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## *Iran's Nuclear Threat* **The Day After**

*By The Heritage Foundation  
Iran Working Group*



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While all participants agree to the general thrust of the report, not every participant necessarily agrees with every recommendation.

## Iran's Looming Atom Bomb

The Islamic Republic of Iran, which has pursued policies hostile to the United States since its founding in 1979, is now on the brink of attaining a nuclear weapons capability. U.S. Director of National Intelligence Dennis Blair testified before Congress on March 10 that “We assess Iran has the scientific, technical, and industrial capacity to eventually produce nuclear weapons.”<sup>1</sup> Although it is not clear exactly when Iran will realize this goal, Blair also testified that “We judge Iran probably would be technically capable of producing enough highly enriched uranium (HEU) for a weapon sometime during the 2010–2015 timeframe.”<sup>2</sup>

Other sources estimate that an Iranian nuclear breakout could come much earlier. The Institute for Science and International Security projected in March that Iran could produce enough HEU for a nuclear weapon in fewer than six months.<sup>3</sup> The staff of the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control estimated that Iran had accumulated enough U-235, the uranium isotope necessary for a nuclear weapon, by December 2008 to fuel one bomb within two to three months.<sup>4</sup>

Acquiring sufficient HEU to arm a bomb is regarded as the “long pole in the tent”—the most difficult task involved in building a nuclear weapon. Once Iran has adequate stocks of HEU, it will be relatively easy for Iranian engineers to assemble a weapon. While estimates vary, it is clear that the world’s foremost sponsor of terrorism soon will be able to build one of the world’s most terrifying weapons.

What happens next? The answer is that the U.S. should not wait to find out. Rather, it should immediately put in place the foundations of a strategy to dissuade Tehran from attaining a nuclear weapon through adroit diplomacy, disarm it through military force, or establish a robust framework of augmented deterrence to mitigate the threat posed by a nuclear Iran. Washington must take stronger actions now to prevent a future disaster from unfolding. After all, the U.S. will be dealing not just with a nuclear Iran, but with a potential cascade of nuclear powers in the Middle East.

With this prospect in mind, this report recommends the following steps to deter Iran and adopt a damage-limitation approach to constrain the threat posed by a nuclear Iran and the ensuing destabilizing arms race. Specifically, the U.S. should:

- **Adopt** a “protect and defend” strategy aimed at neutralizing Iran’s nuclear threat;
- **Take** concrete steps to underscore that the United States will respond with devastating force if Tehran launches a nuclear attack against the United States or a U.S. ally;
- **Mobilize** an international coalition to contain and deter a nuclear Iran;
- **Make** clear America’s willingness to block Iranian oil exports;
- **Review** contingency plans for a possible preventive strike to disarm Iran;
- **Lead** an international coalition to impose the strongest possible sanctions on the Iranian regime;
- **Strengthen** Proliferation Security Initiative efforts against Iran;
- **Launch** a public diplomacy campaign to explain to the Iranian people how the regime’s nuclear weapons program and hard-line policies hurt their economic and national interests;
- **Discourage** other states from pursuing nuclear arms; and
- **Refuse** to give up on efforts to persuade Iran to abandon its nuclear capability.

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1. Dennis C. Blair, “Annual Threat Assessment of the Intelligence Community for the Senate Armed Services Committee,” March 10, 2009, p. 20, at <http://armed-services.senate.gov/statemnt/2009/March/Blair%2003-10-09.pdf> (May 28, 2009).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

3. David Albright, Paul Brannan, and Jacqueline Shire, “Nuclear Weapon Breakout Scenarios: Correcting the Record,” Institute for Science and International Security, March 18, 2009.

4. Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control, “Iran’s Nuclear Timetable,” Iran Watch, updated March 1, 2009, p. 1.

Once it acquires a nuclear weapon, Iran's radical regime will pose a much greater threat to the United States, to U.S. allies, and to the stability of the Middle East than it does today. In particular, an Iranian nuclear capability would pose an existential threat to Israel, a key U.S. ally that Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and other Iranian leaders repeatedly have promised to destroy.

The United States' unrivalled military power would be a powerful deterrent against an Iranian direct nuclear attack, but relying on the threat of massive retaliation could be risky. The Iranian hard-liners could miscalculate and misperceive; they are profoundly ignorant about the outside world and have shown a tendency to gamble recklessly. They frequently proclaim their conviction that the United States would not or could not attack them. In addition, there are legitimate questions about whether Ahmadinejad, who reportedly harbors apocalyptic religious beliefs regarding the return of the Mahdi, or others in the Iranian regime like him would have the same cost-benefit calculus about a nuclear war that other leaders would have. Moreover, Tehran could pass nuclear weapons on to terrorist surrogates in hopes of escaping retaliation for a nuclear surprise attack launched by an unknown attacker.

Even if Iran could be deterred from such attacks, an Iranian nuclear breakout would undermine the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and accelerate the pressures that are already leading many states, including Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Algeria, to consider acquiring their own nuclear option. Each new nuclear power would multiply the risks and uncertainties in an already volatile region. The end result would be a tense and unstable multi-polar Middle East a hair-trigger away from nuclear war.

A Middle East nuclear arms race could undermine the Non-Proliferation Treaty still further, leading countries that have long considered a nuclear option to develop at least a nuclear breakout capability if not actual weapons. It is not comforting to know that the Iranian Islamic Republic has promised to share its nuclear technology with Venezuela and that Venezuelan strongman Hugo Chavez is interested in following Iran's nuclear path.

Iran also might be emboldened to step up its support for terrorism and subversion, calculating that its nuclear capability might deter a military response from the United States or other powers. An Iranian miscalculation could easily lead to a military clash with the U.S. or Israel—a clash whose costs would be exponentially higher than the costs of a conflict with a non-nuclear Iran. Even if Tehran could not carry out a nuclear missile attack on U.S. territory for many years, Tehran could credibly threaten to target Saudi oil fields with a nuclear weapon, thereby gaining a potent blackmail threat to the world economy. All of these risks must be considered before deciding how to proceed if diplomacy fails to persuade Iran to refrain from acquiring nuclear weapons.

Tehran's long and deep involvement in terrorism, continued hostility to the United States, and willingness to take risks provide a strong warning against the dangers of allowing such an aggressive regime to develop nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the Islamic Republic has shown that its repeated threats against Israel—which Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei regularly refers to as a "cancerous tumor," implying what he thinks should be Israel's fate—are not just words. Iran arms and funds, to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars a year, every terrorist group fighting to destroy Israel. It would hardly be surprising if Israel decided that it cannot live with a nuclear-armed Iran. If Israel did take military action against the Islamic Republic's nuclear program, many around the world would hold the United States responsible.

