

THE HISTORY, ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ZIONIST ENTITY'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM UNTIL 1981

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Summary

The Zionist entity's nuclear program is considered one of the most controversial nuclear programs on the global level. The Zionist entity's government in Tel Aviv has devoted great attention to developing the nuclear program, and made it one of the priorities of the Zionist entity's military establishment. The Zionists have relied heavily on strengthening their capabilities in the field of nuclear weapons.

INTRODUCTION

The Zionist entity's nuclear program is considered one of the most controversial nuclear programs in the world. The Zionist government in Tel Aviv has devoted significant attention to developing the nuclear program, making it a priority for the Zionist military establishment. The Zionists have relied heavily on enhancing their nuclear weapons capabilities, which we will discuss in detail in the following headings:

First: The scientific background of the Israeli nuclear program:

After the issuance of the San Remo Conference decision⁽¹⁾ In 1920, the Allied Powers approved the Balfour Declaration and granted Britain a mandate over Palestine. The British authorities and the Zionist entity quickly worked with the League of Nations to obtain the British Mandate. The purpose of this document was to formally ratify the decision and ensure that the necessary steps were taken to implement the Balfour Declaration, which stipulated the establishment of a Jewish national home under the supervision of the British Mandate. On July 24, 1922, the Council of the League of Nations approved this document, and its official implementation began on September 29, 1923.⁽²⁾ Therefore, the leadership of the Zionist entity, since its inception in 1948, was interested in nuclear weapons, and tried to possess them, and indeed succeeded in doing so on August 15, 1948, and began its first steps towards the goal, by establishing a scientific unit affiliated with the Research and Planning Branch of the Ministry of Defense of the Zionist entity, and then later transformed into the Combat Means Development Authority, and conducted a comprehensive preliminary survey of the nuclear ores in the Negev Desert, and discovered the presence of large deposits of phosphate that contained uranium.⁽³⁾ Therefore, the leadership of the Zionist entity paid great attention to the sciences of atoms, isotopes, and theoretical sciences, and was interested in teaching its youth the sciences of atoms. David Ben-Gurion pointed out that ⁽⁴⁾ :

He added: "Science is the foundation for building and maintaining the Zionist entity. Science in our day is the key to military power, and our talented youth who study law at universities instead of science and technology are wasting the people's human capital, the value of which is invaluable ⁽⁵⁾ ". Accordingly, the Zionists began to develop plans for the nuclear program, and during that period a number of young scientists were gathered who were sent abroad to specialize in various branches of advanced nuclear science. These were De,Chalin Equityally, Golden Ring, Talmy, and Belah, who went abroad and returned during the years (1953-1954), after studying in Holland, Switzerland, Britain, and the United States, and gaining scientific experience in the nuclear field ⁽⁶⁾ .

After their arrival, the Zionists established a department of nuclear physics at the Weizmann Institute of Science, and a department for isotope research in 1949. This old department conducted focused research in fields such as the exploitation of low-grade uranium ore and the enrichment of heavy water by distillation. Professor DosterYavsky, the director general of the Zionist entity's Atomic Energy Commission, was able to develop a process for producing heavy water that did not depend on electrical power. The goal of this process was to find a competitive alternative to the heavy water that was being tested in Norway to produce by electrical power in order to eliminate the Norwegian monopoly at that time.⁽⁷⁾ .

Thus, the nuclear activity of the Zionist entity during that period received great attention from Zionist officials, most notably the president of the Zionist entity, Chaim Weizmann ⁽⁸⁾ . A prominent chemist,

Weizmann pointed out the need to utilize the great potential of atomic energy in the military, political, and economic fields, and to replace Arab oil with the atom of the Zionist entity, proposing to transform Palestine into a center of scientific innovation, which could in turn reduce the world's dependence on Arab oil. Weizmann had been in constant and close contact with scientists specializing in atomic energy since World War II, as he believed that scientific progress was a key factor in achieving Israel's goals, and was convinced of the necessity of the Zionists obtaining a nuclear program.⁽⁹⁾

Therefore, he issued a decision to establish the Atomic Energy Corporation of the Zionist entity on June 13, 1952, as an independent institution affiliated with the Ministry of Defense of the Zionist entity. He formed its management team consisting of a chairman and five members from senior scientists and military leaders. Over time, the number of members of its board of directors increased to seventeen members from university professors, higher scientific institutes, public institutions, ministries and prominent figures. They are personally appointed and tested by the Prime Minister. The term of service of the members of this committee is two years. The institution consists of subcommittees represented by the Nuclear Research Committee, the Human Development Committee, the Energy Committee for Electricity and Water Power, and the Committee for the Use of Radioactive Isotopes.⁽¹⁰⁾

Second: The development of nuclear weapons in Israel.

