

# AIPAC

Policy Conference 2006 Opening Plenary: Global  
Challenge: How the International Community  
Can Stop Iran.

Ambassador John Bolton

Sunday March 5<sup>th</sup>, 2006

Tapes 2269 & 2239

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w w w . u b i q u i s . c o m

Line#	Timecode	Quote
1		[START TAPE 1 SIDE A]
2		MS. HARRIET ZIMMERMAN: Good morning.
3		I'm Harriet Zimmerman from Florida
4		and you can hear I'm croaking but I
5	00:06:14	wouldn't have missed this opportunity
6		for anything in the world because
7		John Bolton is one of my heroes. He
8		has been one of the key driving
9		forces behind efforts to keep Iran's
10	00:06:30	nuclear arms program at the top of
11		the world's agenda and to stop Iran
12		before it is too late. As
13		undersecretary of state for arms
14		control and security, John Bolton
15	00:06:43	devoted himself to slowing Iran's
16		nuclear programs, speaking plainly
17		and passionately about the threat a
18		nuclear Iran would pose to the United
19		States, our allies and the wider
20	00:06:57	community. Today, as America's
21		ambassador to the United Nations, he
22		continues his fight at the highest
23		diplomatic levels. His efforts to
24		advance causes important to the US
25	00:07:10	pro-Israel community extend far

Line#	Timecode	Quote
26		beyond his leadership on the Iran
27		issue, and are so extensive that it
28		would be impossible for me to list
29		them all. However, I think that we
30	00:07:24	should all take pride in knowing that
31		the man who is at Turtle Bay is the
32		man who led the successful fight to
33		repeal the notorious U.N. resolution
34		that equated Zionism with racism. It
35	00:07:48	is now my honor to introduce a good
36		friend of mine and a good friend of
37		the U.S.-Israel relationship, a man
38		who speaks with conviction, and
39		honesty. A man who cares deeply
40	00:08:00	about America and Israel and
41		strengthening democracies around the
42		globe. We couldn't want a better
43		clean-up hitter.
44		[music]
45	00:08:33	MR. JOHN BOLTON: [11:22:30] Thank
46		you very much. Thank you very much.
47		Ladies and gentlemen, distinguished
48		guests, I thank you for inviting me
49		to address this year's policy
50	00:08:43	conference. Your work to raise

Line#	Timecode	Quote
51		awareness and informed debates on
52		issues vital to the national security
53		of both the United States and Israel
54		is a major and important
55	00:08:53	contribution. Without doubt the
56		issues you'll be tackling here over
57		the next two days are among the most
58		intractable. That is all the more
59		reason why they are the most
60	00:09:03	appropriate, indeed crucial ones to
61		discuss. The work you do to promote
62		the peace and prosperity of Israel
63		and to strengthen the ties that bind
64		our nation helps cement our rock
65	00:09:16	solid alliance. One that will never
66		allow the state of Israel as some
67		have suggested to be wiped off the
68		map. I wish that I could stand
69		before you today and say that in the
70	00:09:34	last year we have not observed any
71		troubling developments. Sadly it
72		seems that we have traveled back in
73		time in some ways. Back to a time
74		when a regional leader trumpets the
75	00:09:45	call of war and openly calls for the

Line#	Timecode	Quote
76		destruction of the state of Israel.
77		Back to a time when this same leader
78		brazenly and with shocking ignorance
79		questions the horrors that unfolded
80	00:09:57	with the Holocaust. While Mr. Amadi-
81		Nejad, president of the Islamic
82		Republic of Iran has clearly failed
83		his lessons in history, indulge me
84		for a minute to offer him up at least
85	00:10:09	one lesson on current events. Our
86		commitment to Israel's security and
87		the alliance between the United
88		States and Israel are unshakable.
89		The work AIPAC has done to forge and
90	00:10:30	strengthen those ties should serve as
91		a powerful reminder to any leader now
92		or in the future, that simply put
93		there will be no destruction of the
94		state of Israel. While there is no
95	00:10:47	doubt that the question of Iran's
96		pursuit of nuclear weapons is first
97		and foremost on people's minds and
98		rightly so, the problems run deeper.
99		As Secretary Rice recently noted in
100	00:10:57	testimony on Capitol Hill, we have a

