

**Statement by H.E. Ambassador Soltanieh**

**Resident Representative of the**

**Islamic Republic of Iran to the IAEA**

**before the**

**IAEA Board of Governors**

**8 March 2012**

**In the Name of God**

**The Most Gracious and the Most Merciful**

**Mr. Chairman,**

**Let me start by quoting the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran's statement on nuclear energy and nuclear weapons made in a meeting with the director and officials of the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran (AEOI) and nuclear scientists on 19 February 2012 in Tehran: *"The Iranian nation has never pursued and will never pursue nuclear weapons. There is no doubt that the decision makers in the countries opposing us know well that Iran is not after nuclear weapons because the Islamic Republic, logically, religiously and theoretically, considers the possession of nuclear weapons a grave sin and believes the proliferation of such weapons is senseless, destructive and dangerous. If nations are allowed to independently make progress in the fields of nuclear energy, aerospace, science, technology and industry, there will be no room left for the tyrannical dominance of world powers. Sanctions have been in place since the victory of the Islamic Revolution while the nuclear issue is a matter of the past few years; therefore their (the West) real problem is with a nation that has decided to be independent."***

**Mr. Chairman,**

**The valuable support of over 100 countries of the Non-Aligned Movement for the past almost a decade on Iran's nuclear issue has one single message: The developing countries have the inalienable right to use science and technology including nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and the nuclear apartheid, monopoly and colonialism era is over. In this context, I have the honor to express sincere appreciation to all family members of NAM for the indispensable support echoed in the statement read out by my distinguished brother H.E. Ambassador Khaled Shamaa of Egypt.**

**Mr. Chairman,**

**The Islamic Republic of Iran has, from the outset, believed in resolution of disputes through constructive engagement and fair negotiations and has consistently insisted on respect for the rights of all parties and on prevalence of the law. The Islamic Republic of Iran considers, therefore, that recognition of rights entails their faithful realization, just as stipulation of responsibility entails commitment.**

**Membership in international organizations and conceding to their obligations goes with appropriate rights and rewards to the member. To deny rights and privileges is to defy reasons for membership. No government can assume rights to herself while depriving others of the same. And no government can presume responsibilities for others while relieving herself from the same. The Islamic Republic of Iran is, thus, committed to all its responsibilities, embraces expansion of its relations with all peace loving states in the world, and rejects any aggression and threat that causes instability and war.**

**Mr. Chairman,**

**I am obliged to send a clear message to those countries imposing sanctions under the pretext of prevention or stopping Iran's peaceful nuclear**

**activities specifically uranium enrichment: They are targeting people and not centrifuge machines since Iran is manufacturing every over ninety components of the centrifuge indigenously. The reports of the inspectors prove my assertion; therefore, I advise them to tell the truth to their people and the world at large.**

### **Threat of attack against Iran's nuclear facilities**

**Mr. Chairman,**

**Permit me to remind of all the resolution 533 adopted by the Agency's General Conference in 1990 which clearly says:**

- *"any armed attack on and threat against nuclear facilities devoted to peaceful purposes constitutes a violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, international law and the Statute of the Agency";*
- *—"an armed attack on a nuclear installation could result in radioactive releases with grave consequences within and beyond the boundaries of the State which has been attacked";*
- *"Recognizes that attacks or threats of attack on nuclear facilities devoted to peaceful purposes could jeopardize the development of nuclear energy;*
- *—"Recognizes that an armed attack or a threat of armed attack on a safeguarded nuclear facility, in operation or under construction, would create a situation in which the United Nations Security Council would have to act immediately in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.*

**Mr. Chairman,**

**I recall the Israeli attack against the Iraqi reactor which led to suspension of its privilege and right of membership of the Agency based on resolution adopted in 1982, despite of the threat of the United States, a bluff, to**

**withdraw from Agency Membership if a resolution was passed against Israel. The world is nowadays witnessing continuous threat of attack against Iran's nuclear facilities by the Zionist regime of Israel which is a crystal clear violation of the said resolutions. The recent position of the Zionist regime, master of its fate, proves the assertion that the regime defies all international commitments and totally disregards and ignores the calls by its allies including the United States, its guardian, who have supported Israel during last decades, at any price, at the cost of hostility with many countries, the Islamic world, creating hate vis-à-vis Americans. The silence of the Agency's members, the Board of Governors in particular shall seriously jeopardize the credibility of the Agency. The lack of actions of the UN Security Council as envisaged in operative paragraph 3 of this resolution indicate its incapability of preventing confrontation by stopping threats to peace and security. Inevitably an attack against safeguarded nuclear installations of a party to the NPT by a non-party shall lead to the collapse of the NPT.**

