**Mr. Abbas**

1. **I wish to begin by extending my appreciation to the heads of all the delegations who in their statements to the Assembly stressed the urgency of progress towards the realization of a just peace in our region, one which would allow the Palestinian people to enjoy their inalienable national rights.**
2. **Developments over the past year have confirmed what we have persistently drawn attention to and warned committed what are clearly considered war crimes and have perpetrated acts of murder, torture and abuse of peaceful Palestinian civilians.**
3. **Over the past year, since the convening of the General Assembly’s previous session, the occupying Power has persisted with its settlement campaign, focusing on Jerusalem and its environs.**
4. **It is a campaign clearly and deliberately aimed at altering the city’s historic character and the glorious image of the Holy City as etched in the minds of humankind.**
5. **It is a campaign of ethnic cleansing against the Palestinian people of Jerusalem via the demolition of their homes and prevention of their reconstruction, the revocation of residency rights, the denial of basic services, especially with regard to the construction of schools, the closure of institutions and the impoverishment of Jerusalem’s community via a siege behind walls and checkpoints.**
6. **That chokes the City and prevents millions of Palestinians from freely accessing its mosques, churches, schools, hospitals and markets.**
7. **The occupying Power has also continued its construction and expansion of settlements in different areas throughout the West Bank and has continued its suffocating blockade, as well as raids and attacks against our people in the Gaza Strip, who to this day suffer from the disastrous impact of the destructive war of aggression committed against them a few years ago.**
8. **Nearly 5,000 Palestinians remain captive as prisoners and detainees of conscious in Israel’s jails.**
9. **In that regard, we call upon the international community to compel the Government of Israel to respect the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to investigate the conditions of detention of Palestinian prisoners and detainees, and we stress the need for their release.**
10. **They are soldiers in their people’s struggle for freedom, independence and peace.**
11. **At the same time, the occupying Power continues to tighten the siege and impose severe restrictions on movement, preventing the Palestinian Authority from implementing vital infrastructure projects and providing services to its citizens, who are also being prevented from cultivating their land and deprived of water for irrigation.**
12. **The occupying Power is also obstructing the establishment of agricultural, industrial, tourism and housing projects by the Palestinian private sector in vast areas of the occupied Palestinian territory, which are classified as areas subject to the absolute control of the occupation, areas that encompasses approximately 60 per cent of the West Bank.**
13. **The occupying Power continues to deliberately demolish what the Palestinian Authority is building — projects funded by donor brethren and friends — and is destroying the Authority’s building projects involving roads, simple homes for its citizens and agricultural facilities.**
14. **In fact, over the past 12 months, the Israeli occupying forces demolished 510 Palestinian structures in those areas and displaced 770 Palestinians from their homes.**
15. **Those measures have caused great damage to our economy and impeded our development programmes and private-sector activity.**
16. **They compound the socioeconomic difficulties of our people under occupation, a fact confirmed by international financial institutions.**
17. **Israel’s overall policy is ultimately leading to the weakening of the Palestinian Authority, undermining its ability to carry out its functions and projects and to implement its obligations.**
18. **This threatens to undermine its very existence or cause its collapse.**
19. **All of that is taking place in the context of an Israeli political discourse that does not hesitate to brandish aggressive, extremist positions.**
20. **In many aspects and in their practical application on the ground, they incite religious conflict.**
21. **That is something we firmly reject, based on our principles and convictions and due to our understanding of what it means to fuel such fires in this sensitive area, which is full of explosive flashpoints, and how that can fuel the action of extremists from various quarters, especially those trying to use tolerant, monotheistic religions as an ideological justification for their terrorism.**
22. **For our part, as proof of our seriousness and our sincere intention to create an opening in this impasse, we conducted exploratory talks with the Israeli Government at the beginning of the year, at the initiative of the brotherly Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.**
23. **We have also encouraged the expressed desires of several countries to contribute to efforts to break the cycle of deadlock and have ourselves undertaken initiatives to create favourable conditions for the resumption of negotiations.**
24. **Unfortunately, however, the result of all those initiatives has been very negative.**
