

CONVERSATION WITH THE EXPERTS

THURSDAY • APRIL 3 • 2014

# THE DAYS AFTER A DEAL

Iran, Its Neighbors, and  
U.S. Policy Following a  
Nuclear Agreement



RAND CORPORATION  
WASHINGTON OFFICE



# AGENDA

As the nuclear negotiations with Iran approach the six-month deadline for a final deal this summer, this half-day RAND conference will look ahead at some of the critical 'day after' questions following a potential nuclear agreement. We do not presume that a final deal is a foregone conclusion or that a deal would eliminate the challenges ahead for U.S. regional policy. Consequently, our conference panels will address not only the prospects for reaching a final deal but also how Iran, the region, and U.S. policy might evolve in the aftermath of a final deal and the strategic consequences of success or failure.

## AGENDA

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**8:00–8:30 am: Arrival and breakfast**

**8:35–8:45 am: Welcome**

Dalia Dassa Kaye, Senior Political Scientist and Director, RAND Center for Middle East Public Policy

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## PANEL 1

**8:45–9:45 am: Getting to a final deal**

What would the contours of a final deal likely look like? What are the prospects for reaching a final agreement and what domestic hurdles might need to be overcome in both Iran and the United States for a deal to succeed? How will the crisis in Ukraine affect the negotiations for a final deal?

**Joe Cirincione**, President, Ploughshares Fund

**Colin H. Kahl**, Associate Professor, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service

**Barbara Slavin**, Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council

**Moderator: Lynn Davis**, Senior Political Scientist and Director, Washington Office, RAND Corporation

# CONVERSATION WITH THE EXPERTS

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## PANEL 2

### 9:45–10:45 am: The Iranian response

How might Iranian factional politics evolve in a post-deal environment, and how would Iranian regional policies and positions toward the United States develop?

**Suzanne Maloney**, Senior Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Brookings Institution

**Alireza Nader**, Senior Policy Analyst, RAND Corporation

**Robin Wright**, Senior Fellow, United States Institute of Peace and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

**Moderator: Laura Rozen**, Foreign Policy Reporter; Editor, *The Back Channel*, Al-Monitor.com

### 10:45–11:00 am: Coffee break

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## PANEL 3

### 11:00–12:00: The reaction of neighbors

How are Iran's neighbors, particularly Israel and Saudi Arabia, likely to react to a deal? What adjustments might be necessary in U.S. policy toward these allies in a post-deal environment?

**Jon B. Alterman**, Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy and Director, Middle East Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies

**Jeff Martini**, Middle East Analyst, RAND Corporation

**Paul R. Pillar**, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center for Security Studies, Georgetown University

**Moderator: Nadia Bilbassy-Charters**, Senior Correspondent, Al-Arabiya News Channel

### 12:00–12:30 pm: Break and boxed lunch pickup

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## KEYNOTE PANEL

### 12:30–1:30: Strategic implications of success or failure

How would a final deal affect the broader strategic environment, U.S. regional and global interests, and future U.S. defense postures? What might be the implications of a failure to reach a final deal?

**Stephen Hadley**, Principal, RiceHadleyGates LLC

**General David H. Petraeus**, USA (Ret.); Chairman, KKR Global Institute

**Moderator: David Ignatius**, Columnist and Associate Editor, *The Washington Post*

*Chatham House Rule in effect for this panel only—comments from this session may be shared on a non-attribution basis only.*

# WELCOME AND PANEL 1



**DALIA DASSA KAYE** is director of the RAND Center for Middle East Public Policy and a senior political scientist at RAND. In 2011–2012, she was a visiting professor and fellow at UCLA's International Institute. Before joining RAND, Kaye served as a Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellow at the Dutch Foreign Ministry and taught at the University of Amsterdam. From 1998 to 2003, Kaye was an assistant professor of political science and international affairs at The George Washington University. She is the recipient of many awards and fellowships, including a Brookings Institution research fellowship and The John W. Gardner Fellowship for Public Service. Kaye publishes and lectures widely on Middle East regional security issues, and is the author of *Talking to the Enemy: Track Two Diplomacy in the Middle East and South Asia* and *Beyond the Handshake: Multilateral Cooperation in the Arab-Israeli Peace Process*. She has also coauthored numerous RAND studies, including most recently *Israel and Iran: A Dangerous Rivalry, Coping with a Nuclearizing Iran*, and *Artists and the Arab Uprisings*.

