

# AIPAC

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

Dr. David Kay

Sunday, March 5, 2006

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

**Dr. David Kay**, Sunday March 5<sup>th</sup>, 2006

Line#	Timecode	Quote
1		[START TAPE 1 SIDE A]
2		MALE VOICE: Ladies and gentlemen,
3		welcome to the AIPAC Policy
4		Conference. Our program will now
5	00:00:12	begin.
6		[music]
7		[TV news video]
8		MALE VOICE: Ladies and gentlemen,
9		please welcome AIPAC president,
10	00:08:40	Bernice Manocherian.
11		MS. BERNICE MANOCHERIAN: Days
12		quickly gave way to a year. A year
13		of challenge. A year of change. A
14		year of conflict. A year of courage.
15	00:09:03	We held our breath during the days of
16		disengagement. We hoped for the best
17		of worst case scenarios as
18		Palestinian polls showed growing
19		popularity for the party committed to
20	00:09:17	Israel's destruction. We listened to
21		the words, "Wipe Israel off the map."
22		Eerily familiar, but laced with a new
23		intensity, a new venom. We watched
24		as a nation bereft of its leader
25	00:09:40	embraced the democratic values that

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26		they have fought so long to preserve
27		and a seamless transition of power
28		took place. But we did more than
29		hope and listen and watch and wait.
30	00:10:00	We helped to shape the past year
31		through our actions, our decisions
32		and our leadership. Together we
33		worked with our friends in Congress,
34		and with the administration to ensure
35	00:10:16	that Israel had the vital economic,
36		military and diplomatic support she
37		needed from her one and only
38		steadfast friend. Together we worked
39		with our country's leaders to put
40	00:10:33	terrorists and despots on notice.
41		Their actions would have
42		consequences. Legislation to prevent
43		Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons.
44		Policies to isolate Hamas.
45	00:10:54	Strategies to tackle Hezbollah. You
46		and I together in meetings, in phone
47		calls, in lobbying appointments and
48		conversations helped to shape
49		America's guiding principles
50	00:11:10	regarding the Middle East, and in so

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51		doing we continue to strengthen the
52		United States and Israel. In these
53		last two years I have felt especially
54		privileged to be part of this
55	00:11:33	community and of this extraordinary
56		organization. As AIPAC's president,
57		I have had the opportunity to get to
58		know so many of you, and have
59		developed a real appreciation for the
60	00:11:40	members, the activists, and the
61		leaders who indeed make AIPAC the
62		most important organization affecting
63		Israel's future. Special
64		appreciation and recognition go to my
65	00:12:12	colleagues on AIPAC's board of
66		directors. I cannot imagine working
67		with a more intelligent, a better
68		informed, a more committed group of
69		individuals. I am so very grateful
70	00:12:29	to each and every one of you for
71		everything that you have done to make
72		my job easier and to ensure that
73		AIPAC is strong and successful.
74		Special recognition goes to four
75	00:12:50	individuals who are finishing up

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76		their terms on AIPAC's board. I know
77		that they will continue to lead in
78		their home towns as well as
79		nationally. They are among our
80	00:13:03	community's finest. Senator Rudy
81		Boshwitz [phonetic], Bev Kanald
82		[phonetic], Randall Kaplan, and Nina
83		Rosenwald [phonetic]. Thank you. I
84		thank you and all of my colleagues on
85	00:13:22	the board of directors for your
86		invaluable efforts, for your counsel
87		and for your friendship which are all
88		very precious to me. I will have
89		more to say about my successor,
90	00:13:38	Howard Friedman later in our
91		conference, but I do want to
92		congratulate him and say how
93		fortunate AIPAC is to have him
94		assuming this presidency at such an
95	00:13:51	important time in our history. There
96		is another person who served on the
97		board of this organization with
98		distinction for many, many years
99		whose presence is profoundly missed
100	00:14:06	today. Beulah Friedman who passed

