**President Abbas**

1. At the outset, I would like to congratulate His Excellency Mr. Vuk Jeremić on his outstandingly successful presidency of the General Assembly at its previous session.
2. I would also like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency at its current session and to wish you every success.
3. I am pleased, indeed honoured, to address the Assembly today for the first time in the name of the State of Palestine, following the Assembly’s historic decision on 29 November of last year to raise Palestine’s status to that of a non-Member Observer State.
4. **As representatives of their Governments and peoples, Members have championed justice, right and peace, while affirming their rejection of occupation and standing for principles and ethics and on the side of peoples yearning for freedom.**
5. **For that, I once again offer my deepest thanks and gratitude today on behalf of Palestine and its people.**
6. The Palestinian people celebrated resolution 67/19.
7. They rightly felt that they were not alone in the world and that the world stood with them.
8. They celebrated because they realized that the overwhelming result of the Assembly’s vote meant that justice was still possible and there was still room for hope.
9. **I assured the Assembly last year that our quest to raise Palestine’s status was not aimed at delegitimizing an existing State, the State of Israel, but at consecrating — I repeat, consecrating — the legitimacy of a State that should exist, which is Palestine.**
10. **I have also affirmed before the Assembly that our quest was not intended to affect the peace process, nor is it a substitute for serious negotiations.**
11. **On the contrary, our quest is supportive of the choice of peace and has revived a process that was, in truth, moribund.**
12. **As we have repeatedly affirmed and proved in practice, the State of Palestine, which abides by the Charter of the United Nations and resolutions of international legitimacy, will exercise its role and uphold its responsibilities within the international system in a positive and constructive manner that reinforces peace.**
13. **A new round of negotiations was launched a few weeks ago, thanks to the tireless and appreciated efforts of the President of the United States, Mr. Barack Obama, and of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. John Kerry.**
14. **I affirm before the Assembly today that we have begun those negotiations and shall continue them in good faith and with open minds, strong will and determination and a sharp focus on success.**
15. **I assure Members that we shall respect all of our commitments and foster the atmosphere most conducive to continuing the negotiations seriously and intensively, while providing guarantees for its success and aiming at a peace agreement within nine months.**
16. **As we engage in a new round of negotiations, we must remind everyone that we are not starting from a vacuum or from point zero, nor are we lost in a labyrinth without a map or a compass, at risk of losing sight of the destination.**
17. **The goal of the peace that we seek is defined and the objective of the negotiations is clear to all, just as the terms of reference and the basis and foundations of the peace process and of the agreement we seek are longstanding and within reach.**
18. **As for the goal of peace, it is embodied in redressing the historic, unprecedented injustice that befell the Palestinian people in the Al-Nakba of 1948.**
19. **It is the realization of a just peace, the fruits of which can be enjoyed by the Palestinian and Israeli peoples, as well as by all the peoples of our region.**
20. **The objective of the negotiations is to secure a lasting peace agreement that immediately leads to the establishment of the independence of a fully sovereign State of Palestine, with East Jerusalem as its capital, on all of the Palestinian land occupied in 1967, so that it may live in peace and security alongside the State of Israel.**
21. **The negotiations must also resolve the plight of Palestine refugees in a just, agreed-upon solution, in accordance with resolution 194 and as called for by the Arab Peace Initiative.**
22. **We reaffirm our refusal to be drawn into the whirlpool of a new interim agreement aimed at the perpetuation of an interim State with interim borders, or to enter into transitional arrangements that will become the fixed rule rather than an urgent exception.**
23. **Our goal is to achieve a permanent and comprehensive agreement and a peace treaty between the States of Palestine and Israel that resolves all outstanding issues, answers all questions and allows us to officially declare an end to the conflict and to all claims.**
24. **The terms of reference and parameters of the negotiations, their goals and the basis of the agreement we seek are all found in the Assembly’s historic decision to upgrade Palestine’s status, as well as in the countless resolutions of this body and of the Security Council and those of the League of Arab States, the European Union, the Non-Aligned Movement, the African Union and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.**