The Zionist entity's interest in nuclear development and research began after they established the Department of Radioactive Isotope Research at the Weizmann Institute in 1949, and a large-scale geological study was conducted in the Negev Desert in the same year to determine the size of the phosphate reserve and the extent of the uranium concentration in this reserve. At the same time, the Weizmann Institute began a study on the production of heavy water.⁽¹¹⁾ It was officially announced that the Zionist entity now has the capacity to supply the water it needs.⁽¹²⁾

The Zionist entity leadership established advanced institutes of technology such as the Technion, and established departments concerned with teaching theoretical sciences and nuclear technology, and began to establish relations with France. The year 1953 was considered the beginning of the conclusion of a nuclear cooperation agreement between France and Israel. This agreement played a fundamental role in the Zionist entity's entry into the nuclear age, and in providing it with the necessary technology to separate plutonium from the rest of the nuclear fuel, in addition to training its scientists.⁽¹³⁾ While the United States of America provided the Zionist entity with a nuclear reactor to be built in Nahak Sorek, with a capacity of (5) megawatts, in the year 1955, the United States trained (156) Israelis in the American nuclear facility.⁽¹⁴⁾ It provided the Zionist entity with uranium material sufficient to produce several nuclear warheads.⁽¹⁵⁾

During the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956, and the Zionist entity's invasion of Suez and Gaza, it had to withdraw under pressure from world public opinion, especially the United States and the Soviet Union, despite some appeals to the entity from the United States, which reached an agreement to keep peacekeeping forces in the Sharm el-Sheikh area. The entity remained tense about the security of its borders, as it felt that it had been let down by its old allies and realized that it stood alone in the middle of an environment filled with hatred. Both David Ben-Gurion and war experts felt that their entity had to rethink a new strategy if it wanted to survive. Most of their discussions revolved around the axis that they had been let down once and that it would happen again. Therefore, the Zionist government ministry took the entity in 1957 to work on establishing the Dimona project and reactor.⁽¹⁶⁾

One of the most important nuclear reactors of the Zionist entity, and this reactor is considered one of the most dangerous reactors of the Zionist entity, and it is the result of the secret agreement between France and the entity that was concluded in 1958. The government surrounded the Zionist entity with complete secrecy so that it would not be subject to any oversight or inspection.⁽¹⁷⁾

Although the importance of the Dimona reactor in the northern Negev exceeds that of the Nahak Sorek reactor center in any study of the military capabilities of the Zionist entity's nuclear establishment, unfortunately studying its characteristics and uses with a similar degree of precision is not possible due to the complete blackout surrounding everything related to this facility and the extent of the security precautions it has taken, as well as the fact that entry to the reactor site is still not permitted⁽¹⁸⁾ ..

Contrary to all expectations, the United States of America was not the first country to provide assistance to the Zionist entity in the field of military nuclear research. Rather, it was its French counterpart, which cooperated with Tel Aviv, which insisted on concealing its project from the American administration and surrounded its cooperation with French experts in the early stages of building its nuclear program with unparalleled secrecy from its ally, the United States of America, which learned about it for the first time in 1958, when a group of photos of the Dimona reactor arrived, taken by American aircraft⁽¹⁹⁾ .

In late 1960, David Anderson, an employee of the American company who had installed the "Atoms for Peace" reactor at Nahal Sorek, informed the American embassy staff that he had heard that French personnel were building a 60-megawatt nuclear power reactor in the Beersheba area. He described it to them as a gas-cooled power reactor capable of producing about 60 megawatts of electricity. In October 1960, the US State Department rushed the CIA's questions as "instructions" to the US embassy in Tel

Aviv. The request for information apparently did not receive high priority, but rather "routine collection priority."⁽²⁰⁾ "

The US State Department issued a secret report in 1968 confirming that Tel Aviv had successfully begun producing nuclear weapons. This report was based on a conversation between Carl Duckett, head of the Scientific and Technological Office of the US Intelligence Service, and Edward Teller, known as the father of the American hydrogen bomb. Teller quickly informed US intelligence of the Zionist entity's military nuclear program, which in turn informed President Lyndon Johnson.⁽²¹⁾ He was known for his constant support for the Zionist entity throughout the line, but the American intelligence did not submit the report to the American secretaries of defense and state⁽²²⁾ .