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101		away recently was bright, energetic,
102		creative and one of my very dear
103		friends. I miss her and we all miss
104		her special enthusiasm for AIPAC.
105	00:14:26	Our professional staff in Washington
106		DC., and in our regional offices all
107		over this blessed land are truly
108		extraordinary. They are all so
109		exceptional that I wish I had the
110	00:14:42	time to recognize each of them
111		individually as they so richly
112		deserve. But I do want to single out
113		AIPAC's executive director, Howard
114		Core, with whom I have worked so
115	00:15:03	closely these last few years. I have
116		come to appreciate and to understand
117		in ways I never did before the scope
118		of Howard's impact on our community
119		and on the future of our people. It
120	00:15:21	has been an amazing privilege to lead
121		this organization and I thank you all
122		who have given me that opportunity.
123		In these next few days, it will be
124		our presence in this capital city,
125	00:15:44	our actions and our interactions and

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126		the more than 450 separate lobbying
127		appointments taking place on Tuesday
128		that will help to determine the
129		future direction of the U.S.-Israel
130	00:16:00	relationship. Good friends, I am
131		grateful for your recognition of the
132		crucial importance of this year's
133		policy conference, and thank you for
134		your acute awareness of the critical
135	00:16:18	passage of time and for putting
136		personal agendas aside to act quickly
137		on the issues which confront us.
138		Once again, we have come to our
139		nation's capital in record numbers,
140	00:16:37	from every state in the union. From
141		more than 560 cities and over 300
142		college campuses in all 50 states.
143		Thank you for understanding the
144		importance of your participation, of
145	00:17:05	our participation together. We are
146		more than 5,000 strong. Ladies and
147		gentlemen, this is AIPAC's largest
148		policy conference ever, and we are
149		sending a very clear message when our
150	00:17:30	people need us, we are here. Now is

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151		the time for action. Now is the time
152		for leadership. Now is the time for
153		AIPAC. For the last several months
154		we have heard the vicious words of
155	00:18:01	one man. His rhetoric and almost
156		daily reminder of the threats facing
157		Israel and America too. For Amadi-
158		Nejad, a world without Israel and
159		America is a fulfillment of his
160	00:18:17	dream. It is his stated goal. For
161		me, and for so many of you, a world
162		without Israel is the world that we
163		remember all too vividly. I remember
164		my mother trying to shield my sister
165	00:18:37	and me from the horrors taking place
166		in Nazi Europe, and I remember she
167		worked tirelessly to help our people
168		escape. I remember the letters
169		asking for the U.S. government to
170	00:18:51	come to their aid. Newspaper
171		articles filled with chilling
172		accounts of deportations and then the
173		sickening silence that replaced their
174		cries for help. It is a memory that
175	00:19:10	shaped my life as a Jew, as an



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176		American and as a political activist.
177		Time after time it is that memory
178		that spurs me to action and to
179		leadership. It is the reason I
180	00:19:28	commit to a strong America and
181		Israel. The reason I commit to
182		politics and to AIPAC. But mine is
183		one story among the thousands in this
184		room. Collectively our experiences
185	00:19:51	make AIPAC what it is, a dedicated
186		community of passionate individuals
187		who know all too well what silence
188		and inaction can bring, and are
189		committed to a strong and bright
190	00:20:07	future for the United States and for
191		Israel and for our people all over
192		the world.
193		[music]
194		MALE VOICE: I came to my involvement
195	00:20:53	with Israel a bit by accident. I was
196		a senior in college in 1973 and I had
197		planned on taking a year off and I
198		was going to study renaissance art in
199		Italy. And just then the Yom Kippur
200	00:21:05	war breaks out. I realized I was

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201		going to go study in Israel, and I
202		went there and came to understand and
203		appreciate the role, the crucial role
204		that Israel plays in the destiny of
205	00:21:19	Jewish people. I made a call upon
206		someone who was an AIPAC activist and
207		then as I was leaving his office, he
208		said, you do know what AIPAC is,
209		don't you? I said, I kinda do. I
210	00:21:36	sorta do, and I stated what I thought
211		it was, got it completely wrong. And
212		then he told me what it was, and it
213		was the - kind of the cartoon-like
214		light bulb that went off. All of a
215	00:21:46	sudden I realized that here was the
216		intersection of three of my great
217		loves. Politics, public policy and
218		Israel, and I realized that through
219		AIPAC I could not only be involved in
220	00:21:58	three great interests but I could
221		also do very important work for
222		Israel. I'd heard the word lobbying.
223		I had no idea what it meant. But then
224		I was assigned to go and meet with a
225	00:22:14	group, and we sat with a senator and

