Leader’s remarks in meeting with heads of three branches of government and senior state officials - 24 /Jun/ 2015

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

One of the repeated themes in prayers of the holy month of Ramadan is to attract people’s attention to the worlds that exist after the mundane life: drawing attention to the world of death, the world of [life in] grave, the world of the Resurrection, the difficulties that man will have when facing the Divine reckoning and Book and questioning; this is one of the prominent topics in the prayers of the holy month of Ramadan. For us, who have positions of responsibility, it is very important to pay attention to this issue. The main factor controlling and protecting human beings includes attention to these worlds. That we know, “…[God is he] from Whom is not hidden the smallest atom in the heavens or on earth;” a small movement, a small stop, a small measure, [and] a small word will not remain hidden from He who reckons [our deeds] after death and we will be questioned; this has a great effect on our behavior, on our words, [and] on our deeds.

In the honorable prayer of Abi Hamza [we read]: “Have mercy on me when the hands of those I love roll me over on [my death] bed.”This is a state, which will befall everybody and perhaps many people have seen the state of dying and moments before death in other people; in those moments, I and you have no power of our own; there, nobody is closer to us than God. “And we are closer to him [the dying person] than you, but you don’t see.” Nobody can in that state save us from the maelstrom that is ahead of us except for [our] good deeds and the divine mercy. In this {Abi Hamza] prayer, we say, “O God! Have mercy on me!” have mercy on us in there [when we are dying]. “And bestow your extended mercy on me when they are washing me [at the morgue],” [we ask God] that at the time after we have died and [they] are washing [our dead body], [we ask] the Almighty God, in that state, to bestow upon us his mercy, [and] his forgiveness, and have mercy on us. Without any power we are at the mercy of the hands of the washer; this is true about every single one [of us], I and you; none of us will be far and free from this situation; this will happen to all of us; let’s [always] remember that moment.

“…and at the time of me being carried when my relatives are carrying corners of my corpse;” they lift us, put [our dead body] on their shoulders, take it toward our permanent and perennial abode. “And treat me kindly, when I arrive before you alone in my grave;” they will put us in the grave. This is a reminder; such situations must not be forgotten; they must be always before our eye. [The fact] that they recommend us to go to the graveyard, pay pilgrimage to the dead, this is one reason and cause for it. Some people do not like that somebody remind them of death; no [you must not hate that because] this is a treatment; this is medication; a cure for our selfishness, a cure for our neglects, [and] a cure for our debaucheries. In another part of the honorable Abi Hamza prayer [we read]: “God, have mercy on me at the time that my reasoning is of no good and my tongue is unable to answer you, and my sanity fails me when you [start to] question me;” at that time that we fall short of [responding to] the divine question and are stuck, our reasoning reaches its end; it is not like here that we can take the opposite side away from the reality by taking advantage of his ignorance, of his neglect, [or] of his emotions. There, everything is evident to He who asks us a question. That moment must be born in mind. In another part [of the prayer we say]: “I cry on my getting out of the grave naked;” read this prayer at dawns in the month of Ramadan with attention; “[naked and] humiliated with my heavy burden on my back. I look to the right and then to the left just to see that people are occupied with things other than my things;” everybody is thinking about themselves; nobody will help me there.

“Every one of them, on the Day [of Resurrection], will have enough concern (of their own) to make them indifferent to others. Some faces that day will be beaming [with happiness and are]laughing, [and] rejoicing;” the faithful, [and] the pious, [and] those people who were careful about themselves and did not get out of the path of righteousness and fairness and fulfilling [their] divine duty, are examples of this sentence; “some faces that day will be beaming [with happiness and are] laughing, [and] rejoicing;” open faces, laughing, beaming; some people are like that. “And other faces that day will be dust-stained; blackness will cover them;” the Quranic verse is up to here [but] in [Abi Hamza] prayer, this word has been added: “and humiliation.” Of course, this is not the sole theme; the prayers of the month of Ramadan, like all other prayers, drag us toward that delicate, pleasant and desirable spring of divine mercy.