Perhaps this is what Peter Stockton, a member of the Congressional Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee, confirmed when he said: "No American administration, even the Bush administration, has concealed the results of any investigation into the Zionist entity's nuclear program or sought to stop it at its inception... In 1968, Richard Helmes, the head of US intelligence, confirmed to President Johnson that nuclear materials had indeed been transferred to the Zionist entity. The American president responded by saying: 'Don't tell that to anyone else, not even Din Rusk and Robert McNamara, the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense.'⁽²³⁾ "

This is due to the nature of the position of both the US Department of Defense and the US State Department in 1968, which refused to provide the Zionist entity with American technology in general and Phantom aircraft in particular, unless Tel Aviv signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. This prompted Yitzhak Rabin to resort to the Jewish businessman AB Feinberg, who had previously raised huge sums exceeding tens of millions of dollars to finance Tel Aviv's nuclear program. The latter responded and contacted President Lyndon B. Johnson, without the knowledge of the US Department of Defense and the State Department, and was able to obtain American Phantom aircraft without any restrictions.⁽²⁴⁾ .

Thanks to the secret agreement concluded in 1969 between former President Richard Nixon and the Prime Minister of the Zionist entity, Golda Meir.⁽²⁵⁾ 'The entity possessed a large arsenal of nuclear and hydrogen bombs, as well as the means to launch them from a command and control center that was fortified and protected from nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction. The United States of America, according to the terms of this agreement, was keen to keep Tel Aviv a nuclear state, provided that the latter does not announce its nuclear capabilities. In return, Washington pledged not to pressure it to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) (National Pipe Tapered).⁽²⁶⁾ 'Or push it to reveal its nuclear facilities and open them to international oversight.'⁽²⁷⁾ .

From the above, it is clear that despite the strong evidence in the possession of the State Department and the CIA to convict the Zionist entity, proving that it was the main perpetrator of these bombings, no action was taken against it. This is due to the strong relationship between the two parties, which continues to the present day.

This is due to the success of the Zionist entity, since the announcement of its establishment, through its decision-makers, headed by Golda Mattar, in convincing US President Richard Nixon to conclude the 1969 agreement, which stipulated the necessity of the US dealing with Tel Aviv as an important ally in the Middle East, so that it works to protect American interests in the region, in exchange for the United States of America's pledge to develop its capabilities to become a nuclear power to maintain its security, which the White House administration considers security for the United States of America.⁽²⁸⁾ . While a report in September 1979 confirmed that the Zionist entity had conducted a series of nuclear explosions in the Antarctic subcontinent in cooperation with South Africa, as discovered by the American satellite VELA, the American administration, like its predecessors, worked to conceal the reports instead of confronting the Zionist entity and South Africa.⁽²⁹⁾ . And it was keen to cover up the Zionist entity's nuclear program despite the growing volume of reports from monitoring, security, foreign affairs and intelligence agencies, which confirmed beyond any doubt that Tel Aviv was on the verge of possessing a nuclear bomb. Washington continued to adopt a policy of cover-up and optimal disregard in this context. Since the "Dimona" reactor began operating, the White House has not seen, heard of or spoken about it.⁽³⁰⁾ .

Perhaps this is what Denis Hill, the British Defense Secretary, confirmed in his memoirs, in which he said: "The nuclear field is not the only field through which the United States of America fulfilled its commitment to the Zionist entity in order to achieve its ambitious goals. The American White House continued to imagine that the people did not need to know anything about the Zionist entity's nuclear program. In fact, the entity's nuclear arsenal was, is, and will remain immune from any international or American oversight or intervention. The United States of America and its successive administrations have, over the decades, denied the existence of such a weapon in the Zionist entity, despite their certainty that it possesses it. Rather, they are working hard to develop it.'⁽³¹⁾ ". American complicity was not limited to covering up the Zionist entity's nuclear program. Washington also participated directly in the nuclear research that the Weizmann Institute was conducting, and financed the Zionist entity's research institutions in the field of military nuclear technology with the means and equipment they needed, most notably the Vitsa Institute, which Washington supplied with two supercomputers dedicated to nuclear