25. **In fact, over the years, the parameters have become the basis of an international consensus, indeed, near unanimity.**
26. **Exactly 20 years ago, precisely on 13 September 1993, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people signed, together with the Government of Israel, the Declaration of Principles Agreement on the White House lawn in Washington, D.C, in the presence of our departed leader, Yasser Arafat, and Yitzhak Rabin, the late Israeli Prime Minister, the King of Jordan and former President Bill Clinton.**
27. **Some five years earlier, on 15 November 1988, the Palestinian National Council had adopted our programme for the achievement of peace, thereby taking an extremely difficult decision and making a historic, painful and harmful concession.**
28. **However, as representatives of the Palestinian people, and having long been aware of our responsibilities to them, we mustered the necessary courage to accept a two-State solution, namely, Palestine and Israel on the borders of 4 June 1967 and the establishment of a Palestinian State on 22 per cent of the land of historic Palestine.**
29. **Thus we realized our part in achieving a historic settlement, upheld our obligations and fulfilled all of the requirements from the Palestinian side as set by the international community, in order to attain peace.**
30. **At the same time that the PLO affirmed its choice of peace as a strategic option and a solution resulting from negotiations, the PLO firmly repudiated violence and affirmed an ethical, principled rejection of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations — especially State terrorism — while affirming respect of international humanitarian law and United Nations resolutions.**
31. **As a genuine historic breakthrough, the signing of the Oslo Accords led to an unprecedented political movement that fostered great hopes and generated high expectations.**
32. **The PLO worked with dedication to implement the Accords in order to end the occupation and to realize a just peace.**
33. **However, 20 years on, the picture appears dispiriting and bleak: great dreams have been shattered and goals have become more modest.**
34. **As much as we felt in those days that peace was at hand, today we realize how far we are from it, for the goal of the Accords has not been achieved, its provisions have not been implemented and its deadlines have not been respected.**
35. **All the while, ongoing intense settlement construction, which aims to change the facts on the ground in the occupied Palestinian territory, has violated the spirit of the agreement, struck at the core of the peace process and caused a deep fracture in its cornerstone, that is, the two-State solution.**
36. **The start of a new round of negotiations is good news, but it cannot serve as grounds for complacency or an exaggerated sense of tranquility on the part of the international community.**
37. **The negotiations we are undertaking today with the Israeli Government under the auspices of the United States require that the international community exert every effort to make them succeed, namely, through international and regional organizations and individual States upholding the international consensus on the goal of peace, the objectives of the negotiations, the terms of reference and the basis for a permanent peace agreement.**
38. **However, at the same time, the international community is asked to remain vigilant.**
39. **The international community must condemn and put an end to any actions on the ground that would undermine negotiations.**
40. **In that regard, I refer above all to the continuation of settlement construction on Palestinian land, particularly in Jerusalem.**
41. **There is an international consensus among the countries of the world, international and regional organizations and the International Court of Justice on the illegality and illegitimacy of those settlements.**
42. **The position of the European Union with regard to settlement projects is a positive model of what can be done to ensure an environment supportive of and conducive to negotiations and the peace process.**
43. **It is also imperative that the near-daily attacks on the religious sites in occupied Jerusalem, the foremost of which is the Al-Aqsa Mosque, cease, as the continuation of such attacks will have dire consequences.**
44. **History is the best teacher.**
45. **It teaches us that waging war, imposing occupation and building settlements and walls may provide temporary quiet and temporary domination, but they certainly do not ensure real security or guarantee sustainable peace.**
46. **Such policies may create a specific reality on the ground, but they certainly do not create a right or provide legitimacy.**