This month, is the month of humbleness, the month of asking for forgiveness, the month of piety, the month of returning to God, the month of [spiritual] reconstruction, [and is] the month of ethics. In the sermon of the last Friday of the month of Sha’ban by Prophet [Mohammad (PBUH)] there are items which show that this month is not just a month of worship, it is also a month for ethics; [a time for] learning moral virtues [and] the use of moral virtues. These are [main] things to which we must pay attention in this month.

In this very sensitive and important meeting, I have considered three issues to discuss. One [of these issues] is the issue of economy, to which reference was made in the remarks of our esteemed president and [he] made good remarks and presented good statistics. I have a viewpoint in this regard that I will offer. One [issue] is the nuclear issue, which today the pivot of many of our efforts; both foreign efforts and even our domestic efforts, is this issue. [There are] viewpoints that are necessary [for me] to offer and to explain; if there were time, I would touch on regional issues [as well].

As for the issue of economy, I say it this way that the month of Ramadan is the month of piety; [but] what is piety? Piety is that state of permanent watchfulness that causes human beings not to go astray, and catching thorns do not pin them down. Piety is, in fact, a kind of armor, an armor on the body of the pious person, which protects and immunizes him against the harm of spiritual venomous arrows and deadly blows; of course, this is not only limited to spiritual matters. “And for those who fear Allah, He (always) prepares a way out, and He provides for them from (sources) they never could imagine.” Even in worldly issues, piety has very important effects; this is about personal piety. The same issue can be generalized to a society and a country. What is the piety of a country? What is the piety of a society? A society, especially if like the society of the Islamic Republic Establishment, has lofty and exalted ideals, is prone to aggression; is prone to aggression by venomous arrows; [to confront] this [the society] requires piety. What is piety of the society?

Social piety can be described in various sectors; in economic sector; social piety is resistance economy. If with regard to economy, we don’t want to be harmed by fluctuations resulting from global events or by venomous arrows of hostile global policies, we have to turn to resistance economy. Resistance economy is a factor for steadfastness in the face of those people and those powers that are using all their economic and political and media and security capacity in order to deal a blow to this nation and this country and this establishment. One of the ways that they have found for the time being is infiltrating the economy. I have issued this warning for years and said [this]; officials, every one of them, have made good efforts as much as their abilities allowed, but we must pursue the issue of resistance economy inside [the country] with all our power, [and] with all our capacity; this would be our social piety with regard to the economic issue.

This model, of course, is not specific to us; the model of resistance economy was projected [and] chosen by some other countries for themselves, and [they] saw its effect. The focal point of resistance economy is internalization as opposed to externalization. Internalization must not be taken to mean isolationism; internalization with an eye to the outside [world] and with tendency toward [what exists] outside of society, but [at the same time] relying on internal capability and internal capacity, which I will discuss tosome extent; I have already said many things in this regard.

The policies of resistance economy, which have been formulated and notified, do not representan affair which is

sudden, [and] fictitious and based on a personal view; this is a product of a collective wisdom; is the product of long consultations; after resistance economy was notified and explained with these characteristics and was discussed in the media, and [our] friends and colleagues within the esteemed administration started activities in this regard and repeated them, it [resistance economy] was confirmed by many economic pundits; they stressed on it and this term, "resistance economy" entered the prevailing economic culture of the country and found a place for itself in economic literature of the country. This is indicative of correctness and strength of this path.

Resistance economy is the opposite of the obsolete model dictated by [the world] powers for the so-called developing, or so-called Third World countries. They dictated a model – which I do not want to explain that model – [claiming] that if Third World countries want to achieve economic growth, [and] economic prosperity, and reach the level of global economy, they must follow suit with that model whose main stress is on looking outside with its own details. This resistance economy is the opposite of that [previous model]; this is a model which is totally at odds with the thing which was relied on and repeated in the obsolete model; some people still mention it and talk about it here and there. [In resistance economy] reliance is on domestic capacities. Some people may imagine that this model is a desirable model, but have doubt about its possibility. I categorically say that this model is a possible model in our country; [application of] the model of resistance economy is totally possible under present conditions of the country.

