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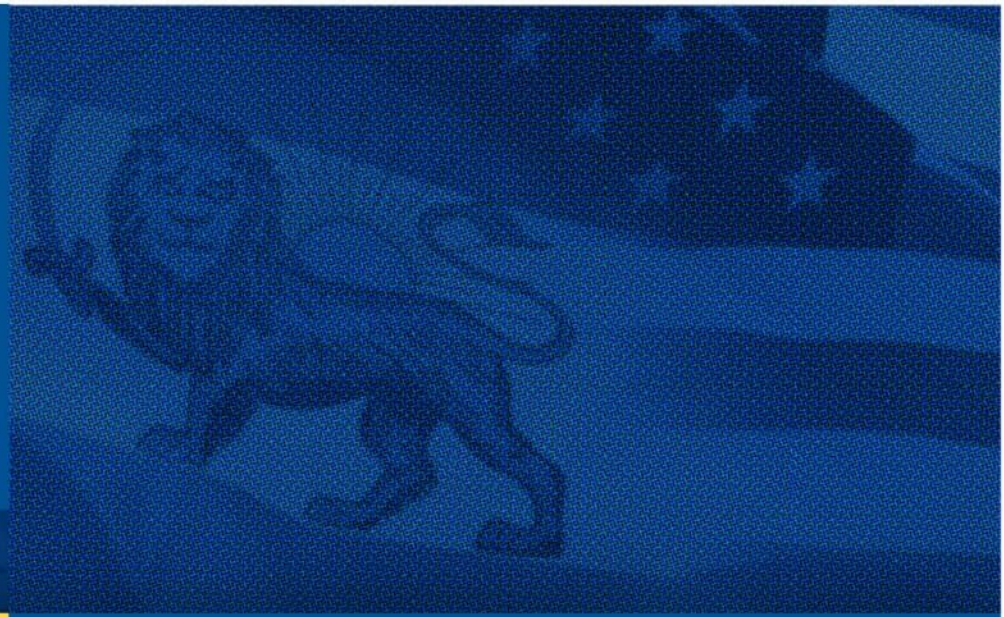


THE IRAN CONFERENCE 2025 SUMMARY

SEPTEMBER 9-10, 2025
WASHINGTON, D.C.

INSTITUTIONS REPRESENTED AT THE IRAN CONFERENCE 2025



































Speakers at the Iran Conference expressed their own views, not those of the institutions with which they are affiliated.

Day 1
Tuesday
Sept 9

Day One Opening Remarks	Dr. Saeed Ganji	
After The Twelve Day War	Ellie Cohanim Khosro Isfahani	Nathan Sales Shirin Rajaee
Lessons From A Dissident: **Natan Sharansky On Iran, Freedom, And The West**	Natan Sharansky Len Khodorkovsky	
Moving Forward By Looking Back	Pastor Steve Berger	
What Comes Next: **Iran's Transition Plan**	Dr. Saeed Ghasseminejad	
A Message From Luke Akehurst & Andrew Mitchell	Luke Akehurst Andrew Mitchell	
Standing Up to Tehran	MP Shuvaloy Majumdar Len Khodorkovsky	
A Message From María Corina Machado	María Corina Machado	
Regime Change: When, Not If	Lisa Daftari Mark Dubowitz	Carrie Filipetti Cameron Khansarinia
A Message From Dame Priti Patel	Dame Priti Patel	
A New Middle East	Patricia Karam Rev. Johnnie Moore Jonathan Sayeh	Heather Heldman Neeman Aaron Lobel
A Message From Lord Walney	Lord Walney	

Day 1
Tuesday
Sept 9

A Tribute To Our Friend Yaron Lischinsky	Jonathan Harounoff	
Who Will Replace Khamenei?	Len Khodorkovsky Adam Lovinger	Behnam Taleblu Andrew Ghalili
When Will Iranians Rise Up?	Ahmad Batebi	
Iran's Foreign Policy After The Islamic Republic	Cameron Khansarinia	
Keynote Speaker	HRH Reza Pahlavi, Crown Prince Of Iran	
Tehran's War On America And The West	Victoria Coates Andrew Ghalili Elina Shirazi	Marjan Keypour Nishank Motwani
Day One Closing Remarks	Cameron Khansarinia	

Day 2 [Persian]
Wednesday
Sept 10

Day Two Opening Remarks	Dr. Saeed Ganji	
Opening Notes	Dr. Saeed Ghasseminejad	
IPP Presentation One: Education	Nejat Bahrami	
IPP Presentation Two: Economic Stability	Dr. Mohammad Reza Jahan-Parvar	

Day 2 [Persian]
Wednesday
Sept 10

IPP Presentation Three: **Environment**	Dr. Shirin Goli	
IPP Panel One: **Society, Health, and Economy**	Dr. Mahsa Tehrani Dr. Mehdi Beyhaghi	Dr. Borghan Nezami Armita Hooman
IPP Presentation Four: **Military and Security**	Navid Mohebbi	
IPP Presentation Five: **Water**	Dr. Mohammad Nayeb Yazdi	
IPP Presentation Six: **Energy**	Dr. Hossein Pourmand	
IPP Panel Two: **Political and Legal Transition**	Alan Bostokian Babak Shekarabi Shayan Arya	Vahid Bahman Alireza Kiani
IPP Presentation Seven: **Political Transition**	Dr. Saeed Ghasseminejad	
Surprise Guest: **Sports and Health in a New Iran**	Dr. Iradj Ahrabifard	
IPP Presentation Eight: **Industry, Production, and Economic Infrastructure**	Dr. Aidin Panahi	
Day Two Closing Speech	HRH Reza Pahlavi, Crown Prince of Iran	

2025 Participants

SPEAKERS



HRH Reza Pahlavi
Crown Prince of Iran



Saeed Ganji
President,
NUFDI



Cameron Khansarinia
Vice President,
NUFDI



Nejat Bahrami
Education Expert



Ahmad Batebi
Former Iranian Political Prisoner



Steve Berger
American Faith Leader, Head of Ambassador Services International



Saeed Ghasseminejad
Senior Iran and Economics Advisor, FDD



Shirin Goli
Water Specialist



Jonathan Harounoff
Israel's Spokesperson to the United Nations



Mohammad Reza Jahan-Parvar
Economist



Len Khodorkovsky
Senior Advisor, Krach Institute for Tech Diplomacy



Navid Mohebbi
International Security Expert



Mohammad Nayeb Yazdi
Environmental Specialist



Aidin Panahi
Economist

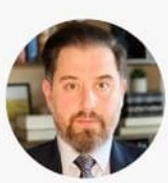


Hossein Pourmand
Energy Specialist

PANELISTS



Shayan Arya
First Secretary, New Constitutionalist Party



Vahid Bahman
Historical Researcher



Mehdi Beyhaghi
Economist



Alan Bostokian
Management Specialist



Victoria Coates
VP for National Security, Heritage Foundation



Ellie Cohanim
Former Deputy Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism



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Founder and Director, Alliance for Rights of All Minorities



Adam Lovinger
VP of Strategic Affairs, Gold Institute



Shuvaloy Majumdar MP
Member of the Canadian House of Commons



Johnnie Moore Jr.
Vice Chancellor, Pepperdine University - DC Campus



Nishank Motwani
Senior Fellow, Australian Strategic Policy Institute



Heather Neeman
CEO, Luminae Group



Borghan Nezami
Economist



Nathan Sales
Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council



Janatan Sayeh
Research Analyst, FDD



Babak Shekarabi
Management Specialist



Behnam Taleblu
Iran Program Director, FDD



Mahsa Tehrani
Co-founder, Arthritis and Rheumatology Clinical Center of Northern Virginia

VIDEO MESSAGES



Luke Akehurst MP
Member of the British House of Commons



Maria Corina Machado
Venezuelan Opposition Leader



Andrew Mitchell MP
Member of the British House of Commons



Dame Priti Patel MP
British Shadow Foreign Secretary



Uri Rosenthal
Former Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of the Netherlands



Natan Sharansky
Chess Champion, Refusenik, Dissident



John Woodcock, Baron Walney (Lord Walney)
Member of the British House of Lords

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Program Associate, NUFDI



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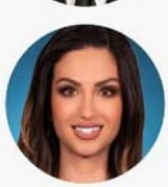
Aaron Lobel
Founder and President, America Abroad Media



Shirin Rajaee
Anchor, FOX 5 DC



Elina Shirazi
Senior Political Correspondent, Daily Mail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The Iran Conference | 10 Takeaways

The Iran Conference is the premier forum for Washington's leading analysts, policymakers, experts, and activists from across the political spectrum to gather and discuss Iran and Iran policy.

Through informative presentations, engaging panel discussions, and networking opportunities, the conference aims to empower participants with both knowledge and actionable insights.The Iran Conference was held September 9–10, 2025 at the Willard Intercontinental Hotel in Washington, D.C.

1 **The Islamic Republic is internally brittle and at its weakest point since 1979.**

2 **Succession scenarios boil down to evolution, devolution, or revolution.**

3 **China's underwriting of the Islamic Republic's missiles, drones, and finances is the key externality to disrupt.**

4 **Tehran's proxies are degraded. Secure gains with a fully integrated regional security architecture.**

5 **Backing Iranian dissidents is strategic, not charitable.**

6 **Prioritize foreign-supported, not foreign-imposed, change to keep legitimacy with Iranians.**

7 **The Iran Prosperity Project provides a day-one, metrics-driven blueprint to normalize the Iranian economy and foreign policy.**

8 **The current environmental crises facing the Iranian people are created by the Islamic Republic's mismanagement and corruption.**

9 **The Iranian opposition is more united than ever.**

10 **The most credible unifying Iranian opposition figure is Reza Pahlavi.**





Editor, The Foreign Desk | CEO, Foundation for the Defense of Democracies (FDD) | Executive Director, Vandenberg Coalition | Vice President, NUFDI









DAY 1
THE IRAN CONFERENCE





Day One Opening Remarks

SPEAKER

DR. SAEED GANJI NUFDI President

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, good morning. It's a full house! It is with profound respect and a deep sense of purpose that I welcome you to our fourth annual Iran Conference.

We gather here today at a moment of extreme significance, united by a shared purpose: a free, democratic, and prosperous future for Iran. *This conference brings together leaders, scholars, activists, and friends from across the globe. It serves not only as a platform for dialogue, but also as a bridge for collaboration, where ideas can be exchanged and solutions can be crafted for the future of Iran.*

We're deeply mindful of the courage and the resilience of the Iranian people. ***Their unwavering pursuit of liberty and dignity reminds us that our work here is not merely academic or political. It is a moral obligation.*** *These are turbulent times. We're living here in historic moments. The courage of the Iranian people, women, men and youth, who continue to stand up against tyranny, their heroism, gives us strength.* ***Their bravery shows us the way. Their dreams unite us. Their voices guide us. And finally, their struggle reminds us why we cannot, and will not, stop until Iran is free.*** *Their sacrifices remind us why our work here matters, and why we must remain steadfast in our mission.*

Over the course of the day, we will explore critical issues from human rights to international solidarity, from strategies of change to visions of rebuilding. Each of you brings unique experience, expertise, and passion, and together, we can shape the road map for Iran's future. I want to thank every participant, speaker, panelist and moderator who made this gathering possible. Your dedication ensures that this conference is not only a space for discussion, but also a catalyst for meaningful change. So let us begin with the spirit of hope and determination.

May our conversations today strengthen our unity, and may our unity help accelerate the day when Iran is free. Welcome and thank you for being here.



After the Twelve-Day War





PANELISTS

ELLIE COHANIM	Former Deputy Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism
KHOSRO ISFAHANI	Senior Research Analyst, NUFDI
NATHAN SALES	Former Special Envoy to the Coalition to Combat ISIS

MODERATOR

SHIRIN RAJAEE	Anchor, Fox 5 DC

The panel probed how recent battlefield losses during the 12-Day War and increasing public anger aimed at the Islamic Republic are reshaping the regime's grip on power. Moderator Shirin Rajaee framed the conversation around three questions: the regime's internal stability, how ordinary Iranians responded, and whether defeat abroad plus anger at home can open real avenues for change. The discussion unfolded against breaking news: reported Israeli strikes in Doha targeting Hamas leadership.

Ellie Cohanim opened by situating the moment at ***"the final stages of the end of the October 7 war,"*** arguing that, however fraught the immediate politics, ***"ultimately it will lead to greater stability in the region."*** Nathan Sales urged caution amid the Doha headlines and flagged a key variable: ***"How will the Trump administration react?… Will they be supportive… or worried about what this means for the safety and security of American military personnel?"*** Khosro Isfahani noted Tehran's initial silence but read the strike as ***"another move in terms of defanging the Islamic Republic,"*** a development that ***"definitely"*** leaves the regime unhappy.

The panel then drilled into the war's damage to the Islamic Republic. Sales called the setback ***"catastrophic."*** Years of Israeli strikes had ***"systematically… took the pieces off the chessboard,"*** he said. By the time the 12-day campaign began, culminating in the B-2 ***"coup de grâce,"*** the regime's deterrent was ***"pretty systematically neutralized."*** For twelve days, Sales argued, ***"Israel and the United States obtained air superiority over Iran and were able to operate with impunity… and the mullahs had to just take it."*** The result: ***"The Islamic Republic was exposed as a paper tiger."***

On whether June's strikes ***"obliterated"*** the regime's nuclear program or merely delayed it, Sales outlined the emerging U.S. posture: an offer of ***"no domestic uranium enrichment… accounting for the material… and full access to IAEA inspectors,"*** backed by the credible threat of renewed force. ***"We can do this the easy way. We can do it the hard way, but we're going to do it."***

Isfahani dissected the regime's information war. Outwardly, he said, Tehran is taking ***"victory laps,"*** flooding IRGC-aligned channels with exaggerated claims of downed jets and captured pilots, while a quieter, more revealing narrative leaks from the top: shaken officials conceding deep damage and scrambling to project control. Isfahani described a Supreme Leader oscillating between bunker speeches and abrupt public appearances, his tone ***"slow… frustrated,"*** even as he orders preparations ***"for war again… telling Iranians roll out coupons and gather food,"*** a posture at odds with talk of de-escalation.

What about the Iranian people? Rajaee recalled interviews from inside the country: fear amid air-raid orders, internet blackouts, and the terror of bombardment, but also a surge of civic solidarity. ***"People were literally opening up their homes… a woman said this apartment had like 25 people in it,"*** she said, a snapshot of mutual aid that ***"was really prevalent."*** Isfahani added detail by telling of celebrations when IRGC commanders fell: ***"each of them has Iranian blood on their hands."*** The state's post-war televised "unity," he argued, relied on curated crowds and expensive



social-media propaganda. Scratch the surface, and you find a public that ***"takes anything that the regime says with a huge grain of salt."***

Cohanim shifted to soft power. Because ***"the truth is on our side,"*** she argued, Washington and allies should speak directly to Iranians, elevate opposition voices, and consistently distinguish people from regime. She cited the efficacy of Persian-language outreach by the U.S., by Israel, and even a new Mossad spokesperson in Persian, as proof that authentic, targeted messaging can puncture Tehran's narratives. Practical steps include strengthening diaspora organizations and ***"sharing a vision for a democratic, free and peaceful Iran."*** On access, she urged continued pressure on tech platforms: ***"public campaigns towards Elon Musk and others"*** to keep the internet on when it matters most.