47. **Such policies may impose weak stability, but they cannot prevent the inevitable explosion, because such polices in fact fuel situations that are already inflamed and cause them to explode.**
48. **Above all, such policies are incapable of extinguishing the aspirations of a people for freedom, and cannot eradicate their living memory or their narrative.**
49. **Therefore, what is required now is to heed the lessons of history, to abandon the mentality of force and occupation, to recognize the rights of others and to work on an equal footing and in full parity to achieve peace.**
50. **What is required is to stop relying on exaggerated security pretexts and obsessions in order to consecrate occupation and to stop contriving demands that push the conflict out of its defined political arena and towards the abyss of religious conflict in a region burdened with such sensitivities.**
51. **That is something that we categorically reject.**
52. **I am confident that the Israeli people want peace and that a majority of them support a two-State solution.**
53. **We have always expressed our firm positions and have always explained them at the negotiations table with the Israeli Government and in the meetings and contacts that we have intensified in recent years with a wide spectrum of actors from Israeli society.**
54. **Our message is rooted in the idea that the two peoples, the Palestinians and Israelis, are partners in the task of peacemaking.**
55. **That is why we keep reaching out to the Israeli side, saying: let us work to make the culture of peace reign, to tear down walls, to build bridges instead of walls and to open wide roads for connections and communication.**
56. **Let us sow the seeds of good-neighbourliness.**
57. **Let us envision another future, one that the children of Palestine and Israel enjoy in peace and security, where they can dream and realize their dreams, a future that allows Muslims, Christians and Jews to freely reach their places of worship, and a future in which Israel gains the recognition of 57 Arab and Muslim States, the States of Palestine and coexists in peace and each of their peoples can realize their hopes for progress and prosperity.**
58. **While we discuss the realization of peace between Palestine and Israel as an imperative to achieve a comprehensive peace between the Arab countries and Israel in accordance with United Nations resolutions, we bear in mind the current volatile reality and unprecedented dynamics besetting our region.**
59. Palestine does not interfere in the internal affairs of Arab countries, but we have clearly affirmed our stance in support of the demands of the peoples of our region, their choices and their peaceful popular movements to achieve those demands, along with the programmes and road maps they have adopted to reach their goals.
60. Furthermore, while we have condemned the crime of the use of chemical weapons in Syria, we have affirmed our rejection of a military solution there and stressed the need to find a peaceful political solution to fulfil the aspirations of the Syrian people.
61. **The overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people were born in Palestine and were sent into exile after the 1948 Al-Nakba.**
62. **However, 65 years afterwards, they continue to be its direct victims.**
63. **Since the start of this year, 27 Palestinian citizens have been killed and 951 have been wounded by the bullets of the occupation, and 5,000 fighters for freedom and peace are currently being held captive in occupation prisons.**
64. **Does anyone deserve an end to this occupation and the realization of a just and immediate peace more than the Palestinian people?**
65. **This year and in the past few years, Palestinian refugees, despite their neutrality, have continued to pay the price of conflict and instability in our region.**
66. **Tens of thousands have been forced to abandon their camps and to flee in another exodus, searching for new places of exile.**
67. **Do the Palestinian people deserve justice less than the rest of the peoples of the world?**
68. **Since the beginning of the year, construction has been under way on thousands of settlement units by the occupation authorities, and construction tenders have been issued for thousands of others on our occupied land, even as additional vast areas of land are either expropriated or declared off limits;**
69. **850 homes and structures have been demolished.**
70. **Palestinians are forbidden to plant on their own land and to use the majority of the area of our country, which is only 22 per cent.**
71. **They are prevented from using their own country’s water to irrigate their crops.**
72. **The wall and checkpoints continue to tear apart the lives of the Palestinian people and to destroy their economy.**
73. **The siege is growing tighter, along with the attacks and oppressive discriminatory measures against occupied Jerusalem, its holy places and its citizens.**
74. **In Gaza, for years an unjust blockade has been imposed on our people.**