We have capacities to do this, many untapped capacities, one of which is human capital. This means that educated youth with specialty and having self-confidence are numerous in our country and this is one of the blessings of the Islamic Revolution; of course, if wrong policies do not cause our society to move toward aging. For the time being, it is like this; for the time being a large number of the workforce in the country is between 20 years and 40 years old; with good education, with good mental and intellectual preparedness, with high morale, [and] with self-confidence. Today, we have 10 million university graduates, [and] have more than 4 million students studying [at universities], which is about 25 times higher than [the figure we had in] the early years [after the victory] of the Islamic Revolution. Since the outset of the Islamic Revolution up to now, the country's population has doubled and the population of students has increased 25 times; this is among honourable achievements of the Islamic Revolution; this is human capital; this is a great opportunity.

Another capacity is the economic position of our country. According to official global statistics, the Islamic Republic ranks 20th in [terms of] economy in the world; we rank 20th and have enough capacity to reach the 12th rank because there are still many unused capacities in the country; we have natural resources, [and we] have oil; in terms of oil and gas [reserves], we rank first in the world; our total oil and gas [reserves] are higher than all other countries in the world; we have many other mines.

Another capacity is the superb geographical situation of the country; in regional and global geography, we are the connecting link of north to south and east to west, which is of very extraordinary importance for the issue of transit [of goods], for the transport of energy and commodities, and so forth.

Another capacity is being neighbor to 15 countries with a population of 370 million; that is a market at hand, without the need to go long ways.

Another capacity is the domestic 70-million-strong market, which if we orientate to this very domestic market, to national production and domestic production, the situation of production [in our country] will change.

Another capacity is the existence of basic infrastructure in [such sectors as] energy, in rail and road and air transportation, in communications, in trade centers, in power plants, in dam [construction]; these are the infrastructure which has been created during these years through the endeavors of [successive] administrations and people's perseverance and people's help, and is today at our disposal.

In addition to all these, [there] are accumulated management experiences which these experiences have helped us

during recent years to have growth in non-oil exports; just as the esteemed president presented statistics related to [the Iranian calendar] year [13]93 [March 2014-March 2015], and [during] the years before [that] the growth of non-oil exports in our country has been quite tangible, which is a model.

These capacities exist in the country and of course, these are just part of the capacities. Those experts who sit with me and talk [to me] and sometimes write reports for me, present a long list of the existing capacities that can be helpful for the country's economy and all these [reports] are correct; these capacities must be taken advantage of.

The current problem with our country is not that we don't have plans, don't have correct proposals; our problem is that [we] do not pursue the correct proposal and correct plan as we should; this is the base of this problem. This situation is repeated in elite environments [where they say] the problem with the Islamic Republic is not the problem of not having correct proposals; correct proposals are offered a lot; the problem is that we must follow up on these correct proposals in such a way in practice that [we would] achieve their results; [that we would] see their results objectively and with our eyes.

Well, there are challenges; these challenges cause friction; friction causes erosion and exhaustion, causes problems; these challenges should be remedied.

One of these challenges is internal challenges related to ourselves: taking a simple and superficial approach to problem [at hand]; [that we may] be convinced with certain things that we do and do not find out about the depth of the problem.