### **Past Failures to Stop Iran's Nuclear Weapons Program**

Under Ahmadinejad's predecessors, the Iranian government concealed and lied about its nuclear program for two decades before finally admitting in October 2003 that it had carried out covert nuclear work, including a secret uranium-enrichment program. When confronted, Tehran agreed to suspend uranium enrichment, undoubtedly out of fear of a U.S.-led intervention, since America had taken military action to remove the neighboring regimes led by Saddam Hussein and the Taliban.<sup>5</sup>

Mindful of the U.S. success at overthrowing Saddam Hussein and under pressure from Britain, France, and Germany—the EU-3—Iran temporarily froze its uranium enrichment efforts. Just two years later, in 2005, when the

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5. See Appendix A, "Iran's Nuclear Timeline."

perceived threat of a possible U.S. military strike diminished, a more radical line returned: Ahmadinejad was installed in power, and the Islamic Republic resumed its nuclear activities. Tehran undoubtedly calculated that the international situation had shifted in its favor. The U.S. faced deteriorating security conditions in Iraq and Afghanistan, in part because of Iranian meddling; oil prices surged, insulating Iran from the threat of sanctions; and Iran cultivated Russia and China to fend off effective sanctions from the U.N. Security Council.

The Bush Administration, contrary to the conventional wisdom, sought to handle the Iranian nuclear issue primarily through multilateral diplomacy. At the urging of the EU-3, President George W. Bush softened the long-standing U.S. opposition to Iranian nuclear power plans. The Bush Administration also pushed for Iran's nuclear activities to be addressed by the U.N. Security Council, which imposed three rounds of relatively weak sanctions. In May 2006, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice agreed to sit down with Iranian diplomats and join the EU-3 diplomatic talks if Iran re-imposed its freeze on its uranium enrichment.<sup>6</sup> Once again, Tehran refused to comply.

The United States and the EU-3, which eventually coaxed the U.N. Security Council to impose steadily escalating but limited sanctions on Iran, faced significant opposition from Russia and China. Both countries have lucrative trade relationships with and strategic ties to Tehran, and both have used their veto power as members of the Security Council to delay and dilute efforts to impose sanctions. But the Bush Administration and its EU-3 allies were able to get four sanctions resolutions through the Security Council without a single negative vote.

Regrettably, the Bush Administration's diplomatic efforts were undermined by the December 2007 release of the declassified findings of a controversial U.S. National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) that concluded in part that Iran had halted its nuclear weapons program in 2003. The NIE used a narrow definition of Iran's nuclear weapons program that was so restrictive that even the normally cautious International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) disagreed with its conclusions. The NIE mistakenly implied that weaponization of the warhead is the key aspect of Iran's nuclear program that constitutes a potential threat; understated the importance of Iran's accelerating "civilian" uranium-enrichment efforts to the development of nuclear weapons; and failed to address related military developments, such as Iran's ballistic missile programs, some of which make little military sense unless they eventually are armed with nuclear warheads.<sup>7</sup> The misleading public reading of the NIE pulled the rug out from under the Bush Administration's diplomatic efforts by dulling the perceived urgency of concerted international action to stem Iran's nuclear momentum.

The Obama Administration now seeks to engage Iran in direct diplomatic negotiations over the nuclear stalemate and other issues. President Barack Obama has indicated that this effort will include "bigger sticks and bigger carrots" and offered a path to better relations in his inaugural address when he said that "we will extend a hand if you unclench your fist." Such hopeful talk about a new effort at rapprochement represents the triumph of wishful thinking over experience.

The simple truth is that Iranian hard-liners do not *want* genuinely improved relations with the United States. Not only do they see the U.S. as the "Great Satan," but they fear the temptations that the Great Satan offers. They know that two previous Iranian revolutions were aborted by the defection of Westernized elites, and they fear that better relations with the U.S. will pose a growing threat to their hold on power. In addition, making the hard compromises that would be necessary to open the door to improved relations would undermine the legitimacy of their revolutionary ideology and weaken their claim to leadership of the Muslim world.

Tehran's strategy now seems to be to run out the clock. It wants to forestall meaningful international action on its defiance of the Security Council's orders to suspend its enrichment and its missile program while those programs advance to a point that Iran can confront the world with a dangerous *fait accompli*. As part of its stalling strategy, Tehran may go through the motions of a diplomatic dialogue to deflect pressure for more international sanctions.

To their credit, the EU-3 have been alert to this risk and have therefore insisted that Iran suspend its enrichment before any diplomatic engagement begins. This position, which is often wrongly ascribed to the Bush Administration, is a surprising case of Europe's taking a principled, tough stance for which it deserves strong U.S. support.

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6. James Phillips, "Giving Iran One Last Chance," Heritage Foundation *WebMemo* No. 1101, May 31, 2006, at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/Iran/wm1101.cfm>.

7. James Phillips, "The Iran National Intelligence Estimate: A Comprehensive Guide to What Is Wrong with the NIE," Heritage Foundation *Backgrounder* No. 2098, January 11, 2008, at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/MiddleEast/bg2098.cfm>.

It would be particularly unwise for the United States to undermine the multilateral consensus by hinting to Tehran that the mullahs' regime could get better terms from bilateral talks with Washington than it has been able to extract from the European-led negotiations. It is most disappointing that the Obama Administration has hinted that it would drop a long-standing American insistence that Tehran suspend its suspicious nuclear activities during the early phases of negotiations over its nuclear program.<sup>8</sup>

## How an Iranian Nuclear Weapon Capability May Emerge

Iran has a long history of deception and denial on nuclear issues, so it would not be surprising if it suddenly detonated a nuclear device without warning, as did North Korea. China, France, India, Israel, Pakistan, and South Africa all masked their military nuclear programs to various degrees behind civilian nuclear power programs. Most of them tested a nuclear device without warning before announcing to the world that they had acquired nuclear weapons.

The United States government believes that Iran has amassed enough low-enriched uranium to furnish the core of a nuclear weapon if enriched to higher levels.<sup>9</sup> Tehran has steadily increased the number of centrifuges that it operates to enrich uranium and now claims that it has 6,000, with plans to reach 50,000 in the next five years.<sup>10</sup> Some experts have argued that Iran may not have decided yet to take the last steps to attain a nuclear weapon, but given Tehran's expensive investment in a huge nuclear infrastructure, its willingness to accept diplomatic isolation and U.N. sanctions to continue its uranium-enrichment activities, and the belligerent nature of its clerical regime, it is unlikely that it will turn back now. Iran's president defiantly proclaimed in 2007 that "Iran has obtained the technology to produce nuclear fuel, and Iran's move is like a train...which has no brake and no reverse gear."<sup>11</sup>

Even if Ahmadinejad should lose Iran's presidential elections in June, the regime is unlikely to change its policy on nuclear weapons, which is determined primarily by the "Supreme Leader," Ayatollah Khamenei. It should be remembered that the Islamic Republic's nuclear program flourished under the leadership of "moderate" presidents Rafsanjani and Khatami before Ahmadinejad came to power in 2005.