Line#	Timecode	Quote
101		comprehensive view of the threat that
102		Iran proposes. It is not just that
103		the regime is seeking to develop
104		nuclear weapons, but that it is also
105	00:11:09	the world's leading state sponsor of
106		terrorism and is working to
107		destabilize the region to advance its
108		ideological ambitions. It is not
109		just the external threat that worries
110	00:11:21	us but the fact that the Iranian
111		government oppresses its own people,
112		denying them basic liberties and
113		civil rights. Given the
114		comprehensive nature of the threat,
115	00:11:31	we must be prepared to rely on
116		comprehensive solutions that use all
117		tools at our disposal to stop the
118		threat that the Iranian regime poses.
119		It is with this in mind that
120	00:11:48	Secretary Rice noted that the United
121		States will actively confront the
122		aggressive policies of this Iranian
123		regime, and at the same time we are
124		going to work to support the
125	00:11:58	aspirations of the Iranian people for

Line#	Timecode	Quote
126		freedom in their own country. No
127		doubt, the primary threat that Israel
128		and the United States face from
129		Iran's regime is its clear and
130	00:12:09	unrelenting drive to acquire nuclear
131		weapons and the means to deliver
132		those weapons. For years, the
133		international community has been
134		hearing of the mounting and
135	00:12:18	voluminous evidence confirmed by IAEA
136		inspectors of Iran's deception and
137		denial in violation of its treaty
138		obligations, with the IAEA and the
139		international community. Through
140	00:12:31	intense diplomatic work, the IAEA
141		board of governors last month finally
142		reported Iran's failure to allay
143		concerns about the nature of its
144		nuclear program to the United
145	00:12:42	Nation's security council, a step it
146		would have been fully justified in
147		taking several years ago, but which
148		was postponed in the hope that Iran
149		would choose cooperation over
150	00:12:54	confrontation. Thus far, this hope

Line#	Timecode	Quote
151		has been in vain. I find it deeply
152		ironic that the United States is so
153		often accused of aggressive
154		unilateralism when we have been the
155	00:13:06	ones pursuing multilateral efforts
156		through the IAEA including and in
157		conjunction with the British, French
158		and Germans or the EU3 as we call
159		them, as well as the Russians and now
160	00:13:17	the United Nations, following the
161		conclusions of the IAEA board of
162		governors meeting that will begin
163		tomorrow in Vienna, director general
164		Alberti will convey to the Security
165	00:13:28	Council his latest report on Iran's
166		nuclear activities. Let me be clear.
167		The longer we wait to confront the
168		threat Iran poses, the harder and
169		more intractable it will become to
170	00:13:41	solve. This is not to say that we do
171		not support the ongoing diplomatic
172		efforts by the EU3 and the Russians,
173		but we must not ignore Tehran's
174		refusal to address the concerns of
175	00:13:59	the international community. For



Line#	Timecode	Quote
176		over two years, the EU3 has engaged
177		in active diplomacy with Tehran, and
178		presented one reasonable proposal
179		after another. The mullahs in Iran
180	00:14:10	agreed with the EU3 in Paris and then
181		unilaterally broke the agreement by
182		resuming the conversion of uranium
183		into UF6 last fall. In the case of
184		the ongoing negotiations with the
185	00:14:22	Russians, the Iranian regime is
186		engaging in double speak. With one
187		voice, they are saying they welcome
188		the discussion with the Russian
189		Federation and view it as a possible
190	00:14:33	solution to the impasse. With
191		another voice, however, they are
192		flatly refusing to consider the core
193		condition that Russia, the EU3 and we
194		would require, namely that Iran give
195	00:14:46	up access to the technology and
196		materials that would enable them to
197		have the indigenous capability to
198		develop nuclear weapons. Tehran's
199		trumpeting of its right in quotes to
200	00:14:59	a civil peaceful nuclear program is a