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**JOE CIRINCIONE** is the president of Ploughshares Fund, a global security foundation. His most recent books are *Nuclear Nightmares: Securing the World Before It Is Too Late* and *Bomb Scare: The History and Future of Nuclear Weapons*. He is widely quoted in major media, has authored over 300 articles on national security issues, and lectures frequently on these issues. He served previously as senior vice president for national security and international policy at the Center for American Progress and as director for nonproliferation at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He worked for nine years in the U.S. House of Representatives on the professional staff of the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Government Operations. He teaches at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and serves on the International Security Advisory Board to Secretary of State John Kerry.



**COLIN H. KAHL** is a senior fellow and director of the Middle East Security Program at the Center for a New American Security and associate professor in the Security Studies Program at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. From February through December 2011, Kahl served as deputy assistant secretary of defense for the Middle East. In that capacity, he developed and implemented the U.S. Defense Department's strategy and policy toward Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel and the Palestinian territories, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

# GETTING TO A FINAL DEAL



**BARBARA SLAVIN** is a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council's South Asia Center and Washington correspondent for Al-Monitor.com, a website devoted to news from and about the Middle East. The author of *Bitter Friends, Bosom Enemies: Iran, the U.S., and the Twisted Path to Confrontation* (2007), she is a regular commentator on U.S. foreign policy and Iran on NPR, PBS, and C-SPAN.

A career journalist, Slavin previously served as assistant managing editor for world and national security at *The Washington Times*, senior diplomatic reporter for *USA TODAY*, Cairo correspondent for *The Economist*, and editor at *The New York Times Week in Review*.

She has traveled to Iran nine times, most recently to report on the inauguration of Iran's new president, Hassan Rouhani. Slavin also served as a public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and as a senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace, where she researched and wrote the report *Mullahs, Money, and Militias: How Iran Exerts Its Influence in the Middle East*.

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## MODERATOR



**LYNN DAVIS** is a senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation, and serves as director of RAND's Washington office. From 1993 to 1997, Davis served as under secretary of state for arms control and international security affairs. Her current research focuses on strategic planning, terrorism, citizen preparedness, and defense strategy and force structure issues. Prior to joining the U.S. State Department, Davis was vice president and director of the RAND Arroyo Center. She has also served on the staffs of the secretary of defense, the National Security Council, and the first Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. She has taught in the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University, at the National War College, and at Columbia University. Davis's recent RAND publications include *Choosing A New Organization for Management and Disposition of Commercial and Defense High-Level Radioactive Materials*; *U.S. Overseas Military Presence: What Are the Strategic Choices?*; *Iran's Nuclear Future: Critical U.S. Policy Choices*; and *A Strategic Planning Approach: Defining Alternative Counterterrorism Strategies as an Illustration*.

## PANEL 2



**SUZANNE MALONEY** is a senior fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, where her research focuses on Iran and Persian Gulf energy. She is the editor of *Iran@Saban*, a blog on politics, economics, and foreign policy issues related to Iran, and author of *Iran's Long Reach* (2008) as well as a forthcoming book on Iran's political economy since the revolution.

Maloney previously served as an external advisor to senior U.S. State Department officials on issues related to Iran. Before joining the Saban Center, she served on the secretary of state's policy planning staff and directed the 2004 Council on Foreign Relations Independent Task Force on U.S. policy toward Iran.