Rhetorical and private and intellectual discussions get nowhere; movement and action is needed. Oversight in [taking] action is our big challenge. Sometimes conclusions and inferences are not short-term, [but] are long-term and this [issue] dissuades some people. This is one of the challenges. Big works may sometimes bear fruit in the course of one generation; [however, such works] must be followed; [and we] must move. There are many jobs that if we had started them ten years ago, [or] fifteen years ago, today, we had reached their results. There are many plans that have been initiated ten years ago, [or] fifteen years ago and today we are seeing their results. The day when certain things were said in various universities about [launching] a scientific movement in the country, [and this topic] was discussed with various groups, nobody imagined that this scientific movement, which has been launched in these ten [or] fifteen years, would come into being; but it did [come into being]. Our scholars, our scientists, our universities, and our talented youth endeavored. Today, we, as compared to 12-13 years ago, have made a great movement in scientific terms and have greatly and, in some cases, amazingly progressed in certain fields. [Let's] begin the work as of today, [so that] we would see its result fifteen years, [or] twenty years from now.

One of our challenges is [recourse] to parallel and easy, but lethal ways; this is one of our challenges. I don't forget when I was the president – about 25 years [ago] – for the import of a commodity [that was] needed by the society, which we obtained it by a lot of trouble from Europeans, [but] Africans had the same commodity, had its good-quality version as well, [but] our friends in charge were not ready. It was recommended, emphasized, in meetings that we held, they both confirmed, and substantiated, but it was difficult [to work with Africans]; it was easier to work with Europe. [We must avoid] a parallel, easy way, but at the same time, harmful, which faces one with a dilemma, weakens one's friends, strengthens one's enemies and gives the control of an affair inside the country to those who are our enemies in their hearts.

This is one of the challenges that somebody would imagine that if we give up our ideological fundaments, [and] ideological fundaments of the Islamic Republic Establishment, [then] the ways would open up and closed gates would open, which this is a very big and essential error. Of course, our brethren in the serving government are acting with [complete] belief; they really believe in the revolution, believe in the fundaments of the revolution [and believe in the principles of the revolution; I have no complaint of them. However, there are some people among our officials, who think that if we give up some of our principles and fundaments, many closed doors would open to us;

while this is not the case; this is a great error and we have seen the results of this error in some other countries – which I don't want to mention by name – during this period of recent few years. The path to progress goes through steadfastness; [and goes through] insistence on the fundaments.

One of the challenges is for somebody to imagine that people would not tolerate [difficulties]; no, people have tolerated problems. If it is truly explained to people, [if] the reality of affairs is explained to people with honesty, our people are faithful people; they will stand fast, [and] will resist.

One of the challenges is to have doubts about internal abilities [of our country]; [that] we don't trust our young scientist, [that] we don't trust popular and nongovernmental groups in economic affairs; this is one of the challenges. We must trust [them]; we must involve people in the huge economic cycle of the country.

After all, what we need to do with regard to issues related to resistance economy, one of them is [to have] firm resolve; we must try through firm resolve to realize resistance economy in its true sense inside [the country]; [another matter is]also to avoid oversight, to avoid seeking comfort [in life], and to rely on studious management; studious management, which I brought up last year and emphasized that this is not limited to this year, it is for always; we need studious management. In early years after the revolution, during the war and throughout these thirty-odd years, whenever we have relied on studious management, we have been successful. Studious management may sometimes lead to losses, but [at the end] it will progress and do the job. Reliance on the divine power, putting trust in the Almighty God, doing the job with foresight and rationality, but with firm resolve, without doubt and without fear of consequences, this is studious management.

Of course, permanent promotion of a culture proportionate to resistance economy is also necessary. Everybody, both the IRIB, and officials of the press and other media, and state officials, officials of the legislature, Friday Prayers leaders across the country and everybody who has a tribune and can talk to people, they should promote the culture proportionate to resistance economy including saving, [and] including consumption of domestic products. Of course, when it comes to saving and also with regard to consumption of domestic products, state officials are the main addressees because one of the most important consumers in the country is the administration itself; the administration must insist and consider itself obligated and bound to take advantage of domestic products; even with some oversight; no problem with that. Sometimes they say a certain item does not have the quality of its foreign counterpart; no problem; if we want it to obtain quality, we must help it. [If] we help, its quality will increase; otherwise, it will decrease day after day. Serious struggle against illogical imports is one of the necessary steps; serious struggle against smuggling is one of the necessary steps; paying attention to small and intermediate businesses – on which I put emphasis this year, at the beginning of the year – is a very necessary step; revision of monetary policies and the activities of the country's banking system, to which I also pointed at the beginning of the year and about which experts and concerned people have important things to say and these views must be heard and attention must be paid to them. These are steps that we have to take.