75. **So is there any people more deserving of freedom and independence than the Palestinians?**
76. **Since the beginning of the year, 708 terrorist attacks have been perpetrated by settlers against our mosques and churches, our olive trees, our agricultural fields and our homes and property.**
77. **Is there the shadow of a doubt in anyone’s mind that the Palestinian people have the most need of security?**
78. **Also, is there a nobler mission on the international community’s agenda than realizing a just peace in the land of the monotheistic faiths, the birthplace of Jesus Christ, the site of the ascent of the Prophet Muhammad and the resting place of Abraham, the father of the prophets?**
79. **As they remain steadfast on their land, the Palestinian people also continue to build their institutions, to strengthen internal unity, to achieve reconciliation by returning to the ballot box, to wage a peaceful and popular resistance to counter the oppression of occupation and of settlements and settler terrorism, and to hold fast to their rights.**
80. **The Palestinian people do not want to remain “out of place”, in the words of Edward Said.**
81. **Our people are waiting for the day when their cause ceases to be a fixed item on the agenda of the United Nations.**
82. **Our people want to have freedom, God’s gift to humanity, and to enjoy the grace of living an ordinary life.**
83. **For we, as Mahmoud Darwish wrote, cultivate hope and shall one day be what we want to be: a free, sovereign people on the land of the State of Palestine.**
84. **I personally am one of the victims of Al-Nakba, one of the hundreds of thousands of my people who were uprooted in 1948 from our beautiful world and thrown into exile.**
85. **Like hundreds of thousands of other Palestine refugees, I knew as a youth the pain of exile and the tragedy of the loss of loved ones in massacres and wars, as well as the difficulties of building a new life from zero.**
86. **In refugee camps and the diaspora, in exile, we knew the bitter taste of poverty, hunger, illness and humiliation, and the challenge of affirming one’s identity.**
87. **Our people have walked the path of armed revolution and have risen from the ashes of Al-Nakba.**
88. **They have collected their shattered souls and identity to put their cause to the world and ensure that the recognition of their rights is enshrined.**
89. **We have walked a long, difficult path and sacrificed dearly, and yet we have affirmed at all times our active quest for peace.**
90. **Twenty years ago, on behalf of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I signed the Declaration of Principles Agreement, and we have since worked faithfully and diligently to implement it, affirming to all our respect for our commitments and the credibility of our positions.**
91. **The successive setbacks encountered have not shaken our strong faith in the objective of a just peace, and we shall continue to work tirelessly and unwaveringly to see it realized.**
92. **My own personal hope is to see the day when a just peace reigns so that the generation of Al-Nakba can pass on to its children and grandchildren the flag of an independent State of Palestine.**
93. **Time is running out;**
94. **the window of hope is narrowing and opportunities are diminishing.**
95. **The current round of negotiations appears to be a last chance to realize a just peace.**
96. **The mere thought of the catastrophic and frightening consequences of failure must compel the international community to intensify efforts to seize this opportunity.**
97. **The hour of freedom for the Palestinian people has rung.**
98. **The hour of the independence of Palestine has rung.**
99. **The hour of peace for the two peoples — Israeli and Palestinian — has rung.**

**Mr. Netanyahu**

1. I feel deeply honoured and privileged to stand here before the General Assembly today representing the citizens of the State of Israel.
2. We are an ancient people.
3. We date back nearly 4,000 years to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.
4. We have journeyed through time.
5. We have overcome the greatest of adversities.
6. And we re-established our sovereign State in our ancestral homeland, the land of Israel.
7. The Jewish people’s odyssey through time has taught us two things: never give up hope and always remain vigilant.
8. Hope charts the future, vigilance protects it.
9. Today our hope for the future is challenged by a nuclear-armed Iran that seeks our destruction.
10. But I want members to know that that was not always the case.
11. Some 2,500 years ago, the great Persian King Cyrus ended the Babylonian exile of the Jewish people.
12. He issued a famous edict in which he proclaimed the right of the Jews to return to the land of Israel and rebuild the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem.
13. That is a Persian decree, and thus began a historic friendship between the Jews and the Persians that lasted until modern times.