25. **There can be only one reading of the Israeli Government’s actions and practices in our homeland and of the positions it has presented to us regarding the substance of a final status agreement to end the conflict and achieve peace: that the Israeli Government rejects the two-State solution.**
26. **The two-State solution — namely, the State of Palestine coexisting alongside the State of Israel — represents the spirit and essence of the historic compromise embodied in the Declaration of Principles, which was agreed to in Oslo and was signed, 19 years ago, by the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Government of Israel under the auspices of the United States of America and on the White House lawn.**
27. **It is a compromise by which, for the sake of making peace, the Palestinian people accepted to establish their State on only 22 per cent of the territory of historic Palestine.**
28. **Recent years have actually witnessed a systematic acceleration and intensification of Israeli measures aimed at gutting the Oslo Accords of their meaning, while simultaneously building facts on the ground in the occupied Palestinian territory that are making the implementation of the Accords extremely difficult, if not completely impossible.**
29. **The Israeli Government aims to continue its occupation of East Jerusalem, to de facto annex large areas of the rest of the occupied Palestinian territory and to continue occupying a large portion of the territory under different designations.**
30. **It refuses to engage in any serious discussion of the issue of the Palestinian refugees.**
31. **It wants to continue its occupation of Palestinian aquafers and its control over the most fertile agricultural areas in our land, as well as over our air, skies, water, borders and our life in its entirety.**
32. **The final map and borders that can be drawn in accordance with Israel’s official positions reveal to us small Palestinian enclaves surrounded by large Israeli settlement blocs and walls and checkpoints, and vast security zones and roads reserved for settlers.**
33. **The enclaves would therefore remain subject to the full dominance of military and settler occupation, only packaged under new names, such as the unilateral plan for a so-called State with provisional borders.**
34. **I repeat — a State with provisional borders.**
35. **That is a project that we categorically reject from A to Z because it will not bring about peace.**
36. **Israel refuses to end the occupation and refuses to allow the Palestinian people to attain their freedom and independence.**
37. **It rejects the establishment of the State of Palestine.**
38. **Israel is promising the Palestinian people a new catastrophe — a new Naqba — a new setback.**
39. **I speak on behalf of an angry people who feel that while they demand their right to freedom, adopt a culture of peace and adhere to the principles and rules of international law and resolutions of international legitimacy, rewards continue to be illogically bestowed upon Israel, whose Government pursues a policy of war, occupation and settler occupation.**
40. **Israel continues to be permitted to enjoy impunity, and some continue to obstruct the adoption of a decisive position regarding its violations of international law and covenants.**
41. **That represents a license for the occupation to continue its policy of dispossession and ethnic cleansing and encourages it to entrench its system of apartheid against the Palestinian people.**
42. **Despite our genuine feelings of anger, we — in the name of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people — will not allow our country to be divided in two.**
43. **We are the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.**
44. **I reaffirm without hesitation that we are as committed — equally and by the same measures — to peace and international legitimacy and its covenants and resolutions as we are to upholding our inalienable national rights and aspirations.**
45. **And we reaffirm that we are committed to non-violence and reject terrorism in all its forms, particularly State terrorism.**
46. **Despite our disappointment, we continue to sincerely extend a hand to the Israeli people to make peace.**
47. **We realize that ultimately the two peoples must live and coexist, each in their respective State, in the Holy Land.**
48. **Furthermore, we realize that progress towards making peace can be achieved through negotiations between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel.**
49. **Despite all the complexities of the prevailing reality and all the frustrations that abound, we say before the international community that there is still a chance — maybe the last — to save the two-State solution and to salvage peace.**
50. **However, this urgent task must be pursued via a new approach.**
51. **Whoever rushes to advise us to repeat an experience that has proven to be futile, such as negotiations with the Israeli Government without clear terms of reference, must understand that this will result in the reproduction of failure and again provide cover for consecrating the occupation and will deal the final blow to an already dying peace process.**
52. **Whoever advises us to wait must realize that the hotbeds of tension and the festering situation in our country and our region have their own timing and cannot withstand further procrastination and delay, nor are they amenable to being relegated to the bottom of the global agenda.**