Sales added an unorthodox instrument: ridicule. ***"Dictators can't take a joke… In the case of the Islamic Republic… mock them, tease them,"*** he said. Stripping away the regime's mystique with humor reveals its leaders as ***"objects of derision rather than objects of fear."***

Could rally-'round-the-flag instincts save the regime? Isfahani was unconvinced. The so-called unity, he said, is largely an influence operation, even as fissures widen among elites. He pointed to public spats, such as security figures calling out dubious claims of survival after Israeli hits, and the reemergence of old "reformist" faces posturing as saviors. None, he argued, ***"have anything meaningful to offer."*** The system's ***"DNA is built on… oppression"*** and external aggression. It will ***"seek ways to strike at the West"*** even as it reels from mass arrests and legitimacy shock.

Looking ahead, Sales advised assuming the worst about the regime's intent, while exploiting a favorable ***"geoeconomic environment"*** to rebuild pressure: ***"maintain the capabilities… inflict further costs,"*** and be prepared, if patience fails, to squeeze energy exports.

Cohanim sketched priorities for turning battlefield defeat into a durable constraint via Maximum Pressure 2.0. This would include secondary sanctions on Chinese buyers of the regime's crude oil, diplomatic isolation that denies Tehran symbolic wins, warning that unilateral recognition of Palestinian statehood by European capitals would hand the regime a propaganda victory, and denial operations to keep Tehran from reconstituting missiles, drones, and command networks. With Israel now effectively demonstrating that it can take ***"command over Iranian skies,"*** Cohanim argued, deterrence is real, but prevention is better.

Will this culminate in regime change, or *collapse*? Cohanim sees mounting odds of collapse: ***"currency, inflation, rolling blackouts, droughts, mismanagement… 20,000… political prisoners,"*** a cascade that demands Western contingency planning. Sales was cautiously optimistic: ***"dictatorships are…durable right up until the moment when they're not."*** Analogies aren't predictions, he noted, but there is precedent for sudden unraveling. ***"I can't wait to have this conversation in Tehran one day under a free government."***

Isfahani closed on the moral center: a nation that ***"always has celebrated life"*** confronting a ***"death cult."*** From the first women's protests of March 1979 to today's sacrifices, ***"this nation is going to liberate itself. The world can stand by Iranians… If they don't, no matter what, we are going to take back our country."***

Rajaee's final word captured the panel's through line: the 12-Day War was more than a military clash, but an exposure of the regime's vulnerabilities and unbacked saber-rattling. Whether this is a true turning point now rests on aligned pressure from abroad, courage and unity at home, and a clear strategy to ensure that a paper tiger stays that way.

Lessons from a Dissident: Natan Sharansky on Iran, Freedom, and the West





INTERVIEWEE

NATAN SHARANSKY	Chess Champion, Refusenik, Dissident

INTERVIEWER

LEN KHODORKOVSKY	Senior Advisor, Krach Institute for Tech Diplomacy

Len Khodorkovsky, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Digital Strategy, sat down for an interview with Soviet dissident, refusenik, and chess champion Natan Sharansky. ***"Did you think you'd succeed in challenging this big superpower (the USSR)… or was it a simpler decision?"*** Len Khodorkovsky asked, opening with the choice that defined Natan Sharansky's life.

Sharansky didn't romanticize it: ***"You don't start with the goal of taking down the USSR."*** The hardest moment, he said, was the first decision he had to make: declaring he wanted to leave the USSR, and thus choosing to become a dissident. That decision ***"destroyed"*** a life he had been building: friends vanished, interrogations followed, prison loomed. But crossing the line delivered something the USSR could never grant. Inner emancipation. The instant he spoke freely, he ***"became a free person,"*** and there was no going back. Victory wasn't assured, but liberation of the soul was.

From there, his optimism grew. Living among activists, prisoners, Jews seeking to emigrate, and the Helsinki network, he watched a quiet majority stop believing in the Soviet system, even if they feared speaking. The system, he said, had to expend ever more energy controlling ***"millions… who don't trust the regime."*** Regimes crack when a few cross the line, then millions follow. ***Outsiders miss it because they're fixated on military parades and missiles. Insiders feel the rot.***

"What can you tell the skeptics who say the Iranian regime will last forever?" Khodorkovsky pressed. Sharansky's answer was a warning and a nudge. Experts were still predicting the permanence of the USSR ***"weeks before"*** it collapsed. Revolutions look sudden to spectators who don't see the internal corrosion. And the speed of that surprise ***"depends also on you,"*** on whether the West stands with dissidents or props up tyrants out of habit.

How should Iranian dissidents win support in the West? By insisting on first principles. Western security and Iranian freedom are linked. If you want to know what's really happening inside, trust the only reliable sources: ***brave women, students, and organizers risking everything in the streets*** and online. ***"These are your allies,"*** he said to the West, referring to those inside Iran and in the diaspora.

On Israel's 12-Day War with the regime, Sharansky was blunt about the stakes and the relief. It was a risky decision to act, but ***"from the point of view of Israel, it was very successful,"*** and ***"for the first time in years… we don't feel this immediate threat of destruction."*** Sharansky spoke of a cultural affinity and respect for between Israelis and Iranians, clarifiying that Israel's enemy is Tehran's dictatorship, not Iranians.

"If imprisoned Iranians could hear you, what would you tell them?" Khodorkovsky asked. Sharansky's reply was direct: ***"You are free people, keep the spark of freedom. The free world believes in you and is with you."***

And why should Americans, and the wider free world, care beyond sympathy? Because tyrannies export enmity by design. Dictatorships need internal and external enemies to survive. Powerful ones imperil neighbors and, eventually, everyone. Supporting dissidents is not charity. It's strategy. If you want fewer arms races and fewer layers of missile shields, ***"you should be dreaming about change of that regime,"*** and doing everything lawful to help those who seek it.

Sharansky's final message collapsed the distance between the Gulags of the past and today's Iran. Freedom begins the moment fear ends. Regimes look immortal until they aren't and the West's moral clarity isn't just uplifting, it's operational. As Sharansky put it to the skeptics: you will be surprised by how fast a dictatorship falls.

Moving Forward By Looking Back



SPEAKER

PASTOR STEVE BERGER	American faith leader, head of Ambassador Services International

Well, good morning, distinguished guests and dear friends, it is a profound privilege to stand before you all today, and I extend my heartfelt thanks to His Royal Highness, the Crown Prince, for his gracious invitation to let me speak. The title of my brief message today is moving forward by looking back. Moving forward by looking back. ***In the next few minutes, I want to take you on a journey, a journey across three eras, three cultures and three great legacies.*** *First, I want to talk to you about the Enlightened, and I mean that with the bottom of my heart, the Enlightened leadership of Cyrus, the great King of Persia. Secondly, the early connection, and this might be surprising to some of you in the room, the early connection between Christians and Persians, and finally, the principled vision of the American founding fathers.* ***Now I admit, at first glance, these three worlds may seem very far apart, and yet they are bound together by three golden threads. Those threads are religious freedom, human dignity and respect for human rights.*** *All those values, ancient yet ageless, are as urgent today as they have ever been.*

Let's start with Cyrus, King of Persia from 550 to 530 BC, who built an empire stretching from the Mediterranean to Central Asia, vast in size and unmatched in influence Had he not died at a young age due to a war wouund that he received, there is no telling what all Cyrus the Great might have accomplished. Here's something that distinguishes Cyrus, though, from all other world leaders; many rulers conquer lands, few win hearts, but Cyrus did both. Cyrus fulfilled the work that God called him to do 200 years before Cyrus was even born. The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, named Cyrus by name. And in the Book of Isaiah, Chapter 45 he laid out Cyrus' life calling. It is no wonder, then, that God called Cyrus his Anointed One. ***The Cyrus Cylinder, called by many the first charter of human rights, was unearthed in Babylon in 1879 and it records Cyrus' policies. Number one: to honor the gods of every people.*** *No world leader said that. Cyrus the Great did.* ***Secondly, to restore the displaced to their homes. And third, to grant freedom of worship to all.*** *One shining example of his philosophies was his decree allowing the Jewish exiles to return from Babylon to rebuild their temple, restoring not only their place of worship, but their very identity. Cyrus understood what despots and dictators never seem to grasp, and that's that you cannot force unity. You can only foster it. And Cyrus did a magnificent job of that. Founding Father here in the United States of America, James Madison, echoed, I believe, the heart and the spirit of Cyrus' truth centuries after Cyrus. James Madison said the religion then of every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man.* ***Additional Founding Fathers studied Cyrus's philosophies: Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and John Quincy Adams, among others, all studied the historian Xenophone's Cyropaedia, a portrait of Cyrus as a ruler whose strength was tempered by mercy.*** *Those very lessons found their way into the DNA of America's own founding principles from Cyrus the Great, the first world leader to use the words "the Great," and he was Persian, and you are to be celebrated for your contribution to world history.*

Next, let me talk to you about ancient Christianity and its connection with Persia. I want to leap forward several centuries. Christianity, beloved, did not stop at the borders of the Roman Empire. It traveled east. In fact, you'll find in the New Testament, or Christian Bible, in the Book of Acts, Chapter Two, it records something very detailed and yet very insightful. The first peoples mentioned who were there on the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem, who responded to the message of Jesus, were indeed people who lived in Persian lands: the Parthians, the Medes, and the Elamites. All from Persian lands. There on the day of Pentecost, they heard the gospel, they believed, and then they returned to their homes with the flame of Christian faith alive in their hearts. People from Persian lands, listen to this, were present and participated in the very day the Church was born.

Tradition tells us the Apostles, Thomas, Thaddeus. and Bartholomew, journeyed east, strengthening the Church in Persia. By the time of the Sasanian Empire in the third century, Christian communities were firmly established in Persian lands. They weren't hidden in corners and they weren't underground, but they participated in and benefited and were active in Persian public life. The Academy of Nisibis became their intellectual heart, training clergy, translating Greek works into Syriac, preserving philosophy, medicine, and science. Those translations later helped fuel the Islamic Golden Age, influencing scholars from Baghdad to Cordoba. These Christians built churches blending and therefore honoring Persian artistry with Christian symbols. Christian poets and thinkers engaged with the great questions of the day. The Christian presence in Persia proved a profound truth. Faith can flourish in diversity and diversity can flourish in freedom. Let's talk about our shared legacy now. If you look closely, you're going to see the same current flowing through all three legacies that I mentioned: Cyrus' imperial tolerance, Christianity's connection to Persia, and America's constitutional liberty. ***All three proclaim the same message that a society is strongest when it guards the rights of conscience, honors human dignity, and protects freedom of belief. Cyrus laid this foundation. Persian Christians helped build on it, and the American Founders established the legal house to shelter it.*** *So what's our call today? This has to mean something to us now. What does it inspire in us? What do we do with this great inheritance? We've gotta remember, number one, that freedom, justice, and equality, they are not luxuries, they are necessities. We recognize that bridges are stronger than walls, and dialogue is more fruitful than division. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel once said, "Evangelical Christians are Israel's best friends. We have no better friends in the world." The kind of friendship, this kind of friendship could one day blossom between Evangelical Christians in the West, even around the world, and the people and leadership of Iran if they are rooted in our shared values. If they are secured by just governance and advanced by leaders who choose peace over conflict.* ***In fact, I would like to honor His Royal Highness, the Crown Prince, for being the highest ranking Persian leader to ever visit Jerusalem.*** *Hallelujah.*

While there, His Majesty prayed for peace, prosperity, and friendship. This is the very mentality of Cyrus. Dare I say, the spirit of Cyrus.

If Cyrus could hold together a vast, diverse empire through personal liberty and mutual respect, surely we must aim to do the same today, because freedom and human dignity are not relics for museums. They are the blueprint for a better future. And so my friends, let's move forward by looking back. Thank you and God bless you.

What Comes Next: Iran's Transition Plan

SPEAKER

DR. SAEED GHASSEMINEJAD	Senior Iran and Economics Advisor, FDD



Dr. Saeed Ghasseminejad presented the Iran Prosperity Project's detailed blueprint for a post-Islamic Republic transition. In a speech he self-deprecatingly promised would be "monotonous," although it was anything but, Ghasseminejad laid out the strategic framework to move Iran from regime collapse toward stability and democratic governance.

He began by underscoring the regime's fragility. ***"The Islamic Republic is at its weakest point. Its economy is in free fall. Its military has been shattered. Its proxies are being demolished. Its security apparatus is deeply infiltrated, and its base of support is constantly shrinking."*** Revolution, he argued, is no longer abstract, but tangible: ***"everyone feels it, everyone smells it."***

Central to the vision is Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi's five-point plan. The first is **maximum pressure**, mobilizing resources inside and outside Iran to deprive the regime of money, legitimacy, and diplomatic space. Unlike the Trump administration's economic sanctions alone, this pressure "involves the Iranian diaspora" as well as grassroots organizing inside the country. The second pillar is **maximum support**, from providing secure communication tools like Starlink dishes smuggled into Iran to assisting families of political prisoners and those killed in protests. ***"Right now, the regime cannot cut off Iranians totally from the internet,"*** he noted, though more is needed.

The third pillar is **maximum defection.** Ghasseminejad reported that ***"tens of thousands"*** of individuals from the regime's military, security, and bureaucracy have already joined a defection platform created under the Crown Prince's leadership. Their identities, he stressed, are being vetted and secured, an effort that he said ***"is really driving the regime crazy."***

The fourth pillar is **maximum mobilization,** inside and outside the country. Abroad, Iranians are organizing at local levels to influence public opinion and policymakers. Inside, revolutionary cells are forming at an accelerating pace. **At the political level, the two conferences held this year in Munich demonstrated the breadth of coalition: monarchists and republicans, leftists and nationalists, diverse ethnic and faith communities, all signing onto joint statements of support for Pahlavi's vision.**

The fifth and final pillar is the **Iran Prosperity Project** itself: a comprehensive plan for the "day after." ***"Many Western leaders say Iranians don't have a leader or an organized opposition,"*** he said. ***"Do we have a leader? Yes, we have a leader. And his name is the Crown Prince of Pahlavi."*** He pointed to consistent polling, public and private, even from opponents, that shows Reza Pahlavi as the most popular figure in Iran. His name, along with those of his father and grandfather, ***"has been the fixture of protests for the past ten years,"*** chanted on the streets and painted on walls. Even Supreme Leader Khamenei, Ghasseminejad noted, recently singled him out, saying that ***"they have even chosen the next king."***

Pahlavi, he argued, also brings institutional legitimacy. In moments of chaos, ***"members of the military cannot go to a civil activist or ethnic activist. They can go to the Father of the Nation."*** The monarchy as an institution, unlike the clergy, bazaar, or bureaucracy, is not discredited and can anchor order in a fragile transition.