14. But, in 1979, a radical regime in Tehran tried to stamp out that friendship.
15. As it was busy crushing the Iranian people’s hopes for democracy, it also led wild chants of “Death to the Jews!”
16. Since that time, presidents of Iran have come and gone.
17. Some presidents were considered moderates, others hard-liners.
18. But they have all served that same unforgiving creed, that same unforgiving regime — that creed that is espoused and enforced by the real power in Iran, the dictator known in Iran as the Supreme Leader, first Ayatollah Khomeini and now Ayatollah Khamenei.
19. President Rouhani, like the presidents who came before him, is a loyal servant of the regime.
20. He was one of only six candidates the regime permitted to run for office.
21. Nearly 700 other candidates were rejected.
22. What made him acceptable?
23. Rouhani headed Iran’s Supreme National Security Council from 1989 through 2003.
24. During that time, Iran’s henchmen gunned down opposition leaders in a Berlin restaurant.
25. They murdered 85 people at the Jewish community centre in Buenos Aires.
26. They killed 19 American soldiers by blowing up the Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia.
27. Are we to believe that Rouhani, the national security adviser of Iran at the time, knew nothing about those attacks?
28. Of course he did — just as 30 years ago Iran’s security chiefs knew about the bombings in Beirut that killed 241 American marines and 58 French paratroopers.
29. Rouhani was also Iran’s chief nuclear negotiator between 2003 and 2005.
30. He masterminded the strategy that enabled Iran to advance its nuclear-weapons programme behind a smokescreen of diplomatic engagement and very soothing rhetoric.
31. I know that Rouhani does not sound like Ahmadinejad.
32. But when it comes to Iran’s nuclear-weapons programme, the only difference between them is this:
33. Ahmadinejad was a wolf in wolf’s clothing, Rouhani is a wolf in sheep’s clothing — a wolf who thinks he can pull the wool over the eyes of the international community.
34. Like everyone else, I wish we could believe Rouhani’s words, but we must focus on Iran’s actions.
35. And it is the brazen contrast — that extraordinary contradiction between Rouhani’s words and Iran’s actions — that is so startling.
36. Rouhani stood at this very rostrum last week and praised Iranian.
37. Iranian democracy, he said.
38. But the regime that he represents executes political dissidents by the hundreds and jails them by the thousands.
39. Rouhani spoke of “the human tragedy in Syria”.
40. Yet Iran directly participates in Al-Assad’s murder and massacre of tens of thousands of innocent men, women and children in Syria, and that regime is propping up a Syrian regime that just used chemical weapons against its own people.
41. Rouhani condemned the “violent scourge” of terrorism.
42. Yet in the past three years alone Iran has ordered, planned or perpetrated terrorist attacks in 25 cities on five continents.
43. Rouhani denounced “attempts to change the regional balance through proxies”.
44. Yet Iran is actively destabilizing Lebanon, Yemen, Bahrain and many other Middle Eastern countries.
45. Rouhani promises “constructive engagement with other countries”.
46. Yet two years ago, Iranian agents tried to assassinate Saudi Arabia’s Ambassador in Washington, D.C. Just three weeks ago, an Iranian agent was arrested while trying to collect information for possible attacks against the American Embassy in Tel Aviv.
47. Some constructive engagement!
48. I wish I could be moved by Rouhani’s invitation to join his “WAVE” — a world against violence and extremism.
49. Yet the only waves Iran has generated in the past 30 years are waves of violence and terrorism that it has unleashed on the region and across the world.
50. I wish I could believe Rouhani, but I do not because facts are stubborn things.
51. The facts are that Iran’s savage record flatly contradicts Rouhani’s soothing rhetoric.
52. Last Friday, Rouhani assured us that in pursuit of its nuclear programme, Iran had “never chosen deceit and secrecy.”
53. Never chosen deceit and secrecy?
54. In 2002, Iran was caught red-handed secretly building an underground centrifuge facility at Natanz.
55. In 2009, Iran was again caught red-handed secretly building a huge underground nuclear facility for uranium enrichment in a mountain near Qom.