Iran's former chief nuclear negotiator, Hassan Rohani, who was removed by Ahmadinejad because he was considered too soft in negotiations, explained why Iran is so adamant in insisting that it acquire a nuclear fuel cycle: "Having fuel cycle [conversion and enrichment] capability almost means that the country that possesses this capability is able to produce nuclear weapons, should that country have the political will to do so."<sup>12</sup>

The way to tell that Iran has crossed the key threshold to nuclear-weapons status is not when Iran explodes a bomb but when the region and the world treat Iran as a nuclear-armed state. Already, well short of an Iranian nuclear-weapons test, Iran has crossed that barrier in many ways; that is, it is being treated to a large extent, both by its neighbors and by the world, as a country that will soon be nuclear-armed. In other words, Iran is already reaping many of the benefits of possessing nuclear weapons, especially its long-standing ambition to intimidate the region and to assert leadership of the world's radical Muslims.

A quandary for Washington is that while calling attention to the risks of Iranian nuclear progress, the United States should not prematurely confer *de facto* nuclear status on Iran. U.S. interests are best served by treating Iran as the dangerous yet weak and impoverished state that it is rather than by inflating the Islamic Republic into a world-

8. David Sanger, "U.S. May Drop Key Condition for Talks with Tehran," *The New York Times*, April 13, 2009, at <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/14/world/middleeast/14diplo.html?partner=rss> (May 16, 2009).

9. Thom Shanker, "U.S. Says Iran Has Material for an Atomic Bomb," *The New York Times*, March 2, 2009.

10. "Iran Says No Slowdown in Its Nuclear Work," Reuters, February 25, 2009, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/topNews/idUSLP58564820090225> (May 26, 2009).

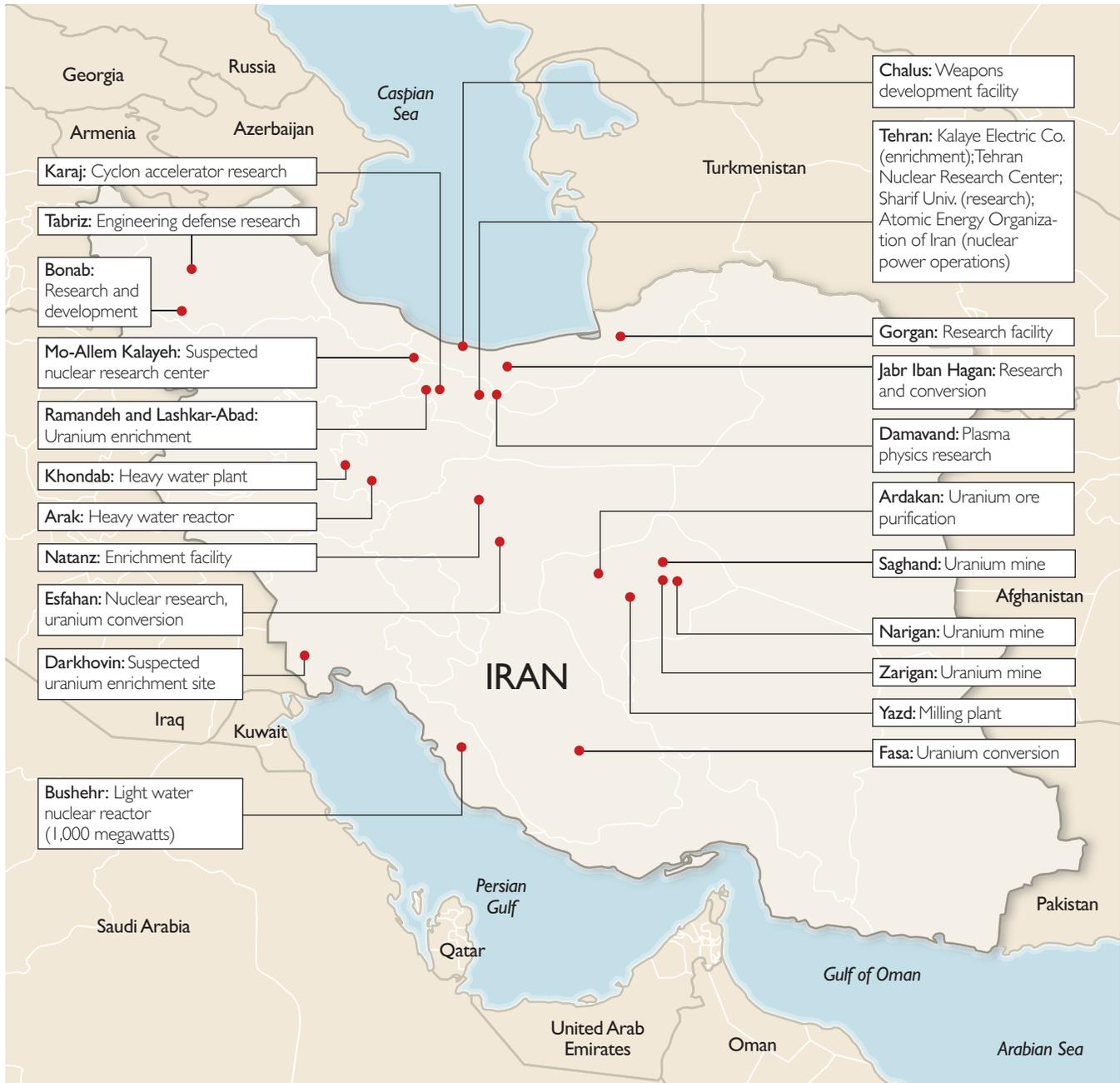
11. "Iran's Atomic Work Has No 'Reverse Gear,'" Reuters, February 25, 2007, at <http://uk.reuters.com/article/topNews/idUKBLA5362220070225> (May 17, 2009).

12. Text of speech by Supreme National Security Council Secretary Hassan Rohani to Supreme Cultural Revolution Council, "Beyond the Challenges Facing Iran and the IAEA Concerning the Nuclear Dossier," Rahbord, Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Iran/Afghanistan Division, September 30, 2005, pp. 7-38.

class power on the scale of the former Soviet Union. The United States should not concede to the Islamic Republic the inflated status that it seeks.