The Prosperity Project has already produced hundreds of pages of detailed plans. Its first batch of six economic and welfare papers runs 150–200 pages. A second, 170-page Emergency Phase Booklet covers the first six months after regime collapse: political transition, military reform, foreign policy, even water and electricity shortages. **The proposed sequence is precise: within four months of the fall, a referendum will allow Iranians to choose their form of government; two months later, elections for a constituent assembly will follow; within a year, a new constitution will be drafted and ratified by popular vote.**

The guiding principle, Ghasseminejad stressed, is to restore stability while transferring power swiftly to the people. ***"The Crown Prince has been saying for four decades: Iranians must decide...everyone must accept the people's choice."***

Concluding, he drove home a message to policymakers and skeptics alike: ***"The Iranian opposition has a leader. The Iranian opposition is organized. The Iranian opposition has a team and a plan. And they are ready to bring down the regime and lead the country toward peace, prosperity, and freedom."***

A Message From MPs Luke Akehurst & Andrew Mitchell

SPEAKERS

LUKE AKEHURST	Member of the British House of Commons
ANDREW MITCHELL	Member of the British House of Commons





I'm sending greetings from the home of democracy, the British House of Commons. As a Member of Parliament, I know how important your struggle for freedom and democracy is. ***The people of Iran have shown extraordinary courage in their struggle for freedom, human rights, and a democratic future. In their struggle, they're fighting not just to free themselves, but the entire world from the scourge of this evil dictatorship. I, and many parliamentarians around the world, stand with you.*** *I am committed to increasing pressure on the Iranian regime, cutting off its ability to fund terror, and providing maximum support to those fighting for a free and democratic Iran. The Iranian people, not the regime, represents the future of your country. We will continue to support your right to decide that future.*

Standing Up to Tehran

INTERVIEWEE

SHUVALOY MAJUMDAR MP	Member of the Canadian House of Commons

INTERVIEWER

LEN KHODORKOVSKY	Senior Advisor, Krach Institute for Tech Diplomacy



"We're back to get a perspective from Canada as to the relations between Canada and the regime," Len Khodorkovsky began, framing an interview squarely about policy, not platitudes. Shuvaloy Majumdar, a Canadian MP with two election wins in two years, and nearly two decades working the Iran file, answered with history and a mandate. ***Under Stephen Harper, he advised on closing Tehran's embassy in Ottawa "because it was a front for terrorism," expelling regime diplomats*** and backing nuclear transparency. After 2015, he recalled, Ottawa "look[ed] for rapprochement," but reality forced a course correction: ***"That was not the will of the Iranian people… the Liberal government had to reconnect with the original ideas we had been pursuing 10 years prior."***

Asked how Canadians, not just politicians, see the regime, Majumdar pointed to a rare point of unity. ***"There was unanimous support in Parliament to list the IRGC as a terror organization."*** The problem, he argued, is follow-through. IRGC operatives have ***"found safe cover in places like Toronto";*** millions are being "snow washed" through real estate and capital markets; and regime agents harass Iranian-Canadians and even elected officials. He cited former Justice Minister Irwin Cotler living under protection and Conservative Deputy Leader Melissa Lantsman's extended security detail. ***"There is a multi-partisan demand to confront and stop it, but a reluctance of actual government decisions… to root out IRGC operatives,"*** he said.



"Has the 12-Day War and the decimation of Hezbollah by Israel," Khodorkovsky asked, ***"affected the kinds of activities the group has done on Canadian soil?" "Nothing substantial as of yet,"*** Majumdar replied, but the region's balance of power has been ***"completely upended"*** since October 7, thanks in no small part to Israel ***"defanging terrorism… and demonstrating to the world the toothlessness of the Iranian regime."*** Too often, he warned, the bigger driver gets missed: ***"The People's Republic of China… underwrite[s] and support[s] Iran's… nuclear, missile and drone capacities."*** The central risk now is whether Beijing helps Tehran rebuild. That makes Ottawa's alignment choices, between a sometimes "soft" Europe and a Washington again pursuing maximum pressure, decisive: ***"My hope is… Ottawa gets that formulation right."***

What should Canada do now? Majumdar's list was concrete. ***"Chase down IRGC officers, put them in prison or deport them."*** Shut the border to ***"snow washing"*** by regime insiders. Reinvest in nuclear inspections as Canada once funded IAEA efforts ***"to ensure… compliance could be witnessed,"*** while remaining skeptical about Tehran's intentions. Revive the ***"global dialogue for the future of Iran"*** that reached millions through Canadian-made circumvention tools, creating a virtual embassy for Iranians at home and abroad to imagine a post-theocracy future. And, with the regime scrambling to reconstitute after the 12-Day War, ***"work with partners"*** on secondary sanctions against entities aiding its reconstruction. He added one more instrument: the U.N. forum where, ***"every year… Canada used to lead"*** a holistic accountability push against Tehran's abuses. He's ***"increasingly skeptical"*** of the institution, but not of using its levers to ***"give voice to the people"*** suffering under the Islamic Republic.

Why hasn't the "free world" universally designated the IRGC? ***"There seems to be a complete inversion of moral values,"*** Majumdar said. Elites in media, bureaucracy, and academia have twisted the frame, excusing an extremist regime that exports terror while castigating reforming Persian Gulf states pursuing stability and normalization with Israel. ***"Too often we start the story from the middle, not from the beginning,"*** he argued. The remedy: ally with forces of modernity over ***"our medieval rivals"*** and ***"stand with the Iranian people for their freedom."***

Khodorkovsky then invoked a deep Canadian wound: the regime shootdown of PS752, killing 55 Canadians and 30 permanent residents. Is accountability any closer? ***"It's not,"*** Majumdar said. Families have petitioned Ottawa to litigate at ICAO in Montreal, the global body for civil aviation safety, because the regime ***"used this flight as a civilian shield"*** for its terror apparatus. ***"We have not seen the kind of support that these families deserve,"*** he said, continuing that they are too often reduced to ***"a footnote and a photo op."*** His position: ***"There can be no meaningful dialogue… without actual accountability for the Canadians they murdered."***

Finally: should Western governments put regime change on the table? ***"I come from a party and a perspective that supports a change of regime in Iran,"*** Majumdar said, recalling work with democratic activists across the region as early as the mid- to late-2000s, and even a 2006 encounter with Qassem Soleimani in Baghdad's Al-Rashid Hotel. The 12-Day War ***"degraded much of the IRGC's capacity"*** to dominate society, but the path forward must be Iranian-led: ***"No foreign government can give to the Iranian people what they must wrest for themselves."*** The task for Canada and allies is to equip the Iranian people while keeping expectations clear. His closing image invoked the true flag of Iran: ***"When I think about the lion and the sun… it is time now for the lion to rise… and for the IRGC to understand that they are the prey, not the predator."***

The message from Majumdar was unmistakable: align with modernity, back the Iranian people, and match Parliament's moral clarity with action at home and abroad.

A Message From María Corina Machado



SPEAKER

MARÍA CORINA MACHADO — Venezuelan Opposition Leader

I want to thank the National Union for Democracy in Iran, and especially Prince Reza Pahlavi for the opportunity to participate in the Iran Conference 2025. It is an honor to address you during such crucial moments, not only for Venezuela, but for the whole region, Latin America, and for all those around the world who believe in freedom and democracy.

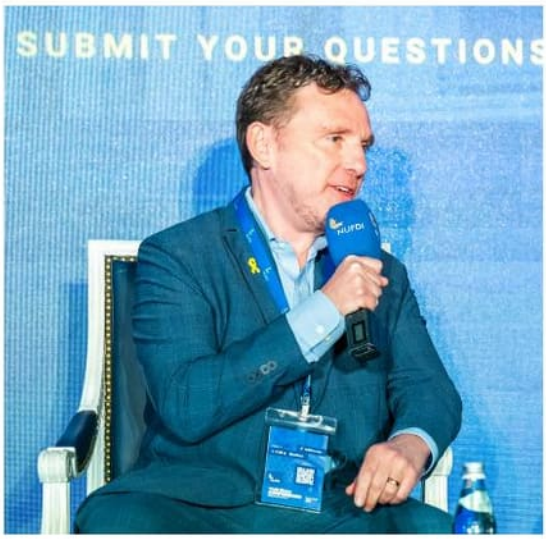
We Venezuelans are forging our path to freedom and civility. It has been 26 years of struggle against the criminal regime that today shows its worst face. On July 28, 2024, millions of Venezuelans gave a monumental example of commitment and courage electing Edmundo Gonzalez as the President-elect of Venezuela. We proved our victory like never before, placing the original tally sheets of truth before the eyes of the whole world. Maduro's criminal regime chose to steal the election and unleash a fierce persecution that continues to this day, but ***the resistance of our people, who have already decided to be free, has not ceased either.***

On the contrary, it has grown, and we will continue to fight until we free ourselves and all those currently held hostage by this criminal tyranny. We know this is not an easy task, and that it requires enormous sacrifice. ***If there is one thing authoritarian criminal regimes understand, it is how to cooperate with one another to cling to power.*** *They use every tool at their disposal: resources, propaganda, technology, weapons, and fear. But if there's one thing we have also shown both inside and abroad Venezuela, it is that all those things can be overcome with organization, with strategy, intelligence, and passion.*

We know that the Iranian and Venezuelan regimes collaborate closely with each other, and they have become a real threat to our hemisphere. The increasing military presence and the exchange of dangerous technologies, more evident now than any other moment, have put all of us at risk. That is why they must be defeated. ***The regimes in Caracas and Tehran must understand that the world will no longer tolerate their actions and that nothing can stop the people who have already chosen to be free.*** *That is why those of us who share a common cause for freedom must also unite, just as the evil join forces to sustain themselves, those on the side of justice and freedom must organize and coordinate even better. Our duty, therefore, is to dismantle the criminal structure that holds power in Venezuela with the support of autocracies like the regime in Iran. This structure is upheld by a minority, but rejected by the overwhelming majority of Venezuelans. And finally, even within the regime, growing fractures are becoming evident.*

I am convinced that the liberation of Venezuela will have global repercussions and will serve as a catalyst for other societies like the brave people of Iran. ***Ours is a shared task, and we will prevail. Venezuela will be free. Iran will be free.*** *Thank you very much.*

Regime Change: When, Not If





PANELISTS

LISA DAFTARI	Editor, The Foreign Desk
MARK DUBOWITZ	CEO, Foundation for Defense of Democracies
CARRIE FILIPETTI	Executive Director, The Vandenberg Coalition

MODERATOR

CAMERON KHANSARINIA	Vice President, NUFDI

The panel framed regime change not as a speculative goal but as the logical outcome of a decades-long evolution inside Iran. Lisa Daftari pressed the point that the story isn't only about Washington or European capitals, but about Iranians themselves. ***"I think this is as ripe of a moment as we have ever had,"*** she said, arguing that successive protest waves have forged a generation ***"willing to sacrifice so much to gain something so much more."*** The trajectory from 2009's Green Movement to 2022's Women, Life, Freedom, she suggested, shows a public that has outgrown the regime.

Carrie Filipetti dissected the regime's eroding pillars: foreign patrons that ***"did almost nothing"*** when it counted, degraded nuclear and missile infrastructure, and an over-reliance on brute repression. The result, she argued, is a tipping point defined by human limits: ***"the evils are no longer sufferable."*** On strategy, Filipetti tied pressure and support together and pushed U.S. leaders for the tangible help of securing internet, supporting strike funds, and delivering clear messaging. ***"Our objective is to free Iran. Period. Full stop,"*** she said.

Mark Dubowitz located the moment in familiar historical terrain: inevitability backed by policy. Echoing the Cold War playbookof maximum pressure on the regime and maximum support for dissidents, he argued that debates have shifted from possibility to timing: ***"it's really now a question of when."*** Snapback, he noted, matters because it ***"re-establishes zero enrichment as the international standard,"*** restores arms and missile embargoes, and tightens economic screws that have already exposed the system's fragility.

On building a winning coalition, the panel challenged two common myths. First, that unity must be perfect before progress. Opposition ecosystems are dynamic, and roles will become clear as events move. Second, that backing Iranians risks a great-power clash. ***"There's no universe to me in which China and Russia would go to war for the Islamic Republic,"*** Filipetti said, adding that Beijing and Moscow pursue their own interests. This may include coordination at times, but not sacrifice. Daftari urged advocates to make the case in terms of U.S. strength, not charity: ***"it's very important to not talk about freeing Iran as a charity case, but to talk about freeing Iran as a position of strength for the United States as well."***

Looking beyond collapse, the panelists sketched a regional map reshaped by a free, prosperous Iran aligned with the West, partnering with Israel and Arab states, and channeling the energy of a globally successful diaspora into reconstruction and growth. Dubowitz cautioned against naïveté (***"It ain't the Midwest"***) but emphasized that swapping the Islamic Republic for a democratic Iran would decisively weaken the axis of aggressors, free U.S. bandwidth for the Indo-Pacific, and unlock prosperity across the Middle East.

A Message From Dame Priti Patel

SPEAKER

DAME PRITI PATEL	Shadow Foreign Secretary of the UK



The regime in Tehran only has itself to blame for triggering of the Snapback Sanctions Process. ***It has behaved appallingly for too long. And not just over the nuclear issue. It is a prolific state sponsor of terrorism and the root cause of so much suffering in the Middle East. It is fueling Putin's illegal invasion of Ukraine, it represses its own people with brutal thuggery, and it carries out disgraceful hostile activity on British soil.*** *We have the measure of this regime, and when these tyrants try to destroy the lives of their own people or sow destruction around the world, they need to know they will meet real resistance from Britain and our allies.*

A New Middle East

PANELISTS

PATRICIA KARAM	Senior Policy Advisor on Iran, Freedom House
REV. JOHNNIE MOORE	Vice Chancellor, Pepperdine University–DC
HEATHER HELDMAN NEEMAN	CEO, Luminae Group
JONATHAN SAYEH	Research Analyst, FDD

MODERATOR

AARON LOBEL	Founder & President, America Abroad Media

The discussion opened amid breaking reports from Doha. With details still emerging, Rev. Johnnie Moore cut through the ambiguity: ***"They probably put the Ayatollah back in the bunker. When the United States says something, it means something."*** He argued the administration is finally ***"speaking the language of the Middle East,"*** enabling Israel to act while shaping the operating environment. Heather Heldman Neeman urged nuance—operations of this kind were ***"a matter of when, not if,"*** and whatever frictions exist with Qatar, ***"Al Udeid isn't going to move overnight."*** The implicit lesson: treat diplomacy as power management, not wish-casting.

From there, the panel surveyed the region through a single lens: how a weakened Islamic Republic, and ultimately a democratic Iran, could catalyze peace and prosperity if the U.S. and partners pair pressure with credible political and economic alternatives. Moore described a three-hour, unexpectedly pragmatic conversation in Damascus. The point wasn't to romanticize; it was to be transactional. ***"There's no halfway version of this,"*** he said. If Washington eases certain constraints, ***"the U.S. has to be all in on creating a future Syria,"*** fixing basic services, enforcing consequences when officials go rogue, and keeping backchannels alive. Patricia Karam agreed on the opening but stressed scale: Syria is ***"deeply fractured,"*** with humanitarian trauma and displacement layered atop sectarian complexity. Nation-building, not statements, will determine outcomes. Moore pressed further: with sustained U.S. leadership, ***"we could see peace between the State of Israel and Lebanon and Syria before… peace between the State of Israel and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia."***

Lebanon illustrated both the opportunity and the trap. Karam's assessment was measured but clear: Hezbollah is ***"visibly diminished"*** militarily. Arsenals degraded, leaders targeted, Syrian supply routes under tighter watch, and Tehran's finances strained. Politically, the group remains embedded via seats in parliament, parallel clinics and schools, and illicit revenue from Captagon to fuel smuggling that cushions it against state collapse. The path forward demands milestone-based support to the Lebanese Armed Forces, hard border enforcement, escrowed or independently delivered aid, and, above



all, anti-corruption reforms that deny Hezbollah the narrative that the state is ***"targeting the Shia."*** The timing is urgent. Beirut's cabinet has publicly declared Hezbollah must be disarmed, described by Karam as ***"momentous,"*** but if reconstruction lags, Tehran can reinsert itself with headline figures and cement influence in the south. ***"This is a moment in time which will not happen again,"*** she warned.