56. Rouhani tells us not to worry.
57. He assures us that all that is not intended for nuclear weapons.
58. Does any here believe that?
59. If so, here are a few questions to ask.
60. Why would a country that claims to only want peaceful nuclear energy build hidden underground enrichment facilities?
61. Why would a country with vast natural energy reserves invest billions in developing nuclear energy?
62. Why would a country intent on merely having civilian nuclear programmes continue to defy multiple Security Council resolutions and incur the costs of crippling sanctions on its economy?
63. And why would a country with a peaceful nuclear programme develop intercontinental ballistic missiles whose sole purpose is to deliver nuclear warheads?
64. You do not build ICBMs to carry TNT thousands of miles away.
65. You build them for one purpose: to carry nuclear warheads.
66. Iran is now building ICBMs that the United States says could reach this city in three or four years.
67. Why would they do all that?
68. The answer is simple.
69. Iran is not building a peaceful nuclear programme.
70. Iran is developing nuclear weapons.
71. Last year alone, Iran enriched three tons of uranium to 3.5 per cent, doubled its stockpile of 20 per cent-enriched uranium and added thousands of new centrifuges, including advanced centrifuges.
72. It also continued work on the heavy-water reactor in Arak in order to have another route to the bomb — a plutonium path.
73. Since Rouhani’s election — and I stress this — that vast and feverish effort has continued unabated.
74. Underground nuclear facilities? Heavy water reactors? Advanced centrifuges? ICBMs? It is not that it is hard to find evidence that Iran has a nuclear-weapons programme;
75. it is hard to find evidence that Iran does not have a nuclear-weapons programme.
76. Last year, when I spoke here at the United Nations, I drew a red line.
77. Iran has been very careful not to cross that line.
78. But Iran is positioning itself to race across that line in future, at a time of its choosing.
79. Iran wants to be in a position to rush forward to build nuclear bombs before the international community can detect it, much less prevent it.
80. Yet Iran faces one big problem, and that problem is summed up in one word: sanctions.
81. I have argued for many years, including from this rostrum, that the only way to peacefully prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons is to combine tough sanctions with a credible military threat.
82. That policy is today bearing fruit.
83. Thanks to the efforts of many countries, many represented here, and under the leadership of the United States, tough sanctions have taken a big bite out of Iran’s economy.
84. Oil revenues have fallen.
85. The currency has plummeted.
86. Banks are hard pressed to transfer money.
87. As a result, the regime is under intense pressure from the Iranian people to get the sanctions removed.
88. That is why Rouhani got elected in the first place.
89. That is why he launched his charm offensive.
90. He definitely wants to get the sanctions lifted — I guarantee the Assembly that — but he does not want to give up Iran’s nuclear-weapons programme in return.
91. Here is the strategy to achieve that: first, smile a lot.
92. Smiling never hurts.
93. Secondly, pay lip service to peace, democracy and tolerance.
94. Thirdly, offer meaningless concessions in exchange for lifting sanctions.
95. Fourthly, and most important, ensure that Iran retains sufficient nuclear material and sufficient nuclear infrastructure to race to the bomb at a time that it chooses to do so.
96. Why does Rouhani think he can get away with that?
97. This is a ruse, a ploy.
98. Why does Rouhani think he can get away with that?
99. Because he has gotten away with it before.
100. Because his strategy of talking a lot and doing little has worked for him in the past.
101. He even brags about it.
102. Here is what he said in his 2011 book about his time as Iran’s chief nuclear negotiator:
103. “While we were talking to the Europeans in Tehran, we were installing equipment in Isfahan”.
104. For those here who do not know, the Isfahan facility is an indispensable part of Iran’s nuclear-weapons programme.
105. That is where uranium ore called yellowcake is converted into an enrichable form.
106. Rouhani boasted:
107. “By creating a calm environment, we were able to complete the work in Isfahan”.
108. He fooled the world once;
109. now he thinks he can fool it again.