53. **The approach required for salvaging the chance for peace must, first and foremost, be predicated on the understanding that the racist settler occupation must be condemned, punished and boycotted so that it is completely halted and eliminated.**
54. **That approach also requires a reaffirmation of, and adherence to, the terms of reference and the foundations of the solution to the conflict, which have been endorsed by all here.**
55. **We do not need to belabour the core components of a just solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.**
56. **Rather, what is needed is the will to implement those components.**
57. **Marathon negotiations are not required to define them, rather it is the genuine and sincere intention to reach peace that is needed.**
58. **Those components are by no means a mysterious puzzle or intractable riddle; they are the clearest and best-known secrets in the world.**
59. **They include, in brief, the establishment of an independent State of Palestine, with East Jerusalem as its capital, over the entire territory occupied by Israel since 1967, and the realization of a just, agreed solution to the Palestine refugee issue, in accordance with resolution 194, as prescribed in the Arab Peace Initiative.**
60. **The fundamental components of the solution to the conflict exist in the documents and resolutions of the United Nations.**
61. **Member States already have them.**
62. **The components of the solution are also endorsed in resolutions of regional organizations, beginning with the League of Arab States, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Non-Aligned Movement and the African Union.**
63. **They can also be found in the statements of the European Union and the international Quartet.**
64. **However, what is the use of all those terms of reference if Israel continues to refuse, and is encouraged by others to continue to oppose the terms of reference?**
65. **The international community, embodied in the United Nations, is required now more than ever to uphold its responsibilities.**
66. **The Security Council is called upon to urgently adopt a resolution comprising the pillars and foundations for a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that would serve as a binding term of reference and guide for all if the vision of two States, Israel and Palestine, is to survive and if peace is to prevail in the land of peace — the birthplace of Jesus, peace be upon him, the ascension of the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, and the final resting place of Abraham, peace be upon him — Palestine, the land of the three monotheistic religions.**
67. **All things considered, the establishment of a free and independent State of Palestine is a sacred right of the Palestinian people and an entitlement that must be realized, for it has been overdue for too many decades.**
68. **It is not a grant to be bestowed upon us by anyone.**
69. **It is a right, and the Palestinian people are entitled to that right.**
70. At the same time, the Palestinian Authority has affirmed, through the implementation of its State institution-building programmes, the ability to create an advanced model for an effective, modern State through the development of the performance of its institutions and public finance management and through the adoption of standards for transparency, strict accountability and rules of good governance.
71. Those achievements have been deemed by the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee for the Coordination of the International Assistance to Palestinians, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to constitute an impressive undertaking and success story.
72. **Those achievements were again commended in the latest report just a few days ago, which confirmed the Palestinian Authority’s total readiness for the transition to an independent State while at the same time stressing that the Israeli occupation remained the only obstacle to the realization of the State of Palestine.**
73. During the previous session of the General Assembly, we submitted our application for consideration by the Security Council to allow the State of Palestine to assume its rightful place among the community of nations as a full Member of the United Nations.
74. A major and hostile uproar was raised by some against that political, diplomatic, peaceful step par excellence aimed at saving the peace process by asserting its principles and foundation.
75. Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world supported, and continues to support, our application, our endeavour was aborted.
76. I do not see even a single reason for opposing that request.
77. Yet when the countries of the world had the opportunity to declare their stance without any restrictions or veto during the previous autumn, they voted, despite enormous pressure, in strong support of the acceptance of Palestine as a member State of UNESCO.
78. A year has passed, and Palestine, the homeland of Mahmoud Darwish and Edward Said, is playing its role in UNESCO with a high level of responsibility and professionalism.
79. Palestine is committed to international conventions and is cooperating with all member States in order to advance the objectives of the organization and providing a model of what its positive, constructive contribution in international organizations would be.