On Yemen, Neeman argued we are ***"entering a new era"*** after recent Israeli strikes on Houthi leadership. Financial forensics, maritime patrols, and insurance mechanisms matter, but the next phase requires a more front-footed diplomatic role from the Persian Gulf states to push the Houthis toward a political track. That effort must contend with segments of regional public opinion that cast Houthi actions as effective punishment of Israel.

Iraq showed that calibrated pressure can still move the needle. Sayeh pointed to two recent examples: halting electricity-related sanctions waivers and blocking efforts to further enshrine the Popular Mobilization Forces into Iraq's military and political architecture. Both suggest targeted U.S. pressure can curb Tehran's reach without collapsing Baghdad. Next steps include channeling aid to Iraqi national and counter-terror forces, disrupting illicit oil-blending schemes, and signaling consequences for front companies modeled on Tehran's "reconstruction" conglomerates.

Threaded through the regional tour was a reset of the Abraham Accords era. ***"Everything is different,"*** Moore said. Families in the Persian Gulf are facing radicalization pressures amplified by an information war that too often favors Tehran's proxies and their media allies. Yet once the Gaza war ends, he expects ***"surprising changes all across the region,"*** including partners for peace emerging from within Gaza itself. One more lesson has become unmistakable: the regime in Tehran will sacrifice every proxy before it risks its own survival. That recognition, paired with a degraded Hezbollah, stressed Houthis, and a more self-confident Israel, could accelerate post-conflict normalization if the United States leads.

Neeman's charge to Washington was to move beyond ***"technological coordination"*** and articulate a fully integrated regional security architecture backed by enduring basing and a public narrative regional leaders can defend at home.

The panel closed on the Iranian people. Western fear-mongering about societal collapse after regime fall, Sayeh argued, misreads the evidence. Through water and power crises, and the ***"12-Day War,"*** Iranian civil society has remained resilient, undergirded by a modern national identity and a young, educated population with democratic aspirations. ***"We have to stop fear-mongering about what comes after,"*** he said. Prepare for it. The throughline across Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, and Iraq was consistent. Pair excruciating pressure on Tehran's networks with safeguarded reconstruction, institutional reform, and a public case for regional integration. Do that, and the ***"new Middle East"*** becomes less a slogan than a work plan. ***The window is open. Don't waste it.***

A Message From Lord Walney

SPEAKER

JOHN WOODCOCK, BARON WALNEY	Member of the House of Lords in the United Kingdom



As a parliamentarian from the United Kingdom, the global cradle of democracy, it is a great privilege to send you greetings and solidarity in your quest for your country's freedom. We see the struggle that so many people in Iran have endured for so long to cast off the yoke of oppression which has done such great harm to your great nation over many years. We send our deepest empathy and solidarity and hope for a better future for your country and for ours, a relief from the expansionist terrorism that hurts British streets and can damage relations across the whole world. ***So I want to tell you today, on behalf of many of my friends here, that your struggle is our struggle, and together, I hope that we can plan for a better future, a free Iran, and the restoration of the links of friendship, trade, and respect between our two nations.*** *Thank you and all the best for the future.*

A Tribute to Our Friend Yaron Lischinsky

SPEAKER

JONATHAN HAROUNOFF	Israeli Spokesperson to the UN



Good afternoon, everyone. It's a great honor to be with you all today, and I want to begin by thanking the wonderful NUFDI team for the kind invitation and for all of your tireless efforts on behalf of freedom, democracy, and the people of Iran. On September the 26th, 2024, NUFDI held its third flagship annual conference. I had been scheduled to moderate a panel centered on America's Iran policy, but was unexpectedly called away due to some events going on at the United Nations. Still, I heard from friends and colleagues that last year's gathering was a resounding success, and that this year's has, of course, been no different. Once again, we've seen incredible speakers, survivors of the Islamic Republic's terror, and a diverse and committed audience united by a common cause to help shape a U.S. policy toward Iran based on universal values of human rights, democracy, and dignity.

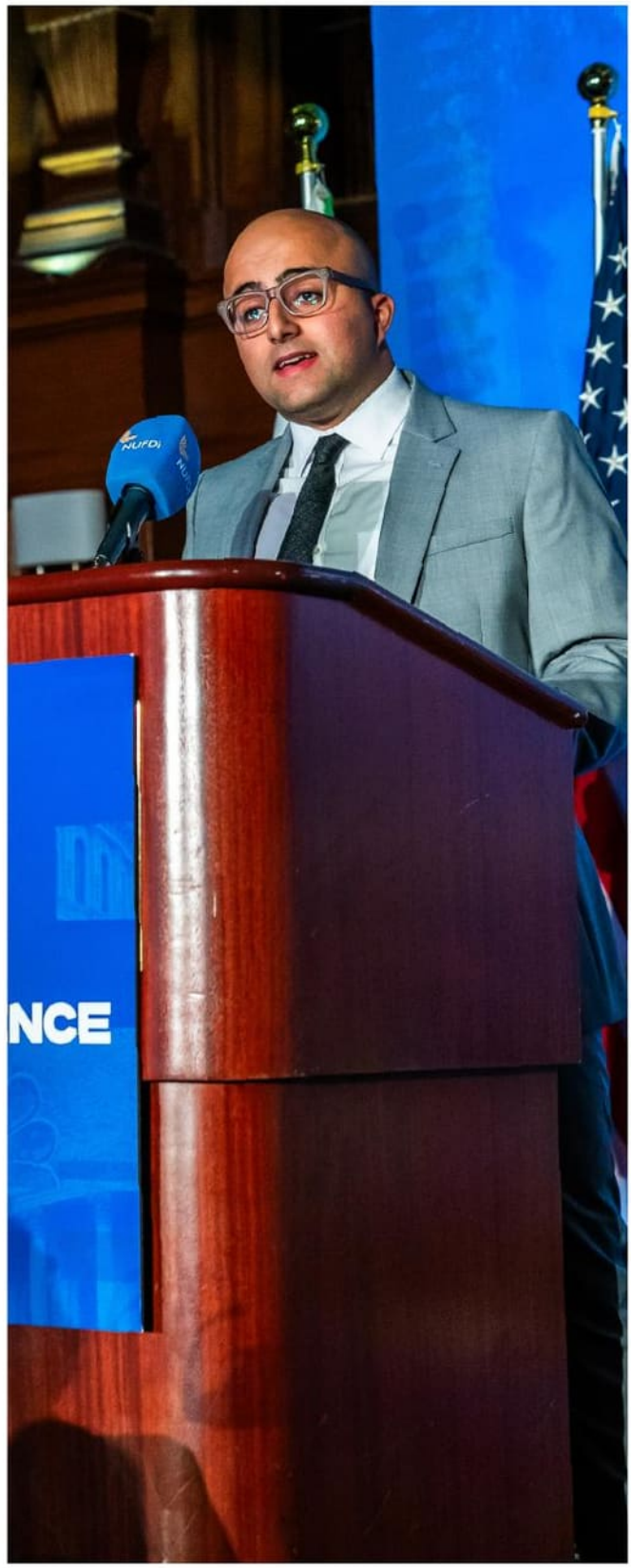
Sitting among the audience members last year was a young man named Yaron Lischinsky. *Yaron was not only a rising star professionally, working here in D.C., just down the road at the Israeli embassy, he was also a bridge-builder in every sense. Born to a Jewish father and a Christian mother, raised in Israel and Germany, Yaron embodied the richness of cultures and traditions. He spoke German, Hebrew, Japanese and English fluently. His dream was not simply to study the complexities of the world, but to be one of the people who actively helped mend it. He shared that dream with* ***his fiance, Sarah Milgram, who grew up in Kansas City and devoted her life to teaching young Jewish people the values of human dignity, peace, and an unwavering commitment to Israel and the Jewish people. Together, they represented the best of a generation committed to dialogue, reconciliation, and the hope for a much more peaceful Middle East.*** *Earlier this year, Yaron and Sarah's lives were about to change for the better.*

In early May 2025, Yaron had purchased an engagement ring and was about to ask Sarah to marry him. Instead, that month, they were taken from us in a horrific act of terrorism right here in Washington, D.C.*, outside the capital Jewish Museum, barely a mile away from the White House. Two young lives dedicated to peace were extinguished by a deranged man shouting "Free, Free Palestine" as he carried out the heinous attack. What kind of depravity drives a 30-year-old to travel hundreds of miles away to murder innocent strangers? What warped worldview leads someone to believe that killing Israelis, Jews, and Christians in America advances the cause of freedom anywhere? We know the answer. It is precisely the same worldview that drives the regime in Tehran. An unambiguously hateful ideology of anti-semitism, anti-Americanism, and anti-Western extremism. Yaron understood the significant gulf that existed between the people of Iran and their regime.*

After last year's NUFDI Conference, he tweeted a photo of His Royal Highness, the Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi, after he finished his keynote address, with the following caption: "Israel stands with the brave people of Iran," and in a subsequent Norooz message, Yaron tweeted, "The people of Iran are not our enemies. We wish them all the best and hope that one day peace will return." *That was Yaron's spirit. He knew the difference between the people of Iran, heirs to a proud and storied and extraordinary civilization, and the regime that has held them hostage for almost a century. Yaron knew the struggle for freedom in Iran is inseparable from the struggles against terrorism and hatred worldwide.* ***The same poisonous ideology that robbed Yaron and Sarah of their future is the very same one that fuels Hamas and Houthi rockets, galvanizes Hezbollah terrorists, and sustains the IRGC machinery of terror.*** *It is the same blind hatred we see shouted on our streets, from New York and London to Paris and Sydney, all carrying the slogans of Tehran's clerical gerontocracy.*

Israel doesn't celebrate death. Even in our defensive war against Hamas, a war we did not start, our fight is not out of vengeance, but necessity to protect life, to ensure survival, and to eliminate a very existential threat. That is the profound moral difference between a democracy defending itself and a terror movement fueled by hate. Yaron believed in building bridges. He would have been a huge proponent, I'm sure, of extraordinary projects like NUFDI's Iran Prosperity Project, which lays out a compelling vision for rebuilding an Iranian economy that once again serves its people. ***His life and Sarah's life were stolen, but their example endures, and may their memory be a blessing, and may we honor them by carrying forward their mission*** *to work for a world where Israelis and Iranians alike can live free from tyranny and terror.*

One year ago, Yaron attended this very conference in solidarity with the Iranian people's fight for freedom, and today, we stand here in solidarity with him and with Sarah and with all victims of terror *and against the ideology of the Islamic Republic in Iran that fuels it. Israel stands proudly with the brave people of Iran and together, we stand against the forces of hate that threaten us all. Thank you.*



A Message From Uri Rosenthal

SPEAKER

URI ROSENTHAL	Former Foreign Minister of the Netherlands



Dear friends at the fourth annual conference in Washington, unfortunately, I'm not able to attend the conference. Let me say, as the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands and now the Chair of the Free Iran Committee (Comité Iran Vrij) of my country, that we at the Free Iran Committee, are doing our best to promote the cause of regime change in Tehran. It is badly needed. It has taken too long up till now, both for the Iranians in Iran and their friends in the diaspora.

The Committee for a Free Iran aims at three targets. First and foremost, the listing of the Revolutionary Guard, both on the European level, in Brussels, as well as in my own country, the Netherlands. Secondly, we want to facilitate Iranian dissidents in Iran and abroad in whatever possible ways available. Third, we want to see the head of the terrible terrorist ayatollah snake to be cut off. ***The long arm of Tehran is threatening dissidents, both in Iran itself, as well as abroad, including my country, where two murders have taken place in the recent years under the steering capacity of the Revolutionary Guard.*** *Let me also add that it is highly needed to get the travel ban for all people from peace loving nations, because they will invariably be a prey for hostile diplomacy on part of the ayatollahs. Thank you.*

Who Will Replace Khamenei?

PANELISTS

LEN KHODORKOVSKY	Senior Advisor, Krach Institute for Tech Diplomacy
ADAM LOVINGER	VP for Strategic Affairs, Gold Institute
BEHNAM TALEBLU	Iran Program Director, FDD

MODERATOR

ANDREW GHALILI	Senior Policy Analyst, NUFDI

Minutes before the discussion began, news broke that the IAEA, after a meeting in Cairo, had reportedly reached a framework deal with Tehran. Taleblu called it a ***"tried and true tactic"*** the regime has used on the U.N., the IAEA, Europe, and Washington, warning that ***"the devil in the details absolutely matters,"*** but the West must ***"call a spade a spade"*** and refuse ***"too little, too late."*** Lovinger added that ***"we've been down this road before,"*** recalling the moment the IAEA let Iran ***"monitor itself"*** under the JCPOA as proof, in his view, of an institution too often gamed by Tehran. Khodorkovsky was blunt: ***"Nothing changes… the regime is at its weakest point since 1979,"*** and cosmetic diplomatic lifelines won't alter that trajectory.

With that marker set, the conversation turned to succession. Taleblu outlined three, non-linear paths: ***"evolution, devolution, and revolution."*** Evolution, he argued, is the regime's sales pitch for ***"Islamic Republic 2.0,"*** including minor social concessions and softer optics masking the same threat to Iranians and the West. Devolution is the danger that ***"things can always go from bad to worse"*** in the Middle East's turbulence. Revolution is where the ***"moral weight"*** sits, ***"but the facts right now are not yet on the side of revolution. It is our job to help make it"*** so.

Khodorkovsky pressed the case that change may precede Khamenei's death, and that a credible alternative already exists. ***"What I think change looks like… is in this room… His Royal Highness is the change."*** He argued the regime's aura of inevitability shattered after October 7 and the 12-Day War, citing decimated proxies and overt U.S. strikes as



evidence that ***"the emperor has no clothes."*** The imperative, he said, is to stop throwing Tehran lifelines and to organize for ***"regime end,"*** not just regime change, through ***"excruciating pressure"*** and coordinated policy among democracies.

Lovinger urged strategic preparation for the day after. The Islamic Republic, he said, is the Titanic: the "iceberg… was the 12-Day War," and the jockeying to succeed Khamenei is "rearranging the deck chairs." What matters now is rigorous net assessment: mapping the decisive forces, stress-testing scenarios, and deriving a coherent strategy from that analysis. In his view, only one figure can ***"provide the strategic space… to minimize bloodshed"*** and unify Iran and its partners: ***"the Crown Prince, Reza Pahlavi."*** Americans may be ***"uncomfortable with hereditary monarchs,"*** he noted, but this is about humanitarian outcomes and stability, not imposing a U.S. model.

On whether Washington should exploit a Mojtaba Khamenei succession or a ***"reformist"*** interlude, Lovinger cautioned against legitimizing the process: the United States is ***"not very good at manipulating"*** internal successions, and engagement risks dignifying an illegitimate state. Taleblu agreed the regime is banking on Western fatigue and ***"a path of least resistance,"*** iterative containment without a victory theory. The answer, he argued, is to do the math: tally carrier strike groups, missile defenses, diplomatic bandwidth, and the cumulative cost of endless JCPOAs versus a serious push to support Iranian society. That means building a constituency in Congress around foreign-supported, not foreign-imposed, change.