110. Rouhani thinks he can have his yellowcake and eat it too.
111. He has another reason to believe that he can get away with that, and that reason is called North Korea.
112. Like Iran, North Korea also said its nuclear programme was for peaceful purposes.
113. Like Iran, North Korea also offered meaningless concessions and empty promises in return for sanctions relief.
114. In 2005, North Korea agreed to a deal that was celebrated the world over by many well-meaning people.
115. Here is what a New York Times editorial had to say about it:
116. “For years now, foreign policy insiders have pointed to North Korea as the ultimate nightmare ... a closed, hostile and paranoid dictatorship with an aggressive nuclear-weapons programme.
117. Very few could envision a successful outcome.
118. And yet North Korea agreed in principle this week to dismantle its nuclear-weapons programme, return to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, abide by the Treaty’s safeguards and admit international inspectors.“
119. Diplomacy, it seems, does work after all.
120. A year later, North Korea exploded its first nuclear-weapon device.
121. Yet as dangerous as a nuclear-armed North Korea is, it pales in comparison to the danger of a nuclear-armed Iran.
122. A nuclear-armed Iran would have a chokehold on the world’s main energy supplies.
123. It would trigger nuclear proliferation throughout the Middle East, turning the most unstable part of the planet into a nuclear tinderbox.
124. And for the first time in history, it would make the spectre of nuclear terrorism a clear and present danger.
125. A nuclear-armed Iran in the Middle East would not be another North Korea.
126. It would be another 50 North Koreas.
127. I know that some in the international community think that I am exaggerating that threat.
128. Sure, they know that Iran’s regime leads these chants: “Death to America!”, “Death to Israel!”.
129. Then it pledges to wipe Israel off the map.
130. But they think that wild rhetoric is just bluster for domestic consumption.
131. Have those people learned nothing from history?
132. The last century has taught us that, when a radical regime with global ambitions gets awesome power, sooner or later its appetite for aggression knows no bounds.
133. That is the central lesson of the twentieth century.
134. And we cannot forget it.
135. The world may have forgotten that lesson; the Jewish people have not.
136. Iran’s fanaticism is not bluster.
137. It is real.
138. That fanatic regime must never be allowed to arm itself with nuclear weapons.
139. I know that the world is weary of war.
140. We in Israel know all too well the cost of war.
141. But history has taught us that to prevent war tomorrow, we must be firm today.
142. That raises the question: Can diplomacy stop that threat?
143. The only diplomatic solution that would work is one that fully dismantles Iran’s nuclear-weapons programme and prevents it from having one in the future.
144. President Obama rightly said that Iran’s conciliatory words must be matched by transparent, verifiable and meaningful action;
145. and to be meaningful, a diplomatic solution would require Iran to do four things;
146. first, cease all uranium enrichment, as called for by several Security Council resolutions;
147. secondly, remove from Iran’s territory the stockpiles of enriched uranium;
148. thirdly, dismantle the infrastructure for a nuclear-breakout capability, including the underground facility near Qom and the advanced centrifuges in Natanz;
149. and, fourthly, stop all work at the heavy water-reactor in Arak aimed at the production of plutonium.
150. Those steps would put an end to Iran’s nuclear-weapons programme and eliminate its breakout capability.
151. There are those who would readily agree to leave Iran with a residual capability to enrich uranium.
152. I advise them to pay close attention to what Rouhani said in a speech to Iran’s Supreme Cultural Revolutionary Council published in 2005.
153. This is what he said:
154. “A country that can enrich uranium to about 3.5 per cent will also have the capability to enrich it to about 90 per cent.
155. Having fuel-cycle capability virtually means that a country that possesses this capability is able to produce nuclear weapons."
156. Precisely: that is why Iran’s nuclear-weapons programme must be fully and verifiably dismantled.
157. That is why the pressure on Iran must continue.
158. Here is what the international community must do.
159. First, keep up the sanctions.
160. If Iran advances its nuclear-weapons programme during negotiations, strengthen the sanctions.
161. Secondly, do not agree to a partial deal.
162. A partial deal would lift the international sanctions that have taken years to put in place, in exchange for cosmetic concessions that will take only weeks for Iran to reverse.