This is not to say that Iran will definitely conduct an explosive test; Iran's leaders might find it expedient to retain just a latent nuclear weapons capability and exploit the coercive capabilities inherent in this ambiguous stance. But whether Iran's nuclear weapons capability is latent or is demonstrated by a test can change with virtually no notice, and the U.S. and its friends must take similar steps to address the problem of a nuclear-armed Iran in either case.

## Iran's Nuclear Facilities



Source: NuclearThreat Initiative, map of Iranian nuclear sites, at [http://www.nti.org/e\\_research/profiles\\_pdfs/Iran/iran\\_nuclear\\_sites.pdf](http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles_pdfs/Iran/iran_nuclear_sites.pdf) (May 22, 2009).

## What to Do the Day After Iran Goes Nuclear

As Iran trumpets its nuclear progress and the world begins to treat Iran as a nuclear power, Washington may find that its willingness to contain and deter a nuclear Iran is doubted by friends and allies who conclude that the U.S. is unlikely to take strong action against a nuclear Iran after having failed to confront a non-nuclear Iran. To bolster its credibility, the United States should act and not rely on words alone.

The United States needs a strategy by which to deter the Islamic Republic once it does acquire a nuclear capability and mitigate its ability to harm American friends and allies. Washington should reaffirm its policy of extended deterrence and provide robust defensive measures to its friends and allies in the region. Just as important, the U.S. must be seen as providing a robust defense for itself, because a secure America will be perceived as more willing to act to protect its friends and allies.

Specifically, the U.S. must:

### 1. Adopt a “protect and defend” strategy aimed at neutralizing Iran’s nuclear threat.

The United States should strengthen deterrence against an Iranian attack on its allies in the region by deploying enhanced missile defenses to counter the threat of Iranian ballistic missiles.<sup>13</sup> Washington should increase cooperation in the missile defense field with states that are threatened by Iran in Europe and in the Middle East, and particularly with Israel, a prime target of potential Iranian aggression.

The United States and Israel already have jointly funded and developed the Arrow missile defense system, which is now operational in Israel, and are developing the next-generation Arrow interceptor. In September 2008, the Arrow system in Israel was augmented with a transportable X-band radar, which improved its ability to engage incoming missiles. Beyond Arrow, which is designed to counter theater-range missiles, the U.S. is cooperating with Israel in fielding Patriot PAC-3 batteries in Israel and developing the David’s Sling system for countering short-range rockets, such as those used by Iran’s allies Hezbollah and Hamas. Israel is also developing a system to counter short-range missiles, called Iron Dome, and the U.S. and Israel are investigating the options for using the Aegis/Standard Missile-3 system to defend Israel.

Washington should continue these cooperative programs and maintain the transportable X-band radar in Israel for the foreseeable future. The Navy should be prepared to deploy Aegis ships to appropriate locations to defend Israel against missile attacks as circumstances demand. This will require coordinating missile defense activities among the various U.S. and Israeli missile defense systems through the Link 16 communications system. The U.S. should also field missile defense interceptors in space for intercepting Iranian missiles in the boost phase, which would add a valuable additional layer to missile defenses. Given the growing Iranian ballistic missile threat, it would be a huge mistake to cut back missile defense programs that could address that threat. Yet the Obama Administration appears to be poised to do just that.

To further deter an Iranian attack, Washington should publicly declare that it will respond forcibly to an Iranian attack on Israel and should work to include Israel in the NATO alliance. If America’s European allies do not want Israel to defend itself by launching a preventive attack against Iran, they should step up to the plate to help Israel protect itself and deter Iran from potential aggression.

Deterring Iran and limiting the damage that its ballistic missiles can inflict should be an integral part of a broader strategy to roll back the Iranian nuclear program that demonstrates that Iran has gained little from attaining a nuclear capability. This requires that the United States and its allies develop missile defense capabilities that can neutralize the growing Iranian ballistic missile threat. The Reagan Administration pursued a similar strategy in the 1980s to roll back the Soviet deployment of SS-20 missiles in Europe. Once NATO took action to show Moscow that the Soviet Union gained nothing from deploying intermediate-range missiles, the Soviets agreed to give them up.

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13. Baker Spring, “Congressional Commission Should Recommend ‘Damage Limitation’ Strategy,” Heritage Foundation *Backgrounder* No. 2172, August 14, 2008, at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/NationalSecurity/bg2172.cfm>; Baker Spring, Peter Brookes, and James Jay Carafano, “Moving Forward with Ballistic Missile Defense: A Memo to President-elect Obama,” Heritage Foundation *Special Report* No. 26, December 3, 2008, at <http://www.heritage.org/research/ballisticmissiledefense/sr0026.cfm>.

## Iran's Growing Ballistic Missile Threat

Iran has the largest ballistic missile arsenal in the Middle East and has the capability to strike U.S. bases in the region, Israel, Egypt, Turkey, and a growing number of other U.S. allies using a medium-range ballistic missile (MRBM). On May 20, Iran tested a solid-fuel ballistic missile with an estimated range of at least 2,000 kilometers, underscoring

the continued progress Iran has made in developing advanced missile technology. Solid-fuel rockets are more stable, durable, and easier to deploy rapidly than liquid-fueled rockets. Iran is likely to develop an ICBM that can reach the United States by 2015, according to the Center for Strategic and International Studies.



Source: Abdullah Toukan, Center for Strategic and International Studies, "Study of a Possible Israeli Strike on Iran's Nuclear Development Facilities," March 14, 2009, p. 50, at [http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/090316\\_israelistrikeriran.pdf](http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/090316_israelistrikeriran.pdf) (May 21, 2009).

## **2. Take concrete steps to underscore that the United States will respond with devastating force if Tehran launches a nuclear attack against the United States or a U.S. ally.**

Washington should declare that a nuclear attack by Iran or one of its surrogates against the U.S. or an allied nation will be answered with an overwhelming response, including the possibility of a massive nuclear attack. However, fine words will mean little unless backed by actions. Having successfully ignored many years of firmly worded U.S. warnings about its nuclear program, Iran's leaders would have few reasons to pay attention to a new round of stern declarations. "This time we really mean it" is hardly good policy. To "speak softly and carry a big stick," the United States should understate its warnings and act boldly. U.S. warnings should come *after* bolstering U.S. military forces in the region, which will put the U.S. in a stronger position to act.

How best to demonstrate the U.S. commitment will require a difficult debate. Some steps would place further strain on the already stretched U.S. military—for instance, committing to maintain a two-carrier battle group naval presence in the Persian Gulf. Possible changes in the U.S. nuclear posture such as returning nuclear weapons to surface ships, positioning nuclear weapons in the Gulf or at nearby bases, or practicing bomber runs to the Iranian border will require careful deliberation and extensive consultations with allies. But make no mistake: To deter and contain Iran means committing the United States to many years of expensive and difficult military deployments.