Both Khodorkovsky and Lovinger underscored that no one is asking for U.S. boots on the ground. The better analogy is the late Cold War. Words of moral clarity, material help to dissidents, communications support, and sustained economic pressure. ***"Maximum pressure, excruciating pressure, is a valid policy,"*** Khodorkovsky said. Had it continued uninterrupted, he believes the regime could have been months from collapse. The task now is to make ***"regime end"*** a real policy option by presenting decision-makers with a credible plan and a clear cost comparison: the price of propping up a terror state versus the upside of a democratic, technologically capable Iran.

Will Khamenei's death be the best,l and last, chance? Taleblu called it a major inflection point given the Supreme Leader's centralization of power, but warned against ***"resting on laurels."*** The IRGC and regime elites are already talking about change on their terms. The diaspora and allies must be louder, clearer, and earlier. ***"Here is the difference,"*** he said: ***"foreign-imposed regime change versus foreign-supported regime change."*** Or, as he put it with a pointed flourish: ***"This is about taking your country back and, dare I say, making Iran great again."***

Khodorkovsky closed with urgency: ***"Who cares about Khamenei? He is irrelevant… It's time to unite behind His Royal Highness, Reza Pahlavi."*** The choice, he argued, is stark: ***"darkness"*** or ***"light."*** The charge to the room: stop waiting on history, shape it.

When Will Iranians Rise Up?

SPEAKER

AHMAD BATEBI Former Iranian political prisoner



Good afternoon. Ladies and gentlemen, today we're gathered at the first conference since Israel's military attack on Iran. A historic moment that has raised a big question in the minds of many, especially in the West: ***why didn't the Iranian people come to the streets to overthrow the Ayatollah's regime after this attack? For those less familiar with Iran let me be clear, the absence of protest does not mean the Iranian people's struggle is over. Their fight is a long, complex process carried out with courage and determination.***

In sociology, there is a concept called "Survival First." During war, people focus on protecting their lives and families rather than political or economic demands. During the Persian Gulf War, Iraqis under bombardment did not protest against Saddam Hussein, they focused on staying alive. The same is true in Iran today. When the sky is filled with fighter jets, and explosions echo across the cities, people think of their safety, not protest, but survival is only part of the story. ***While facing war from outside, the regime has intensified its crackdown inside. In the first days alone, at least nine people were executed without a fair trial. Over 1,000 were arrested and accused of "spying,"*** *many simply for filming bombed buildings and sharing them online. The Parliament of the regime even passed new laws making it easier to accuse citizens of espionage, an offense punishable by death beyond traditional methods like arrest, torture, and censorship. The regime now labels opposition as traitors to silence them through shame.* ***It's important to note Israel targeted nuclear and military sites. But those are not the tools the Ayatollah regime used to control the people. They do not suppress people and protests with missiles and nuclear bombs. They use small arms, rifles, and pistols stored in city gardens and IRGC centers.*** *These weapons were not destroyed, so the regime still has all these tools to control and repress the people.*

Even though the regime is very brutal, it has big problems. The biggest one is that people no longer trust it. ***For years, the regime's leaders poured resources into military power, boasting of being unbeatable, yet the Israeli strike revealed Iran's sky and land to be defenseless against a country the size of one of Iran's smallest provinces. This humiliation exposed the regime's weakness to the Iranian people and its proxy forces.*** *The loss of legitimacy cannot be repaired by money or propaganda. Imagine, a regime that for four decades threatened to destroy Israel had not even built a single public shelter, nor installed sirens to warn its citizens of incoming enemy attacks. This failure has eroded trust. Even among regime supporters. Today, voices within the system openly criticize the IRGC failures around two weeks ago, actually, three weeks ago, I think it's so important we talk about that. Saeed Ghasseminejad talked about this, but* ***around three weeks ago, for the first time, the Supreme leader of the Iranian demonic regime, talked about an alternative for Islamic Republic. And for the first time, he mentioned our King Reza Pahlavi.***

Why is it important? Because we know that he has delusions. He has an ego. Many of you know that recently, he said, "God talks with my mouth." The video is on the internet. It's no joke. He said that. With this much delusion and ego, he couldn't ignore this, and came and said, there is an alternative. Why? ***Because right now, after more than four decades, we have an opposition with a strategy, with a plan, and with a wise leader.***

And all of this because of Shahzadeh's team. We know that many people, many of you, I know that you are here, have strengthened this structure, and I appreciate you for all those things you did for our King and for Iran. Thank you so much.

The Soviet Union collapsed just two years after its Afghanistan war, brought down by inefficiency and corruption. In Iran, the same process has begun. Protests are paused by survival needs, but repression, psychological collapse, loss of legitimacy, economic struggles, and global pressure are accelerating the regime's decline. Crucially, the Iranian people have never given up. They know that no foreign military, no matter how powerful, can replace the will and organization of a nation. ***Attacks weaken the regime, sanctions add pressure, but real change comes from the people.*** *After decades of execution and suppression, Iranians have adopted new methods of resistance: boycotting elections, ignoring regime symbols, and expressing defiance in their everyday lives.*

This clean, but powerful, resistance is part of the process that will, step-by-step, lead to change. The Ayatollah's regime has been weakened in terms of international threat, but it still remains strong in its ability to repress the people inside the country. The story reminds us, in oppressive regimes like the Nazis in Germany or former Soviet blocs, mass protests only erupted when people felt safety from repression. In Iran too, the people are waiting for that moment, and it's drawing closer. Ladies and gentlemen, ***the world must see that Iranians, even after this much pain, are still fighting. Their fight is slow, but their will is stronger than any forces of repression. We must hear their voices, stand with them, and know that the Iranian future belongs to the people who have never given up****. Thank you so much.*

Iran's Foreign Policy After the Islamic Republic



SPEAKER

CAMERON KHANSARINIA	NUFDI Vice President

NUFDI Vice President Cameron Khansarinia presented the Iran Prosperity Project's (IPP) foreign-policy blueprint for the post-Islamic Republic Iran, designed to rebut the claim that regime change inevitably means "chaos, mismanagement, instability." IPP, launched at the Crown Prince's behest, has opened its Emergency Phase Booklet to public comment; **"over 6,000 people from inside Iran and outside the country have joined us… by trying to prepare for the day after."**

Khansarinia first located today's crisis in five pillars of the regime's conduct: an ideological foreign policy mandated to export revolution, resulting isolation that erased Iran's pre-1979 connectivity, asymmetric dependence on Moscow and Beijing (including the 25-year China deal), persistent nuclear tensions, and proxy warfare from Lebanon to Yemen. Against that record, IPP proposes a normal statecraft grounded in national interest rather than revolutionary doctrine.

The blueprint sets four goals for an interim and future democratic government: reintegration into the international community, rapid normalization with neighbors, a reoriented posture toward major powers, and a peace agenda advanced **"through strength and through development."** He highlighted early outreach to Israel to seed the **Cyrus Accords,** a framework for regional prosperity with a free Iran as a partner.

Critically, Khansarinia assessed that Russia and China are unlikely to intervene to save the regime. Still, risks include neighboring opportunism, transitional weakness, and, above all, managing expectations. **"It's going to take time. This proposal is realistic… not… pie-in-the-sky."**

Week One priorities **"start by breaking taboos"**: **"recognizing Israel after decades," "normalizing relations with the United States once again," and "working openly and clearly with the IAEA,"** alongside **messages of "pacificity and brotherhood" to neighbors**, and **a request for the immediate suspension of sanctions**. With the regime gone, its proxy support would be terminated. In the ensuing months, the interim foreign ministry would pursue confidence-building with regional states and institutions, translating emergency stabilization into a durable, peace-centered foreign policy.

Country by country, the paper offers practical steps to cut tensions, including with difficult counterparts that might test Iran's territorial integrity or stir unrest. The baseline is non-negotiable: **"peaceful relations have to be based on mutual respect for territorial integrity and national sovereignty."**

If executed, IPP expects swift outcomes: sanctions relief, rapid recognition of the interim government, and a warm regional reception. **"Even the countries signing normalization agreements with the Islamic Republic today would welcome this change,"** though **"they're not in a political situation to be able to say that yet."** To keep the process accountable, the plan sets metrics: the speed and scope of diplomatic recognitions, the pace of sanctions relief, cooperation with bodies like the IAEA, and measurable reductions in regional tensions.

Khansarinia's closing message to policymakers in Washington, London, Paris, and Riyadh was direct. A post-Islamic Republic Iran, **"provided it goes the way that we are advocating,"** will **"foster peace, cooperation, and relationships based on mutual respect."** Supporting democratic, legitimate, organic change in Iran is the surest path to regional stability and global peace, and IPP is the working blueprint to get from day one to a normalized Iranian foreign policy anchored in pragmatism and national interest.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

HRH Reza Pahlavi, Crown Prince of Iran





Before I start my formal speech, let me say a few words and a couple of comments based on what we heard today. First and foremost, I'm so glad to see familiar faces in this room. Some of whom I've known for nearly half a century. There's at least one person in this room whom I've I have known for more than half a century, who was, at the time, our athletic and sports teacher who was world renowned. I'd like you to stand up and be recognized, Dr. Iradj Ahrabifard.

And, of course, during the course of the past four decades I've come to know so many other faces who are also here today. But I'd like to emphasize the importance of the new faces we see today. And boy, do we need more of you, especially the representatives of today's generation.

You know, when I was in Munich, I kept thinking, how many more times do I have my cheeks and my shoulders wet with the tears of grieving mothers? Of people were shot in the face during the Mahsa revolution? *Enough of that. We need to put an end to that. And the Gen Z of Iran today represents our hope for the future. And, by the way, I want to start calling them Gen V, because they are the ones who will be victorious. Now, on the issue that was discussed about the events that happened today, we spoke about Ronald Reagan. One thing I remember from his doctrine was "trust but verify." On the other hand, you have a regime who basically believes in the principle of "taghieh," which means a way to disguise your true intentions by openly lying about those intentions.*

And when it comes to IAEA verification, never mind verifying. Can you trust them to begin with? And how much more time will be wasted, as a result depriving an opportunity for the Iranian people to liberate themselves? *And yet more tears shed for more victims. That needs to be fully understood.* ***And specifically I'm addressing analysts, members of the media, lawmakers, and decision makers. You need to realize that there's been enough time for this regime to show its true intentions.*** *And we know it's certainly not good. It's only evil. And hopefully we who represent the alternative will prove to the world that, rather than getting this regime more opportunities to blackmail governments by taking hostages to barter them for their own existence, we need to put an end to all of that.* ***So this is an opportunity not to be missed. That's why we are here today.***

Ladies and gentlemen, distinguished guests, and dear compatriots, I am pleased to once again join NUFDI at The Iran Conference. ***Over the past four years, this conference has become more than just an annual event, it has become the leading forum to discuss and debate Iran, Iran policy, and our nation's future. Four years ago, you set out on this path, and in the years since you have altered the conversation in Washington to finally give our people a voice. You are forging unity within the Iranian diaspora. I am proud to stand alongside you,*** *and I look forward to continuing our collaboration in the critical months and years ahead. Our mission is urgent, but it is not without direction. I have outlined a clear strategy, five points that together chart the path from tyranny to freedom. First, maximum pressure on the Islamic Republic.* ***This regime thrives on impunity and on the silence of the world. We must ensure that the world never forgets the crimes of this regime, from executions and torture to corruption and theft on a national scale.*** *Second, maximum support for the Iranian people. Our people must know that while they fight, they do not fight alone, and that the world stands with them. That they can count on the diaspora to advocate for their rights. Third, maximum defections from the regime.* ***Every Iranian who withdraws their support from this system brings us closer to freedom. Whether they are in government, the military, or the bureaucracy, we encourage them to choose the nation over the occupiers.*** *Fourth, maximum mobilization and organization of activists, inside and outside the country. Our struggle requires discipline, coordination, and solidarity.* ***The Islamic Republic wants to divide and discourage us. We must do the opposite: we must unite, mobilize, and persevere.*** *And fifth, a plan for prosperity after the fall of the regime: the Iranian Prosperity Project. This project is not a slogan. It is a blueprint for rebuilding Iran after liberation, so that when the day comes, we are prepared.*

Last week, my delegation of experts traveled to Israel. They met with President Isaac Herzog, Minister of Science, Innovation, and Technology Gila Gamliel, and the top Israeli scientists to not only address Iran's water, electricity, and economic crises, but lay the groundwork for the Cyrus Accords between Israel and a free, democratic, and prosperous Iran.

These five points reinforce one another. ***Pressure weakens the regime. Support empowers the people. Defections hasten the end. Mobilization***

builds strength. And planning ensures that victory leads to a new day for our nation. To bring this vision to life, allow me to expand on two pillars that are essential to our success: maximum pressure and maximum support.

On maximum support: I want to recognize the tremendous work NUFDI has done in this area. The Maximum Support Booklet provided practical tools for policymakers, journalists, and citizens across the free world to stand with the Iranian people. And the 15-point policy plan developed for Western lawmakers has given friends of Iran in Washington, Brussels, Ottawa, and beyond concrete steps they can take to isolate the regime and empower our people. These are not just documents, they are instruments of action that, together, we have used to shape real policy changes in the corridors of power.

On maximum pressure: over the past year, I have traveled to capitals across the West, from London to Paris and beyond, making the case for stronger action against the Islamic Republic. These diplomatic efforts are yielding results. In the United Kingdom, we are closer than ever to the formal proscription of the IRGC as a terrorist organization. In Australia, the IRGC has now been officially listed, and the regime's ambassador expelled. These are important victories. Each sanction, each expulsion, each designation tightens the noose around the regime, raises its cost of survival, and signals to our people that the world is not just listening but acting.

On maximum defections, my team has taken unprecedented steps to offer an off-ramp to those officials and affiliates of the regime who wish to stand with the people. **Tens of thousands of Iranians across the armed forces, bureaucracy, and state apparatus have joined the defection platform we launched this summer.** They have accepted the call to defy the regime and join the nation. **These brave, patriotic men and women are already taking actions that are bringing us closer to victory. On maximum mobilization, this summer in Munich, I hosted the Convention of National Cooperation to Save Iran, an unprecedented moment in our movement's history. More than 500 activists and opposition groups from across Iran's diverse cultural, religious, and political spectrum convened** in a bold declaration of unity and purpose, a clear signal that this struggle is no longer defined by the past, but by the shared future we are building. This unity was not symbolic. It was practical and strategic. It demonstrated that the democratic opposition is organized, inclusive, and capable of preparing for transition. It showed that Iranians from every walk of life are ready to work together to build a post-Islamic Republic future based on these core principles: commitment to Iran's territorial integrity, the individual rights and equality of citizens, the separation of religion and state, and the inalienable right of the Iranian people to choose their future form of democracy. Munich was only the beginning. I once again extend my hand and invite all those who agree to these principles to join us in this campaign.

