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CONFIDENTIAL

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TO PRIORITY FCO

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INFO PRIORITY: VIENNA (FOR UK REP TO IAEA) TEHRAN, UKMIS NEW YORK

WASHINGTON, PARIS AND TEL AVIV

SAVING TO UKDEL NATO, AMMAN, MOSCOW, STOCKHOLM
MY TEL NO 293 (NOT TO VIENNA): ISRAELI ATTACK ON NUCLEAR PLANT

1. AT A MEETING OF THE TEN ON 9 JUNE, CALLED TO ESTABLISH THE FACTS
OF THE ATTACK, ROCALVE (FRANCE) GAVE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION
OBTAINED FROM FRENCH SOURCES AT THE NUCLEAR RESEARCH CENTRE

(PLEASE PROTECT HIS CONFIDENCE):-

- (A) INTIMIDATION OF STAFF WORKING ON THE PROJECT DATED BACK TO 1979, WELL BEFORE THE FIRST (IRANIAN) RAID OF 27 SEPTEMBER LAST YEAR. STAFF OR THE WIVES (AND ALSO ITALIANS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PROJECT) REGULARLY RECEIVED LETTERS SIGNED BY THE "COMMITTEE FOR THE ISLAMIC LIBERATION OF IRAQ" WARNING THEM TO DESIST FROM ADVANCING THE PROJECT, OR ELSE. THERE HAD BEEN SABOTAGE IN FRANCE AT THE FACTORY MAKING ELEMENTS FOR THE PLANT IN 1979 SEMICOLON TWO ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS AGAINST STAFF IN FRANCE (ONE SUCCESSFUL) IN EARLY 1980 SEMICOLON THE IRANIAN RAID WHICH HAD DAMAGED THE WALLS OF THE PROJECT BUT NOT THE MAIN REACTOR ON 27 SEPTEMBER 1980 SEMICOLON AND THEN THE ISRAELI RAID OF 7 JUNE 1981.
- (B) THE ISRAELI RAID HAD BEEN HIGHLY PROFESSIONAL.

 AN UNIDENTIFIED NUMBER OF PLANES HAD COME IN LOW, DROPPED THEIR

 DELAYED ACTION BOMBS AND THEN SOARED UP TO A GREAT HEIGHT

 IMMEDIATELY ABOVE THE PLANT, GIVING THE IMPRESSION TO OBSERVERS

 IN THE FRENCH CAMP ADJACENT THAT THE ATTACK ITSELF HAD BEEN HIGH

 ALTITUDE (PARA 2 OF MY TUR). SOME BOMBS APPEARED STILL NOT (NOT)

 TO HAVE EXPLODED IN THE RUINS OF THE OSIRAK COMPLEX, WHICH HOUSES

 THE TWO TAMMUZ FRENCH-SUPPLIED REACTORS, DETAILED EVALUATION OF

 THE DAMAGE SEMICOLON
- (C) THE MOST SERIOUS SINGLE PIECE OF DAMAGE WAS THAT THE DOME OF THE TAMMUZ-1 40 MEGAWATT REACTOR WAS CRACKED.

 IT WOULD HAVE TO BE REBUILT COMPLETELY, AND THE QUESTION WAS WHO WOULD TAKE ON SUCH A JOB SEMICOLON
- (D) THE MISSING FRENCHMAN HAD DIED OF ASPHYXIA CAUSED BY NOXIOUS GASES FROM EXPLODING BOMBS. HIS BODY WAS UNMARKED SEMICOLON
- (E) LUCKILY THERE HAD ONLY BEEN 4 OR 5 FRENCH COLLEAGUES WITH HIM, AND A NUMBER OF IRAQI WORKMEN TIDYING UP, WHEN THE ATTACK CAME AT 1837 LOCAL ON 7 JUNE SEMICOLON
- (F) ABSENCE OF CONTAMINATION HAD BEEN RECONFIRMED SINCE THAT EVENING, BUT AN INTERNATIONAL CHECK (EG BY IAEA EXPERTS, AS IN JANUARY) WAS URGENTLY NECESSARY SEMICOLON