It will also be important to forge a broad international consensus that Iran will be held liable if nuclear weapons are found in the hands of an Iran-supported terrorist group, and the onus will be on Iran to show that it is not responsible. The U.S. cannot let itself be paralyzed by lawyerly insistence on proof beyond all reasonable doubt. Iran's long record of terrorist attacks on Americans is replete with duplicity, denial, and hiding behind proxy groups such as Hezbollah, as demonstrated by the 1983 Beirut barracks bombing in which 241 Americans were murdered.

Washington should invest in technologies to improve nuclear forensic capabilities in order to facilitate the identification of the culprit or culprits behind a nuclear explosion. Such capabilities would help to analyze the chemical, isotopic, or other characteristics of a nuclear explosion to determine the precise origin of a nuclear device.

At the same time, the United States will need both to recognize that not all terrorist groups have equal capability and resources to acquire weapons of mass destruction and to maintain close scrutiny of the likeliest recipients of a potential Iranian transfer of WMDs, among them Hezbollah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and other proxies.

Finally, the U.S. must monitor the means for delivering nuclear weapons and counter those means of delivery by limiting supplies, enhancing interdiction measures under the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), and conducting expanded programs under the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear-Armed Terrorism.

## **3. Mobilize an international coalition to contain and deter a nuclear Iran.**

Iran's emergence as a nuclear power threatens many countries, particularly those in the growing shadow of Iranian power. The United States should maintain a strong naval and air presence in the Persian Gulf to deter Iran and strengthen military cooperation with the Gulf States, which are growing increasingly anxious about Iran's hard-line government.

The U.S. and its European allies should strengthen military, intelligence, and security cooperation with such threatened states as Iraq, Israel, Turkey, and the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), which is composed of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates and was founded in 1981 to provide collective security for Arab states threatened by Iran. Such a coalition could help both to contain the expansion of Iranian power and to facilitate military action, if necessary, against Iran.

The Obama Administration should expand the Gulf Security Dialogue, initiated by the Bush Administration in 2006, to enhance bilateral and multilateral security cooperation with GCC states. The goal of this dialogue is to build the strength of GCC partners and enhance the interoperability of their military forces with the U.S. military, allied forces, and each other. Washington should also offer to deploy or sell anti-ballistic missile defense systems to threatened states, enhance joint military planning, and step up joint military exercises focused on the Iranian threat.

To drive home the point that the United States is serious, Washington should schedule military exercises in the Gulf region, particularly multilateral air exercises that involve the GCC states and as many NATO allies as possible.

The United States must demonstrate that it is not cowed by Iran's limited nuclear capability and that this capability does not allow Tehran to act with impunity in threatening its neighbors or destabilizing the region.

#### **4. Make clear American willingness to block Iranian oil exports.**

The United States should develop contingency plans to block Iran's oil exports in the event of a crisis and work with the GCC, especially Saudi Arabia, to increase GCC oil exports to substitute for Iranian oil exports to the greatest extent possible. Washington should immediately press for GCC states to build up their spare oil production capacity to cushion world oil markets in the event of an oil crisis. The United States and its allies should deploy naval and air forces to protect GCC oil tankers and critical infrastructure from Iranian attack.

Washington should also work with GCC states to build the long-discussed oil pipeline to bypass the Strait of Hormuz, the narrow passage at the mouth of the Persian Gulf that could be vulnerable to Iranian interdiction in the event of a conflict. Tehran has often threatened to close the strait during a crisis but would probably be unable to sustain such a closure for more than a few days or weeks if opposed by U.S. and allied military power. Iran would be much more vulnerable to the shutdown of its own oil exports.

Washington should encourage NATO to expand its commitment to working with the GCC states and to make a formal NATO commitment to maintaining the security of the sea lines of communication for GCC and Iraqi oil exports through the Persian Gulf. European navies, which have developed significant expertise in mine-clearing missions, should also deploy naval forces to the Persian Gulf to deter and defend against Iranian attempts to block oil shipping in the event of a crisis. The United States and its allies also should expand their strategic petroleum reserves to limit the damage from a possible oil crisis triggered by Iran.

#### **5. Review contingency plans for a possible preventive strike to disarm Iran.**

The Obama Administration should consult appropriate military and national security officials about the pros and cons of a U.S. military strike to disarm Tehran, particularly in the event that the Tehran regime threatens to employ a nuclear weapon in a crisis. Washington should mold a broad domestic and international consensus that the appropriate response to provocative Iranian actions is to do what it takes to prevent Iran from escalating.

Washington also must recognize that Israel may defend itself by launching a preventive strike against Iran. Given the menacing rhetoric of Iranian leaders and the fact that Iran has long supported terrorist attacks against Israel—acts of war—Washington would be remiss in trying to prevent an ally from doing its best to defend itself.

In the event that Tehran retaliates against the United States for an Israeli preventive strike on Iran, the Pentagon should plan for a devastating retaliatory strike that includes targets that the Iranian regime values most for its survival, such as Revolutionary Guard, intelligence, and internal security facilities. The United States must convey clearly and credibly to the Iranian authorities that Iran's efforts to exploit its nuclear status risk U.S. action not simply against the Iranian nuclear program, but against the regime itself.

#### **6. Lead an international coalition to impose the strongest possible sanctions on the Iranian regime.**

Although it benefited greatly from the 2007 and 2008 spike in world oil and natural gas prices, Iran's economy has been hurt by the subsequent fall in energy prices. This has increased Tehran's vulnerability to economic sanctions.

Iran's economic future is not a promising one. The mullahs have sabotaged economic growth through the expansion of state control of the economy, economic mismanagement, and corruption. Annual per capita income is only about two-thirds of what it was at the time of the 1979 revolution. The situation is likely to get worse as Ahmadinejad follows through on his populist promises to increase state subsidies for food, fuel, and loans and give Iran's poor a greater share of the country's oil wealth.

Iranians are sending large amounts of their capital out of the country due to fears over the regime's potentially disastrous economic policies. Many Iranian businessmen understand, even if the ayatollahs do not, that Iran's economic future depends on access to world markets, foreign investment, and trade.

The U.S. should push for the strongest possible sanctions at the U.N. Security Council, but experience has demonstrated that Washington cannot rely on the U.N. to halt the Iranian nuclear program. Russia and China, which have extensive economic, military, and energy ties to Iran, have consistently blocked or diluted any effective reso-

lution. The U.S. therefore should work with Britain, France, Germany, the European Union, Japan, and other countries to impose the strongest possible sanctions outside of the U.N. framework as well.