Of course, the main conditions for the realization of these goals are empathy and common language, and this solidarity that the esteemed president pointed to; the administration must be helped; the officials must be helped; [because] they are in the middle of the arena. Unnecessary conflicts and unnecessary complications must be avoided; complications from any side are unacceptable and undesirable. Everybody must help and [make] this huge movement, God willing, bear fruit. This was my comments about economic issues. I believe that we can take great steps in the field of economy and have hope that, God willing, we would go through this difficult pass.

With regard to nuclear issue, I mention three points at first and as introduction, then there are certain matters in this regard that I will explain.

The first point is that what I say here in this meeting or in [other] public meetings, is exactly the same things that I say in private meetings to officials, to the esteemed president and to others. This propaganda line that we have seen

and [still] see they are following [by claiming] that some red lines that are officially announced, are crossed over in private meetings, [this] is unreal and a lie. What I say to you here or in [other] public meetings, is exactly the same things that I say to friends, to officials, [and] to [nuclear] negotiating team; I say the same things; the remarks are the same.

The second point [is that] I consider the [nuclear] negotiating team – these very friends who have shouldered all these troubles during this period – both trustworthy, and zealous, and brave, and religious; everybody must know this. Most of you who are present here are not abreast of the content of the negotiations; if you were informed about the content of the negotiations and details of the negotiations and what goes on in meetings, you would have certainly admitted to part of what I said. Of course, in addition to these, I know some of these [negotiator] friends up-close; and know others from afar according to their track records; these are religious and trustworthy people; these are trustworthy; their purpose is to facilitate the work of the country, [and to] undo the knot, and are making effort to this end. Fairly speaking, they have national zeal, they have bravery, [they] face a great number of people – which now I don't want to use a real proportionate term [to describe them] because there are sometimes terms which are really suitable for description [of certain people] but, well, it is not befitting for me to say them – and fairly speaking, they express their positions in the face of them with complete bravery, [and] with complete preciseness; they pursue and they follow up [on their goals].

The third point is about the respectable critics. I am not against criticism; no problem with that; criticism is necessary and helpful, however, everybody must note that to criticize is easier than to act. We easily see the flaws of the opposite side in the field that they are, while his risks, his difficulties, his concerns, [and] his problems are not seen by one. It is as if you are standing by a swimming pool, [and] are watching; a person has gone aloft and wants to dive from a height of 10 meters. Well, he dives, you, who are standing by the pool say, 'What! His leg was bent, his knee was bent; this is a flaw'. Yes, this is a flaw, but you take the trouble and ascend the diving board and look down to the water from the end of that 10-meter [height]; [and] then pass a judgment! Criticism is easy. [Of course,] what I say must not prevent criticism; do criticize, but also note that criticism must take into account the fact that the other side may be aware of some flaws that we mention in our criticism, [but] well [they] have reached this conclusion or have been forced to this point by the necessities or any other reason. Of course, I don't want to say that these [negotiators] are infallible; no, they are not infallible; one may, in some places, make errors in recognition [of the situation] and in practice. However, the important point is that I believe in their trustworthiness, and in their religiosity, and in their zeal and in their bravery. These are three necessary points that I said as introduction to my remarks.