**ALIREZA NADER** is a senior international policy analyst at the RAND Corporation, a professor at the Pardee RAND Graduate School, and author of *Iran After the Bomb* (2013). His research has focused on Iran's political dynamics, elite decisionmaking, and Iranian foreign policy. His other RAND publications include *Israel and Iran: A Dangerous Rivalry*; *The Next Supreme Leader: Succession*

*in the Islamic Republic of Iran*; *Saudi-Iranian Relations Since the Fall of Saddam: Rivalry, Cooperation, and Implications for U.S. Policy*; *The Rise of the Pasdaran: Assessing the Domestic Roles of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps*; and *Mullahs, Guards, and Bonyads: An Exploration of Iranian Leadership Dynamics*. His commentaries and articles have appeared in a variety of publications and he is widely cited by the U.S. and international media. Prior to joining RAND, Nader served as a research analyst at the Center for Naval Analyses. He is a native speaker of Farsi.

# THE IRANIAN RESPONSE



**ROBIN WRIGHT** is a senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. She has reported from more than 140 countries on six continents for *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *TIME* magazine, and many other publications. Wright has been a fellow at the Brookings Institution, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Yale,

Duke, Stanford, and the University of California. She is the recipient of a number of awards including the United Nations Correspondents Association Gold Medal for international affairs coverage, the American Academy of Diplomacy's Journalist of the Year award, the National Press Club award for diplomatic reporting, and the National Magazine award for her Iran reportage in *The New Yorker*. Wright is a John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation grant recipient.

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## MODERATOR

**LAURA ROZEN** writes the *Back Channel* column for Al-Monitor.com. She previously served as senior foreign policy reporter for *Politico* and *Yahoo News*, and wrote *The Cable* blog for *Foreign Policy* magazine. Rozen has reported from the Balkans, Russia, and Turkey. Her reporting has been published by *The Boston Globe*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Jewish Daily Forward*, *The Tablet*, *National Journal*, *Mother Jones*, *The American Prospect*, and *Washington Monthly*. She has appeared as a guest on CNN, NPR, the BBC, MSNBC, and other public affairs programs.

## PANEL 3



**JON B. ALTERMAN** holds the Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy and is director of the Middle East Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Prior to joining CSIS in 2002, he served as a member of the policy planning staff at the U.S. State Department and as a special assistant to the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs. He is a member

of the Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel and served as an expert advisor to the Iraq Study Group. In addition to his policy work, he teaches Middle Eastern studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and The George Washington University. Before entering government, he was a scholar at the United States Institute of Peace and at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. From 1993 to 1997, Alterman was an award-winning teacher at Harvard University.



**JEFF MARTINI** is a Middle East analyst at the RAND Corporation, where he specializes in political and security issues. Martini has written on the political transitions of the “Arab Spring” states, changes in Gulf security, and strategic competition in Syria. Among his publications are *Voting Patterns in Post-Mubarak Egypt*; *Syria as an Arena of Strategic Competition*; and, most recently, *The Day*

*After a Deal: Regional Responses to a Final Nuclear Agreement with Iran*. Martini has published numerous articles in *Foreign Affairs* and is a frequent commentator in the media.

Martini spent four years living in the Middle East. He was the recipient of a 2007–08 CASA Arabic language fellowship and previously spent three years as a Peace Corps volunteer in Morocco. He speaks, reads, and writes Modern Standard Arabic and speaks Moroccan and Egyptian colloquial.



# THE REACTION OF NEIGHBORS



**PAUL R. PILLAR** is a nonresident senior fellow at the Center for Security Studies in the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, and a nonresident senior fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution. He retired in 2005 from a 28-year career in the U.S. Intelligence Community, in which his last position was national intelligence officer for the Near East and South Asia. He has headed

the Assessments and Information Group of the DCI Counterterrorist Center, and from 1997 to 1999 was deputy chief of the center. He was a federal executive fellow at the Brookings Institution in 1999–2000. Pillar was a visiting professor in the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University from 2005 to 2012.