An international ban on the import of Iranian oil—an unrealistic option in a tight, high-priced oil market before Iran has exploded a nuclear device—might be possible after the world is confronted with a nuclear Iran, especially if world oil prices continue to experience downward pressures as a result of the global economic recession. In addition, the United States should lead a reinvigorated campaign aimed at denying loans, foreign investment, and favorable trade deals to Iran. Washington should cooperate with other countries to deny Iran loans from international financial institutions such as the World Bank and to deny Iran loans for a proposed natural gas pipeline to India via Pakistan. Sanctions on Iranian banks should be widened and strengthened to impose additional costs on Iran's state-dominated economy.

The United States should also press its allies to impose sanctions on Iran's Revolutionary Guards, who control many key aspects of Iran's nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs. Firms and front companies associated with the Revolutionary Guards should also face sanctions and be barred from doing business outside of Iran wherever possible.

One of the most promising options for sanctions is to deny Iran access to imported petroleum products. Although one of the world's leading oil exporters, Iran is also an importer of gasoline and other refined products due to mismanagement and inadequate investment in its refinery infrastructure. An international ban on gasoline exports to Iran would deprive Tehran of approximately 40 percent of its daily gasoline consumption. This would drive up the price of Iranian gasoline significantly, disrupt Iran's economy, and underscore to the Iranian people the short-sighted policies of Iran's ruling regime.

Iran imports gasoline and other refined oil products primarily from one Indian company and five European companies. Members of the U.S. Congress have introduced legislation to penalize firms that supply, broker, insure, or deliver gasoline supplies to Iran. The Iran Diplomatic Enhancement Act has been introduced in the House of Representatives, and similar legislation has been introduced in the Senate. While this is a good first step, much more could be done to choke off gasoline exports to Iran after it has detonated a nuclear device. Bans on such exports to Iran could then be imposed by allied governments or by the U.N. Security Council to great effect.

The United States and its allies should also place a high priority on blocking the expansion of Iran's oil refining capacity by pressing companies and countries working on Iranian refineries to halt their work. The United States and its allies should seek to pass a U.N. Security Council resolution on this matter and, in the event the Security Council fails to act, should take action outside the U.N. framework to ban foreign participation in the expansion of Iran's refineries.

In addition to economic sanctions, the U.S. should press its allies and other countries to ban nuclear assistance, arms sales, and the export of dual-use technology to Iran. Symbolic sanctions such as a travel ban on Iranian officials and their families or prohibiting Iranian participation in international sports events would drive home to the Iranian people that international opposition to Iran's nuclear program is widespread and not an artificial issue created by the United States, as their government claims.

### **7. Strengthen Proliferation Security Initiative efforts against Iran.**

The Proliferation Security Initiative is a coordinated effort of more than 90 nations working together to prevent the proliferation of missiles and related WMD technologies through land, air, and maritime interdiction. Many of its successes have been classified, but the PSI has scored successes against Iran in the past. In February 2005, the U.S. alerted an unnamed European government to the fact that one of its companies sought to ship coolers to Iran, possibly to be used in the country's heavy-water reactor program. After investigation, the European government denied the company an export license because of dual-use concerns.<sup>14</sup>

In November 2006, an Asian company's shipment of chromium-nickel steel plates to Iran was halted by a third state. In accordance with U.N. Security Council Resolution 1696, the plates, which could have been used in Iranian

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14. Wade Boese, "Interdiction Initiative Successes Assessed," Arms Control Association, July 7, 2008, at [http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2008\\_07-08/Interdiction](http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2008_07-08/Interdiction) (May 17, 2009).

missile components, were returned to the sender. Not to be discouraged, Iran was once again the culprit in April 2007 when a shipment of sodium perchlorate was detoured and seized in an Asian port. The substance can be used in the manufacturing of solid-fuel propulsion for ballistic missiles.<sup>15</sup>

The United States should encourage PSI participants to focus more tightly on Iranian proliferation efforts. The Obama Administration should continue to pursue the Bush Administration's efforts in signing ship-boarding agreements with countries that often fly a "flag of convenience," a flag of one country flown by a ship owned by a citizen or company of another country. Proliferators often use cargo ships that fly flags of convenience to conceal the origin or nature of prohibited cargo. PSI participants cannot board suspicious vessels unless they acquire the permission of the nation under whose flag the ship operates. Advance agreements would allow more flexibility and freedom of action in time-sensitive operations.<sup>16</sup>

Additionally, the Obama Administration should use the Gulf Security Dialogue, established through the Gulf Cooperation Council, to expand PSI efforts and cooperation aimed at interdicting exports of dangerous technologies and WMD materials to Iran. The Obama Administration should capitalize on this existing strategic dialogue to encourage GCC states to increase intelligence-sharing, improve their operational capabilities, and increase their participation in Iran-focused PSI efforts.

### **8. Launch a public diplomacy campaign to explain to the Iranian people how the regime's nuclear weapons program and hard-line policies hurt their economic and national interests.**

Over the past several years, the Ahmadinejad regime has managed to monopolize the domestic dialogue on its nuclear program. As a result, a majority of Iranians view their country's nuclear effort as a national cause and support it. America's outreach to Iran so far has failed to provide a robust opposing message and articulate clearly to ordinary Iranians the steep political and economic costs that are associated with the regime's plans.

Iran's clerical regime has tightened its grip on the media in recent years, shutting down more than 100 independent newspapers, jailing journalists, closing down Web sites, and arresting bloggers. The U.S. and its allies should work to defeat the regime's suppression of independent media by increasing Farsi-language broadcasts by government-sponsored media such as the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (Radio Farda for Farsi), and other information sources. The free flow of information is essential to the free flow of political ideas. The Iranian people need access to information about the activities of Iranian opposition groups, both within and outside Iran, and about the plight of dissidents.

The Internet is a growing source of unfiltered information for many Iranians, particularly Iranian students. Farsi is reportedly the fourth most popular language used online, and there has been a proliferation of political blogs devoted to Iranian issues. The U.S. should consider ways of assisting Iranians outside the country to establish politically oriented Web sites that could be accessed by activists and other interested people inside Iran.

A strategy of regime change is problematic and unlikely to succeed in the near future. The U.S. cannot depend on exile groups. The future of Iran will be determined by political groups that have strength on the ground inside Iran. There is considerable grumbling at a lack of freedom, human rights abuses, corruption, and economic problems but no certainty that such grumbling will lead to meaningful change any time soon.

A well-educated group of young reformers are seeking to replace the current mullahcracy with a genuine democracy that is accountable to the Iranian people. These reformers were demoralized by former President Khatami's failure to live up to his promises of reform and by his lack of support for the student uprisings of 1999, but a growing popular disenchantment with the policies of President Ahmadinejad is likely to re-energize them.

