
Conference on Disarmament

10 September 2025

Original: English

Note Verbale dated 9 September 2025 from The Permanent Mission of Israel to the United Nations Office and other International Organizations in Geneva addressed to the Secretariat of the Conference on Disarmament, transmitting Israel's working paper on operation "Rising Lion" And The Iranian Nuclear Program And Ballistic Missiles Threat*

The Permanent Mission of Israel to the United Nations Office and other International Organizations in Geneva presents its compliments to the United Nations Office for Disarmament, in its capacity as Secretariat of the Conference on Disarmament, and has the honor to transmit Israel's working paper on operation "Rising Lion" And The Iranian Nuclear Program And Ballistic Missiles Threat.

The Permanent Mission of Israel to the Conference on Disarmament would be grateful to the Secretariat if it could issue the working paper as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament and circulate it.

The Permanent Mission of Israel to the United Nations Office and other International Organizations in Geneva avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the United Nations Office for Disarmament the assurances of its highest consideration.

* The present document is being issued without formal editing.



Annex

Working Paper by the State of Israel: Operation "Rising Lion" and the Iranian nuclear program and ballistic missiles threat

Israel submits this note to the Conference on Disarmament for the benefit of Member States, with the aim of providing an accurate, and substantiated account of the events related to Operation "Rising Lion". This submission is also intended to rectify falsehoods, distortions, and selective representations of the facts, which are replete in the series of letters submitted by the Permanent Mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Israel conducted operation "Rising Lion", between June 13 and June 24, 2025, in order to neutralize the existential and imminent threat posed by the Iranian regime's nuclear weapons program, as well as the threat posed by its ballistic missiles program and other military activities against Israel.

This operation was launched in the context of an ongoing armed conflict between Israel and the Iranian regime. The operation was a measure of last resort, prompted by critical developments in Iran's nuclear weapons endeavour, and was required in order to thwart the threat of imminent Iranian attacks that would risk Israel's security. It was the last window of opportunity to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons, and took place after ongoing diplomatic efforts proved unfortunately ineffective.

Over the years, Iran has repeatedly violated its international commitments and obligations, including with regard to the development of nuclear weapons. Iran is a clear example of a state which is consistently non-compliant with international instruments to which it is a party. This rogue Iranian behaviour has been detailed in many reports by the United Nations and the IAEA, as well as in national intelligence reports and media publications. Most recently, this has also been portrayed in IAEA Board of Governors' resolutions, such as the resolution recently adopted on June 12, 2025. Clearly, Iran has been violating its safeguards obligations related to undeclared nuclear material and nuclear activity, and with regard to activity and operations in various undeclared sites, in violation of the comprehensive safeguards agreement it has signed with the IAEA, an agreement that is part of its NPT obligations. There are numerous documented examples of such violations, which together illustrate a sustained and deliberate policy of non-compliance.

Iran's Nuclear Weapons Endeavour

Contrary to its statements, Iran has in fact been working on activities relevant for developing nuclear weapons. Its military nuclear program involved advanced enrichment capabilities, including a large HEU stockpile, de-conversion capabilities, weaponization related activities, and the development of nuclear weapons relevant means of delivery.

On June 12, 2025, the IAEA members of the Board of Governors adopted a resolution (GOV/2025/36) finding Iran is in non-compliance with its non-proliferation obligations, and that the IAEA "was not able to verify that there has been no diversion of nuclear material (...) to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices." This IAEA Board of Governors' resolution comes after several prior resolutions adopted by the IAEA Board of Governors in the past few years, all relating to Iran's dangerous trajectory, and violations with regard to its nuclear program (such as GOV/2024/39 of June 5, 2024 and GOV/2024/68 of November 21, 2024).

In recent months, Israeli intelligence agencies identified an acceleration of Iranian activities related to weaponization. Combined with the accelerated pace of HEU production and accumulation in the past years, as reported by Iran and verified by the IAEA, it was clear that Iran's ability to develop nuclear weapons was coming to a dangerous crossroad. In addition, Iran's ballistic missile program aimed at reaching a stockpile of up to 10,000 missiles.