[Let me] tell you a short history of these negotiations; these negotiations that are in fact more than our negotiations with the P5+1 [group]; [it is] negotiation with Americans. Americans demanded these negotiations. It is related to the time of the 10th administration. These negotiations started before coming [to office] of this [incumbent] administration. They demanded, resorted to intermediaries and one of the respectable [politicians] in the region came here and had a meeting with me. [He] said the president of America had called him and asked him and said that we want to resolve the nuclear issue with Iran and we want to remove the sanctions as well. There were two basic points in his remarks: one that he said 'we would recognize Iran as a nuclear power'; and secondly, he said 'we would remove the sanctions gradually in a matter of six months. Come, sit down and negotiate. [Let] this be done'. I told that respectable intermediary that we have no trust in Americans, one cannot trust what they say. He [the intermediary] said, 'Now, you can test [them]'. I said, 'Well, we will test [them] this time again. This was how negotiations started.

Let me say a point for the attention of officials and everybody must pay attention to this: in global encounters, the logic of global encounter necessitates that we take two arenas into account. One arena is the arena of reality and action; one arena is the arena of reality and action, which this arena is the main arena. In the arena of reality and in the arena of action, an official, who is doing an activity, creates, [and] produces assets in the arena of action; this is one arena. One [other] arena is the arena of diplomacy and politics, which assets in this arena of diplomacy and

politics and negotiations are turned into advantages for the country; [those assets are] turned into national interest. If your hands are empty in the first arena, you cannot accomplish anything in the second arena; one must have achievements [and] asset in the first arena – that is, in the arena of action, the arena of reality, [and] on the ground.

The day that we entered these negotiations we had an acceptable and important achievement; we felt that we are entering [the negotiations] with our hands full. Our achievement in that day included that we had been able while all nuclear powers had refrained to give us 20-percent nuclear fuel for Tehran [Research Reactor] – which we needed nuclear medicines – we had been able to produce 20-percent [nuclear] fuel under conditions of sanctions. [Then we had managed to] turn this 20-percent fuel into fuel plates and use it. Our opposite side was checkmated! It is a long story, perhaps many of you know about it; through long negotiations, they did not accept to give us – that is, to sell [to us] - 20-percent [fuel] or allow another party to sell it to us.

We said, we produce [the fuel] inside [the country]; our youths, these scientists of ours, this very hard-working, full-of-hope, [and] self-reliant [social] class, could take the other side by surprise; they produced 20-percent [fuel] and you know, perhaps I have said this one more time, that in nuclear enrichment, the important and difficult part is to move from three-percent and four-percent [enrichment] to 20-percent; from 20-percent to 90–percent [enrichment] is a very simple move. When somebody achieves 20-percent [enrichment], the next stage is very easy. The difficult and important part is this part from 5.3 percent to 20 percent. This difficult path was trod by our youths and [they] produced 20-percent [fuel] and produced the fuel plate; this was one of our achievements. We entered the talks with this spirit.The strategy of resistance and enduring against pressures had born fruit. Americans admitted that sanctions had no effect; just as they mentioned this [in their words]. This is a totally correct analysis. Americans reached the conclusion that sanctions can no more have the effect desired by them. They were looking for another way – [my] time is finishing; I must say my remarks rapidly -; they understood that we could get our hands on advanced technology without dependence [on them]; on [the basis] of this logic, we trusted and entered the negotiations.

Of course, we did not give up caution. From the outset, our attitude toward the [American] negotiators and American side was a suspicious attitude. According to experiences we had, we did not trust them, [and therefore] we first entered [the negotiations] with some reservation. It was our viewpoint that if they lived up to their words, well, there would be no problem [to go on with the negotiations]; we were ready to pay a price; that is, we do not believe that in a negotiation, no price must be paid, no backtrack on part of issues must be allowed; No. we were ready to pay a correct, and logical and rational price; however, we sought a good agreement. Let me say this here: we say good agreement [and] Americans also say good agreement; however, when we say good agreement, we mean a fair and just agreement; when they say good agreement, [they want] a totalitarian agreement. A little bit into the negotiations, excessive demands of the other side started [to be put forth]; everyday a [certain] claim, a pretext. Six months turned into a year, it became longer; the negotiations continued in different ways; bargaining and excessive demands prolonged the negotiations, [they] threatened [us], threat to [impose] more sanctions, even threatened [us] with the use of militarism; they posed these threats; [they talked about options available] on the table and below the table and these things that you have heard. Such has been behavior of these people up to the present day.

