



Confronting The Iranian Threat: The Way Forward  
May 30 - June 1, 2007

**Confronting The Iranian Threat: The Way Forward**  
*What We Know and What To Do*  
May 30 – June 1, 2007

**Participants**

**David Aaron**, Director, RAND Corporation, Center for Middle East Public Policy

**Ladan Archin**, Director for the Iran Directorate, Office of the U.S. Secretary of Defense

**Cheryl Benard**, Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation; Director of Research at the Boltzmann Institute in Austria

**Ilan Berman**, Vice President for Policy, American Foreign Policy Council

**Soner Cagaptay**, Senior Fellow and Director of Turkish Research Program, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy

**Richard Carlson**, Vice Chairman, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

**Buntzie Churchill**, President, World Affairs Council of Philadelphia

**Henry Crumpton**, former Coordinator for Counterterrorism, Department of State

**Avi Davidi**, International media consultant and former broadcaster, Voice of America (VOA)  
- Persian Service

**Paula Dobriansky**, Undersecretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs

**Larry Haas**, Vice President for Policy, Committee on the Present Danger

**Youssef Ibrahim**, journalist, former Middle East regional correspondent, *The New York Times*, former Energy Editor of *The Wall Street Journal*

**Cheryl Halpern**, Chairman of the Board, Corporation for Public Broadcasting

**Matt Kaminski**, Editorial Page Editor, *Wall Street Journal Europe*

**Mehdi Khalaji**, Visiting Fellow, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy

**Zalmay Khalilzad**, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations (tentative)



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**Matt Levitt**, Director, Stein Program on Terrorism, Intelligence, and Policy, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy

**Bernard Lewis**, Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Emeritus, Princeton University

**Mario Loyola**, Visiting Fellow, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

**Uri Lubrani**, Adviser to Israel's Minister of Defense

**Michael Makovsky**, Foreign Policy Director, Bipartisan Policy Center

**Clifford May**, President, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

**Andrew McCarthy**, Director, Center for Law and Counterterrorism, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

**Abbas Milani**, Research Fellow and Co-Director, Iran Democracy Project, Hoover Institution, Hamid and Christina Moghadam Director of Iranian Studies, Stanford University

**Bill Nixon**, Chairman and Chief Executive, Policy Impact Communications

**Walid Phares**, Director, Future of Terrorism Project, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

**Claudia Rosett**, Journalist-in-Residence, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

**Jiří Schneider**, Program Director of the Prague Security Studies Institute (PSSI)

**Rob Sobhani**, President, Caspian Energy Consulting

**Henry Sokolski**, Executive Director, Nonproliferation Policy Education Center

**Bret Stephens**, Foreign Affairs Editorial Columnist, *The Wall Street Journal*

**Amir Taheri**, journalist

**Chuck Wald**, former Deputy Commander, U.S. European Command

### **Observers from FDD**

**Roberta Bonazzi**, Executive Director, European Foundation for Democracy in Brussels



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**Mark Dubowitz**, Chief Operating Officer, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Director, Coalition Against Terrorist Media (CATM)

**Talton Gibson**, Strategic Advisor, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

**Josh Goodman**, Manager of Research, FDD

**Eleana Gordon**, Senior Vice-President, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

**Bill McCarthy**, Vice President for Communications, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

### **Staff**

**Toby Dershowitz**, President, The Dershowitz Group, Senior Advisor, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

**Michael Inlander**, Account Manager and Assistant Director for Foreign Policy Research, The Dershowitz Group

**Natasha Nadel**, Senior Account Executive, The Dershowitz Group

**Eitan Ingall**, assistant, The Dershowitz Group

### **Program**

Wednesday, May 30, 2007

#### ***Crescent Pool***

7:30 p.m. – Drinks at the bar

8:00 p.m. – Welcome buffet dinner

Thursday, May 31

***All sessions and breakfasts will take place in Salon I***

Breakfast: 8:00 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.