simulation ⁽³²⁾. It allowed the Zionist entity's nuclear scientists to train in American nuclear facilities and supplied them with nuclear raw materials that were being tested illegally and brought into Tel Aviv by American institutions active in this field, such as the Cooperative Company for Nuclear Materials and Equipment, which was headquartered in Apollo, Pennsylvania ⁽³³⁾. Under this understanding, all US presidents pledged to their counterparts in Tel Aviv to provide the necessary support and assistance to develop the Zionist entity's nuclear program and to provide it with international protection from any decision that would force it to abandon or change its policy in this area, which aims to secure itself and deter its Arab enemies ⁽³⁴⁾. The United States of America, in addition to its projects aimed at settling the Arab-Zionist conflict in a way that serves its interests, insists on strengthening the Zionist entity and ensuring its superiority in the Middle East as a strategic ally that it can rely on. Washington's efforts to empower Tel Aviv in this area and strengthen it to defend itself are in reality nothing but a concern for the security of American interests in the region. ⁽³⁵⁾.

The strategic alliance between Washington and Tel Aviv has led to the support of the Zionist entity's nuclear program, as most of the nuclear equipment technologies included in the Zionist entity's nuclear project are American-made. Not only that, but the US Congress has created legal exceptions for them from the obligations and requirements of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, so that Washington has come to consider the entity's nuclear arsenal part of its nuclear arsenal. The US administration finds in the Zionist entity's possession of nuclear weapons support for its strategic function within the framework of the alliance that includes them, while Washington strongly rejects any intention or attempt by any Arab country to possess nuclear weapons or nuclear capabilities. ⁽³⁶⁾ The Prime Minister of the Zionist entity asked US President Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) ⁽³⁷⁾ 'During the signing of the strategic cooperation agreement between the two countries in 1981, the United States sought to prevent the Arabs from entering the nuclear age' ⁽³⁸⁾. Therefore, the American administration was keen to deprive the Arabs of any means of equality with Tel Aviv, and to remove from their hands any tool that could be used to reach what is usually described as a just peace, through its unconditional commitment to support the political superiority of the Zionist entity over the Arabs, and this through its efforts to deprive them of any tool of political pressure on it ⁽³⁹⁾. American presidents and members of Congress throughout successive American administrations in the White House have affirmed their commitment to the survival of the Zionist entity and the preservation of its security. This has perhaps increased the size of the Zionist entity's ambitions, which believe in the necessity of basing their military doctrine on a strategy of monopolizing nuclear deterrence in the Middle East region, and neutralizing the non-conventional deterrent capabilities of any other regional party. This is the strategy that Tel Aviv has consistently adopted, relying on significant American support. ⁽⁴⁰⁾.

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the above that the Zionist entity has played the role of agent and implementer of the American strategy in the Middle East, gaining Washington's support, particularly in the international arena. This has been achieved by working to cover up and conceal its nuclear arsenal and protect it from international pressures calling for the prevention of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, whether nuclear, biological, or chemical. This has contributed significantly and rapidly to the growth and development of Tel Aviv's various nuclear capabilities in the field of lethal military weapons technology.

FOOTNOTES:

⁽¹⁾San Remo Conference: The conference held by the victorious powers after World War I on April 25, 1920, in Italy. During this conference, they made momentous decisions, the most important of which was to place Palestine and Iraq under British mandate, implement the Balfour Declaration regarding the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine, and place Syria and Lebanon under French mandate. For more, see: Azza Manal Hammou and Khadija Ben Lachhab, *The San Remo Conference of 1920 and its Implications for the Arab East*, unpublished master's thesis, Faculty of Humanities, Mohamed Boudiaf University, 2021.

⁽²⁾Abdul Razzaq Khalifa Ramadan, *Israel's Nuclear Policy Towards the Arabs: Iraq as a Model 1956-1981*, Al-Mu'taz Publishing and Distribution House, Amman, 2018, p. 7

⁽³⁾Salman Rashid Suleiman, *The Israeli Nuclear Strategy*, Arab Affairs, League of Arab States, General Secretariat, No. 58, 1989, p. 141.

⁽⁴⁾David Ben-Gurion: Born in Poland in the town of Plönsk in 1886, he studied the Torah and Talmud in rabbinical schools and heard about the appearance of the "Messiah" - the Messiah - in the person of Theodor Herzl. He immigrated to Palestine in 1906 and began to emphasize the centrality of the settlers to the Zionist entity and to work in Palestine. He was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency in 1937. He became Prime Minister of the Zionist entity (1948-1958) and then Minister of Defense (1955-1963). He died in 1973. For more, see: Setai Tibet, *Ben-Gurion and the Arabs*, translated by Ghazi Al-Saadi, Dar Al-Jalil for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2015, p. 12.