Following are more details on this matter:

- **Fissile Material:** In recent years, Iran has expanded its enrichment capacity using advanced centrifuges and accelerated accumulation rate to reach the capability to produce fissile material sufficient for 'weapons grade' within days.

According to IAEA reports, Iran's enriched uranium stockpile included over 400kg enriched to 60% level, an enrichment level that has no civilian purpose. As was reported by the IAEA, Iran is the only Non-Nuclear Weapon State that enriches to this level. Iran's HEU stockpile is regarded as sufficient for several nuclear bombs.

- **Conversion to U-metal:** Iran has also developed the capability of deconversion to uranium metal, which is a critical juncture for nuclear weapons.
- **Weaponization Capabilities:** As noted above, Israeli intelligence agencies further confirmed that in recent months Iran had not only rapidly produced highly enriched uranium, but also significantly accelerated its clandestine projects and activities relevant for nuclear weapons development capabilities. Senior experts under the MODAFI Organization of Defensive Innovation and Research (SPND) in Iran were working on key weaponization related technologies with a view to developing a nuclear explosive device.

The SPND Organization commenced operations in 2011 as the organization incarnation of AMAD. It is subordinated to Iran's Ministry of Defence and Force Logistics and its goal is to develop technologies and combat means for the activity of the Iranian Armed Forces and IRGC. IAEA reports designate SPND as the successor of the former Project 'AMAD' - a covert, comprehensive Iranian program active for years with the task to design, build and test nuclear weapons (GOV /2011/65). SPND inherited many of the 'AMAD' personnel who had been involved in the Iranian nuclear weapons program in the early 2000s. SPND is globally recognized as fundamental to Iran's nuclear weaponization-related activities.

The weaponization efforts included the acceleration of various research and production efforts of different components required for the production of nuclear weapons. In this context, Iran also worked on neutron initiators, which trigger the chain reaction of a nuclear weapon, as well as on multi-point detonation systems, which contribute to the development of the nuclear explosive device. Iran had also conducted nuclear-related computer modelling, and operated high-explosive testing facilities. Iran has further sought to disperse these components across multiple sites throughout the country.

- **Means of Delivery:** Over the years, Iran has amassed an arsenal of thousands of long-range ballistic missiles (LRBMs), including Surface to Surface Missiles (SSM) with the capability to carry nuclear warheads when adjusted, as well as about 500 missile launchers. In this regard, Iran has created an extensive and self-sufficient industry for the development and manufacturing of ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges of up to 2,000 km. In addition, Iran developed advanced missile guidance and detonation systems, and constructed underground infrastructure to conceal critical assets, which would have enabled Iran to ultimately arm long-range means of delivery with a nuclear warhead.

The Iranian regime's years long development and testing of surface-to-surface ballistic missiles went against Annex B of U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231 addressing Iran's nuclear program and other related activities.

Iran's Ballistic Missiles Threat

Iran's recent accelerated efforts regarding the extensive ballistic missiles threat included, among other things, widening the range of missiles to beyond 2,000 km with the aim of producing intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and enlarging their arsenal to a total stockpile of 10,000 missiles within the next 3 years. In addition, Iran aspires to extend the missile warhead capacity to hold larger quantities of explosives (up to 2 tons per missile)

Even prior to operation "Rising Lion", Iran had already exposed its ability and willingness to launch masses of ballistic missiles, in April and October 2024. Iran launched two direct attacks against Israel from within its territory with hundreds of UAVs, cruise

missiles and ballistic missiles, all intended to cause mass civilian casualties and extensive damage to infrastructure in Israel.

Iran's Continuous Use of Force Against the State of Israel and its Ambition to Destroy it

Operation "Rising Lion" was carried out as part of the ongoing armed conflict between Israel and Iran, driven by the Iranian regime's declared policy and operational plan to bring about the physical annihilation of the State of Israel. This conflict has different facets.