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226		it was the most exciting feeling.
227		Here I am, the son of immigrants to
228		America, refugees, and I'd always
229		felt one foot not really completely
230	00:22:28	American, and that day was the single
231		most empowering day of my adult life.
232		The legacy to our children is not
233		just whatever they may inherit from
234		us, it's the world that they will
235	00:22:43	inherit from us too, and in our
236		little way we want to help affect
237		what that world is going to be. And
238		so our thought is that by helping to
239		support AIPAC and the Tomorrow
240	00:22:53	Campaign that there's a little bit
241		more certainty that the AIPAC of
242		tomorrow will be strong and secure.
243		As much as I do for AIPAC and I mean
244		I do stuff every single day, I
245	00:23:08	absolutely don't believe that I have
246		ever given back what I have gotten
247		from AIPAC. It has helped me to be a
248		more focused support of Israel. It
249		has helped me to be a more self
250	00:23:19	confident American.

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251		[news snippet]
252		MALE VOICE: It's important for a
253		person to be part of something larger
254		than themselves, whether it's an
255	00:23:34	organization, whether it's a team or
256		whether it's a people. I commit to
257		AIPAC because I really believe that
258		in a common and in an uncommonly
259		focused way, AIPAC is able to get
260	00:23:48	result, the safety, security and
261		economic wellbeing of Israel that no
262		other organization can do.
263		MALE VOICE: Ladies and gentlemen,
264		please welcome AIPAC's executive
265	00:24:01	director, Howard Core.
266		MR. HOWARD CORE: Thank you very
267		much. I first want to say thank you
268		very much to Yosi Segal for the
269		tremendous example that you set.
270	00:24:17	Yosi, thank you. My friends,
271		organizations are judged by their
272		leaders, and so it is with AIPAC and
273		its board of directors. Men of
274		women, and women of character, of
275	00:24:32	leadership, of passion and commitment

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276		that they bring every day to this
277		cause. But in particular the
278		responsibility that the president of
279		AIPAC has at any particular moment is
280	00:24:45	truly a significant responsibility
281		unlike any that exists in the
282		organized Jewish community. I just
283		want to take a moment to say thank
284		you and express our collective
285	00:24:56	appreciation to Bernice Manocherian
286		for her leadership whenever AIPAC
287		needed it over these past two years,
288		Bernice was available. Whenever her
289		passion and her commitment and her
290	00:25:13	intellect to face the challenges that
291		AIPAC and Israel and the United
292		States face, Bernice was there,
293		always with a sense of grace, with a
294		sense of dignity, with a sense of
295	00:25:27	humanity that marks Bernice.
296		Bernice, I just want to say thank you
297		for your leadership and our
298		partnership over these last two
299		years. Thank you. I look forward to
300	00:26:09	not only our continued friendship but

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301		your continued guidance and trust. I
302		also want to make - take special
303		recognition of AIPAC's chairwoman of
304		the board, Amy Friedkin, to express
305	00:26:22	appreciation to Amy for your
306		commitment and your ongoing devotion
307		as chairwoman of the board of AIPAC.
308		Thank you Amy. And to Howard
309		Friedman, AIPAC's incoming president,
310	00:26:36	I offer congratulations to you and
311		your family, both your immediate
312		family and your extended family in
313		Baltimore and elsewhere. But we are
314		blessed at AIPAC to have someone of
315	00:26:50	Howard's passion and energy and
316		commitment, and I look forward to
317		working with you and developing the
318		kind of partnership that will be
319		required in the coming days, weeks,
320	00:26:59	months, over the next two years.
321		Howard, thank you and
322		congratulations. These three
323		individuals are the kind of political
324		activists, the kind of leaders that
325	00:27:12	AIPAC attracts, and we are fortunate