**In this context I call upon the Agency's Member States to condemn violation of the Agency's resolution and urge the Director General, as mandated by the said resolutions, to report any development in this regard to the forthcoming General Conference and the UN Security Council.**

### **Assassination of Nuclear Scientists Barbaric Phenomena in 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

**Mr. Chairman,**

**The international community once again witnessed the ugly phenomenon of terrorism and the assassination of scientists and academicians in obvious violations of all humanitarian principles, the spirit of the UN Charter, the Statute of the IAEA and international law. With profound regret five Iranian scientists have been targeted by terrorist attacks. Due to time constraint I will elaborate in more detail at a later stage.**

**Short review of the report of the Director General on routine verification**

**The report clearly reflects the facts that:**

- **All nuclear material and activities are under full scope safeguards and remain in peaceful use.**
- **Iran is master of enrichment technology and in spite of sanctions nuclear activities are progressing.**
- **The Director General has reported technical details which breaches the protection of sensitive, commercial and intellectual proprietary information of Member States. Bearing in mind the bitter fact that this report is publicly available in spite of the declared classification assumed to be confidential unless the Board of Governors decides to be public, has created a lot of confusion for non-technical readers.**
- **The Director General is expected to merely report the factual situation for instance Iran is not implementing Additional Protocol and modified code 3.1, has not suspended its enrichment and completion of heavy water reactor for production of radioisotopes, due to clearly known reasons. The report should not include statements by the Secretariat about what a member states, Iran, should do or should not. Any notion giving wrong information that the Additional Protocol is considered as legally binding is contrary to the fact that it is voluntary in nature damages the credibility of the Agency.**
- **Piecemeal and partial information of a technical verification process has created misunderstanding, thus has to be stopped.**

## **The Engagement Policy**

### **1- Engagement with the IAEA**

**Mr. Chairman,**

**Since the last Board of Governors an important development has occurred, namely the engagement of Iran and the Agency in a delicate national**

**security and political related issue, i.e. the allegations on possible military dimensions. Since the Secretariat has not provided the full picture and somehow a disappointing one, specifically in its press release before the Agency's team returned to Vienna as well as the DG report and his introductory statement at this meeting, I have to put on record the following:**

#### **Background:**

**Pursuant to high level political negotiations, a Work Plan (INFCIRC/711 ) was agreed between Iran and the IAEA on 27 August 2007 for clarification of past outstanding issues. As the result of Iran's proactive cooperation six issues were resolved by 2008 and reported by the former Director General to the Board of Governors.**

**In spite of the fact that the IAEA did not fulfill its obligations including delivery of the documents on the "Alleged Studies" to Iran, Iran did submit to the Agency its assessment in a 117 -page document. The Work Plan was therefore concluded but the Agency contrary to the Work Plan has not declared it.**

**However, once again Iran made a historical concession by inviting the Agency's team on 30 October 2011 to pay a visit to Iran for the purpose of resolving issues and put an end to a seemingly endless process.**

#### **A- First Meetings (29-31 January 2012)**

**Iran and the Agency's team composed of senior officials had intensive discussions on how to deal with the issues and identified main pillars. The Agency and Iran exchanged their drafts of text on structured approach and modality for subsequent elaborations.**

#### **B- Intercessional Meetings (15-17 February 2012)**

**In order to facilitate the 2<sup>nd</sup> round of talks in Tehran, three meetings were held in Vienna where the following understandings were reached:**

- The process would be Topic by Topic approach and the interrelated technical issues be categorized in one Topic in order to facilitate intensive, effective and conclusive approach.**
- The Agency stated that all remaining issues are exclusively in the GOV/2011/65 , which will be given priority in the list of Topics/Clusters in the 2<sup>nd</sup> draft of modality.**
- In this context, the items such as detonator development, high explosive initiation and hydrodynamic experiment that was originally proposed by the Agency to be as Topic-2, was agreed to be included in the first Topic. Therefore, the Topic-1 consists of 5 issues.**
- It was agreed that the Agency will deliver documents which indicate if the alleged activities on each Topic are conducted by Iran.**
- It was agreed that the text of the modality be concluded and agreed upon firstly and then based on this agreed modality the Topic by Topic approach be implemented.**
- It was agreed that the Agency will prepare its questions on the Topic-1 (5 issues) and provide them to Iran in the subsequent meeting (20-21 February), in order to pave the way for effective implementation.**
- Iran agreed to the Agency's request to provide the initial declaration on the Annex of the Director General's report (GOV/2011/65 ) in the subsequent meeting (20-21 February).**
- It was also agreed that although the Agency provides its questions on Topic-1, but the request for access to Parchin be postponed after the BOG's March meeting, in accordance with the Topic by Topic approach.**
- Iran offered and declared its readiness in line with the demonstration of good faith based on proactive cooperation, to take practical steps including granting access on two issues in Topic-1 namely detonator development and high explosive initiation.**