First, continuous direct hostilities - both overt and covert- between Iran and Israel:

- For decades, the Iranian regime has repeatedly and explicitly declared its intention to annihilate the State of Israel. Just last May, Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, declared that Israel is "a cancerous tumour that must be eradicated and it will be". This is just one example in a long line of similar statements and threats by Iran against Israel -another UN Member State - that were continuously ignored by the international community.
- Iran's Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) -which has been designated by several States as a terrorist organization - has led these efforts for many years, inter-alia by directly attacking Israel and by wielding Iran's proxy network of terrorist armed groups, including Hezbollah, the Houthis and Hamas. All these terrorist groups are supported by, armed, trained and financed by the Islamic Republic of Iran, who emboldens these non-State actors in an attempt to create turmoil in the Middle East with the final goal of annihilating the State of Israel. These efforts not only endanger Israel's security, but are the main destabilizing force in the Middle East, strengthening violent terrorist groups at the expense of national institutions. Needless to say, the well-documented proliferation of advanced missile and drone capabilities to Hezbollah in Lebanon and to the Houthis in Yemen, constitutes a breach of arms embargoes and of UNSCRs 1701 and 2241, respectively. With regard to Hamas, documents captured by the IDF in Gaza following the October 7th 2023 massacre, reveal a concrete Iranian plan to destroy Israel in the foreseeable future, showcasing that Iran's ambition to annihilate Israel was a clear and vivid prospect in its ideology and national ambition. Moreover, for years, Iran has targeted Israeli and Jewish institutions abroad through its terror networks and under the guidance of the IRGC.
- Perhaps most notable are the Iranian attacks against Israel in April and October 2024. These acts of aggression sent a clear signal that Iran is not interested in promoting international security or disarmament, but rather seeks to actively and directly destabilize world order. On both occasions, Israel responded with attacks in Iran, including on Iranian air defence batteries and other military assets.

Second, armed attacks carried out by Iran against Israel indirectly, primarily in the form of Iran's substantial involvement in acts of force carried out by terrorist armed groups who are engaged in distinct, ongoing armed conflicts against Israel. Iran exercises varying levels of control over these groups and their actions, including through the supply of funds, weapons, military training and guidance.

Such existential and concrete threats prove Israel had to act quickly and decisively to defend itself against an imminent risk posed by Iran's intended acquisition of a nuclear weapon.

Operation "Rising Lion" - Iran's Military Nuclear Program

During operation "Rising Lion", Israel conducted precise attacks against varied sites associated with the Iranian military nuclear program.

Following is a list of some of the targets:

- (a) Fissile material infrastructure, including:
 - **The Natanz Enrichment Complex** - included an above-ground pilot enrichment facility, an underground enrichment facility and an above-ground enrichment infrastructure. The complex contained approximately 19,000 centrifuges in total. Iran kept it a secret and it was exposed in 2002.

- **The Esfahan Nuclear Complex** - contained several facilities, such as a centrifuge manufacturing complex and uranium conversion facilities, including processing lines, which are crucial for the deconversion of uranium into metal form, a critical step towards the production of a nuclear weapon.
- **The Arak Reactor and Heavy Water Production Plant**- suitable for the production of 'weapon's grade' plutonium for nuclear weapons. The target was chosen in order to significantly disrupt Iran's ability to establish heavy water reactors that can be used to acquire plutonium-based nuclear weapons.
- **Fordow, an Underground Enrichment Facility** - contained approximately 3,000 centrifuges, most of them advanced. Before becoming a declared facility, the Fordow uranium enrichment facility was built in secret. Its existence was exposed in 2009 after years of concealment. Later it was revealed that it was originally part of the AMAD nuclear weapons project.