Line#	Timecode	Quote
201		canard. The Russian proposal enables
202		the Iranians to reap the benefits of
203		civil nuclear power while addressing
204		concerns that they are really
205	00:15:10	pursuing nuclear weapons. The EU3
206		proposal even opened the possibility
207		of technical cooperation on nuclear
208		power. The president has said we do
209		not oppose Iran enjoying the benefits
210	00:15:23	of peaceful, safeguarded nuclear
211		energy. It is clear, however, that
212		Iran's pursuit of the nuclear fuel
213		cycle is neither peaceful nor for
214		nuclear energy. Frankly Iran's track
215	00:15:35	record justifies this fear. As the
216		resolution passed by the IAEA board
217		of governors notes, there have been -
218		and I'm quoting now - many failures
219		and breaches of its obligations to
220	00:15:47	comply with its NPT safeguards
221		agreement. Put differently, with
222		rights come responsibilities.
223		Responsibilities that Iran has not
224		come close to meeting. It is unclear
225	00:16:02	exactly how events will play out once

Line#	Timecode	Quote
226		the security council takes up the
227		agenda item of Iran. As a number of
228		officials, myself included have noted
229		earlier, there are a range of options
230	00:16:13	available. Letting it languish,
231		however, is not one of them. Failure
232		by the security council to act on
233		this matter would be a highly
234		detrimental abrogation of the duties
235	00:16:31	it is charged with under the U.N.
236		charter. [2239 @ 11:30:35] If the
237		pursuit of nuclear weapons by a state
238		with a leader who calls for another
239		to be wiped off the map is not
240		considered a threat to
241	00:16:46	international peace and security then
242		what is? The security council should
243		take due note that failure to act in
244		a timely manner and with seriousness
245		of purpose will do lasting damage to
246	00:17:08	the credibility of the council. The
247		security council will likely take a
248		graduated approach to dealing with
249		this issue, but it is critical that
250		we use the council to help mobilize

Line#	Timecode	Quote
251	00:17:23	international public opinion. Rest
252		assured though, we are not relying on
253		the security council as the only tool
254		in our toolbox to address this
255		problem. In addition to our
256	00:17:42	diplomatic efforts at the IAEA, the
257		U.N. Security Council and
258		bilaterally, we are beefing up our
259		defensive measures to cope with the
260		Iranian nuclear threat. As Secretary
261	00:17:52	Rice has stated, in conjunction with
262		our multilateral diplomacy, the
263		United States will develop security
264		measures including looking further at
265		the proliferation security
266	00:18:02	initiative, and those who cooperate
267		with us to try and deny to regimes
268		like Iran, North Korea and others the
269		materials for covert programs that
270		threaten the international system.
271	00:18:13	This combined pressure, we hope will
272		persuade the Iranian regime to make
273		the strategic decision to forego the
274		pursuit of nuclear weapons. Unlike
275		North Korea, the Iranian people have

Line#	Timecode	Quote
276	00:18:24	many ties to the world, whether
277		economic, social or cultural. We
278		must use those ties to help raise the
279		pressure on the Iranian regime. The
280		United States already imposes
281	00:18:36	numerous bilateral sanctions on Iran,
282		and while it may be too soon to begin
283		sanctions by the security council, it
284		is noteworthy that many other
285		governments around the world have
286	00:18:47	begun to include the word "sanctions"
287		in their discourse when discussing
288		Iran. The Iranian regime must be
289		made aware that if it continues down
290		the path of international isolation
291	00:19:04	there will be tangible and painful
292		consequences. Alternatively, if Iran
293		follows the course of Libya and makes
294		the strategic decision that the
295		pursuit of weapons of mass
296	00:19:21	destruction, the sponsorship of
297		terror and the oppression of its
298		people makes it less not more secure,
299		then relations with the outside world
300		can improve dramatically. Thus the

Line#	Timecode	Quote
301	00:19:33	question of how far the security
302		council will go and whether it will
303		eventually have to consider the
304		imposition of sanctions or the extent
305		to which we need to develop defensive
306	00:19:43	measures against Iran more fully is
307		really a question for Mr. Amadi-Nejad
308		and his regime to answer. Sadly, the
309		signals coming from President Amadi-
310		Nejad and note that I did not say,
311	00:19:57	freely elected President Amadi-Nejad,
312		are not encouraging. Indeed they are
313		outright hostile. There is no doubt
314		that the pursuit of nuclear weapons
315		by Iran's regime has taken on greater
316	00:20:10	salience given the behavior that
317		these autocrats have displayed in
318		other regards. <b>[2239 @ 11:34:21]</b>
319		Iran has long been a rogue state.
320		The world's leading state sponsor and
321		funder of
322	00:20:22	terrorism. The quote unquote
323		election of Amadi-Nejad has only
324		deepened the Iranian regime's
325		isolation and heightened tensions in