CONFIDENTIAL (G) THE SMALLER, TAMMUZ-2 500 KILOWATT TRAINING REACTOR SITED BESIDE TAMMUZ-I WAS UNDAMAGED, BUT IT WAS TINY AND BARELY WORTH "TAKING OUT" SEMICOLON (H) COMPLETION OF WORK ON BOTH TAMMUZ REACTORS, AND THEIR GOING CRITICAL, HAD BEEN ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR DECEMBER 1980 BUT WAS DELAYED AFTER THE IRANIAN ATTACK UNTIL AT LEAST SEPTEMBER 1981. HE COULD NOT (NOT) SAY HOW MUCH FURTHER DELAY WOULD NOW BE CAUSED BY THE 7 JUNE RAID. (1) COLONNA (ITALY) ADDED THAT SOME OF THE ITALIAN-MADE "HOT--CELL''LABORATORIES HAD BEEN DELIVERED TO THE SITE THIS MARCH, BUT THE PRESENCE OF UNEXPLODED BOMBS HAD SO FAR PREVENTED INSPECTION OF DAMAGE TO THEM SEMICOLON (J) ROCALVE ADDED THAT THE FRENCH ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION WAS CATEGORIC THAT THE SMALL AMOUNT OF ENRICHED FUEL ON SITE COULD NOT (NOT), AFTER USE, HAVE ENABLED IRAQ TO MANUFACTURE AN ATOMIC BOMB CLANDESTINELY ''IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE''. 2. IT WAS THE GENERAL OPINION THAT THE 7 JUNE RAID MARKED A TURNING POINT IN IRAQ'S RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, THOUGH IRAQ COULD DO LITTLE OR NOTHING TO RETALIATE IN THE SHORT TERM. I ASKED MY COLLEAGUES WHETHER THE IRAQIS MIGHT BE TEMPTED. AS A GESTURE, TO RENOUNCE THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE N.P.T. SINCE THEIR NUCLEAR PROGRAMME WAS IN RUINS AND THERE SEEMED LITTLE HOPE OF REVIVING IT, AT LEAST ON IRAQI SOIL, FOR YEARS TO COME. THOSE PRESENT THOUGHT THIS WAS UNLIKELY, IF ONLY BECAUSE IRAQ WOULD HAVE TO TURN TO FRANCE, ITALY, BRAZIL AND PERHAPS PAKISTAN FOR MORE NUCLEAR TRAINING THAN EVER IN THOSE COUNTRIES, AGAINST THE DAY WHEN IT MIGHT BE SAFE TO RESUME A NUCLEAR RESEARCH PROGRAMME WITHIN IRAQ. GERMANY (HOLZHEIMER) SPECULATED THAT COULD ONLY HAPPEN IN FACILITIES CONSTRUCTED, AT GREAT COST, UNDERGROUND. 3. ROCALVE, WHO APPEARED VERY TIRED, HAS BEEN SUMMONED TO PARIS FOR CONSULTATIONS AND LEAVES HERE ON 12 JUNE, IF BAGHDAD AIRPORT IS OPERATING NORMALLY AT NIGHT BY THEN MY IFT 305, NOT TO ALL, COVERS THE NEXT PART OF OUR DISCUSSION, ON THE POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF THE ISRAEL! ATTACK FOR IRAQ'S CONDUCT OF THE WAR WITH IRAN. EGERTON [THIS TELEGRAM WAS NOT ADVANCED] [COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET] LIMITED SIR J GRAHAM NENAD JNU MR BULLARD PS MED MR J MOBERLY PS/LPS DEF D MR FERGUSSON PS/MR HURD WED PS/PUS NEWS D CABINET OFFICE PUSD SIR A ACLAND CONFIDENTIAL