80. **In order to enhance the chances for peace, we will continue our efforts to obtain full membership for Palestine at the United Nations.**
81. **For the same reason, we have begun intensive consultations with various regional organizations and Member States aimed at the General Assembly’s adoption during this session of a draft resolution considering the State of Palestine as a non-member State of the United Nations.**
82. **We are confident that the vast majority of the countries of the world support our efforts to bolster the chances for a just peace.**
83. **In our efforts we do not seek to delegitimize an existing State, that is, Israel;**
84. **but rather to establish the State that must be realized, that is, Palestine.**
85. **We are not trying to delegitimize them;**
86. **they are trying to delegitimize us.**
87. **More than 64 years have passed since Al-Nakba and a large number of those who were its immediate victims and witnessed its horrors have died.**
88. **They died with memories, preserved in their minds and hearts, of their beautiful world that was devastated, their warm homes that were demolished and their peaceful villages that were erased from existence, and of the renaissance that was undermined, and their loved ones, dear men, women and children, who were killed in wars, massacres, attacks, raids and incursions, and of their beautiful country that was a beacon of coexistence, tolerance, progress and a crossroads of civilization.**
89. **They died displaced and in refugee camps to which they were expelled following their uprooting from their homeland, as they awaited the moment in which they would resume their suspended lives, complete their interrupted journey and repair their shattered dreams.**
90. **They died while they clung to their legitimate human right to justice, freedom and redress for the historically unprecedented injustice inflicted upon them.**
91. **Has the time not come to undo that injustice?**
92. At present, 77 per cent of the Palestinian people are under the age of 35.
93. **Although they did not experience the horrors of Al-Nakba, they know very well all its horrendous details from the accounts of their parents and grandparents who endured it.**
94. **They continue to suffer from its ongoing effects today and every day as a result of the practices of the occupation and of the settlers on a land that is diminishing in size.**
95. **The horizon before them is closed to their simple, ordinary dreams.**
96. **They see their homeland and their present and future vulnerable to continued usurpation and they say firmly:**
97. **we shall not allow a new Al-Nakba to happen.**
98. **I say to the Assembly that the brave Palestinian people will not allow themselves to be the victims of a new Al-Nakba.**
99. **We will not allow that.**
100. **We will stay on our land.**
101. **My people will continue their epic steadfastness and eternal survival journey in their beloved land, every inch of which carries evidence and landmarks affirming their roots and unique connection to the land throughout ancient history.**
102. **There is no homeland for us except Palestine and there is no land for us but Palestine.**
103. **We shall not accept an alternative homeland, nor an alternative land.**
104. **Palestine is our homeland and shall remain our homeland.**
105. Our people will continue to build the institutions of their State and strive to achieve national reconciliation to restore the unity of our nation, people and institutions via resorting to the ballot box, which will confirm our people’s pluralistic democratic choice.
106. **Our people are also determined to continue peaceful popular resistance, consistent with international humanitarian law, against the occupation, against the settlements and for the sake of freedom, independence and peace.**
107. **Let us prevent the occurrence of a new Al-Nakba in the Holy Land.**
108. **Let us support the realization of a free, independent State of Palestine now.**
109. **Let peace be victorious before it is too late.**

**Mr. Netanyahu**:

1. It is a pleasure to see the General Assembly presided over by the Ambassador from Israel, and it is good to see all of the representatives here.
2. Three thousand years ago, King David reigned over the Jewish State in our eternal capital, Jerusalem.
3. I say that to all those who proclaim that the Jewish State has no roots in our region and that it will soon disappear.
4. Throughout our history, the Jewish people have overcome all the tyrants who have sought our destruction.
5. It is their ideologies that have been discarded by history.
6. The people of Israel live on.
7. We say in Hebrew, the Jewish State will live forever.
8. The Jewish people have lived in the land of Israel for thousands of years.
9. Even after most of our people were exiled from it, Jews continued to live in the land of Israel throughout the ages.
10. The masses of our people never gave up the dream of returning to our ancient homeland.
11. Defying the laws of history, we did just that.
12. We ingathered the exiles, restored our independence and rebuilt our national life.
13. The Jewish people have come home.
14. We will never be uprooted again.
15. Yesterday was Yom Kippur, the holiest day of the Jewish year.
16. Every year, for over three millennia, we have come together on this day of reflection and atonement.
17. We take stock of our past.
18. We pray for our future.
19. We remember the sorrows of our persecution;
20. we remember the great travails of our dispersion;
21. we mourn the extermination of a third of our people, 6 million, in the Holocaust.
