) DES/NEP

TAGS: TECH, MNUC, RF, IZ, IS

SUBJECT: BEGIN'S APPEAL TO PRESIDENT CARTER CONCERNING
FRENCH ENRICHED URANIUM SHIPMENTS TO IRAQ

REF: TEL AVIV 13396

1. (S) ENTIRE TEXT.

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NLS F96-127/1 #6

By amf, NARA, Date 2/3/05

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PAGE 02

STATE 196084

2. FOLLOWING ARE POINTS TOM PICKERING WILL BE USING IN DISCUSSIONS WITH AMBASSADOR EYRON ON JULY 25. THESE ARE BEING FORWARDED FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION. INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING YOUR FOLLOW-ON PRESENTATION TO BEGIN WILL BE FORWARDED AS SOON AS OUR REVIEW COMPLETED.

(A) THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT IRAQI NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES FOR SOME TIME AND HAS BEEN WATCHING THE SITUATION THERE CLOSELY FOR SOME YEARS.

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FOIA(b) (1)

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PAGE 03

STATE 196084

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(J) THESE ARE OUR PRELIMINARY FINDINGS. WE ARE CONDUCTING
A REVIEW OF THE SITUATION WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF PRESENTING
A FULL RESPONSE TO THE CONCERNS BEGIN RECENTLY RAISED WITH
LEWIS.

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PAGE 04

STATE 198084

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END TALKING POINTS

ABOVE IS CLEARED STATE VERSION NOW WAITING FINAL NSC SIGN
OFF. MUSKIE

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By sm, NARA, Date 2/3/05

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PAGE 01 STATE 197260
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~~F.O. 12065: RDS-1. 7/25/00 (PICKERING, THOMAS R.) OES~~

TAGS: TECH, MNUC, RF, IZ, IS
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR EVRON ON FRENCH ENRICHED
URANIUM SHIPMENTS TO IRAQ
REF; STATE 196084

1. (S) ENTIRE TEXT

2. AMBASSADOR EVRON, ACCOMPANIED BY MINISTER NEHUSHTAN
AND SCIENTIFIC AFFAIRS COUNSELOR FRANK, CALLED ON ASSISTANT
SECRETARY PICKERING JULY 25 ON ABOVE SUBJECT. DEPUTY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY DRAPER (NEA) AND MICHAEL GUHN
(OES/NEP) SAT IN.

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PAGE 02 STATE 197260

3. PICKERING PRESENTED POINTS AS SET FORTH REFTEL WITH
A FEW MODIFICATIONS RESULTING FROM DISCUSSIONS WITH NSC.
IN PRESENTING POINTS REFTEL; PICKERING:

--(A) UNDEPLINED THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH WE VIEW THE
SITUATION AND THAT WE REGARD THIS AS ONLY PRELIMINARY
EXCHANGE, AND LOOK FORWARD TO PROVIDING FULL RESPONSE TO
BEGIN'S APPEAL;

--(F) STATED THAT OUR PRELIMINARY REVIEW OF THE CURRENT
SITUATION (PARA 2.D REFTEL) WAS BASED ON INFORMATION WE
HAVE RECEIVED FROM [REDACTED]

--(C) NOTED THAT ANY RETURN OF SPENT FUEL FROM NON-US-
SUPPLIED RESEARCH REACTOR WOULD REQUIRE SOME CONSULTA-
TIONS WITH THE CONGRESS;

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REYNOLDS THOMAS R
STATE 197260

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E.O. 12065: RDS-3 8/22/00 (LEWIS, SAMUEL W.) OR-M
TAGS: PARM, TECH, ENRG, MNUC, IS, IZ
SUBJECT: IRAQI NUCLEAR SITUATION

REF: A) STATE 209889, B) STATE 220917, C) STATE 197260,
D) STATE 215253

1. (S) - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. AT THE END OF MY LENGTHY MEETING WITH BEGIN THIS
MORNING, AUGUST 22 (AVNER AND HILL ALSO WERE PRESENT), WE
TURNED TO IRAQI NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES. ALTHOUGH BEGIN HAD
OF COURSE RECEIVED A REPORT OF THE PICKERING-EVRON JULY
25 MEETING I WENT THROUGH SOME OF THE MATERIAL AGAIN AND
DREW ON GUIDANCE IN REF A.