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## MODERATOR



**NADIA BILBASSY-CHARTERS**, the senior correspondent for Al-Arabiya News Channel, is a well-known reporter in the Arab world. She has been working as a foreign correspondent for over 20 years. She was the first Arab journalist to be based in Africa for a major Arab television station. Her reporting from trouble spots in Southern Sudan, Rwanda, Somalia, Congo, and Eritrea has

distinguished her work as original, fair, and informative. Since 2003, she has been based in Washington, D.C., for Al-Arabiya TV. In 2008, she became the chief correspondent of its sister company, MBC TV. She reports on U.S. foreign policy vis-à-vis the Arab world. She has interviewed numerous presidents, prime ministers, and other dignitaries, including George W. Bush, Tony Blair, Mahmoud Abbas, Colin Powell, Yasser Arafat, Condoleezza Rice, Laura Bush, and Queen Noor of Jordan, as well as many African head of states.

# KEYNOTE PANEL



**STEPHEN HADLEY** is a principal of RiceHadleyGates LLC, an international strategic consulting firm founded with Condoleezza Rice, Robert Gates, and Anja Manuel. RiceHadleyGates assists senior executives of major corporations in overcoming the challenges of doing business successfully in major emerging markets like China, India, Brazil, Turkey, and Indonesia.

Hadley is also chairman of the United States Institute of Peace. He has cochaired a series of senior bipartisan working groups on topics such as Arab-Israeli peace, U.S. political strategy in Afghanistan and Pakistan, U.S.-Turkey relations, and U.S. policy on Iraq and Egypt.

From 2005 to 2009, Hadley served as the assistant to the president for national security affairs. In that capacity, he was the principal White House foreign policy advisor to President George W. Bush, directed the National Security Council staff, and ran the interagency national security policy development and execution process. From 2001 to 2005, Hadley was assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor, serving under national security advisor Condoleezza Rice. In addition to covering the full range of national security issues, Hadley had special responsibilities in several areas including a U.S.-Russia political dialogue, the Israeli disengagement from Gaza, and developing a strategic relationship with India.

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## MODERATOR



**DAVID IGNATIUS**, columnist and associate editor at *The Washington Post* and best-selling author of *Body of Lies* and *The Increment*, has been covering the Middle East and the CIA for more than twenty-five years. He is a former adjunct lecturer at the Harvard Kennedy School, and currently senior fellow in the Future of Diplomacy Program.

He has received multiple honors such as the Legion of Honor from the French Republic, the Urbino World Press Award from the Italian Republic, and a lifetime achievement award from the International Committee for Foreign Journalism. His new novel, *The Director*, will be published in June.

# STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS OF SUCCESS OR FAILURE



**GENERAL DAVID H. PETRAEUS** (USA, Ret.) is chairman of KKR Global Institute, a visiting professor of public policy at CUNY's Macaulay Honors College, a Judge Widney Professor at the University of Southern California, a senior fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School, honorary visiting professor of the Strategy and Security Institute at the University of Exeter, and a member of the advisory boards of several veterans organizations. General Petraeus previously served 37

years in the U.S. military, including as commander of coalition forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, and as commander of the U.S. Central Command. Following retirement from the military in August 2011, he served for 14 months as director of the CIA.

General Petraeus was the General George C. Marshall Award winner as the top graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College class of 1983, and subsequently earned his M.P.A. and Ph.D. in international relations from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public Policy and International Affairs. He later taught international relations and economics as an assistant professor at the U.S. Military Academy and completed a fellowship at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

During his military career, General Petraeus served in Europe, the United States, Central America, Haiti, Bosnia, Kuwait, Iraq, and Afghanistan. In the decade that followed the 9/11 attacks, he was deployed for nearly 7 years, culminating his career with six straight commands, five of which were in combat.

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