22. But at the end of Yom Kippur, we celebrate.
23. We celebrate the rebirth of Israel.
24. We celebrate the heroism of our young men and women who have defended our people with the indomitable courage of Joshua, David and the Maccabees of old.
25. We celebrate the marvel of the flourishing modern Jewish State.
26. In Israel we walk the same paths as those trodden by our patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.
27. But we blaze new trails in science, technology, medicine and agriculture.
28. In Israel the past and the future find common ground.
29. Unfortunately, that is not the case in many other countries.
30. For today, a great battle is being waged between the modern and the medieval.
31. The forces of modernity seek a bright future in which the rights of all are protected, in which an ever-expanding digital library is available in the palm of every child, in which every life is sacred.
32. The forces of medievalism seek a world in which women and minorities are subjugated, in which knowledge is suppressed, in which not life but death is glorified.
33. Those forces clash around the globe, but nowhere more starkly than in the Middle East.
34. Israel stands proudly with the forces of modernity.
35. We protect the rights of all our citizens, men and women, Jews and Arabs, Muslims and Christians — all are equal before the law.
36. Israel is also making the world a better place.
37. Our scientists win Nobel Prizes.
38. Our know-how is in every cell phone and computer that every one of us uses.
39. We prevent hunger by irrigating arid lands in Africa and Asia.
40. Recently, I was deeply moved when I visited Technion, one of our technological institutes in Haifa, and I saw a man paralysed from the waist down climb up a flight of stairs, quite easily, with the aid of an Israeli invention.
41. And Israel’s exceptional creativity is matched by our people’s remarkable compassion.
42. When disaster strikes anywhere in the world — in Haiti, Japan, India, Turkey, Indonesia and elsewhere — Israeli doctors are among the first on the scene, performing lifesaving surgeries.
43. In the past year, I lost both my father and my father-in-law.
44. In the same hospital wards where they were treated, Israeli doctors were treating Palestinian Arabs.
45. **In fact, every year, thousands of Arabs from the Palestinian territories and Arabs from throughout the Middle East come to Israel to be treated in Israeli hospitals by Israeli doctors.**
46. **I know that that is not going to be spoken by speakers at this podium, but it is the truth.**
47. **It is important that the world be aware of that truth.**
48. **It is because Israel cherishes life that Israel cherishes peace and seeks peace.**
49. We seek to preserve our historic ties and our historic peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan.
50. **We seek to forge a durable peace with the Palestinians.**
51. **President Abbas just spoke here.**
52. **I say to him and I say to the Assembly:**
53. **we will not solve our conflict with libellous speeches at the United Nations.**
54. **That is not the way to solve it.**
55. **We will not solve our conflict with unilateral declarations of statehood.**
56. **We have to sit together, negotiate together and reach a mutual compromise, in which a demilitarized Palestinian State recognizes the one and only Jewish State.**
57. **Israel wants to see a Middle East of progress and peace.**
58. **We want to see the three great religions that sprang forth from our region — Judaism, Christianity and Islam — coexist in peace and in mutual respect.**
59. Yet the medieval forces of radical Islam, which the world just saw storming American Embassies throughout the Middle East, oppose that.
60. They seek supremacy over all Muslims.
61. They are bent on world conquest.
62. They want to destroy Israel, Europe, America.
63. They want to extinguish freedom.
64. They want to end the modern world.
65. Militant Islam has many branches, from the rulers of Iran with their Revolutionary Guards to Al-Qaida terrorists to the radical cells lurking in every part of the globe.
66. But despite their differences, they are all rooted in the same bitter soil of intolerance.
67. That intolerance is directed first at their fellow Muslims and then at Christians, Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, secular people, and anyone who does not submit to their unforgiving creed.