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By anf 2/3/05

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4. THROUGHOUT OUR DISCUSSION BEGIN'S ATTITUDE WAS RE-
STRAINED AND UNDERSTANDING. HE CONCLUDED, HOWEVER, BY
SAYING THAT ISRAEL "DOES NOT INTEND TO RELY ON PALLIA-
TIVES" IN THIS MATTER. ISRAEL IS MOST SUSPICIOUS OF
FRENCH MOTIVES. THEY KNOW, HE SAID, THAT THE HEU CAN BE
TURNED INTO WEAPONS IN IRAQ AND THEY PREFER TO OVERLOOK
THIS. IN ALL CANDOR, HE SAID, FRANCE IS FOLLOWING A
CYNICAL AND AMORAL POLICY: ARMS FOR OIL. THE RESULT WILL
BE A DANGER NOT ONLY TO ISRAEL BUT TO THE ENTIRE WORLD.
IN FACING THIS DANGER, BEGIN SAID, "ISRAEL DOES NOT INTEND
TO RELY ON PROMISES."

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6. REQUEST DEPT PLEASE PASS TO AMEMBASSY ROME AND AMEMBASSY

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EA/ARN:WNHOWELL

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CO. 12065: RDS-1, 3 8/26/90 (DRAPER, MORRIS)

AGS: IS, US, IZ, MNUC, ENRG, NPT, PARM

SUBJECT: IRAQI NUCLEAR PROGRAM: IRAQ REQUESTS USG STATE-
MENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

DURING IRAQ COUNTRY OFFICER WIZNITZER'S CALL ON IRAQINT
CHIEF SEIHAB ON AUGUST 22, SEIHAB RAISED QUESTION OF
IRAQI NUCLEAR PROGRAM IN EXPRESSING THE GOI'S INTEREST IN

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PAGE 02 STATE 226934

USG STATEMENT OF VIEW ON IRAQ'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM.

SEIHAB MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- ISRAEL HAS REFUSED TO SIGN THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY
WHICH IRAQ HAS SIGNED
- ISRAEL AND THE "ZIONIST; PRESS ARE TRYING TO CONVINCE
THE WORLD THAT IRAQ'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM IS DESIGNED TO
DEVELOP A NUCLEAR WEAPON
- ISRAEL IS BEHIND THE ATTACKS ON COMPANIES, EQUIPMENT AND
PERSONNEL INVOLVED IN THE IRAQI NUCLEAR PROGRAM
- SINCE 1948, ISRAEL AND IRAQ HAVE BEEN IN A STATE OF WAR.
IRAQ BELIEVES IT MAY BE BOMBED BY ISRAEL AS PART OF THAT
COUNTRY'S EFFORT TO STOP IRAQ'S NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT
- IRAQ'S SUPPORT FOR NON-PROLIFERATION IS SINCERE. IT
BELIEVES IN WHAT IT HAS SIGNED (THE NPT) RESPECTS
HUMANITY. ITS NUCLEAR PROGRAM IS PART OF ITS EFFORT TO
ESTABLISH A SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY NOW, EVEN IF OTHER COUNTRIES
DO NOT WANT TO SEE THIS HAPPEN
- ISRAEL HAS SHOWN, AS IN ITS RECENT MOVES IN JERUSALEM,

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BY smf, NAME, DATE 2/3/05

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06/09/81 194340 PRINTER: LL

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AT IT WANTS TO DESTROY THE AREA
- IRAQ IS NOT SEEKING CONFLICT
- IRAQ WANTS TO DEVELOP ITS NUCLEAR CAPABILITY FOR ITS
INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT, NOT FOR USE OUTSIDE IRAQ

