

Excerpt from Rouhani's Speech on Iran's Nuclear Program

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"In summer of 2002 there was lots of noise in the Western media, saying that Iran is trying to make a nuclear bomb. If you may recall, the controversy began in the summer of 2002. After this controversy, the IAEA entered the scene.

"About the discovery of Natanz there were many issues including the involvement of the Monafeqin [The People's Mojahedin Organization – PMOI]. They collected intelligence from various sources. They were informed of some of our comings and goings in the Natanz area. They were active there. They even came very close to that area and photographed the facility and were collecting intelligence."

[The decisions on the nuclear issue were taken at four different levels.] "One level is an expert discussion that is chaired by one of the Director Generals of the Foreign Ministry and all the relevant agencies are represented. The expert discussion is also conducted at a higher level. Those meetings are held at the Secretariat of the Supreme National Security Council. The third level is among ministers. That meeting is also held at the Secretariat of the Supreme National Security Council. The fourth level is the meeting by the State's leaders where all the main decisions are taken and policies are set.

"In a meeting of the state's leaders at 2003, it was discussed that according to the IAEA resolution of September 2003, we had to provide a complete picture of our nuclear activities of previous years to the IAEA. The issue was whether providing a complete picture would alleviate the problem or not? The dilemma was if we offered a complete picture, the picture itself could lead us to the UN Security Council. And not providing a complete picture would also be a violation of the resolution and we could have been referred to the Security Council for not implementing the resolution.

"Most of the activities that we had carried out and had not informed the IAEA about them were reported to the IAEA by countries that were our partners in those activities. For instance we had implemented some plans with the Chinese and according to the safeguard regulations we had to report them to the IAEA and we had not done so. These were reported to the IAEA by the Chinese and they told us that they had informed the IAEA. In addition, the Russians had also already informed the IAEA of some of the equipment that we had purchased from them.

"It became evident to us that the IAEA has become aware of some of the secret experiments that we had carried out years ago. For instance, we had conducted an experiment in Tehran. The person in charge of the project was a university professor. One of his students had written a paper on this research. This paper was published in a few copies. The IAEA had obtained a copy and we were not aware of it. Subsequently, the IAEA showed us a copy of the paper and said that you have carried out this experiment. Or on one other issue that we thought nobody is aware of, one of the university professors who was involved in the project, had written a scientific article about it and it was published in an international paper. The IAEA had obtained a copy of this paper as well.

"At that juncture, we were not aware of the behind-the-scenes negotiations between the U.S. and the U.K. with Libya. We were also not aware of the fact that the dealer that we had purchased some equipment from, Libya had also purchased equipments from the same dealer....The Libyans provided all the details from start to the end to the Americans and to the British and had provided whatever they got from this dealer to the Americans and did whatever the Americans and the British asked them to do. I mean on the issue of the Middle East peace process, Israel and stopping financial support to Palestinians...in reality they got whatever they wanted from Libya. Thus, when they refer to the Libyan model, it is not that we should collect the centrifuges and ship them to Washington, DC. No, the Libyan model means moving on the path of recognizing Israel, cutting off relationship with all the liberation movements in the world.

"We had told the IAEA about the equipment that we had purchased from that dealer, except one item and that was the P2 (advanced) centrifuges. But since the IAEA found out about the dealer and the information through Libya, they obtained enough information on us as well....The issue of P2 dealt a serious blow to the trust of the Europeans in us and to the trend that we had initiated with them. Since from the onset, the Americans kept telling the Europeans that the Iranians are lying and deceiving you and they have not told you everything and the Europeans used to respond that we have trusted them.

"When the issue of P2 was revealed, the Europeans became upset and they started to doubt whether there is anything more than the P2 drawings and other equipments that we have obtained and have not informed them about? For instance, they asked us whether we had got the design and drawings for the bomb as well. That was due to the fact that Libya had also purchased the design and drawings for the bomb as well. They kept telling us that Libya purchased the design of the bomb from the same dealer that has been in contact with you. How

would it be conceivable that you purchase the drawings for P1 and P2 but do not purchase the drawings for the bomb?

"Another issue is the background on the P2. This issue is not resolved with the IAEA yet. Their question is how and when we purchased the drawings for the P2 and what else have we purchased and where is the workshop for P2. On the issue of P2 we told them that it was worked upon in a small workshop in the private sector and it is the only place where we were active on the P2. They have not accepted this yet. They kept saying that you have paid so much for these drawings and then provided these drawings to an individual in a small workshop to act upon it? Naturally, you should have carried out the main activity at another location.

"On the issue of dealers, we have not mentioned Pakistan anywhere as of now. We have only said that that we have purchased them from a dealer. We even told them that the first dealer was a European individual. They asked us what is the nationality of Mr. Taher that has carried out the deal with you? We responded that he appeared to be from the sub-continent. The IAEA has mentioned Pakistan. But we are aware that Libya has revealed some information as well. But we have not said anything and have only said that we have purchased them from a dealer.

"Another issue that was raised was the fact that the Europeans gradually realized that we did not accept suspension in the areas that we had technical difficulties and only agreed to suspension in the areas that we faced no technical problems. This is a point that they point out to in the talks recently. For instance, we completed Isfahan that is the section for U.C.F. and the factory that converts yellow cake to UF4 and UF6 was completed during the suspension period. When we were negotiating with Europeans in Tehran, we were still installing some of the equipments in Isfahan site and there was plenty of work to be done to complete this site and finish the work there. In reality, by creating a tame situation, we could finish Isfahan.

"I should tell you that we need some time to implement our capabilities. I mean if we could complete the fuel cycle and make it *fait- accompli* for the world, then the whole situation would be different."