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326		to call them members of the board of
327		AIPAC, and here are the rest of the
328		board of directors.
329		[music]
330	00:30:55	MALE VOICE: Ladies and gentlemen,
331		please welcome AIPAC board member
332		Russ Holstein.
333		MR. RUSS HOLSTEIN: Every one of us
334		understands the threat of Iran's
335	00:31:16	quest for nuclear weapons, and every
336		one of us wonders just how close Iran
337		is to making a bomb. During the past
338		months and years, there is much the
339		world has been able to uncover about
340	00:31:32	Iran's secret nuclear weapons
341		programs, but much remains hidden.
342		Our next speaker is unique. He is
343		one of a handful of people in the
344		world who can talk from experience
345	00:31:48	about the challenges that face
346		weapons inspectors as they attempt to
347		uncover the facts about a secret
348		nuclear program. Dr. David Kay spent
349		nearly a decade as the UN's chief
350	00:32:05	weapons inspector. In 1991, he led

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351		his team into Iraq at the end of the
352		gulf war. His teams located the
353		Iraqi center for nuclear weapons and
354		identified the scope and extent of
355	00:32:22	Iraq's enrichment activities. In
356		2003, President Bush appointed Dr.
357		Kay to lead more than 1400 members of
358		the Iraq survey group in a search for
359		weapons of mass destruction. Dr. Kay
360	00:32:42	is frequently called upon to testify
361		before Congress, and is one of the
362		world's most knowledgeable and sought
363		after analysts for issues relating to
364		nuclear weapons proliferation and
365	00:32:55	international terror. Please welcome
366		Dr. David Kay.
367		DR. DAVID KAY: Thank you very much,
368		Russ. I'm very happy to be here, and
369		I thank you particularly for the kind
370	00:33:13	introduction. Introductions these
371		days aren't always that kind. Just a
372		month ago I was speaking to the
373		army's Eisenhower Conference and I
374		was introduced as an expert on
375	00:33:24	failures in intelligence, having



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376		participated in a number of them. I
377		thought that's obviously not
378		something I want on my resume. I'm
379		also happy to be here because I guess
380	00:33:36	it's been four years or so since I've
381		last spoken to an AIPAC policy forum,
382		and in that time I must say your size
383		has increased magnificently, so it is
384		- it's a real honor to be here before
385	00:33:47	you. I also realize the limitations
386		of being here. I'm essentially the
387		warm-up act for John Bolton. Now I
388		know John. I've known him for a very
389		long time. John does not need a warm
390	00:34:03	up act, as you will find out. But to
391		get to the serious and I must say the
392		most disturbing aspects of the many
393		national security problems we face
394		these days, and that's one aspect of
395	00:34:17	the Iranian issue. That is the
396		challenges we face as the
397		international community tries to
398		determine the extent, timing, how
399		close Iran is to having a weapon, and
400	00:34:29	finding some way short of military

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401		action if there is a way short of
402		military action out of the current
403		situation. So I thought I'd spend a
404		few minutes with you discussing the
405	00:34:40	challenges that inspectors face.
406		First of all, you have to recognize
407		that Iran understands how
408		international inspectors operate.
409		During the days in which I headed the
410	00:34:52	international atomic agency's
411		inspection program in Iran - in Iraq,
412		excuse me, every day, every time we
413		issued a report, my secretary kept a
414		track of who came in to pick up
415	00:35:04	copies of it. The number one
416		delegation first every time, not
417		surprisingly, Iraq itself. The
418		second delegation always in was Iran.
419		The third was North Korea. Now the
420	00:35:17	culture of the U.N. does not allow
421		one to distinguish between those who
422		are cheating and those who are not
423		cheating, so Iran has learned for now
424		over 20 years how inspectors operate.
425	00:35:30	There have been Iranian inspectors.