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PAGE 03 STATE 226934
- NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT SHOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO A FEW
COUNTRIES OR DENIED TO PARTICULAR COUNTRIES
- THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ WANTS A STATEMENT FROM US ON THE
"ZIONIST" CAMPAIGN (AGAINST IRAQ). THE GOI WANTS TO KNOW
THE AMERICAN REACTION TO OR VIEW OF THE IRAQI NUCLEAR
PROGRAM

WIZNITZER SAID HE COULD NOT RESPOND IMMEDIATELY BUT
WOULD CONVEY SHIHAB'S REQUEST TO THE DEPARTMENT. HE
POINTED OUT THAT THE US, AS THE FIRST AND ONLY COUNTRY TO
USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN A WAR, WAS ESPECIALLY SENSITIVE TO
AND CONCERNED ABOUT THE ISSUE OF PROLIFERATION. HE
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE HAS BEEN DISCUSSION IN U.S.
CIRCLES, AND ABROAD, ABOUT THE IRAQI PROGRAM STIMULATED
IN LARGE PART BY FRANCE'S DELIVERY TO IRAQ OF THE OSIRAK
REACTOR.

WIZNITZER TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO ASK IN THIS RELAXED
ATMOSPHERE WHETHER THE GOI'S INTEREST INDICATED IT WAS
READY TO DISCUSS WITH U.S. ITS NUCLEAR PROGRAM AND
OBJECTIVES. THIS COULD BE, HE POINTED OUT, A SCIENTIFIC
AND TECHNICAL DISCUSSION. SHIHAB RESPONDED THAT, IN THE
ABSENCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, SUCH DISCUSSIONS WERE
UNLIKELY. HE REPEATED, HOWEVER, HIS COUNTRY'S INTEREST
IN OUR OPINION ON THE ISSUE. (SHIHAB MENTIONED THE FACT
THAT AN IRAQI WAS CHAIRING THE NPTRC, SUGGESTING THAT
DISCUSSIONS COULD BE HELD IN THE CONTEXT OF THAT BODY'S
DELIBERATIONS. WIZNITZER REMINDED SHIHAB THAT AMBASSADOR
ATTANI, AS CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN, WAS LIMITED IN HIS
ABILITY TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF IRAQ AND THAT A MORE DIRECT
DIALOGUE WITH THE GOI WOULD BE MORE USEFUL.

COMMENT: WE SEE NOTHING TO BE GAINED BY AIRING OUR
CONCERNS ABOUT THE IRAQI PROGRAM IN AN OPEN SESSION OF
THE CURRENT NPTRC. OUR CANDID REMARKS (EVEN IN PRIVATE TO

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PAGE 04 STATE 226934
(ATTANI) IN THE REVIEW CONFERENCE WOULD ONLY FURTHER
AGGRAVATE THE DIVISIVE DEBATE OVER THE "LIMITATIONS"
OFFERED BY THE LDC'S ADEERING TO THE NPT. THE ISSUE OF
HOW TO RESPOND IN THE FUTURE IS UNDER CONSIDERATION.

JSKIE

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FROM DAS DRAPER FOR AMBASSADOR LEWIS

E.O. 12065: RDS -1 9/15/00 (DRAPER, MORRIS)

TAGS: PARM, IS, US, IT, IZ

SUBJECT: ITALIAN-IRAQI NUCLEAR COOPERATION

1. ~~SECRET~~ ENTIRE TEXT

2. FOR YOUR MEETING TOMORROW WITH BEGIN, WE HAVE NOTHING
BEYOND THE GUIDANCE YOU ALREADY HAVE.

MUSKIE

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BY smf, NARA, DATE 2/3/05

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NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 12065: RDS-3 & 4 9/29/95 (LEWIS, SAMUEL W.) OR-M
TAGS: MILI, MOPS, MNUC, IS, IZ
SUBJECT: IRAQI NUCLEAR FACILITIES AND THE IRAQI-IRANIAN
- WAR