The U.S. and its allies should discreetly support all Iranian groups that reject terrorism and advocate democracy by publicizing their activities, both internationally and within Iran, and by inviting them to attend international conferences and workshops outside of Iran. Educational exchanges with Western students would help to bolster and

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15. *Ibid.*

16. For more on the Proliferation Security Initiative, see Baker Spring, "Harnessing the Power of Nations for Arms Control: The Proliferation Security Initiative and Coalitions of the Willing," Heritage Foundation *Backgrounder* No. 1737, March 18, 2004, at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/NationalSecurity/bg1737.cfm>.

open communications with Iran's restive students, who historically have played a leading role in their country's reform movements.

The U.S. should covertly subsidize opposition publications and organizing efforts, as it did to aid the anti-Communist opposition during the Cold War in Europe and Asia. However, such programs should be strictly segregated from public outreach efforts by the U.S. and its allies in order to avoid putting Iranian participants in international forums at risk of arrest or persecution when they return home.

America should not try to play favorites among the various Iranian opposition groups, but should instead encourage them to cooperate under the umbrella of the broadest possible coalition.

### **9. Discourage other states from seeking their own nuclear arms.**

The accelerating nuclear arms race in the Middle East, exacerbated by Iran's push for nuclear weapons, is also a reflection of declining confidence that the United States can be relied on to defend countries in the region against Iranian threats. Therefore, it is essential to restore confidence in the U.S. nuclear umbrella. Washington can do this by signing new defense agreements that commit American forces to protecting regional allies from Iranian military threats if those states agree to forgo efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. Agreements to transfer advanced missile defense systems should also be predicated on this non-proliferation commitment.

The United States and its allies should also strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Iran's ability to exploit loopholes in the Non-Proliferation Treaty has demonstrated that the treaty has serious systemic problems. An Iranian nuclear breakout would trigger a cascade of nuclear proliferation that would devastate the existing nuclear proliferation regime.

In order to diminish the attractiveness of following Iran's path toward a nuclear breakout, Washington should work with its allies to close loopholes in the Non-Proliferation Treaty and impose stronger international sanctions on countries that violate it or withdraw from it. If Iran conducts a nuclear explosive test, it should be possible to curtail IAEA nuclear cooperation with Iran and obtain a consensus decision by the Nuclear Suppliers Group to curtail virtually all nuclear-related exports to Iran from its participating states.

### **10. Refuse to give up on efforts to persuade Iran to abandon its nuclear capability.**

If tough sanctions impose growing costs on the Iranian economy and the unpopular regime is swept away or put under growing domestic pressure to reopen an economic lifeline to the West, the United States should hold open the possibility that Iran could escape sanctions and gain important incentives such as expanded trade, foreign investment, and access to technology if it incontrovertibly gives up its nuclear weapons, surrenders its stocks of highly enriched uranium and plutonium, and verifiably dismantles its nuclear weapons production facilities. Iran must do what Libya did: surrender dangerous technologies and materials as well as disavow terrorism.

Washington should emphasize that the agreement with Libya to dismantle its WMD programs shows that the United States does take yes for an answer and that full openness can quickly resolve outstanding issues. The Bush Administration's successful but often overlooked agreement with Libya on WMD disarmament gives Tehran a road map for escaping isolation and ending the current nuclear impasse and disproves the argument made by Iranian hardliners that the U.S. is pressing for Security Council resolutions and inspections only as an excuse for military action.

But a bad deal would be worse than no deal at all. A deal that confirms that Iran can keep what it has gained by cheating is an incentive for more cheating: The deal would only be a speed bump on the road to an Iranian bomb. Moreover, the United States would not be in a position to deny other countries whatever Iran gains in an agreement. For example, if Tehran is allowed to keep a full nuclear fuel cycle and continue to expand its uranium enrichment activities, then Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates will want to secure whatever Iran has gained.

A sweetheart deal for Iran would undermine the credibility of U.S. proclamations that "this time we are serious." American allies and friendly countries might find reliance on U.S. security assurances less credible and might act in ways that are contrary to U.S. national interests by developing their own nuclear weapons or seeking to appease Iran. Either way, the Middle East would become a more dangerous and unstable place.

# APPENDIX A

## Iran's Nuclear Timeline

### 2009

**May 25** — Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad rejects a Western proposal for Iran to freeze its nuclear work in return for a freeze on further U.N. sanctions and rules out further talks on the issue.

**April 9** — Ahmadinejad inaugurates the country's first nuclear fuel production complex.

**March 20** — U.S. President Barack Obama calls for “engagement that is honest and grounded in mutual respect.” Iran cautiously welcomes the overture, saying that it wanted to see “practical steps.”

**February 25** — Iran denies it has slowed down its nuclear activities and says that it plans to install 50,000 centrifuges to enrich uranium over the next five years.

**February 19** — A new report from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) shows a significant increase in Iran's reported stockpile of low-enriched uranium since November to 1,010 kg, which some physicists say is enough for possible conversion into high-enriched uranium for one bomb.

**February 5** — Russia says it plans to start up a nuclear reactor at the Bushehr plant by the end of 2009.

### 2008

**August 2** — An informal deadline lapses for Iran to respond to an offer from the United States, Britain, France, Germany, China, and Russia for talks on its disputed nuclear program.

**March 3** — The U.N. Security Council adopts a third sanctions resolution targeted at Iran's nuclear program.

### 2007

**December 11** — The National Council of Resistance of Iran, an umbrella group of Iranian opposition movements, says that Iran did shut down its nuclear weapons program in 2003 but restarted it a year later. The group says that recent U.S. analysis gives the wrong impression.

**December 3** — A U.S. National Intelligence Estimate says that Iran put its bid to build a nuclear bomb on hold in 2003 and that it remains on hold. Two days later, Ahmadinejad declares victory over the United States and IAEA Director-General Mohamed ElBaradei says that Iran has been “somewhat vindicated.”

**April 10** — Foreign Minister Manuchehr Mottaki says that Iran will not accept any suspension of its uranium-enrichment activities and urges world powers to accept the “new reality” of the Islamic Republic's nuclear program.

**March 24** — The Security Council unanimously approves a resolution broadening U.N. sanctions against Iran for its continuing failure to halt uranium enrichment. Iranian officials call the new measures “unnecessary and unjustified.” Officials confirm that Ahmadinejad had canceled a New York visit during which he had vowed to address the Security Council ahead of the sanctions vote; Tehran blames U.S. delays over visas for Ahmadinejad's entourage.

**March 8** — The IAEA cuts almost half of its aid programs to Iran as part of the U.N. sanctions targeting Tehran's nuclear program. The Iranian ambassador to the IAEA, Ali Asghar Soltanieh, counters that the move will not affect his country's enrichment work.

**February 25** — President Ahmadinejad says that Iran's nuclear program is unstoppable and, in a show of its growing technical prowess Iran reportedly fires a rocket into space for the first time.