### **C- Second Meetings (20-21 February 2012)**

**Based on the proposed text of modality by the Agency, following steps were sequentially foreseen:**

- 1- Agreement on the modality.**
- 2- Iran provides its initial declaration on the Annex of report GOV/2011/65 .**
- 3- The Agency provides all questions on Topic-1 (5 issues) and delivers documents that indicate that alleged activities are conducted by Iran.**
- 4- Iran will answer to the Agency's questions.**
- 5- The Agency will review and analyze the answers and will discuss with Iran about all actions to be taken on Topic-1 (5 issues).**
- 6- The Agency will request implementation of action(s) on one issue of Topic-1, in accordance with Topic by Topic approach.**

**In spite of the agreement in Vienna (B above) and even contrary to the Agency's text as mentioned above, the Agency's team, based on the DG's instruction, requested access to Parchin.**

**It should be recalled that Parchin has been visited by the Agency twice in 2005 where the former DDG announced then that the issue was concluded and will be part of history and the former DG reported to the Board of Governors. Considering the fact that it is a military site, granting access is a time consuming process and cannot be permitted repeatedly. In the light of this background and principle the Agency was requested to combine all related issues such as hydrodynamic experiments, and then once more, access would be granted. The process could be obviously started when the agreement on modality is reached.**



**In spite of the fact that the modality was not concluded, but Iran in line with the demonstration of good faith based on proactive cooperation decided to submit its initial declaration on the Annex of the DG's report. This was one of the actions envisaged in the draft modality provided by the Agency.**

**The Agency was not prepared to deliver all questions on the Topic-1 (5 related issues) but it only did on Parchin and foreign expert. The Agency neither did provide any document nor did provide any clarification on these questions.**

**Iran reoffered its readiness to take practical steps including granting access on two issues in Topic-1 namely detonator development and high explosive initiation to resolve the two issues, but the Agency team did not accept the offer due to the instruction of the DG to return back to Vienna.**

**Both sides however had intensive discussion on modality for the work on allegations, agreements were reached on many parts, but due to the planned team return to Vienna and time constraint, the text was not concluded.**

**Permit me to draw your attention to the fact that the Secretariat is mandated to merely reflect impartially the factual situation and the results of its verification without any qualifier such as regret, disappointment, or happiness. Such judgment has to be left to the Member States.**

**I have to put on record that the Agency's verification practice is based on safeguards agreements with Member States. Therefore the Secretariat is expected to observe this principle.**

**The Islamic Republic of Iran has made its decision to work with the Agency in a professional manner to resolve outstanding allegations in order to prove Member States and the world public that its nuclear activities are exclusively for peaceful purposes.**

**All Member States are therefore expected to support the process and to refrain from any action which will undermine the cooperative environment desperately needed to pursue a successful conclusion.**

## **2- Engagement with Member States**

**The Islamic Republic of Iran has declared repeatedly in the past that it sought fair negotiations for the resolution of issues. Iran has adopted an engagement approach, welcomed abolition of threatening language and embarked upon serious consideration of any proposal, in the belief that the two sides can arrive at an agreement founded on international law.**

**The recent response of H.E. Dr. Jalili, Secretary of National Security Council, to Lady Ashton is a clear indication of Iran's determination for the forward looking approach.**

**The recent astonishing turnout of the Iranian people in the parliamentary election proved the ineffectiveness of the resolutions, sanctions, cyber attacks, assassination of nuclear scientists and threats of military attack against nuclear facilities. On the nuclear issue all Iranians all over the world are united.**

**Mr. Chairman,**

**Permit me to use this opportunity to advise those few certain western states facing the dilemma to tell the truth to the world or at least to their own tax payers: To tell them that they have continuously misled their people by incorrect information that Iran is pursuing nuclear weapons and will test a nuclear bomb in a couple of months! To confess that in spite of their claim of having strong intelligence services, they have made several miscalculations: They were not able to predict the triumph of the Islamic Revolution 33 years ago in Iran, the failure of Saddam, their failure in Iraq and Afghanistan and last but not least Iran's great achievements in nuclear technology specifically to become master of enrichment technology.**

**We however do understand that they are frustrated and are facing an impasse on Iran's nuclear issue and would like to have a breakthrough but with face saving. We are ready to help them out of this impasse, through a negotiating process, provided that they change their attitudes and conduct from "*carrot & stick*", "*sanction & negotiation*" to a civilized unconditional negotiation with mutual respect and equal footings.**

**Thanks for your kind attention.**