The 'Big Lie' behind the Israeli hit on Baghdad's nuclear facility

by Robert Dreyfuss, Middle East Editor

In carrying out an unprovoked air raid against the Iraqi nuclear research facilities on June 7, the Israeli government of Prime Minister Menachem Begin claimed to have acted for the urgent self-defense of Israel.

That rationale is a complete lie. Moreover, the attack on Iraq represents a severe strategic miscalculation by Begin and his international allies. In fact, the Iraqi reactor presented not the slightest threat to Israeli security, despite Begin's extravagant declaration that he has "saved Israel from a holocaust." In addition, Begin's attack on Iraq, in contravention of international law, will not aid Begin's much-proclaimed intention to exclude the Soviet Union from the Middle East, but will facilitate the growth of Moscow's influence in the Arab world.

From Begin's own standpoint, the air raid was calculated as a jingoistic vote-getting move in the battle against challenger Shimon Peres of the Labour Party in the June 30 national elections. Peres blasted Begin's cynical opportunism the day after the raid, saying, "We must tell the people what we feel, that the action was an election stunt. The reactor in Iraq did not yet pose a risk that required action at such an early stage."

Peres' statement was little noticed in the hoopla after the attack; it exposes Begin's defenders overseas—including many gullible U.S. congressmen—as mere electioneers for Begin, *not* defenders of the Israeli state.

As viewed by Begin's supporters, the real purpose behind the Israeli attack was to further destabilize the Middle East in alliance with the regime of Ayatollah Khomeini, disrupt oil supplies to the West, and, more broadly, set back the prospects for developing nuclear energy-based industrialization anywhere in the Third World.

But the decision to unleash the Israeli air force created a deeper and further-reaching crisis in the Middle East and around the world than its authors may have intended. In the aftermath of the June 7 attack, a fundamental alteration has occurred in the way the Arabs, the Europeans, the Soviets, and the Reagan administration will view international relations. The consequences are highly unpredictable.

Perhaps most significant is the fact that Begin has violated the basic principle governing world affairs: the

inviolable sovereignty of the nation-state. To accomplish that, Begin relied on two outright falsehoods:

First, Begin lied that the Iraqi reactor was designed to "create atomic bombs" and that the "existence of Israel was at stake." In reality, the Iraqi reactor was a small research facility designed primarily to train Iraqi scientists and prepare the expansion of the Iraqi industrial nuclear program. It was not intended to produce bombs, and the nuclear fuel was under tight French controls and inspection.

Iraq is also a signatory to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and international teams of inspectors had recently visited Baghdad to guarantee against military uses of the reactor. Israel has refused to sign the treaty and possesses several nuclear bombs, according to the CIA.

Menachem Begin's alliance with the Iranian regime

Iraq's Osirak nuclear research reactor which Israeli F-16s bombed June 7 was the centerpiece of a bold economic development plan for the entire Arab world.

Last year, Baghdad presented a plan to the Arab League for a multimillion-dollar development program intended to make the Arab world an economic superpower by the year 2000. Only through such a plan, argued Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, could the Arab nations hope to ensure their sovereignty, and reach a just settlement of the Middle East crisis.

Iraq intends to utilize nuclear energy to desalinate seawater. "The transformation of this region will have important climatic and agricultural repercussions and will serve as a model for analogous experiences in other parts of the Arab world, which have the largest deserts in the world," the Iraqi news agency reported last year.

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In addition, Miles Copeland, an ex-CIA official with Middle East connections, has said that American authorities were fully briefed by French intelligence at every stage during the construction of the Iraqi facility, and thus had full knowledge of its actual capabilities.

Second, the Iraqi attack exposes as a lie Begin's claim that Israel acts as a force to prevent the involvement of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. Israel's intention was to feed a radicalization of the Arab world. Begin is known to believe that by assisting Arab extremists like Libya's Colonel Qaddafi, he is building Israel's role as America's only friend in the region.

In recent months, Begin has established a secret alliance with the Soviet KGB intelligence service, by mutually agreeing with KGB-controlled Syria to divide war-torn Lebanon between its two neighbors. That accord was desired not only by the KGB but also by Secretary of State Alexander Haig, whose Cold War talk masked his commitment to a Yalta-style division of the Middle East into U.S. and U.S.S.R. spheres of influence. Both the Israeli government and the U.S.S.R. join with British banks and oil companies in seeking the destabilization of Saudi Arabia, and they are counting on Prince Abdullah, commander of the Saudi National Guard, to serve their mutual interests. Abdullah, who is widely known to have London connections, has recently been praised in the Soviet press.

Nuclear-powered desalination for mass irrigation projects is the foundation of a plan which Iraq and the government of French President Giscard d'Estaing created for renewing the ancient valley between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, known as the Fertile Crescent. Since 1974 Iraq has engaged in a land reclamation project which was projected to yield sufficient food by 1990 to feed the entire Arabian peninsula. President Hussein has stressed that Iraq's agricultural potential is "permanent oil," since it will yield economic benefits after its oil reserves are depleted.

The Iraqi nuclear program was a vehicle for training a generation of Arab scientists who could spread nuclear technology throughout the Arab world. In 1975, Iraq signed a nuclear cooperation accord with France to build a center for nuclear research. This center, which was about to become operational this year, housed the Osirak reactor.

The Iraqi research center's principal function was to train 600 engineers and technicians a year. Just before the defeat of President Giscard in the May French elections, Iraq and France were involved in negotiating for the construction of a much bigger reactor of 600 megawatts.

Documentation

Responses to the Israeli blitzkrieg

Government of Iraq: "It has been known to us from the beginning that many parties, local and international, were and still are behind the eagerness of the backward and suspect Iranian regime to stir up the dispute with, conduct aggression against, and begin the war against Iraq.

"They have been behind the continuation of this war for several months because of their political and military support and backing for Iran, including information, technical consultations, and direct and indirect military intelligence, in order to achieve their evil objectives against Iraq. The main party was the Zionist entity, which understands completely that a literate, developed, and capable Iraq is a decisive factor in determining the results of the Arab conflict against it, today and tomorrow.

"The Zionist entity understands that one of the most decisive factors in determining the future of the conflict the Arab nation is waging against it, is the continued presence of the technical and scientific gap between it and the Arab nation. Therefore, it is trying by all means to keep this gap within limits which will not enable the Arab nation to achieve victory over it in the conflict.

"Based on this strategic objective, the Zionist enemy participated on more than one occasion, directly and indirectly, with Iran against Iraq. This included supplying Iran with military equipment and spare parts. Zionist enemy planes also raided Iraq in the first days of the war, thus exploiting the war circumstances against Iran, in collusion with the suspect regime in Iran. The raids were aimed in particular at the Iraqi nuclear installations.

"The men who have been able, through their loyalty to their people and nation, their faith in their cause, and their minds and efforts, to bring Iraq's nuclear potential up to the standard which created this amount of rancor and blatant aggression by the Zionist and Persian enemies, make us confident that they are also capable of continuing this trend no matter what our enemies try, and no matter what these enemies can achieve in their attempts to do direct or indirect harm."

France's reaction: The Quai d'Orsay stated, "Any