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426		Iran knows as much about inspection
427		process as the inspectors themselves
428		know about it, and you just have to
429		accept that. Plus Iran as any state
430	00:35:44	who decides to cheat on their non-
431		proliferation obligations have a
432		number of advantages. First of all,
433		there are no surprise inspections.
434		How do you think inspectors get into
435	00:35:58	Iran? In fact I'm always - when I
436		see in the press, the IAEA is about
437		to carry out a surprise inspection.
438		Well there went the surprise. But
439		you also - you have to have an
440	00:36:08	Iranian visa. You have to take a
441		commercial airline into Tehran. Once
442		you're there, you have no organic
443		ability to move around. In fact you
444		use Iranian drivers, you stay in
445	00:36:22	Iranian-run hotels with Iranian-run
446		bugging arrangements for those
447		hotels. I'm going to say one of the
448		least pleasant I guess surprises,
449		because it really showed the really
450	00:36:36	difficulty you have as an

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451		international inspector in
452		maintaining any sort of secret of
453		what we discovered in Iraq, is one
454		day we came across a complete record
455	00:36:46	of every fax that had been sent from
456		the U.N. in New York, the
457		International Atomic Energy Agency in
458		Vienna to our offices in Baghdad and
459		every copy of every fax they had sent
460	00:36:58	to New York and to Vienna. These
461		were not electronic intercepts. They
462		were - these were the actual or
463		copies of the actual faxes that had
464		been sent. The inside of the country
465	00:37:10	you're inspecting has a lot more
466		intelligence and counter-intelligence
467		capability than the inspectors
468		themselves really will ever have.
469		And finally Iran has derived a great
470	00:37:22	advantage from the fact that the non-
471		proliferation treaty is deeply
472		flawed. The treaty assumes, and
473		asserts that there is a distinct
474		difference between military nuclear
475	00:37:33	programs and non-military peaceful

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476		programs, and therefore Iran is
477		entitled for example to have
478		enrichment for a supposed peaceful
479		nuclear power program. That was
480	00:37:46	deeply, and known to be deeply
481		technically flawed in the '60's when
482		it was drafted, and in fact we have
483		to assume, because it was the
484		responsibility for that being in the
485	00:37:55	treaty was an American assumption
486		that the two programs were separate.
487		Technically it is deeply fallacious
488		as an assumption. If you take
489		uranium ore out of the ground and
490	00:38:07	raise it to the four - enrich it to
491		the four percent level used in a
492		power reactor, 80 percent of the
493		energy necessary to get it up to 90
494		percent where it's weapons usable is
495	00:38:17	in that first four percent. So once
496		you have an enrichment program you
497		have a military capability. The
498		Iranians' assertions that they have a
499		treaty right to have a peaceful
500	00:38:28	program with enrichment is in fact an

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501		assertion that they have a right to
502		have a military program, and there is
503		no pleasant way to wrap around that.
504		Now how do states protect and deceive
505	00:38:42	inspectors? Well first of all, they
506		don't carry out their clandestine
507		secret military operations at the
508		places inspectors go to. They do it
509		somewhere else. And remember that
510	00:38:53	the treaty was fundamentally based on
511		an element of trust. You declare
512		what you're doing, we inspectors will
513		come in and look and certify that
514		indeed that's what you're doing. No
515	00:39:04	right to go anywhere else. And Iraq
516		in the 1980's for example, they
517		didn't even have to move it very far.
518		It was within the same confines of
519		the facility, but the inspectors by
520	00:39:14	right went to only three physical
521		locations. The Iranians had moved
522		things around the country, put them
523		outside of known facilities so they
524		were hidden. Secondly, they lie.
525	00:39:26	They lie as regards to the true

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
526		purposes of the activities they're
527		carrying out, and the sites that in
528		fact are the clandestine sites. This
529		was quite common in Iraq. It is
530	00:39:36	quite common in Iran today and the
531		inspectors are constantly bedeviling
532		with the fact. And in dealing with
533		one thing that Iran and Iraq shares,
534		I guess as an American it was one of
535	00:39:46	the hardest things for me to
536		initially come to is there's no
537		embarrassment either about lying or
538		being caught with a lie. One day I
539		had a senior Iraqi scientist tell me
540	00:39:58	when we had caught this individual in
541		a lie, sir, it is not a lie when
542		you're doing it under the
543		instructions of your government.
544		Well, you know, so much for truth
545	00:40:08	there. Everything is a struggle to
546		understand. They also cloak their
547		activities with a series of steps
548		that in fact make it very difficult
549		for inspectors to know that something
550	00:40:21	is going on there. The best