Session I: 9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.

**Persia and Iran in History: Nationalism and Religion**

*Speaker:*

- Bernard Lewis, Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Emeritus, Princeton University

*Responses:*

- Ambassador Uri Lubrani, Adviser to Israel's Minister of Defense
- Amir Taheri, journalist

*Moderator:*

- Clifford May, President, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

Break: 10:30 a.m. – 10:45 a.m.

Session II: 10: 45 a.m. – 12:15 p.m.

Nature and Gravity of the Threat

- Is the exported Iranian influence ideological or strictly realist?
- What are the regional implications as Iran attempts to spread its regional power?
- How is Iranian expansionism being received in Lebanon and Turkey? By Hamas and Hezbollah?
- What implications does a nuclear Iran have on the regional balance of power?
- What threat does Iran pose to democracies and democratization in the region, namely Iraq, Afghanistan and Israel?
- How is Iran contributing to a Sunni-Shi'a rift and what are the regional implications?
- Nuclear
  - Is a nuclear Iran inevitable? How close is Iran to becoming nuclear?
  - Does Iran have the knowledge and capabilities required in order to create and maintain a functional nuclear weapon?
  - What policy options are available for slowing nuclear development?
  - If Iran attained a nuclear weapon, what are the odds they would use it?

*Speakers:*

- Ladan Archin, Director for the Iran Directorate, Office of the U.S. Secretary of Defense
- Soner Cagaptay, Senior Fellow and Director of Turkish Research Program, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy
- Walid Phares, Director, Future of Terrorism Project, Foundation for Defense of Democracies
- Henry Sokolski, Executive Director, Nonproliferation Policy Education Center

*Moderator:*

- Ambassador Richard Carlson, Vice Chairman, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

*Pavilion*

Lunch: 12:30 p.m. – 1:30 p.m.

Session III: 1:45 p.m. – 3:15 p.m.

Prospects for Reform or Revolution

- Is there a combination of “sticks” and “carrots” that can lead Iran to reform? If so, what is the regime willing to forego and what is non-negotiable?
- Is regime change from within a realistic possibility? What are the greatest challenges to the development of a democratic Iran?
- Can consensus be forged among Iranian dissidents?
- Should democracy be held out to peoples in Iran as a political ideal competitive with the dream of reviving former empires?
- How large is the appetite for democracy within Iran?

*Speakers:*

- Paula Dobriansky, Undersecretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs
- Abbas Milani, Research Fellow and Co-Director, Iran Democracy Project, Hoover Institution, Hamid and Christina Moghadam Director of Iranian Studies, Stanford University
- Karim Sadjadpour, Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

*Moderator:*

- David Aaron, Director, RAND Corporation, Center for Middle East Public Policy

Break: 3:15 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.

Session IV: 3:30 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.

Policy Options

- What do we know?
  - What is the quality of our intelligence in Iran and is it satisfactory for creating policy decisions?
  - What covert action capabilities are available in slowing and/or eliminating the nuclear program?
- Diplomatic Pressure
  - Can a “grand bargain” be struck with Iran? If so, would that only thwart their nuclear program and not affect their funding of terrorism, ideological export mission and human rights abuses?
  - Should the U.S. open direct talks with Iran? Should the U.S. reopen an embassy or visa office in Tehran?

- Who will be more effective in curbing Iranian interests through diplomatic channels: the U.S. or Europe? What other partners are capable of such efforts?
- Does engaging diplomacy with Iran embolden the regime and undermine the dissidents in Iran?
- Financial
  - What divestment models are most effective?
  - How should the range of sanctions on Iran be assessed?
  - What are the challenges of Western countries in halting funds to terror-sponsoring regimes?
  - Should the normalization of trade relations be offered as a grand carrot?
- Military Response
  - What policy options are on the table for slowing Iran's nuclear development? Is there a military option that that would end the development of the nuclear program?
  - What type of response capabilities does the U.S. and its allies have if Iran were to employ the use of a nuclear weapon?