The strikes noted above caused substantive damage to relevant infrastructure needed for Iran's nuclear weapons endeavour. **Following the strikes, official IAEA statements, including by the IAEA Director General, were clear that no radiological damage was observed or expected surrounding the sites.**

(b) Targets related to weaponization, including:

- **Nour** - the SPND headquarters. Contained an advanced modelling and calculation infrastructure relevant to nuclear weapons. Targeting this site affected all critical axes for the development of nuclear weapons.
- **Mojdeh** - a site used for radiation R&D and high explosives. The site contained SPND laboratories, including unique components and R&D projects both for the nuclear and conventional projects weapons in the fields of neutronics, explosives, and diagnostics.
- **Sanjarian** - a site used for high explosives research and production. The site was used during the AMAD period for the production of specialized plastic explosives and explosive tests. The site was operated by the AKA company, which was established by former AMAD personnel and is partially owned by SPND. AKA produced Shahid Meithami - R&D centre for advanced materials. The site contained a large amount of metallurgical equipment that served the Advanced Materials Centre, under the Shahid Meithami group, the chemistry group of SPND. This equipment can be used, with modifications, for the metallurgy process for fissile core fabrication. Also, it was detonators for the military industries of Iran.
- **Shahid Meithami** - R&D centre for advanced materials. The site contained a large amount of metallurgical equipment that served the Advanced Materials Centre, under the Shahid Meithami group, the chemistry group of SPND. This equipment can be used, with modifications, for the metallurgy process for fissile core fabrication. Also, it was one of the central sites in the Iranian Chemical and Biological Weapons program, used for the research and development of chemical materials based on pharmaceuticals.

(c) Targets related to Iran's ballistic missile program, including:

- Factories for the production of ballistic missiles and their components.
- Raw materials for missile production, such as carbon fiber and propellant.
- Underground and protected warehouses for storing operational missiles.
- Mobile and stationary launch platforms, about half of which were destroyed.

Iran's Deliberate Targeting of Civilians in Israel

In stark contrast with Israel, who conducted precise attacks against Iranian military targets and infrastructure during "Rising Lion", the Iranian regime launched missiles and other lethal means against Israel's civilian population, striking residential neighbourhoods, hospitals and a mosque, and causing devastating loss of life and destruction:

- More than 550 missiles launched and crossed Israel's borders.

- Over 1,000 UAVs (Unmanned Aerial Vehicles).
- Israeli air defence as well as shelter system were effective in protecting many lives. However, 31 people were still murdered and 1,472 people injured as a result of the attacks.
- 38,700 civilian objects damaged and more than 15,500 were evacuated from their homes.

The Iranian regime directed attack against Israel's population and the clear attempt to terrorize innocent people is a gross violation of international law and reflects the nature and intentions of this regime.

The Future following Operation "Rising Lion"

As a result of Operation "Rising Lion", Iranian nuclear and ballistic missile capabilities suffered significant damage that will substantially delay its ability to produce nuclear weapons. In parallel, Iran's terror infrastructure has been severely damaged, and its ability to support its proxies and attack Israel and others has decreased.

However, Iran still poses a threat to the region and to the world, and the regime has not given up its intentions to destroy Israel and spread regional and global instability. Its proxies have indeed been weakened, yet they still exist and aspire to continue to inflict terror, with the assistance of the Iranian regime. Iran has not given up its aspirations to acquire nuclear weapons, hold an extensive ballistic missile stockpile and support and operate a network of terror proxies. On the contrary, it is likely that Iran will continue searching for ways to improve its capabilities in order to carry out its malign and destabilizing doctrine. In speeches and tweets since the June 24, 2025, ceasefire, Iran's supreme leader Khamenei still refers to Israel as "cancer". Khamenei also said in a public speech in July that- "We will not abandon knowledge and enrichment. We will elevate this nation to the pinnacle of glory - to the blindness of our enemies" - demonstrating the regime is likely to continue pursuing its declared aspirations.

Israel achieved its stated aim, neutralizing the imminent, existential threat to Israel posed by the Iranian regime. However, in light of the above-mentioned indications that Iran will maintain its aim of destroying Israel, we will continue to defend our territory and citizens from the Iranian regime and its proxies.
