

Taking points of Dr. Mostafa Dolatyar
DG. IPIS
www.ipis.ir

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Finding a way out of the Iranian Nuclear Crisis: Five major Principles

Thanks to Center for Energy and Security Studies and its admirable Director, Mr. **Khlopkov**, who provided this opportunity to be here with you, such a distinguished audience and gathering today.

I take it for granted that most of the participants in this room are well aware of the history of Iran peaceful and civil nuclear program. So, I don't take your time to go back into history and different phases of Iranian nuclear activities and its considerable achievements. If your comments or questions make it necessary, I'll have some references thereto.

Looking ahead, despite all the unjust impediments and unfair limitations imposed on Iranian civil nuclear program, I'll focus on the prospect of the current situation and the ongoing talks between Iran and 5+1.

Before going to the heart of the issue, however, I have to draw your attention to this fact that there are some missed opportunities in the last decade in which Iran has showed its utmost flexibility and extensive cooperation, and it's good faith, beyond its legal obligations, but one the "p5+1" or some of them (mainly the western members) have not been able, ready or willing to take these opportunities to a mutually agreed settlement. I have to say that in most cases the US government has been the spoiler, because for different causes it has not been able to make its mind and take a decisive constructive decision.

Just a few examples:

1- Iran showed great flexibility in response to the request of its negotiating partners (EU3), as a matter of CBM, to suspend/freeze voluntarily its nuclear activities for a short period of time. This voluntary suspension took more than 2/5 years! What was the result? Guess!

I was in NY when in 2003 EU3 foreign ministers had a meeting with the Iranian delegation on this issue. In response to the question that how long Iran shall continue this suspension to build your confidence? The German foreign minister, Fischer, said that "suspension was not meant to be temporary; it is an

introduction to dismantling your equipments and installation". It was a destructive blow to Iranian confidence and a clear manifestation of lack of good faith on the part of Eu3 and their friends!

2- The modality with the IAEA and its end result in talks with Mr. Solana!

3- Tehran declaration of May 2010!

Obama's letter to Brazilian President and Turkish Prime Minister and the end result!

4- Istanbul Talks (Jan. 2011)

5- Istanbul talks and agreed framework (April 2012) and set back in Bagdad and Moscow!

We have to learn our lessons from the history and from the mistakes we have done. More intelligent people try to learn from the mistakes of others too.

What we need to have a "promising" and "successful" process for a reasonable, sensible and "safe and sound" solution:

- 1- Good faith and consistency
- 2- Reciprocal respect for each other's concerns, interests, and choices, within the existing legal frameworks and obligations. (NPT, IAEA Statute , . . .)
- 3- A constructive framework: to put negotiations in a "framework for cooperation" rather than "confrontation" or "deprivation".
- 4- To agree on a "process" which should be "comprehensive", "constructive", "sustainable" and based on a reciprocal step-by-step approach in which each and every step by one side would be meet with an equal step by the other side.
- 5- Transparency: the end of the tunnel (end result) should be clear (not to repeat the mistake of 2/5-year suspension)
 - a. SC should send back the Iranian nuclear file to IAEA
 - b. IAEA make it a normal case, as it is the case with other NPT member States
 - c. Both sides work together according to mutually agreed mechanisms within the framework of their legal obligations, responsibilities and rights.