Last year, at this very conference, I announced the Iran Prosperity Project, or IPP. It was a vision, a promise to the people of Iran that we would be ready the first day after the fall of this regime. We've made remarkable progress in a year. **We convened the first Iran Prosperity Project Conference, bringing together experts and patriots from across the world to focus on Iran's future. At that gathering, we released the first six policy papers. Concrete, practical proposals on how to rebuild vital institutions, stabilize the economy, and begin the process of national recovery. Then, we unveiled the Emergency Phase Booklet, a vital document that outlines what must be done in the critical first months after the regime collapses.** From ensuring



basic services, to stabilizing the currency, to restoring law and order, this emergency plan will help prevent chaos and ensure a smooth transition. And perhaps most importantly, we launched a public comment period. **For the first time in modern Iranian history, a project of this scale and importance has been opened to every Iranian for review, input, and critique. More than 6,000 have participated.** This level of transparency is unprecedented. It reflects our belief that the future of Iran belongs not to one person or one group, but to the Iranian nation as a whole. In the coming months, more work will be done. **The plan will evolve through debate, feedback, and dialogue. And when the day of freedom arrives, we will already have in hand the frameworks needed to restore order and launch a new era of prosperity. This is how we ensure that the sacrifices of today's brave Iranians are not wasted. This is how we honor those who have fallen in the struggle. And this is how we demonstrate to the world that Iran is not like the failed experiments of the past, but a strong, proud nation rooted in 2,500 years of greatness, ready to return to its rightful place among the nations.** My friends, many people in Iran and around the world have been asking whether the regime has weathered this latest storm. Whether, despite the devastating blows it has suffered, it will be able to regroup and survive. My answer to this is no. We are past this point. The only question is when and how it will fall and what will come next. The regime is weak and divided. It is turning on itself and fragmenting, and thousands of its leaders and personnel in the security services are offering to defect. Its proxies, Hamas, Hezbollah, and the Houthis, have their backs to wall. Assad has fallen. It is more isolated internationally than at any point in recent history. The Iranian people are bravely challenging its rule, across the country, growing bolder every day. The opposition is more united and determined. Munich showed this. And we have a clear plan and organization. **But I want to be clear. While the regime is weak and vulnerable, it will only finally fall if the Iranian people rise up once again. They know the future of Iran is in their hands. My job, with many of you here today, is to make sure the conditions for success are stacked in their favor. And to ensure we have a clear plan for the transition to democracy and economic recovery. I feel optimistic we will succeed. But not complacent. We need to be disciplined and determined. I pledge to fight, shoulder to shoulder with all of you, until Iran is finally free.** Thank you, may God bless the people of Iran, and may freedom soon bless our homeland.

Tehran's War on America and the West



PANELISTS

VICTORIA COATES	Vice President for National Security & Foreign Policy, The Heritage Foundation
ANDREW GHALILI	Senior Policy Analyst, NUFDI
MARJAN KEYPOUR	Founder & Director, Alliance for Rights of All Minorities (ARAM)
NISHANK MOTWANI	Senior Fellow, Australian Strategic Policy Institute

MODERATOR

ELINA SHIRAZI	Political Correspondent, Daily Mail

Opening on the home front, Victoria Coates warned that the threat is no longer abstract. ***"I take this a little bit seriously, because I'm on their list of folks that are under threat,"*** she said, noting that ***"the FBI is much more forward leaning now on these files,"*** but cautioning that ***"they are here, and they are active."*** Her bottom line: ***"we do have a foreign threat here, present in the United States."*** The panel tied these risks to a broader pattern of plots against former officials, journalists, and dissidents.

On authorities and alliances, Coates walked through why Washington designated the IRGC: ***"the IRGC was so demonstrably a terrorist organization and that it was not functioning in any way like a normal military,"*** adding that its campus agitation amounts to ***"racial terrorism."*** Australia's parallel moves, Nishank Motwani noted, were historic: listing the IRGC ***"is…unprecedented in Australia's history…to label an organ of a state as a foreign terrorist organization."*** He urged greater coordination to synchronize sanctions, intel sharing, and legal tools.

The information battlefield drew equal emphasis. Andrew Ghalili warned of an ***"effort underway to essentially destroy our way of life,"*** describing ***"many states within the US that…each have…a whole web of [Islamic Republic] influence networks."*** Marjan Keypour detailed the intimidation that greases that machine: ***"the threats…against the journalists and the activists are real,"*** including ***"at least 200 journalists and activists…[who] have reported that they have experienced threats."***

Disinformation and antisemitism, the panel argued, are central to Tehran's playbook. Keypour recounted the regime's failed attempts to artifically boost letters from Khamenei with ***"bots and the human bots,"*** but warned the larger goal is to ***"weaken democracy…from its core."***

Beyond narratives, the regime targets pipes, ports, and cashflows. Coates flagged cyber probes on utilities: ***"You don't think about the Iranians weaponizing water…in regional US markets…but that's where they're headed,"*** urging redundancy and grid hardening. On financing, Motwani argued for layered enforcemen: ***"go after…commercial shipping, make insurance costs higher,"*** impose reputational costs, and squeeze buyers since ***"China's one of the principal beneficiaries of Iranian oil."***

The panel pressed for a coordinated doctrine rather than piecemeal reactions. ***"We do need a special envoy for Iran to be the head of this program,"*** to align diplomacy, law enforcement, and information defense, Coates said. Keypour called to ***"deny them visas"*** for UNGA and tighten vetting in government and academia. And Ghalili closed the loop on urgency: this is ***"an ongoing fight that is not going to end…until the regime is gone."***

Day One Closing Remarks



SPEAKER

CAMERON KHANSARINIA	NUFDI Vice President

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much, and thank you for staying all day with us throughout so many speeches, presentations, and panels. I hope that you learned something, certainly I did.

It's a great honor every year for NUFDI to convene this gathering, most importantly for me, because I enjoy being surrounded by people far smarter, far more talented, and far more capable than me. So, we had a sincerely excellent lineup of people today, and I want to thank each and every one of them. And a few days ago, not many of you, probably one or two people who are tuning in, probably saw Maryam Rajavi's latest rally somewhere in Europe.

Unlike Mrs. Rajavi and their group, NUFDI is proud that **not a single speaker in any of our events has ever received an honorarium, a speaking fee, nothing. They all come here because they want to speak the truth.**

They want to speak the truth to the people of Iran, the truth about the people of Iran, to Washington's leading policy makers, to the embassy staff who are here today, to the think tank leaders, to the journalists, and to so many more. **This conference would not be possible without the amazing speakers you saw today. So, join me once more, please, in thanking all of today's speakers.**

And of course, my incredible colleagues on the NUFDI team who have been working tirelessly over the past several days, running around, worried, sweating, a little bit scared throughout the day, but they put on, once again, a fantastic program. And without them, this wouldn't be possible. I'd also like to thank those members of NUFDI's Board of Directors who are here today: Dr. Abtin Shahriari, Ms. Fariba Bayani, and Mr. Shahpar Razmzan.

Thank you to the NUFDI Board for your leadership and support of the work that we do every day in Washington. Without the support and guidance you give us, this wouldn't be possible. So, thank you very much.

As many of you know, you'll be joining us again tomorrow for the second day of the Iran Conference, which will be conducted, I'd like to remind you, entirely in Persian, to discuss the Iran Prosperity Project, the Emergency Phase Booklet, and several presentations. So please do come back and join us tomorrow. Even if you don't speak Persian, you're welcome to join us. It's going to be a bit of a long day for you, but you're always welcome at a NUFDI conference, and we'll see which of the Islamic Republic's allies or proxies gets taken out tomorrow after the second day of the Iran Conference.

Every year, organizing this conference is a real honor for us. The effort that Dr. Ganji and our entire team put in is because we, as Mark (Dubowitz) on our panel said, **we believed that it was finally time for a conference to be held in Washington about Iran, about Iran policy, that was not just reproducing the propaganda and lies of the Islamic Republic, but rather speaking the truth about Iran, about what the people of Iran want, about what the Iranian-American community and our diaspora want.**

And at the end of the first day of our fourth annual conference, I think with support of all of you who attended, with our donors, we've been able to achieve that, and **we're immensely thankful that, for the second year, the Crown Prince has chosen the NUFDI Conference to deliver such empowering, important, poignant, and timely remarks**, so thank you, sir, for once again being with us. So that said, thanks to all of you for being here. Thanks to the many thousands of you who have watched live, and we'll see you tomorrow.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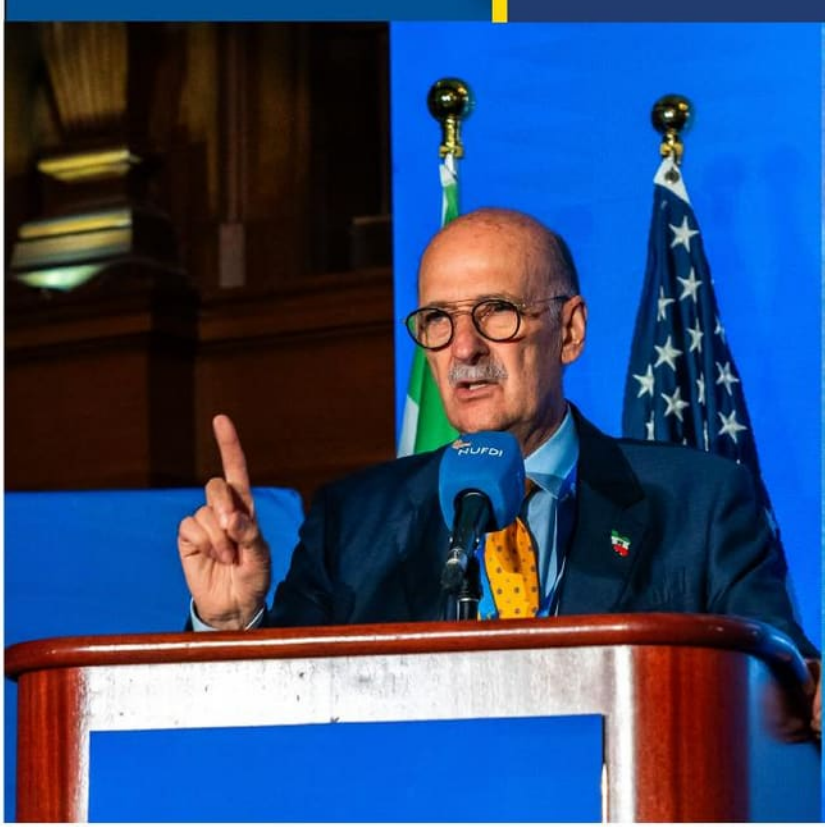
پروژه
شکوفایی
ایران
دوران اضطرار:
ثبات اقتصادی
واشنگتن دی‌سی سپتامبر ۲۰۲۵
NUFDI



DAY 2
THE IRAN CONFERENCE





Day Two Opening Remarks

[Translated From Persian]

SPEAKER

DR. SAEED GANJI NUFDI President

In his opening remarks, Dr. Ganji thanked all supporters of the National Union for Democracy in Iran (NUFDI) as well as the organization's staff. He emphasized that NUFDI does not receive financial support from any foreign government, to safeguard its independence, and to act solely in the interest of Iran's national good.

He then turned to the ***Emergency Phase Booklet*** of the ***Iran Prosperity Project (IPP)***, explaining:

"This project is a clear and resolute response to the recurring concerns of Western circles about Iran's stability, and that of the region, after the collapse of the current regime. For the Crown Prince has always sought to demonstrate that Iran, within the turbulent Middle East, is a unique and exceptional land."

He expressed his gratitude to the experts who contributed to the project. Experts who, as he noted, ***"sought to fuse professional expertise with love for their homeland."***

Dr. Ganji also thanked compatriots who have sent NUFDI their constructive criticisms, stressing that contributing to the Iran Prosperity Project is a civic responsibility. He underlined that in choosing experts and authors, the project's foremost consideration was their professional competence:

"Our DNA is fundamentally different from that of the Islamic Republic. Unlike the regime, NUFDI places merit and expertise, alongside patriotism, at the center of its work."

In other words, NUFDI has never engaged in ideological litmus tests. Patriotic Iranians, whether republican or monarchist, are welcome to participate in the project, provided they respect the people's right to decide the form of their future government.

Dr. Ganji concluded his speech with these words:

"We, the children of our motherland, that ancient land, Greater Iran, once again pledge to raise the Lion and Sun flag on the peaks of glory. No sinister force and no decayed regime will ever stand against the will of the Iranian nation."



Day Two Opening Notes
[Translated From Persian]

SPEAKER

DR. SAEED GHASSEMINEJAD	IPP Architect

Dr. Saeed Ghasseminejad began by reminding the audience that the Iran Prosperity Project (IPP) is the fifth pillar of Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi's five-pillar strategy. He emphasized that this is a truly national project, open to all patriotic Iranians, and that their participation is a source of pride. He added:

"This conference closes the [45-day] window for critiques so that, after reviewing and recording the feedback, we can publish the second edition of this booklet."

He further noted that the contents of the Emergency Phase Booklet are not carved in stone, and that they will be updated as new data and insights become available to the project team.

Dr. Ghasseminejad continued:

"This may be the first time in several decades that a national project of this scope has been carried out with such broad participation. In my view, the way Iranians have responded and engaged with this program shows that our society has the mental and cultural foundations needed to build a democratic Iran."

Expressing his gratitude to compatriots, to Manoto television, to experts, and to political groups for their constructive criticism, he also thanked Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi on behalf of the IPP team for his trust, remarking:

"Today, Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi is not only the best, but the only chance for the great Iranian nation to lead the process of overthrowing the Islamic Republic."

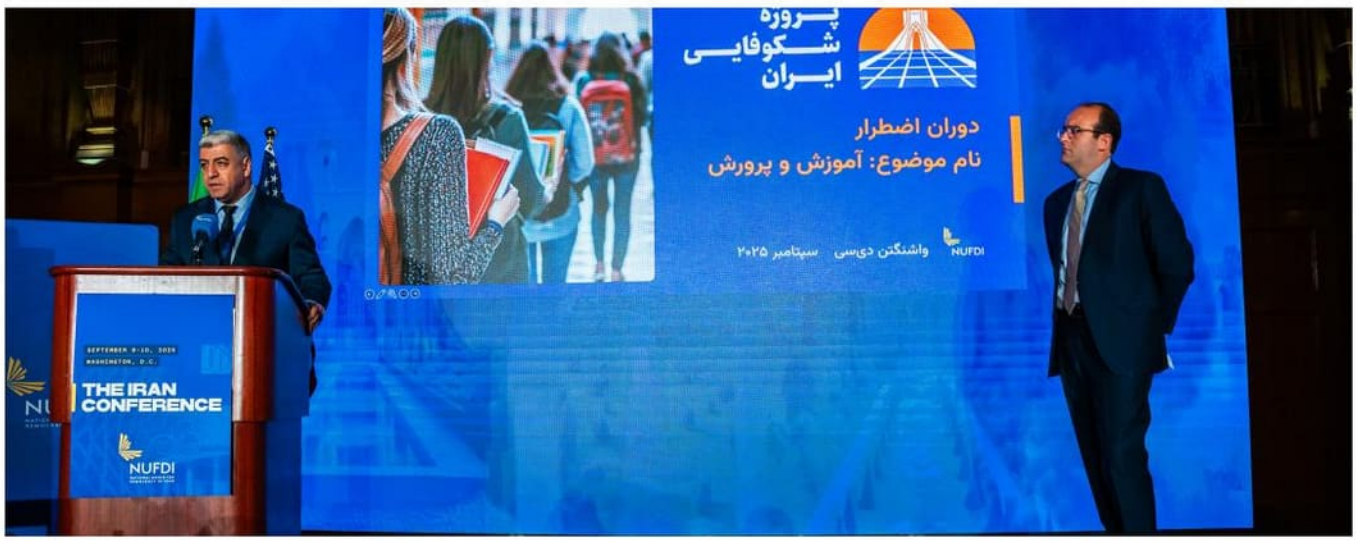
Dr. Ghasseminejad concluded his remarks by thanking NUFDI and its supporters.