*Speakers:*

- Ambassador Henry Crumpton, former Coordinator for Counterterrorism, Department of State
- Matt Levitt, Director, Stein Program on Terrorism, Intelligence, and Policy, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy
- Ambassador Jiří Schneider, Program Director of the Prague Security Studies Institute (PSSI)
- General Charles "Chuck" Wald, former Deputy Commander, U.S. European Command

*Moderator:* Larry Haas, Vice President for Policy, Committee on the Present Danger

6:30 p.m. – Meet FDD's Experts Beachside

**Great Harbor Cay** (Second floor, Manor House)

7:30 p.m. – Drinks at the bar

8:00 p.m. – Dinner

Friday, June 1

***All sessions and breakfasts will take place in Salon I***

Breakfast: 8:00 – 8:45 a.m.

Session V: 8:45 – 10:15 a.m.

Petrol Power: Obstacles to Action

- How are we to understand the relationship between Russia and Iran? What are the implications of that relationship on Iran's nuclear program? Ultimately, is Russia interested in stopping Iran from becoming a nuclear power?
- How are we to understand the relationship between China and Iran? What are the implications of that relationship on Iran's nuclear program? How does China's demand for oil inform that debate?
- Are the U.N. and the I.A.E.A. viable forums for containing Iran? What have international bodies done? What has worked and what has not?
- What role does global energy demand and energy security plan in determining Iran's interests?

*Speakers:*

- Ilan Berman, Vice President for Policy, American Foreign Policy Council
- Youssef Ibrahim, journalist, former Middle East regional correspondent, *The New York Times*, former Energy Editor of *The Wall Street Journal*
- Michael Makovsky, Foreign Policy Director, Bipartisan Policy Center
- Claudia Rosett, Journalist-in-Residence, Foundation for Defense of Democracies
- Rob Sobhani, President, Caspian Energy Consulting

*Moderator:*

- Matt Kaminski, Editorial Page Editor, *Wall Street Journal Europe*

Break: 10:15 - 10:30 a.m.

Session VI: 10:30 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.

TBD

***Pavilion***

Lunch: 12:15 p.m. – 1:15 p.m.

Session VII: 1:30 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.

The Uses of Media: Information and Dis-information

Another revolution – the media revolution – has led to a war of ideas that is being waged on many fronts.

- What do we know about how Iran’s media operates? What do we know about the impact of Iran’s media both internally and outside of Iran?
- What new media are reformers using and how effective has it been?
- What opportunities are being missed?
- What media and communications tools has the U.S. used to reach Iranians and how effective have those been? What lessons should we learn from our efforts? What went right and what went wrong?

*Speakers:*

- Cheryl Benard, Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation; Director of Research at the Boltzmann Institute in Austria
- Avi Davidi, former broadcaster, Voice of America (VOA) Persian Service
- Mehdi Khalaji, Visiting Fellow, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy
- Bret Stephens, Foreign Affairs Editorial Columnist, *The Wall Street Journal*

*Moderator:*

- Cheryl Halpern, Chairman of the Board, Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Session VIII: 2:45 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

This session will seek to draw together and refine the analytical conclusions emerging from the preceding discussions, as well as to develop some practical recommendations for both policy and future research.

- Can the ideas generated at this workshop inform government policy in the U.S. and abroad?
- How do the policy recommendations and conclusions emerging from each workshop fit together?
- Which can be pursued independently?
- Which are dependent on coordination with other areas?
- What action items can the members of this conference undertake to implement these recommendations?

*Moderator:*

- Clifford May, President, Foundation for Defense of Democracies



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***Great Lawn (Behind Manor House)***

7:30 p.m. – Drinks at the bar

8:00 p.m. – Dinner

*Affiliations cited for identification purposes only. Some speakers wish to speak personally, not on behalf of their organizations.*