**February 23** — U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney says that Washington will “do everything” it can to deprive Iran of nuclear weapons and has not taken “any options off the table.”

**February 17** — Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei says “nuclear energy is the future and destiny” of Iran and notes that Iran’s oil and gas reserves “would not last forever.”

## 2006

**December 23** — The U.N. Security Council unanimously adopts a binding resolution that calls on Iran to suspend its uranium-enrichment activities and comply with its IAEA obligations. Resolution 1737 directs all states to prevent the supply or sale to Iran of any materials that could assist its nuclear or ballistic-missile programs. It also imposes an asset freeze on key companies and individuals named by the U.N. as contributors to Iran’s nuclear and missile programs.

**October 21** — Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov says that Moscow opposes any attempt to use the Security Council to punish Iran over its nuclear program.

**October 4** — European Union (EU) foreign policy chief Javier Solana says four months of intensive talks have brought no agreement on suspension of Iran’s sensitive nuclear activities and adds that the dialogue cannot continue indefinitely.

**September 25** — Iranian Foreign Minister Manuchehr Mottaki says that nuclear talks with European negotiators are “on track” and a diplomatic solution is possible.

**September 21** — Ahmadinejad says that nuclear talks with the EU are “on the right path” and adds that he is “at a loss” as to what more Tehran can do to provide guarantees that it is not trying to develop nuclear weapons.

**September 9–10** — Two days of “productive” EU–Iranian talks end inconclusively with a vow to meet again the following week.

**September 8** — U.S. Undersecretary of State Nicholas Burns says the U.N. Security Council should begin drafting a resolution in the next week on sanctions over Iran’s nuclear program. He notes that there is still no consensus on what type of sanctions might be imposed.

**August 29** — Ahmadinejad says he thinks that the U.N. Security Council will not punish Iran and that his country “will not bow to threats and ultimatums.”

**July 31** — The Security Council adopts Resolution 1696, calling for Iran to suspend uranium-enrichment activities by August 31 or face the possibility of economic sanctions.

**July 12** — A meeting of foreign ministers of the permanent U.N. Security Council members plus Germany in Paris decides to refer Iran’s nuclear program back to the Security Council for possible sanctions.

**June 30** — Iranian Foreign Minister Mottaki says Iran will not respond to the international incentives package before August, despite U.S. and EU pressure for Tehran to answer by July 5.

**June 6** — EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana meets in Tehran with senior Iranian government officials and presents them with fresh proposals aimed at persuading Iran to abandon its uranium-enrichment program.

**April 28** — The IAEA sends its report to the U.N. Security Council faulting Iran for failing to meet demands to suspend uranium enrichment and improve cooperation with nuclear inspectors.

**April 27** — U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice says on the sidelines of a NATO meeting that the Security Council “has to act” in order to remain credible if Iran ignores the deadline for halting uranium enrichment. Ahmadinejad says that Iran will not comply.

**March 30** — The five permanent U.N. Security Council members and Germany warn Iran that it must heed the U.N. statement insisting that it stop its nuclear work or face isolation. Iranian Foreign Minister Mottaki dismisses the

warning. IAEA Director-General ElBaradei urges Iran to be more forthcoming but also says he thinks sanctions at this time would be unwise.

**March 29** — The U.N. Security Council unanimously adopts a statement calling on Tehran to halt its nuclear work.

**March 12** — Tehran says a Russian proposal to move Iran's enrichment program to Russia is "off" the agenda and that Iran will not consider any proposal that does not guarantee its "right to nuclear research."

**March 7** — Undersecretary of State Nicholas Burns says Tehran has "crossed the international red line" with its activities to enrich uranium, adding that unless Iran suspends all nuclear activities, the Security Council must get involved.

**February 5** — Foreign Minister Mottaki announces the end of Iran's voluntary cooperation with the IAEA.

**February 4** — The IAEA's governing board votes overwhelmingly to report Iran to the U.N. Security Council because of its nuclear activities.

**January 10** — Iran resumes nuclear research, triggering Western condemnation.

### 2005

**December 25** — Tehran formally rejects an offer from Moscow to enrich uranium for its nuclear program in Russia. Iranian officials insist upon Iran's right to enrich uranium on its own soil.

**September 17** — President Mahmud Ahmadinejad announces the Iranian position on the nuclear issue at the U.N. General Assembly. He says that "Peaceful use of nuclear energy without possession of nuclear fuel cycle is an empty proposition," expresses concern about the creation of a nuclear "apartheid," and calls for a Middle East that is free of nuclear weapons.

**August 6** — Iran rejects the EU proposal, which includes commercial and political cooperation in exchange for Iran's forsaking efforts to develop nuclear fuel.

**July 19** — Iranian President Mohammad Khatami proclaims that Iran will not forsake the right to produce nuclear fuel and that suspension of enrichment will not be permanent.

### 2004

**November 14** — Iran holds talks in Paris with the EU-3 and signs an agreement to suspend uranium enrichment. The Europeans offer a series of political and economic concessions in exchange.

**February** — Abdul Qadeer Khan, the founder of Pakistan's nuclear program, says that he had provided atomic secrets to Iran, Libya, and North Korea since the late 1980s. IAEA inspectors notice similarities in designs and components for the advanced P-2 centrifuge, adding to suspicions that Khan supplied both North Korea and Iran with the same nuclear know-how.

### 2003

**November** — The IAEA's 35-member board of governors passes a resolution sternly rebuking Iran for covering up 18 years of atomic experiments but does not send the matter to the Security Council.

**October** — The foreign ministers of France, Germany, and Great Britain travel to Tehran and persuade Iran to agree to stop enriching uranium and to sign the Additional Protocol to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The EU-3 also dangle the prospect of economic concessions if Tehran cooperates fully with the IAEA. Iran turns over a declaration to the IAEA admitting to 18 years of covert atomic experiments, including the unreported uranium enrichment, although it continues to deny that this was for a weapons program.

**June** — In a report, IAEA Director-General ElBaradei says inspections have demonstrated that “Iran failed to report certain nuclear materials and activities” and urges Tehran to cooperate with the agency.

**February** — IAEA Director-General ElBaradei visits Iran to verify Tehran’s claims that its nuclear program is peaceful. IAEA inspectors later find traces of highly enriched uranium at Natanz and other sites.

**2002**

**August 19** — An Iranian opposition umbrella group, the National Council of Resistance of Iran, accuses Tehran of hiding a uranium-enrichment facility at Natanz and a heavy-water plant at Arak.

**Sources:** “Factbox: Timeline of the Iranian Nuclear Dispute,” Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, August 11, 2005, at <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1060639.html>, and various news reports.

# APPENDIX B

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