Anybody studying the course of Americans' demands in this period and look at the quality of what they have said will reach this conclusion; this is one of the two basic points: their goal is to eradicate and destroy nuclear industry in the country; this is the goal; they are pursuing this [goal]; their purpose is to eliminate nuclear nature of the country; even though a name, a meaningless picture, a caricature-like thing may exist, but they intend not to allow this nuclear movement of the country, the nuclear industry of a country with the goals that the Islamic Republic Establishment has, be realized. We have announced that by a due date, we must have 20,000 megawatts of nuclear power; this is what the country needs; 20,000 megawatts of nuclear power is an essential need for the country; this [figure] has been calculated by calculating organs of the country, which of course, on its sidelines, there are many benefits, and many other needs [of the country] will be met. They want to prevent this from happening. of course, at the same time that they want to eliminate this industry, they also want to maintain the pressure; they do not intend to

remove the sanctions – as you observe – in full; [and they] also threaten that they will impose more sanctions. This is one point.

The second point is that our opposite side, that is, the current administration and current management of America, needs this agreement; this is another side of this issue.They need this [agreement]; it would be considered a great victory for them if they could achieve their goal in this regard. This would be, in fact, victory over the Islamic Revolution; victory over a nation that has a claim to independence; victory over a country which can be role model for other countries; the management apparatus of America needs this [agreement]. All bickering and bargaining and breach of promises and cheating that they do are based on these two issues.

We entered [negotiations] logically from the onset; talked logically; did not put forth excessive demands; we said the other side has imposed an oppressive sanction, we want this sanction to be lifted; very well, this is a give-and-take; we have no problem in this regard to give something [and in return] take something in order for sanctions to be removed; however, the nuclear industry should not be stopped; should not be damaged; this is our first say; we have said this from the outset and followed it up to the present day.

The most important red lines that exist are these [issues] that I am going to explain. I have mentioned certain things as the main points; these are the most important; of course, there are other things besides these [important things].

One is that they insist on long-term restriction [of Iran's nuclear activities]; we said that we don't accept restrictions for 10 years, 12 years and the likes of that; ten years is a lifetime; all that we have achieved in this period has taken about ten years! Yes, the history of nuclear [industry] in the country is longer than this, which is sometimes said in some remarks. However, in those first years, in fact, nothing had been done; the basic and major steps were taken in about the recent 10-15 years. We do not accept 10-year restriction [on nuclear activities]; I have told a certain amount of years, which is acceptable to us, to the [nuclear] negotiating team [and] have told them how much restriction we have accepted; however, I have said the number of years of restriction; we do not accept 10 years and 12 years [of restriction] and these things that these people [Western negotiating side] say.

During this period of restriction that we will accept, the work on research and development and manufacture [of centrifuges] must go on, which this is among red lines on which esteemed officials have emphasized; they have said that we are not ready to stop research and development; [and] they are right. During these years of restriction, research and development must go on. They [the other negotiating sides] say something else; they say you don't do anything during 10 years, 12 years or more, then start production, start manufacture! Which this is double bullying [and] a double wrong saying.

This is one of the important points: I stipulate that economic and financial and banking sanctions, both those that are related to the Security Council, and those that are related to US Congress, and those that are related to US administration, must be immediately removed at the time of signing the agreement; the rest of sanctions must [be lifted] in reasonable intervals. Of course, with regard to sanctions, Americans have come up with a complex, multilayered, [and] strange formula whose depths are not clear; it is by no means clear what will come out at the end of it. I already said that my remarks are clear. I am not well versed about diplomatic jargon; what I say is clear and is what I say; this is what I expect.