163. Thirdly, lift the sanctions only when Iran fully dismantles its nuclear-weapons programme.
164. The international community has Iran on the ropes.
165. If it wants to knock out Iran’s nuclear-weapons programme peacefully, do not let up on the pressure.
166. Keep it up.
167. We all want to give diplomacy with Iran a chance to succeed.
168. But when it comes to Iran, the greater the pressure, the greater the chance.
169. Three decades ago, President Ronald Reagan famously advised “trust but verify”.
170. When it comes to Iran’s nuclear-weapons programme, here is my advice: distrust, dismantle and verify.
171. Israel will never acquiesce to nuclear arms in the hands of a rogue regime that repeatedly promises to wipe us off the map.
172. Against such a threat, Israel will have no choice but to defend itself.
173. I want there to be no confusion on this point: Israel will not allow Iran to get nuclear weapons.
174. If Israel is forced to stand alone, Israel will stand alone.
175. Yet in standing alone, Israel will know that we will be defending many others.
176. The dangers of a nuclear-armed Iran and the emergence of other threats in our region have led many of our Arab neighbours to finally recognize that Israel is not their enemy.
177. That affords us the opportunity to overcome historic animosities and build new relationships, new friendships and new hopes.
178. Israel welcomes engagement with the wider Arab world.
179. We hope that our common interests and common challenges will help us forge a more peaceful future.
180. **And Israel continues to seek a historic compromise with our Palestinian neighbours, one that ends our conflict once and for all.**
181. **We want peace based on security and mutual recognition in which a demilitarized Palestinian State recognizes the Jewish State of Israel.**
182. **I remain committed to achieving a historic reconciliation and building a better future for Israelis and Palestinians alike.**
183. **I have no illusions about how difficult it will be to achieve.**
184. **Twenty years ago, the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians began.**
185. **Six Israeli Prime Ministers — myself included — have not succeeded in achieving peace with the Palestinians.**
186. **My predecessors were prepared to make painful concessions.**
187. **So am I.**
188. **But so far, Palestinian leaders have not been prepared to offer the painful concessions they must make in order to end the conflict.**
189. **For peace to be achieved, the Palestinians must finally recognize the Jewish State and Israel’s security needs must be met.**
190. **I am prepared to make a historic compromise for a genuine and enduring peace.**
191. **But I will never compromise on the security of my people and of my country — the one and only Jewish State.**
192. One cold day in the late nineteenth century, my grandfather, Nathan, and his younger brother, Judah, were standing in a railway station in the heart of Europe.
193. They were seen by a group of anti-Semitic hoodlums, who ran towards them waving clubs, screaming, “Death to the Jews!”
194. My grandfather shouted to his younger brother to flee and save himself.
195. And he then stood alone against the raging mob to slow it down.
196. They beat him senseless.
197. They left him for dead.
198. Before he passed out, covered in his own blood, he said to himself:
199. “What a disgrace! What a disgrace! The descendants of the Maccabees lie in the mud, powerless to defend themselves.”
200. He promised himself then that if he lived, he would take his family to the Jewish homeland and help to build a future for the Jewish people.
201. I stand here today as Israel’s Prime Minister because my grandfather kept that promise.
202. So many other Israelis have a similar story:
203. a parent or a grandparent who fled every conceivable oppression and went to Israel to start a new life in our ancient homeland.
204. Together we have transformed a bludgeoned Jewish people, left for dead, into a vibrant, thriving nation, defending itself with the courage of modern Maccabees, developing limitless possibilities for the future.
205. In our time, the Biblical prophecies are being realized.
206. As the prophet Amos said,
207. “They shall rebuild ruined cities and inhabit them.
208. They shall plant vineyards and drink their wine.
209. They shall till gardens and eat their fruit.
210. And I will plant them upon their soil never to be uprooted again.”
211. The people of Israel have come home, never to be uprooted again.