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
551		environmental protection gear today
552		anywhere in the world can be found in
553		Iran to keep the escape of
554		[unintelligible] from sites that will
555	00:40:32	allow satellite and technical
556		intelligence to understand what is
557		going on in a site. They have had
558		very good instructions on this, it
559		goes really back to the Iran-Iraq
560	00:40:43	war. It goes back to our taking
561		apart the Iraqi program, which was
562		very good interception and denial.
563		We published it. The Iranians picked
564		it up and they have become probably
565	00:40:54	the world's greatest experts today on
566		disguising signatures from nuclear
567		facilities. Let me hit really what I
568		think is the key that I think as you
569		go forward and we look at the future
570	00:41:07	course of action in Iran, both with
571		regard to inspections and beyond, and
572		try to separate out what inspections
573		can do that is useful, what they can
574		do that is not very useful, and what
575	00:41:20	they simply cannot do. First of all,



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Line#	Timecode	Quote
576		what inspections can do is when
577		they're carried out vigorously and
578		pushed rigorously ahead, they can
579		provide the basis for international
580	00:41:32	action, both of a diplomatic side and
581		more forceful if you have to move it
582		today. We are great - at a great
583		advantage today, particularly coming
584		out of Iraq and the failure to find
585	00:41:45	weapons of mass destruction in Iraq,
586		that the conclusion that the Iranians
587		have been cheating for 20 years, have
588		continued to cheat, lie and not make
589		a full and open case about their
590	00:41:57	activities is not the conclusion of
591		U.S. intelligence. It is the
592		conclusion reached slower than we
593		would like, but it has still been
594		reached by the International Atomic
595	00:42:08	Energy Agency and their inspectors
596		there. That provides a basis for
597		international action that is
598		absolutely essential if in fact we
599		are not to carry out unilateral
600	00:42:19	action against Iran. Secondly, they

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
601		can raise the cost of the nuclear
602		program. Largely immaterial to Iran
603		with oil prices today in the 60s and
604		perhaps going higher, the Iranians
605	00:42:31	are not short of cash, but they do
606		have to pay more for the items that
607		they procure clandestinely, smuggle
608		into Iran, than they otherwise would.
609		And also, and this is more important
610	00:42:42	than the money cost, it slows them
611		down. Getting things from
612		procurement networks that are
613		clandestine, using various routes to
614		get the goods into Iran so that they
615	00:42:52	will not be discovered easily is a
616		slow and arduous process, and having
617		inspectors running around your
618		country, even though they don't
619		operate with freedom of movement and
620	00:43:03	are not surprised, does in fact slow
621		your program down. And finally,
622		having people on the ground, and I
623		guess I feel this really very deeply
624		as a result of recent experience,
625	00:43:14	provides a way of separating the

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
626		wheat from the chaff of national
627		intelligence. Anyone who's been
628		involved in the intelligence game,
629		you sort of grew up with the fact
630	00:43:24	that 50 percent of what you believe
631		you knew as a result of intelligence
632		was ambiguous and 50 percent was
633		utterly wrong, but you had no way of
634		separating out which 50 percent you
635	00:43:34	were dealing with at any one time.
636		Inspectors on the ground have already
637		in Iran provided means of chasing
638		down intelligence gathered by other
639		means. That is a vital and important
640	00:43:46	role that they play. Now what can
641		they do that is not useful?
642		[END OF TAPE ONE SIDE A]
643		DR. DAVID KAY: Well first of all
644		they can provide you with a false
645	00:01:20	sense of security. I spent 15 years
646		of my life in one way or another
647		engaged in international inspections.
648		Let me tell you, there's no one who
649		knows better the limitations of
650	00:01:32	inspections than someone who's