After the publication of the Emergency Phase Booklet, NUFDI received a large number of questions from fellow Iranians. Later in the conference, Cameron Khansarinia, NUFDI's Vice President, posed the most frequently asked questions regarding different sections of the program to the relevant experts.



IPP Presentation One: Education

[Translated From Persian]



PRESENTER

NEJAT BAHRAMI Education Expert

In his presentation, Mr. Bahrami began by noting that he has received a significant number of constructive criticisms and suggestions. As a result, in the revised version of the education section, issues related to ***higher education*** and the ***university entrance exam (Konkur),*** as well as ***children in need of special education,*** will be addressed in greated detail.

He then addressed the current state of education in Iran, stressing that the bloated and costly bureaucratic structure is one of the Ministry of Education's fundamental problems. He added:

"Thirty percent of schools in the country are dilapidated... and four million people have either dropped out or been left behind from education."

Bahrami also discussed the isolation of Iran's education system from the world, which has deprived it of international resources.

He outlined the goals of the Iran Prosperity Project's education section for the first six months as: ensuring continuity of education and reopening schools as quickly as possible, reforming top-level management, distributing basic supplies and student incentives, and removing ideological symbols from educational content and physical spaces. He reminded the audience:

"The collapse of the Islamic Republic means the release of an immense amount of energy from society for rebuilding the country."

He also highlighted the risks involved in achieving these goals, including the breakdown of the administrative system, resistance at middle-management levels, budget shortages and delayed salary payments, national security crises, and challenges regarding the plan to implement coeducation. On the latter point, Bahrami emphasized that their assessments showed:

"The understanding that young Iranians have of the opposite sex is no less mature than in foreign cities."

Bahrami then outlined the necessary measures in education: prioritizing education in the national budget, building trust among staff and families, forming relevant teams at the national, provincial, and regional levels, preparing guidebooks, removing ideological elements from content and school spaces, making minor infrastructural changes for mixed-gender schooling, providing online and in-person in-service training, and implementing protective and security measures.

The first question concerned mixed-gender schools. Cameron Khansarinia noted that some believe this transition should be phased, taking into account the resistance of conservative families. Bahrami responded:

"The social environment inside Iran has already moved beyond this issue... and besides, there are small but very conservative groups such as the bazaaris and the Motalefeh who already run their own schools. Such alternatives exist for those who care deeply about this matter."

He stressed, however, that these groups are a minority and that there should be no return to Shia religious conservatism for their sake. Still, he acknowledged the issue's importance and assured that it would remain under review.

The next question concerned the quality of teaching among some teachers in Iran. Bahrami replied that proper in-service training must be established, and then the issue of instructor skill can be addressed by setting realistic expectations within the Ministry of Education.

The final question raised the concern that rushing to change educational content could be risky. Bahrami responded by clarifying that 90 percent of content would remain unchanged, with only the ideological parts of textbooks, or entirely ideological books, being removed.

IPP Presentation Two: Economic Stability

[Translated From Persian]

PRESENTER

DR. MOHAMMAD REZA JAHAN-PARVAR Economist

Dr. Mohammad Reza Jahan-Parvar opened his remarks by addressing Iran's current economic conditions. He noted that persistent budget deficits, chronic double-digit inflation, the isolation of Iran's economy, and serious challenges in domestic production have led to the bankruptcy of most banks and a full-blown currency crisis.

Regarding assumptions, he stated that the transfer of power must be peaceful and that the transitional government must gain legitimacy from both citizens and the international community. On risks, he cautioned that the transitional government must not face obstacles in exercising authority, and that overlapping with an international crisis could complicate the roadmap. For this reason, while thanking those who had provided feedback, he emphasized that the Emergency Phase document is merely a roadmap, which must be continuously updated in light of real-world developments.

Dr. Jahan-Parvar outlined the main goals of the authors of this section: the uninterrupted provision of public services by the state, keeping the payments system functioning, combating inflation and stabilizing prices, managing foreign currency reserves wisely, overseeing the assets of the former regime until new governance is established, and building public trust through transparent communication from the outset.

He then turned to the role of the Central Bank of Iran and the Ministry of Finance. **At present, he noted, the Central Bank lacks independence and functions as a government bank. Restoring independence to these two institutions, he argued, must be one of the central objectives of the transition.** He added that some short-term policies might conflict with medium- and long-term goals, given the emergency nature of the period.

The presentation then examined fiscal policy, financial markets, and currency strategy. **On the budget**, Jahanparvar discussed temporary borrowing from the banking system, international negotiations with countries and institutions, and the importance of building confidence. **On banking and currency issues**, he stressed maintaining uninterrupted payments, consolidating bankrupt banks, and monitoring large and suspicious withdrawals to prevent political destabilization. **In monetary and currency policy**, he underlined that the top priority must be preventing hyperinflation and stabilizing prices. He observed that Iran currently operates with four to eight different exchange rates, and



recommended that under the transitional government, this be reduced to two rates, eventually moving to a unified rate once the emergency period is over.

The core economic goals and priorities in the Emergency Phase, according to the program's economic team, are: public trust-building, maintaining the payments system, controlling inflation, ensuring transparent communication, and carefully reviewing and adjusting policies.

At the close, NUFDI Vice President Cameron Khansarinia posed a series of frequently asked questions regarding these IPP sections.

The first question concerned job creation under the transitional government. Jahan-Parvar replied that employment should be driven by the free market, warning that whenever the government interferes directly in the market mechanism, the door to corruption opens.

The next question addressed reforming subsidies. Jahan-Parvar stressed that subsidies must remain in place during the first 100 days, but that groundwork should simultaneously be laid for price liberalization, so that citizens are prepared for eventual stabilization and realignment of prices.

Finally, the issue of inflation was raised. Jahan-Parvar emphasized that restoring the Central Bank's independence is one of the most fundamental steps toward applying the necessary policies to control inflation.

IPP Presentation Three: Environment

[Translated From Persian]

PRESENTER

DR. SHIRIN GOLI	Water Specialist



In her presentation, Dr. Shirin Goli emphasized that **Iran today stands on the brink of environmental collapse.** Pointing to the water crisis, the drying of lakes and aquifers, soil and air pollution, and natural disasters such as floods, droughts, and wildfires, she warned that these threats endanger not only social stability and food security but even the country's national security. **The roots of these crises lie in the ideological policies of the Islamic Republic: entrenched corruption, unscientific development projects, and international isolation.**

She reminded the audience that the core assumption of the Emergency Phase Booklet is that without, immediate policy reform and international scientific cooperation, the crisis will spiral beyond control. Along this path, she identified risks such as threats to national security, pressure from military and economic institutions, and public distrust if transparency and social participation are lacking.

According to Dr. Goli, the program's short-term goals include halting destructive activities, protecting people from natural disasters, and improving transparency and public education. Its long-term goals are defined as sustainable environmental management, expanding scientific and technological cooperation with leading countries, and establishing a specialized commission to pursue citizens' rights in relation to environmental damages.

She outlined the expected outcomes of the program as reduced pollution, stabilization of ecosystems, the rebuilding of public trust, and the launch of international partnerships for sustainable reforms. She stressed that the Iran Prosperity Project provides the framework to achieve these goals.

In the Q&A session, she was asked about the possibility of reviving Lake Urmia. Dr. Goli explained that destructive activities must first be halted, after which restoration efforts should proceed on the basis of scientific data. In response to another question, **she stated that connections have already been established with countries such as the United States and Israel, and that their successful experiences in water management and treatment plants will also be utilized.**

IPP Panel One: Society, Health, and Economy

[Translated From Persian]



PANELISTS

DR. MAHSA TEHRANI	Health Specialist
DR. MEHDI BEYHAGHI	Economist
DR. BORGHAN NEZAMI	Economist

MODERATOR

ARMITA HOOMAN	Program Associate, NUFDI

This panel focused on two critical themes: health and the economy.

The discussion opened with a question from the moderator about the first 72 hours after the fall of the Islamic Republic: how can emergency medical services, such as ER units and ambulances, be guaranteed to continue? Dr. Tehrani responded that two committees must be established immediately. **The first would be an oversight committee, a non-political body tasked with ensuring the continuity of essential services. The second would be a crisis management committee for major incidents.** Together, they would accelerate decision-making. Their central role, she explained, would be to provide real-time updates on resources and service capacity.

Dr. Beyhaghi highlighted that economic planning in the immediate aftermath of regime collapse is fundamentally different from ordinary conditions. The top priorities, he said, are preventing economic breakdown, maintaining public trust, and preserving stability. He warned of the likelihood of a "bank run," where citizens withdraw their deposits en masse, and stressed that clear assurances on the safety of savings would be vital to avert panic. He also underscored the need to build international confidence quickly to lift sanctions and unfreeze blocked assets.

On the issue of trust-building, the panel also discussed protecting vulnerable groups. Dr. Tehrani pointed to the importance of telemedicine platforms, which can help keep healthcare accessible and also reduce psychological harm. **She noted that more than 40 percent of Tehran's residents suffer from anxiety and depression, and that such platforms, potentially involving Iranian doctors abroad, could make a major impact.**

Dr. Borghan Nezami then addressed one of the most pressing concerns in the early days: a currency crisis and the threat of hyperinflation. He explained that hyperinflation occurs when liquidity grows faster than the economy itself, especially when deficit financing and unchecked money-printing persist. The Emergency Phase Booklet, he said, proposes meeting budget deficits through the temporary issuance and sale of bonds in free capital markets. The key difference from the Islamic Republic's approach is that the Central Bank must have full independence in monetary policymaking. Public trust in the transitional government, he added, will itself help prevent the inflationary spiral.

Dr. Beyhaghi further noted that while sweeping legal and structural reforms may not be possible in the short term, groundwork for them can be laid. **He suggested immediate measures to stop capital flight and stressed that although corruption has been deeply institutionalized under the Islamic Republic, many practices can be eliminated quickly, creating momentum for future reforms.**

Finally, Dr. Borghan Nezami addressed job creation. He clarified that if job creation is understood as state-driven employment programs, the Emergency Phase opposes this approach, as it would impose heavy costs on the government and foster corruption. **Instead, he argued, the focus should be on enabling conditions for private sector growth from the outset, thereby empowering it to generate employment organically.**

IPP Presentation Four: Military and Security

[Translated From Persian]



PRESENTER

NAVID MOHEBBI International Security Expert

In his presentation, Navid Mohebbi explained that the military and security structure of the Islamic Republic, rather than functioning as a national institution safeguarding the interests of the Iranian people, has become an ideological and mafia-like network. Its primary mission has been regime protection, internal repression, and costly regional adventurism. He stressed that these forces have not only failed to provide national security but, through their direct involvement in the economy and control over significant formal and informal resources, have themselves become one of the main sources of insecurity and public distrust.

He added that the Iranian people, given their bitter experience over the past 47 years, are concerned about the re-emergence of unaccountable military and security institutions. For this reason, he said, transparency and serious oversight mechanisms must be in place from the very beginning.

The Emergency Phase posits that a large portion of mid- and lower-ranking army officers may side with the people. Unlike Iraq after Saddam, the plan is not to dissolve the Artesh entirely, but to gradually rebuild it based on merit. He added that Iranian experts abroad and clean-handed officers inside the country can fill many of the gaps. Mohebbi underlined that the transition period depends heavily on a movement of "national cooperation," and that **Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi's team is currently vetting and recruiting trusted forces, a process unprecedented in the past four decades, which has shaken the Islamic Republic.**

Explaining the security component of the Iran Prosperity Project, Mohebbi stated that in the first three months, the priority would be stabilization and establishing the new government's control over military and security centers. **For this purpose, more than 2,500 Basij bases in Tehran have already been identified and mapped**. He added that in the first year, the rebuilding of military and intelligence forces must begin alongside the creation of a national security and intelligence organization and a national police. **In the 24-month horizon, the aim is to consolidate security and military structures with strong oversight mechanisms to guarantee that the armed forces are accountable to the people, not to an ideology.**

He concluded by emphasizing that ideological structures such as the Basij and the IRGC's intelligence organization will be completely dissolved. Only those individuals who have gone through thorough screening and vetting, would have the opportunity to join the new structure. By contrast, certain technical bodies, such as passport control, could continue operating, but parallel structures would no longer exist. **This process will transform Iran's future army into a professional, unified force loyal to the people. One that not only secures the country but can also contribute to regional cooperation.**

In the Q&A session, Mohebbi was asked about the weakness of Iran's air force. He replied that **border security in the short term will be ensured through active diplomacy, international support, and cooperation with neighboring states, while simultaneously initiating the rebuilding of military capabilities.** He stressed that, contrary to the Islamic Republic's propaganda, regime collapse will not mean the disintegration or loss of Iran's security, since it is the Islamic Republic itself that has been the main driver of instability in the region. **He assured the audience that with the participation of domestic forces, popular support, and international backing, Iran's territorial integrity and national security will be preserved.**

IPP Presentation Five: Water

[Translated From Persian]

PRESENTER

DR. MOHAMMAD NAYEB YAZDI	Environmental Specialist



Dr. Mohammad Nayeb Yazdi explained that Iran today is facing a state of ***"water bankruptcy,"*** meaning that national water consumption exceeds available resources. This, he said, has led to the drying of lakes and wetlands, and a dramatic drop in groundwater reserves. Land subsidence has reached unprecedented levels, placing Iran first in the world on this index. In Isfahan, the land sinks by about 30 cm annually, while in Varamin it reaches up to 40 cm, a disaster that threatens the very survival of Iran's major cities. The drinking water crisis in major urban centers, he added, shows how mismanagement and massive wastage in transmission networks have reached the point where even supplying potable water has become a challenge.

He identified the roots of these crises in the structural policies of the Islamic Republic: overlapping and conflicting responsibilities among institutions, the exclusion of public participation, corruption and rent-seeking in large projects, and the regime's ideological insistence on "food self-sufficiency," a policy repeatedly emphasized by the Supreme Leader. **By centering the economy on overexploitation of natural resources and neglecting environmental sustainability, Iran, he warned, faces an existential territorial threat.**

Turning to the transition period, Nayeb Yazdi stressed three essential principles: continuity of water supply services, immediate stabilization and protection of key infrastructure, and public trust-building through transparency and communication. **He cautioned that during this period, tensions over water distribution could intensify, and sabotage by regime remnants might occur, making the protection of dams and pumping stations a top priority.** Without restoring public trust, he emphasized, no difficult decisions in water management can be implemented, and citizen participation is a prerequisite for overcoming the crisis.

The program's assumptions, he said, include mobilizing technical managers and mid-level experts already within the system who can assist the transitional government, and pursuing early cooperation with international institutions such as the World Bank for environmental loans. **Risks, however, include resistance from entrenched "water mafia" networks against transparency, social unrest triggered by restrictions, and external pressure over shared water resources such as the Helmand River.**

For immediate measures, Nayeb Yazdi underlined the need to form a ***Water Governance Task Force*** to coordinate the many agencies involved, to suspend new well drilling until scientific studies of aquifers are conducted, and to launch a national awareness campaign on water bankruptcy. **Transparent reporting on corruption-prone projects, removal of incompetent managers, and immediate collaboration with international institutions, he said, must also be among the first 180-day priorities of the transition.**

In the longer term, he argued, the government must gradually reduce water-intensive agriculture and create alternative livelihoods. Farmers, he cautioned, cannot simply be cut off from their land overnight, as this would itself spark a security crisis. Instead, over four to five years, agricultural water consumption should be substantially reduced. **Sustainable policies on imports and agricultural subsidies should replace the regime's coercive, Soviet-style self-sufficiency model, and a national water data system must be designed to enable scientific resource management.**

Expected outcomes of this program include securing safe access to drinking water, preventing infrastructure collapse, strengthening public trust through transparency, and preparing a roadmap for sustainable water governance. Nayeb Yazdi concluded that the water crisis is a territorial threat, declaring:

"If Iran cannot save its land, debates over government type or social freedoms will become meaningless. Stopping the damage at any point is still a gain. Iran's water crisis is a cancer, not a surface-level illness, and surgery must begin today."