Another basic point is that removal of sanctions should not be conditioned on the implementation of Iran's obligations; they cannot say 'you destroy Arak heavy water reactor, reduce centrifuges to this number, do these things, do those things, and when you did, then the [International Atomic Energy] Agency should come [and] attest [and] confirm that you are telling the truth, and have done these things, then we remove the sanctions'. No. We do not absolutely accept this; removal of sanctions is not conditioned on the fulfillment of obligations that Iran accepts. Of course, removal of sanctions has certain executive stages, we accept this; executive aspects of removal of sanctions should be proportionate to the executive [steps] that Iran will undertake; part of this in return for part of

that; another part of this in return for another part of that.

Another basic point is that we are against any measure [that the Western sides must take] to be conditioned on the Agency's report. We are pessimistic toward the Agency. The Agency has shown that it is neither independent, nor just; it is not independent because it is under the influence of [the world] powers; it is not just [because] it has ruled and passed judgment against justice time and time again. In addition, that they say 'the Agency must make sure that there is no nuclear activity [going on] in the country', is an irrational remark. Well, how one can make sure about this? Basically, what does 'making sure' [mean here]? Unless they search every single house and every inch of the territory of the country! How else can they make sure [about this]? Making [any measure by Western sides] conditioned on this issue, is neither logical, nor just.

I am also not agreed to no-nconventional inspections; questioning personalities is also by no means acceptable to me and I am not agreed [to that]; I do not accept inspection of the military sites, as I have already said; I also do not accept time periods of 15 years and 25 years – which they keep saying 15 years for that thing, [and] 25 years for that thing – and time periods like this. It is clear [that] this time has a beginning and an end, and will [finally] come to an end.

These are prominent and important issues on which I emphasize; of course, red lines are not limited to these, [and] negotiating friends are familiar with my viewpoints; I have told them the details [of my views]; [of course] relevant details and those things that I get involved in; I do not get involved in many details.

We seek an agreement. If somebody says that among the officials of the Islamic Republic there is somebody who does not want an agreement, he would be lying; everybody must know this. Officials of the Islamic Republic – I, the administration, the parliament, the judiciary, various security, military and other organs – are all unanimous in this regard, and agree that an agreement must be reached. Again, all are unanimous that such an agreement must be accompanied with dignity, [and] expediencies of the Islamic Republic must be carefully and obsessively observed in it; there is no difference in this regard; the administration, the parliament, I, others and others are all unanimous in this regard. Our views are the same. The agreement must be a fair agreement and must meet the interests of the Islamic Republic.

I must also say that we are seeking to eliminate and remove the sanctions; our goal from the negotiations is the removal of sanctions; we are seriously seeking to have the sanctions removed; however, at the same time, we consider the sanctions per se as an opportunity. It shouldn't make some people surprised as to how sanction can be an opportunity; how sanction – such an evil thing – can be an opportunity? This sanction caused us to reflect on ourselves; the sanction caused us to think about our internal force, to seek out internal capacities. [The fact] that we [must] import everything from the outside using the oil money, for a country like our country, is the worst scourge and the biggest problem, which unfortunately, this problem plagued our country before the revolution and still exists to some extent, which we must stop this. In science, in technology, in various fields, we returned to internal capacities, [and] God willing, the same will happen to the economy. These are my remarks about the nuclear [issue]. Of course, I had taken down some remarks on regional issues here to tell you, but as I look at the clock, I see as if it is the prayers time; [so] I do not bother you more than this.

O Almighty! [We swear you] by Mohammad (PBUH) and the progeny of Mohammad (PBUH) to put what we said and heard[in the service] for yourself and in your path and in the service of your servants; purify our intents; O Almighty! Bring your blessings down on officials, [and] those [who are] active in the administration, in the parliament, in the judiciary, [and] in the armed forces – [those] who are busy making effort and working; [and] cover them with your assistance and guidance.

Peace be unto you and so may the mercy of Allah and His blessings.