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
651		carried out the inspections. The
652		other side has so many more
653		resources, is so easy to move around
654		you and the culture of the
655	00:01:42	organizations you work for in the
656		U.N. system have such great
657		difficulty making moral distinctions
658		between those who lie and cheat and
659		carry out cruel and inhumane actions
660	00:01:55	and those who are law abiding that it
661		is just simply a sense of false
662		security is a real danger you have to
663		recognize. Secondly, and I think
664		this is indeed the threat we face
665	00:02:08	today in Iran, international
666		inspections and the drive for
667		conclusive proof can delay other
668		actions 'til you are at the point
669		where it is either horribly expensive
670	00:02:21	to carry out those actions or
671		virtually impossible. We may indeed
672		not arrive at the conclusion that
673		Iran has a nuclear weapons program
674		until Iran tests its first nuclear
675	00:02:33	device if you demand that degree of

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
676		proof. That is for me a frightening
677		reality and a deep concern about
678		international inspection. And
679		finally international inspection can
680	00:02:45	provide under the non-proliferation
681		treaty, a justification for states
682		carrying out activities that are
683		permitted by the treaty if you're not
684		cheating, but in fact support a
685	00:02:56	military program. Iran has received
686		technical assistance from the
687		International Atomic Energy Agency
688		for over 20 years, for its peaceful
689		nuclear program. No guarantee that
690	00:03:07	in fact only supported the peaceful
691		program. You've got to recognize
692		until you can draw distinctions about
693		people who are cheating and in fact
694		come to the actual actionable
695	00:03:16	conclusions that those sort of people
696		should not benefit from the non-
697		proliferation treaty and other
698		international assistance, inspections
699		actually aren't helping your cause.
700	00:03:26	Now what inspections cannot do, and

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
701		this is what I hope you really carry
702		away this morning as you go into
703		Ambassador Bolton's discussion on
704		this issue. Inspections cannot
705	00:03:37	provide you unambiguous certainty as
706		to the intention, the timing, the
707		character and particularly when a
708		country is going to cross that border
709		that says it's too late, we already
710	00:03:51	have a weapons program. Inspection
711		inevitably produces results that is
712		ambiguous because you can't throw
713		somebody up against the wall and tell
714		them they're going to talk to you. I
715	00:04:04	will tell you a personal story that
716		still rankles me to this day. In
717		1991 we caught the Iraqis with their
718		enrichment program that they denied
719		they had. This was out in the
720	00:04:16	desert, very unpleasant 130 degree,
721		particularly for a group of people
722		who primarily were lab rats and
723		scientists and not used to not great
724		physical exertion. A superb team
725	00:04:27	that did a great deal job. The

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
726		director general of the International
727		Atomic Energy Agency, Hans Blinks
728		came out and looked at the site, we
729		had Iraqi officials there, and on the
730	00:04:38	way back, I was in the front seat
731		with an Iraqi driver, an AK47 that
732		was his, not mine and the chairman of
733		the Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission in
734		the back with Dr. Blinks. The
735	00:04:50	chairman started on a long talk about
736		how we could not have found what we
737		thought we'd found because
738		technically it was not possible to
739		make a determination as to the
740	00:04:59	isotopes at that level of certainty.
741		I turned around to him and I said,
742		I'm sorry, you don't know the
743		science. We've been doing this in
744		the U.S. for 25 years with regard to
745	00:05:08	nuclear programs abroad, that's
746		simply not true. As we got out of
747		the car, Dr. Blinks said you told a
748		member of state official that he was
749		lying. You should not do that.
750	00:05:21	Believe me, that is why you don't get

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
751		absolutely certainty out of
752		international inspection. And
753		finally one last - and this is the
754		last point I think you ought to carry
755	00:05:31	with you. International inspection
756		by itself cannot stop a country from
757		going ahead with a nuclear program if
758		it is prepared to bear the cost and
759		that is its purpose. Inspection will
760	00:05:42	not stop it. It requires other
761		action from the international
762		community. Thank you very much for
763		this time with you.
764		[END OF TRANSCRIPT]