68. They want to drag humankind back to an age of unquestioning dogma and unrelenting conflict.
69. I am sure of one thing.
70. Ultimately, they will fail.
71. Ultimately, light will penetrate the darkness.
72. We have seen that happen before.
73. Some 500 years ago, the printing press helped pry a cloistered Europe out of a dark age.
74. Eventually, ignorance gave way to enlightenment.
75. So too, a cloistered Middle East will eventually yield to the irresistible power of freedom and technology.
76. When that happens, our region will be guided not by fanaticism and conspiracy but by reason and curiosity.
77. I think the relevant question is not whether this fanaticism will be defeated.
78. It is how many lives will be lost before it is defeated.
79. We have seen that happen before too.
80. Some 70 years ago, the world saw another fanatic ideology bent on world conquest.
81. It went down in flames, but not before it took millions of people with it.
82. Those who opposed that fanaticism waited too long to act.
83. In the end they triumphed, but at a horrific cost.
84. My friends, we cannot let that happen again.
85. At stake is not merely the future of my own country.
86. At stake is the future of the world.
87. Nothing could imperil our common future more than the arming of Iran with nuclear weapons.
88. To understand what the world would be like with a nuclear-armed Iran, just imagine the world with a nuclear-armed Al-Qaida.
89. It makes little difference whether these lethal weapons are in the hands of the world’s most dangerous terrorist regime or the world’s most dangerous terrorist organization.
90. They are both fired by the same hatred;
91. they are both driven by the same lust for violence.
92. Just look at what the Iranian regime has done up until now, without nuclear weapons.
93. In 2009, they brutally put down mass protests for democracy in their own country.
94. Today, their henchmen are participating in the slaughter of tens of thousands of Syrian civilians, including thousands of children — directly participating in those murders.
95. They abetted the killing of American soldiers in Iraq and continue to do so in Afghanistan.
96. Before that, Iranian proxies killed hundreds of American troops in Beirut and in Saudi Arabia.
97. They have turned Lebanon and Gaza into terror strongholds, embedding nearly 100,000 missiles and rockets in civilian areas.
98. Thousands of such rockets and missiles have already been fired at Israeli communities by their terrorist proxies.
99. In the past year, they have spread their international terror networks to two dozen countries across five continents, from India and Thailand to Kenya and Bulgaria.
100. They have even plotted to blow up a restaurant a few blocks from the White House in order to kill a diplomat.
101. And of course, Iran’s rulers repeatedly deny the Holocaust and call for Israel’s destruction almost on a daily basis, as they did again this week from the United Nations.
102. So I ask, given this record of Iranian aggression without nuclear weapons, just imagine Iranian aggression with nuclear weapons.
103. Imagine their long-range missiles tipped with nuclear warheads, their terror networks armed with atomic bombs.
104. Who here would feel safe in the Middle East?
105. Who would be safe in Europe?
106. Who would be safe in America?
107. Who would be safe anywhere?
108. There are those who believe that a nuclear-armed Iran can be deterred like the Soviet Union.
109. That is a very dangerous assumption.
110. Militant jihadists behave very differently from secular Marxists.
111. There were no Soviet suicide bombers.
112. Yet Iran produces hordes of them.
113. Deterrence worked with the Soviets, because every time the Soviets faced a choice between their ideology and their survival, they chose their survival.
114. But deterrence may not work with the Iranians once they get nuclear weapons.
115. A great scholar of the Middle East, Professor Bernard Lewis, put it best.
116. He said that for the ayatollahs of Iran mutually assured destruction is not a deterrent, it is an inducement.
117. Iran’s apocalyptic leaders believe that a medieval holy man will reappear in the wake of a devastating holy war, thereby ensuring that their brand of radical Islam will rule the Earth.
118. That is not just what they believe; it is what is actually guiding their policies and their actions.
119. Just listen to Ayatollah Rafsanjani who said,
120. “the use of even one nuclear bomb inside Israel will destroy everything, however it would only harm the Islamic world.”
121. Rafsanjani said:
122. “It is not irrational to contemplate such an eventuality”.