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. IT PROBABLY COMES AS NO SURPRISE TO THOSE IN WASHINGTON FAMILIAR WITH THE VERY GREAT WORRIES IN ISRAEL ABOUT IRAQ'S NUCLEAR FACILITIES TO LEARN THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION IN IRAQ PRESENTS TEMPTING VISTAS HERE. NO ONE IS TALKING OPENLY ABOUT THIS SUBJECT, BUT FROM JOURNALISTS, POLITICIANS, AND MILITARY OFFICERS, WE HEAR VEILED REMARKS WONDERING WHY THE IRANIAN AIR RAIDS ON BAGHDAD HAVE NOT INCLUDED ATTACKS ON IRAQI NUCLEAR FACILITIES A FEW MILES OUTSIDE THE CAPITAL.

3. IN THIS REGARD, A HIGHLY RELIABLE, WELL-INFORMED JOURNALIST TOLD ME ABOUT A SEMI-SOCIAL MEETING HELD SOME WEEKS BEFORE THE IRAQI-IRANIAN WAR BROKE OUT. ON THAT OCCASION, CHIEF OF STAFF EITAN WAS MEETING WITH ALL FORMER ISRAELI CHIEFS OF STAFF TO BRING THEM UP TO DATE ON VARIOUS MILITARY ISSUES AND "KEEP THEM IN THE PICTURE." AT THAT GATHERING, EITAN REPORTEDLY DISCUSSED QUITE OPENLY THE POSSIBILITY OF MOUNTING A MILITARY OPERATION

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED IN PART

NLS F96-127/1 #16

By smf, NARA, Date 2/3/05



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AGAINST THE IRAQI NUCLEAR FACILITIES BEFORE IRAQ HAD A CHANCE TO PRODUCE A NUCLEAR WEAPON. HE WAS OBVIOUSLY IN FAVOR OF SUCH AN OPERATION, ALTHOUGH AT LEAST ONE OF THOSE PRESENT WHO TOLD THE JOURNALIST ABOUT THE MEETING, PROBABLY

FOIA(b) (1)

SAID HE THOUGHT THAT THE JOURNALIST EMPHASIZED THAT THIS DISCUSSION TOOK PLACE WELL BEFORE THE WAR BROKE OUT.

4. LAST NIGHT (SEPTEMBER 28) AT A PRIVATE DINNER, CONFIRMED TO ME THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF CARRYING OUT AN AIR STRIKE AGAINST THE IRAQI NUCLEAR PLANT UNDER COVER OF THE CURRENT IRANIAN AIR ATTACKS ON BAGHDAD IS INDEED BEING SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED WITHIN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE.

FOIA(b) (1)

HE ALSO SAID THAT WITH EXISTING AIR REFUELING CAPABILITIES, SUCH AN OPERATION "IS FEASIBLE." ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT HE WOULD PERSONALLY OPPOSE IT.

FOIA(b) (1)

5. ONE ADDITIONAL STRAW IN THE WIND. HAIARETZ'S WELL-CONNECTED MILITARY CORRESPONDENT, ZEEV SCHIFF, HAS A FRONT PAGE STORY MONDAY (SEPTEMBER 29) ASSERTING THAT "FRANCE SENT IRAQ THE SECOND CONSIGNMENT OF 12 KG. OF ENRICHED URANIUM ONLY DAYS BEFORE THE FIGHTING WITH IRAN ERUPTED. . .FRANCE IS SCRUPULOUS IN ADHERING TO THE AGREEMENT, DESPITE REPORTS OF GRAVE BORDER INCIDENTS AND THE POSSIBILITY OF WAR IN THE REGION, PARIS WAS NOT DETERRED. . ."

6. WE HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING HOW SERIOUSLY TO TAKE THIS POSSIBILITY AT THIS MOMENT. BUT THE TEMPTATION MUST BE GREAT FOR ISRAELI OFFICIALS LIKE EITAN WHO HAVE NOTHING BUT DISDAIN FOR THE PROBABLE RESULTS OF ANY DIPLOMATIC

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