Line#	Timecode	Quote
326		the region. It is surreal to hear
327	00:20:34	coming out of the mouth of a world
328		leader rhetoric that we thought had
329		been relegated to the dustbin of
330		history. It is not just conferences
331		or sponsoring cartoon competitions
332	00:20:45	calling into question the Holocaust,
333		it is their overt and increasingly
334		vocal support of terrorist
335		organizations that is profoundly
336		disturbing. To see the Iranian
337	00:20:56	President go to Damascus and hold a
338		summit meeting with the leaders of
339		Hezbollah and Hamas as well as the
340		leaders of Syria, cannot but raise
341		considerable concern about his
342	00:21:07	intention. Let there be no
343		misunderstanding, as President Bush
344		and Secretary Rice have made clear,
345		since September 11 <sup>th</sup> , the United
346		States has been a nation at war, and
347	00:21:19	we stand shoulder to shoulder with
348		Israel and others in the region in
349		this fight against terrorism. It is
350		not just a question for the United

Line#	Timecode	Quote
351		States and Israel to consider,
352	00:21:36	however. Obviously the threat that
353		Iran poses to Israel is palpably
354		clear, but it is not just Israel that
355		is threatened. Iran continues to
356		actively support forces that would
357	00:21:48	tear Lebanon apart, and we continue
358		to observe an ongoing pattern on the
359		part of the Iranian regime to
360		interfere with our efforts to support
361		the democratic transition in Iraq.
362	00:22:00	While Iran used to view the regime of
363		Saddam Hussein as a threat to its
364		security, they now have a different
365		and frankly far more dangerous foe.
366		Democracy. Iran is not like North
367	00:22:16	Korea where the populace has little
368		access to outside information. The
369		Iranian people are all too aware that
370		the Iraqis were able to vote for
371		candidates who did not have to pass a
372	00:22:27	litmus test by a council of mullahs.
373		For it is the people of Iran that our
374		combined efforts must work to
375		bolster. As Secretary Rice noted,



Line#	Timecode	Quote
376		the United States wishes to reach out
377	00:22:39	to the Iranian people and support
378		their desire to realize their own
379		freedom, and to secure their own
380		democratic and human rights. The
381		Iranian people should know that the
382	00:22:49	United States fully supports their
383		aspirations for a free and better
384		future. For several years, President
385		Bush has made clear that the nexus
386		between terrorism and weapons of mass
387	00:23:05	destruction is the primary threat to
388		international peace and security
389		facing the world today.
390		Unfortunately developments in Iran,
391		particularly over the course of the
392	00:23:16	past year only reinforced this view.
393		While September 11 was a wake-up call
394		for many here in the United States,
395		we know that Israel has been
396		receiving those painful calls now for
397	00:23:27	decades, whether it was wars, suicide
398		bombings, hijackings or kidnappings,
399		the constant threat that the state of
400		Israel has been under serves as a

Line#	Timecode	Quote
401		painful reminder that we must remain
402	00:23:38	vigilant. I wish that I could
403		suggest today that the threat is
404		lower than it was before, but I
405		cannot do so in good conscience. We
406		know what can happen when we turned a
407	00:23:50	blind eye to tyranny, whether it
408		manifests itself as fascism, or in
409		the case of Iran, totalitarianism.
410		Many of you here in this room are
411		responsible for helping me, indeed
412	00:24:00	all Americans to understand this
413		undeniable truth. I can promise that
414		I will do all that I can to continue
415		to fight anti-Semitism in whatever
416		from it takes and wherever it
417	00:24:12	happens, particularly at the United
418		Nations. Thank you. As it turns
419		out, and as you well know, my current
420		job lends itself to such a fight.
421		Your unrelenting and constant support
422	00:24:47	though has been indispensable and our
423		mutual fight for what we cherish
424		most, freedom and democracy and for
425		that I thank you most sincerely.

**AIPAC - Policy Conference 2006 Opening Plenary: Global Challenge: How the International Community Can Stop Iran.**

Ambassador John Bolton , Sunday March 5<sup>th</sup>, 2006

Line#	Timecode	Quote
426		Thank you very much. Thank you.

427		[END OF TRANSCRIPT]
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