123. “Not irrational” is what he said.
124. And that is coming from one of the so-called moderates of Iran.
125. Shockingly, some people have begun to peddle the absurd notion that a nuclear-armed Iran would actually stabilize the Middle East.
126. That is like saying a nuclear-armed Al-Qaida would usher in an era of universal peace.
127. I have been speaking about the need to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons for over 15 years.
128. I spoke about it in my first term in office as Prime Minister, and then I spoke about it when I left office.
129. I spoke about it when it was fashionable, and I spoke about it when it was not fashionable.
130. I speak about it now because the hour is getting late, very late.
131. I speak about it now because the Iranian nuclear calendar does not take time out for anyone or for anything.
132. I speak about it now because when it comes to the survival of my country, it is not only my right to speak, it is my duty to speak.
133. And I believe that it is the duty of every responsible leader who wants to preserve world peace.
134. For nearly a decade, the international community has tried to stop the Iranian nuclear programme with diplomacy.
135. That has not worked.
136. Iran uses diplomatic negotiations as a means to buy time to advance its nuclear programme.
137. For over seven years, the international community has tried sanctions with Iran.
138. Under the leadership of President Obama, the international community has passed some of the strongest sanctions to date.
139. I want to thank the Governments represented here that have joined in that effort.
140. It has had an effect.
141. Oil exports have been curbed and the Iranian economy has been hit hard.
142. It has had an effect on the economy, but we must face the truth.
143. Sanctions have not stopped Iran’s nuclear programme either.
144. According to the International Atomic Energy Agency, during the last year alone, Iran doubled the number of centrifuges in its underground nuclear facility in Qom.
145. At this late hour, there is only one way to peacefully prevent Iran from getting atomic bombs.
146. That is by placing a clear red line on Iran’s nuclear weapons programme.
147. Red lines do not lead to war.
148. Red lines prevent war.
149. Look at NATO’s charter.
150. It made clear that an attack on one member country would be considered an attack on all.
151. NATO’s red line helped keep the peace in Europe for nearly half a century.
152. President Kennedy set a red line during the Cuban missile crisis.
153. That red line also prevented war and helped preserve the peace for decades.
154. In fact, it is the failure to place red lines that has often invited aggression.
155. If the Western Powers had drawn clear red lines during the 1930s, I believe they would have stopped Nazi aggression, and the Second World War might have been avoided.
156. In 1990, if Saddam Hussein had been clearly told that his conquest of Kuwait would cross a red line, the first Gulf War might have been avoided.
157. Clear red lines have also worked with Iran.
158. Earlier this year, Iran threatened to close the Straits of Hormuz.
159. The United States drew a clear red line and Iran backed off.
160. Now, red lines could be drawn in different parts of Iran’s nuclear weapons programme, but to be credible, a red line must be drawn first and foremost in one vital part of their programme: on Iran’s efforts to enrich uranium.
161. Now let me explain why.
162. Basically, any bomb consists of explosive material and a mechanism to ignite it.
163. The simplest example is gunpowder and a fuse — that is, you light the fuse and you set off the gunpowder.
164. In the case of Iran’s plans to build a nuclear weapon, the gunpowder is enriched uranium.
165. The fuse is a nuclear detonator.
166. For Iran, amassing enough enriched uranium is far more difficult than producing the nuclear fuse.
167. For a country like Iran, it takes many years to enrich uranium for a bomb.
168. That requires thousands of centrifuges spinning in tandem in very big industrial plants.
169. Those Iranian plants are visible and they are still vulnerable.
170. In contrast, Iran could produce the nuclear detonator, the fuse, in a lot less time — maybe under a year, maybe only a few months.
171. The detonator can be made in a small workshop the size of a classroom.
172. It may be very difficult to find and target that workshop, especially in Iran.
173. That is a country that is bigger than France, Germany, Italy and Britain combined.
174. The same is true for the small facility in which they could assemble a warhead or a nuclear device that could be placed in a container ship.