(⁵)Amina Masoudi, The Zionist Entity's Nuclear Program between American Support and International Violations, Madarat Siyasiyya Magazine, Issue 5, Vol. 2, 2018, p. 48; Salman Rashid, previous source, p. 141.

(⁶)Mahmoud Azmi, "The Nuclear Option is a Strategic Necessity," Palestinian Affairs Magazine, (Beirut), No. 43, March 1975, p. 93.

(⁷)Fouad Jaber, Nuclear and Strategic Weapons (Israel), Institute for Palestine Studies, Lebanon, 1970, p. 23.

(⁸)Chaim Weizmann: An Israeli leader of Russian origin, born in the town of Motol in 1874. He studied chemistry at German universities. He immigrated to Britain in 1903, obtained British citizenship, and worked as a teacher at the University of Manchester. He is considered Herzl's successor. He assumed the presidency of the World Zionist Organization between 1917 and 1935, and he also assumed the presidency of the British Zionist Union in 1931. He headed the Jewish side at the London Conference in 1939. He was elected the first president of the Zionist entity in 1949, and was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the idea of a nuclear Zionist entity. He died in 1952. For more, see: Al-Husseini Al-Husseini Maadi, Memoirs of Chaim Weizmann, Dar Al-Khulud for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, 2015, p. 5.

(⁹)Ibrahim Khalil Al-Alaf, Nuclear Capabilities in the Middle East, Ibn Al-Atheer House for Printing and Prose, Mosul, Center for Regional Studies, University of Mosul, 2006, p. 9;

(¹⁰)Mamdouh Hamed Attia, The Israeli Nuclear Program and Arab National Security, Heliopolis, Cairo, 1995, pp. 40-41; Mahmoud Saeed Abdel Zaher, The Israeli Nuclear Option: Capabilities - Use: The Strategic Implication of the Zionist Entity's Possession of the Nuclear Option, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Vol. 24, No. 27, p. 71.

(¹¹)Heavy water: A water-based liquid of strategic importance in nuclear research, scientifically known as deuterium oxide. It is also colorless, but differs from ordinary water in some of its chemical and physical properties. Heavy water is extracted from ordinary water by special means available only to some countries where atomic studies have developed. Therefore, such countries sell heavy water to other countries. The credit for its invention goes to the Israeli scientist Dostrovsky, who became the Director-General of the Atomic Energy Commission. For more, see: Abdul Razzaq Khalifa Ramadan Al-Lahibi, The Zionist Entity's Nuclear Policy Towards the Arabs: Iraq as a Model (1956-1981), Al-Mu'taz Publishing and Distribution House, Amman 2018, p. 12.

(¹²) (Hamed Ezz El-Din, The Nuclear Danger of the Zionist Entity, Al-Manar Magazine, Issue 4, No. 37, January 1988, p. 41.

(¹³)Muhammad Sulayman Muflih al-Zayoud, The Israeli Nuclear Threat to Arab National Security (1991-1999), Center for Arab Unity Studies, Vol. 24, No. 27, 2001, p. 98.

(¹⁴) (Mustafa Abdel Wahid Wali, The Security of the Zionist Entity: Essence and Dimensions, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Issue 55, 2001, pp. 46-47.

(¹⁵) (Hassan Muhammad Talaba, The Campaign Against Iraq's Nuclear Program, Ministry of Culture and Information, Baghdad, 1981, p. 81.

(¹⁶) The Dimona reactor is located on the desert road between Beersheba and Sodom. This place was chosen for the village of raw materials (uranium), which is found in the Negev desert. The costs of building the reactor were estimated at about (130) million dollars, and its capacity reached (126) megawatts. It was capable of producing 8 kg of plutonium annually. For more, see: Mamdouh Hamed Attia, the previous source, p. 133.

(¹⁷) (James Adams, The Abnormal Alliance between Israel and South Africa, translated by Tariq Al-Zubaidi, Ministry of Culture and Information, Baghdad, 1988, p. 217.

(¹⁸) (Mustafa Abdel Wahid Wali, the previous source, pp. 46-47.