175. Chances are you will not find that facility either.
176. So in fact, the only way that you can credibly prevent Iran from developing a nuclear weapon, is to prevent Iran from amassing enough enriched uranium for a bomb.
177. So how much enriched uranium do you need for a bomb, and how close is Iran to getting it?
178. Let me show you.
179. I brought a diagram for you.
180. Here is the diagram.
181. This is a bomb.
182. This is a fuse.
183. In the case of Iran’s nuclear plans to build a bomb, this bomb has to be filled with enough enriched uranium, and Iran has to go through three stages.
184. In the first stage they have to enrich enough low-enriched uranium;
185. in the second stage they have to enrich enough medium-enriched uranium.
186. And in the third, and final, stage they have to enrich enough high-enriched uranium for the first bomb.
187. Where is Iran?
188. Iran has completed the first stage.
189. It took them many years, but they completed it, and they are 70 per cent of the way there.
190. Now they are well into the second stage.
191. By next spring, at most by next summer, at current enrichment rates, they will have finished the medium enrichment and moved on to the final stage.
192. From there, it is only a few months, possibly a few weeks, before they get enough enriched uranium for the first bomb.
193. What I told the Assembly just now is not based on secret information.
194. It is not based on military intelligence.
195. It is based on public reports of the International Atomic Energy Agency.
196. Anybody can read them.
197. They are online.
198. So if these are the facts — and they are — where should a red line be drawn?
199. A red line should be drawn right here, before Iran completes the second stage of nuclear enrichment necessary to make a bomb and before Iran gets to a point where it is a few months away or a few weeks away from amassing enough enriched uranium to make a nuclear weapon.
200. Each day, that point is getting closer.
201. That is why I speak today with such a sense of urgency, and that is why everyone should have a sense of urgency.
202. There are some who claim that even if Iran completes the enrichment process, even if it crosses that red line that I just drew, our intelligence agencies will know when and where Iran will make the fuse, assemble the bomb and prepare the warhead.
203. No one appreciates our intelligence agencies more than the Prime Minister of Israel.
204. All these leading intelligence agencies are superb, including ours.
205. They have foiled many attacks, they have saved many lives, but they are not foolproof.
206. For over two years, our intelligence agencies did not know that Iran was building a huge nuclear enrichment plant under a mountain.
207. Do we want to risk the security of the world on the assumption that we would find a small workshop in a country half the size of Europe in time?
208. The relevant question is not when Iran will get the bomb.
209. The relevant question is at what stage can we no longer stop Iran from getting the bomb?
210. The red line must be drawn on Iran’s nuclear enrichment programme because these enrichment facilities are the only nuclear installations that we can definitely see and credibly target.
211. I believe that faced with a clear red line, Iran will back down.
212. This will give more time for sanctions and diplomacy to convince Iran to dismantle its nuclear weapons programme altogether.
213. Two days ago, from this podium, President Obama reiterated that the threat of a nuclear-armed Iran cannot be contained.
214. I very much appreciate the President’s position, as does everyone in my country.
215. We share the goal of stopping Iran’s nuclear weapons programme.
216. This goal unites the people of Israel.
217. It unites Americans, Democrats and Republicans alike.
218. And it is shared by important leaders throughout the world.
219. What I have said today will help ensure that this common goal is achieved.
220. Israel is in discussions with the United States over this issue, and I am confident that we can chart a path forward together.
221. The clash between modernity and medievalism need not be a clash between progress and tradition.
222. The traditions of the Jewish people go back thousands of years.
223. They are the source of our collective values and the foundations of our national strength.
224. At the same time, the Jewish people have always looked towards the future.
225. Throughout history, we have been at the forefront of efforts to expand liberty, promote equality and advance human rights.
226. We champion those principles not in spite of our traditions but because of them.
227. We heed the words of the Jewish prophets Isaiah, Amos and Jeremiah to treat all with dignity and compassion, to pursue justice and cherish life and to pray and strive for peace.
228. Those are the timeless values of my people, and they are the Jewish people’s greatest gift to humankind.
229. Let us commit ourselves today to defending those values so that we can defend our freedoms and protect our common civilization.