(¹⁹) (Ahmed Hajjaj, The West and the Support of the Zionist Entity's Nuclear Program, International Politics Magazine, Issue 174, Vol. 43, 2008, p. 155.

(²⁰) (Ahmed Hajjaj, the previous source, p. 165.

(²¹)Lyndon Johnson: An American politician, he was born on a farm in Stonewall, Texas. He taught high school and worked as a congressional aide, winning election to the House of Representatives in 1937 and to the Senate in 1948. Johnson was known in the Senate for his authoritarian personality and his style, which he called the Johnson Treatment. In 1960, Johnson was nominated by the Democratic Party for the presidential election. He served as the 36th President of the United States from 1963 to 1969. He died in 1973. For more, see:

Jonathan Colman, The Foreign Policy of Lyndon B. Johnson The United States and the World, 1963–1969, Edinburgh University Press, 2018, p. 2-5.

(²²) (Ahmed Hajjaj, the previous source, p. 156.

(²³) (Mamdouh Hamed Attia, Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East Between Doubt and Certainty, Cultural House for Publishing and Distribution, 2004, p. 59.

(²⁴) (Ahmed Hajjaj, the previous source, from 156.

(²⁵)Golda Meir was born in 1889 in Mabovitz, Kiev, Ukraine. She immigrated with her family to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1906. She graduated from the Teachers College and worked as a teacher. She joined the Zionist Labor Organization in 1915. She immigrated to Palestine with her husband, Morris

Meirson, in 1921. Golda moved to Tel Aviv in 1924. She was the fourth Prime Minister of Israel, serving from March 17, 1969, to 1974. Golda Meir died on December 8, 1978, and was buried in Jerusalem. See: Muhammad Maher Bassiouni, *Confessions of Golda*, Beit al-Hikma Cultural Group, 2023, pp. 7-10.

⁽²⁶⁾It is considered the most comprehensive international treaty on nuclear weapons. According to its provisions, nuclear-weapon states are obligated to negotiate effective measures to stop the arms race. Article 4 stipulates the possibility of full interchangeability and cooperation in the field of civil programs. Article 5 requires non-nuclear states to sign agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency, so that all their activities are subject to international safety procedures. In other words, the treaty has restricted the right of non-nuclear states to obtain peaceful nuclear technology by accepting the principle of international supervision. See:

⁽²⁷⁾ (Ahmed Hajjaj, the previous source, from 156.

⁽²⁸⁾ (Mamdouh Hamed Attia, The previous source, p. 220.

⁽²⁹⁾ (Mustafa Abdel Wahid Wali, the previous source, pp. 46-47.

⁽³⁰⁾ (Ahmed Bama El-Din Shaaban, *The Israeli Military Strategy in 2000*, Sinai Publishing, Cairo, 1992, 344.

⁽³¹⁾ (Mamdouh Hamed Attia, the previous source, pp. 56-57.

⁽³²⁾ (Simon Hirsch, *The Samson Option*, Dar Al-Hilal, Cairo, 1991, p. 206.

⁽³³⁾ (Zainab Abdel-Azim Muhammad, *The Nuclear Situation in the Middle East in the Early Twenty-First Century*, Al-Shorouk International Library, Cairo, 2007, pp. 54-55.

⁽³⁴⁾ Cohen Avner, Miller Marrin, 'Bringing Israel's Bomb out of the basement-Has Nuclear Ambiguity Outlined its shelf Life?', *Foreign Affairs*, pp.1-2, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/66569/Arner-Cohen-and-Marrin-Miller//Bringing-Israel's>.

⁽³⁵⁾ Robert Stephens, 'The Great Powers and the Middle East', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol, 2, No.4, Summer .1973, p.p.7.8.

⁽³⁶⁾ (Ahmed Thabet, *Aspects of the Arab-Zionist Conflict and its Fields*, Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 2014.

⁽³⁷⁾ Ronald Reagan: A late American politician and actor who served as the 40th President of the United States from 1981 to 1989. Prior to his presidency, he was the 33rd Governor of California between 1967 and 1975. See= :

= Terry Golway, *Ronald Reagan's America*, Sourcebooks, Incorporated, 2008.

⁽³⁸⁾ (Ahmad Mansour, *Lights on American Policy in the Middle East*, Dar Ibn Hazm, Beirut, 1994, p. 110

⁽³⁹⁾ Cohen Arner ,Miller Marrin, Op-cit.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Robert Stephens , Op-cit, p.p.7.8.

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