In the Q&A session, he was asked about illegal wells and whether immediate crackdowns were possible. He replied that an aggressive focus on this issue could spark social tensions during the transition, as **Iran has around one million wells, half of them illegal, yet many have low extraction capacity.** The best course, he argued, is a temporary suspension of new well drilling and gradual decision-making based on scientific data. On agriculture, he said **reductions in cultivated land and crop selection must be phased and aligned with local conditions, since cutting farmers off abruptly would leave millions of rural residents without livelihoods**. On reviving Lake Urmia, he stressed that it will only be possible if environmental water rights are continuously guaranteed and a long-term plan to reduce agricultural consumption in the surrounding basins is implemented. **He concluded that while the Islamic Republic has made recovery difficult, with political change and public cooperation, Urmia and other water resources could be brought back to life.**

IPP Presentation Six: Energy

[Translated From Persian]

PRESENTER

DR. HOSSEIN POURMAND	Energy Specialist



Dr. Hossein Pourmand described the current state of energy in Iran as ***"seriously critical."*** He explained that **chronic electricity shortages, aging infrastructure, and the country's extreme dependence on natural gas have placed Iran in a situation of severe difficulty**, especially during the summer months. A large share of Iran's electricity, he noted, is generated from natural gas, yet the production, transmission, and power plant network has not been modernized for decades. As a result, blackouts have worsened. Excessive regime-backed cryptocurrency mining, enabled by subsidized electricity, has exacerbated shortages. In oil and gas, despite vast reserves, sanctions and the absence of advanced technologies have led to declines in production. Meanwhile, Iran's share of renewables remains negligible, despite its immense solar potential.

He **defined the program's key goals as preventing sabotage and operational collapse across the energy chain, restoring stable flows of electricity and fuel, resuming oil exports and returning revenues to the national budget, and building transparent, sustainable structures.** At the center of this vision is the creation of a transitional energy council: a single, trusted authority that replaces today's fragmented management, strengthens physical and cyber security of facilities, updates the map of critical assets, and stabilizes operations by mobilizing mid-level technical experts. Pourmand added that the program's assumptions include basic territorial security over most production zones, the availability of international technical and financial support, the readiness of Iranian engineers and technicians to cooperate, and gradual easing of external restrictions through energy diplomacy.

He outlined a phased operational pathway: in the early stages, the transitional energy council would be formed, domestic and international experts vetted and organized, and key sites mapped for proactive protection. Immediate stabilization of electricity and fuel flows would follow, supported by halting cryptocurrency mining, conducting technical-operational audits of all infrastructure, and reviewing financial and contractual records, especially recent deals. Next, a phased merger of the Ministry of Oil and the Ministry of Energy into a single Ministry of Energy would begin, with interim leadership appointed. Refineries would undergo audits and upgrades to meet environmental standards, and a task force would be activated to facilitate the return of energy-sector experts from abroad. Later phases would focus on rebuilding the power grid, gradually modernizing aging plants, rolling out renewable energy pilots, particularly solar, launching broad anti-corruption and transparency initiatives in procurement and contracting, and by the end of the first six months, convening an **Iran Energy Dialogue** with Iranian and international experts to align with global industry standards.

Expected outcomes, Pourmand stated, include a continuous national energy supply, restoration of full and transparent control over the energy sector, repatriation of export revenues to the state budget, and the institutional groundwork for sustainable reform. He stressed that, given its immense oil, gas, and solar resources, Iran should not be a country suffering from chronic energy crises. **The roots of current problems, he concluded, lie in managerial inefficiency and structural decay, not in a lack of capacity.**

In the Q&A on energy subsidies, he clarified that due to high inflation, immediate removal of subsidies during the emergency period is not advisable. Instead, subsidies should be maintained in the short term in a targeted way, especially for vulnerable groups and vital sectors like road transport, then gradually reformed and phased out in the long term. On oil production capacity, he explained that while technically Iran could return to much higher levels, global market constraints, OPEC quotas, and competition from major producers mean such goals must be approached realistically and through careful international engagement. **In response to a question about the recent Iran Prosperity Project delegation's visit to Israel, Pourmand said the trip showed that cooperation in desalination technologies and solar-related materials and systems could, after political change, help solve Iran's water and energy challenges simultaneously**, and that this technical synergy should already be factored into the roadmap.

IPP Panel Two: Political and Legal Transition

[Translated From Persian]



PANELISTS

ALEN BOSTOKIAN	Management Specialist
BABAK SHEKARABI	Spokesman, Cyrus the Great Institute
SHAYAN ARYA	First Secretary, New Constitutionalist Party
VAHID BAHMAN	Historical Researcher

MODERATOR

ALIREZA KIANI	Editor-in-Chief, Fereydoun Journal

This panel examined the political–legal framework of the Emergency Phase Booklet and how to transition from the Islamic Republic to a democratic system.

Alireza Kiani opened by highlighting the diversity of perspectives on the panel, while emphasizing that differences were not in principle: all participants, he said, approached the issue from a national and patriotic standpoint.

Alan Bostokian explained, from a crisis- and change-management perspective, that **the Emergency Phase Booklet itself is an antidote to fear because it provides a practical roadmap. It addresses three layers of stability: immediate stability through limited and focused goals; institutional stability through clear role definitions and accountability; and social stability by balancing minimal rules of order with the repeal of repressive laws.** He argued that clarity of mission, separation of roles, and urgency in execution reduce resistance to change and strengthen social acceptance. The program, he noted, is ***"written to be implementable,"*** offering benchmarks and evaluation criteria rather than abstract ideals.

Babak Shekarabi stressed the importance of ***"preserving victory after achieving it,"*** distinguishing between fluctuating popularity and enduring legitimacy. To ensure legal continuity, he proposed drawing on the ***"last legitimate order,"*** **the 1906 Constitution of Iran.** Without requiring strict enforcement and with suspension of incompatible clauses, this, he argued, could provide a transitional anchor of legitimacy, preventing a legal vacuum or claims from remnants of the 1979 revolutionary movement. **Referring to De Gaulle and Vichy France, he suggested that legal regression, combined with temporary executive decrees, could guide the country until a final referendum.**

Shayan Arya welcomed the existence of a concrete program but criticized certain proposed titles and institutional designs. Transitional leaders and councils, he said, lack precedent in Iran's legal tradition and offer no clear succession mechanism, risking excessive concentration of legitimacy in a person rather than in systems. Arya proposed that for the 100–180 day emergency period, a structure less dependent on an individual, with clear succession and veto mechanisms, should be designed to ensure resilience if leadership is disrupted.

Vahid Bahman emphasized national sovereignty as the sole source of legitimacy. **He defended the program's three-step path to legitimacy: a people's vote on the form of government, election of a Constituent Assembly in the fourth month, and submission of the new (or revised) constitution to a referendum.** Criticizing an immediate return to the 1906 Constitution's text, he warned that its immutable provisions (such as the official religion and clerical privileges), outdated articles, and built-in barriers to reform would

create tensions even during the transition. Instead, he argued, after the Iranian people's vote determines the system, if monarchy is chosen, the Constituent Assembly should ***revise*** the 1906 text in proposal in a free environment.

All participants agreed on foundational principles: national sovereignty and the people's vote as the source of legitimacy; the need for immediate stability and a practical, executable plan; accountability and transparency; and progress toward a referendum and Constituent Assembly. Disagreements centered on the "optimal legal pathway." Institutionally, concerns were raised about ensuring succession mechanisms, limits on authority, and veto processes during the emergency phase to prevent legitimacy from over-concentrating in a single figure. Overall, the discussion was constructive, and **the common goal was clear: a swift, lawful, and democratic transition to a system built to endure, not just to win.**





IPP Presentation Seven: Political Transition

[Translated From Persian]



PRESENTER

DR. SAEED GHASSEMINEJAD — Project Director, Iran Prosperity Project

In his presentation, Dr. Saeed Ghasseminejad explained that the Islamic Republic is in a collapsed state and that a clear political framework is needed to navigate the transition. This framework is built upon Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi's ***five-pillar strategy***:

1. **Maximum Pressure** – not only through sanctions and foreign governments but also by mobilizing the diaspora and the people inside Iran to exert political and economic pressure on the regime.

2. **Maximum Support** – providing strike funds, assisting the families of victims, and ensuring tools such as satellite internet prevent the regime from isolating the country.

3. **Maximum Mobilization and Uprising** – uniting political forces abroad and revolutionary networks at home under common principles and unified leadership.

4. **Maximum Defections** – within the regime's security, military, and administrative bodies, which Ghasseminejad described as the key condition for revolutionary victory and was already visibly underway.

5. **The Iran Prosperity Project** is the roadmap for the future that builds trust among both the Iranian people and the international community.

Ghasseminejad emphasized Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi's central role, not only as the most popular political leader among Iranians but also as the only figure who enjoys both domestic legitimacy and institutional recognition internationally. He argued that the monarchy is the only institution that can provide the historical continuity and public trust necessary for rebuilding shattered institutions. With a team of experts and hundreds of pages of detailed plans, the Crown Prince has given the movement a workable operational framework.

On the executive side, the Emergency Phase Booklet defines the mechanics of transition. The constitution of the Islamic Republic will be annulled on day one, with temporary power vested in the Leader of the National Uprising. During this period, three major steps are foreseen: a referendum in the fourth month to determine the form of government (republic or constitutional monarchy); election of a Constituent Assembly in the sixth month to draft a new constitution; and a referendum to approve that constitution, leading to the formation of an elected government and the end of the transitional phase. Until then, a temporary executive team and the National Uprising Council will administer the country, with the Leader of the National Uprising also serving as Commander-in-Chief. Non-ideological administrative regulations (e.g., traffic laws) will remain in force temporarily, while ideological or corrupt regulations will be annulled, with new institutions gradually replacing them.

Ghasseminejad concluded that the two primary goals of the transition are: ensuring rapid stability to prevent chaos, and swiftly transferring power to the people through consecutive elections and referenda. He cautioned that this is an emergency, and victory will only be secured if all stand firmly behind Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi and avoid division, otherwise, he warned, the historic opportunity for transition could be lost.

Surprise Guest: Sports and Health

[Translated From Persian]

SURPRISE GUEST

DR. IRADJ AHRABIFARD	Former Coach of Iran's National Swimming Team, Sports Specialist

At the end of his presentation, Dr. Saeed Ghasseminejad set aside the Q&A period and instead invited Dr. Iraj Ahrabifard to speak on health and sports in Iran.

Dr. Ahrabifard, former coach of Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi and the Iranian national swimming team, emphasized that the future of Iranian sports should not focus solely on medals and elite competition. Instead, it must rest on three main pillars:

1. **Competitive Sports** can foster national pride, but currently absorb almost all of the country's atheltics budget and resources. This must be balanced

2. **Sports for Public Health and Youth Development,** an area entirely neglected in Iran, even though in countries such as the U.S. and Scandinavia, millions of children participate in nationwide sports systems through which athletic talents naturally emerge.

3. **Recreational Sports** should be promoted as a healthy alternative to harmful habits and as a driver of happiness and quality of life.

He stressed that sport must become part of each individual's personal culture, encouraging everyone to maintain consistent physical activity suited to their abilities. According to him, **youth engagement, scientific talent identification, expanding school sports infrastructure, and strengthening the public culture of exercise are the essential pillars for rebuilding Iranian sports.** The ultimate goal, he concluded, is to create a healthier, happier, and more energetic society. **An Iran that again experiences sport not just on the playing field, but as part of everyday life.**





IPP Presentation Eight: Industry, Production, Economy

[Translated From Persian]

PRESENTER

DR. AIDIN PANAHI Economist

Dr. Aidin Panahi described the current state of Iranian industry as critical, comparing it to the crises in water and energy. **He pointed to widespread stagnation in key sectors such as steel, cement, aluminum, and automobiles; heavy dependence on quasi-state institutions controlled by the IRGC and affiliated foundations; the mass emigration of skilled professionals; and the inability to meet vital needs such as medicine and food** as defining features of this crisis. He emphasized that rapid industrial recovery during the transition will be essential to prevent chaos and public distrust.

To achieve this, he explained, a **temporary industrial recovery council will be established as the central body for transparent management and oversight of industries**. Its responsibilities will include ensuring continuity of production in essential sectors such as pharmaceuticals, food, and agriculture; immediately surveying and assessing the country's top 100 factories; protecting critical plants in cooperation with the army and security task forces; facilitating the return of skilled emigrants; and subjecting IRGC- and foundation-owned assets to transparent audits to halt resource plunder.

The operational program for industrial transition is designed in three phases:

- **First 30–45 Days:** Immediate imports of medicine, food, and spare parts; preventing smuggling and black market activity; paying wages to workers; and restarting essential industries with power supplied by local electricity networks.
- **First 90 Days:** Partial reopening of heavy industries such as steel, cement, automobiles, and fertilizers; establishing secure transport corridors; and closely monitoring the prices of basic goods to prevent shortages and inflation.
- **By 180 Days:** Launching a modernization drive based on foreign investment and diaspora participation, including transparent privatization, development of start-ups, promotion of entrepreneurship, and enforcement of environmental standards.



Dr. Panahi noted that the main opportunities in this period include the restoration of international legitimacy and access to short-term credit, attraction of foreign investment, and adoption of advanced technologies to ease pressure on the national grid. However, he also identified risks such as sabotage by IRGC loyalists, the emergence of black markets, public distrust of privatization, and legal loopholes in trade and investment. He stressed that these risks can only be managed through full transparency, regular reporting to the public, and the creation of a national industrial information platform.

Success indicators, he said, include uninterrupted supply of essential goods; the visible return of economic activity in cities and villages within 30–45 days; the reopening of heavy, construction, and agricultural industries within 90 days; the return of skilled professionals; growth in key exports; and the rebuilding of public trust through consistent, transparent communication.

Dr. Panahi concluded by underlining that the main bottleneck in industry is the energy crisis. The way forward, he argued, lies in developing local electricity networks for industries and adopting modern technologies, such as energy production from wastewater treatment facilities, to reduce pressure on the grid and pave the way for industrial recovery.

HRH Reza Pahlavi, Crown Prince of Iran



Dear friends and compatriots,

First and foremost, I sincerely thank all of you who attended the Iran Conference yesterday and today, as well as everyone around the world who followed this gathering. I also consider it my duty to thank NUFDI and all the experts and specialists who contributed to the Iran Prosperity Project, especially those who worked on drafting the Emergency Phase.

As I said on the day this project was unveiled, it is a national project. A project that belongs to the entire Iranian nation. *From the very first day of publishing the Emergency Phase, we announced that we welcome criticism and suggestions.*

In fact, the very purpose of releasing this program at this stage was precisely this: to expose it to rigorous critique, to refine it, and ultimately to reach the best possible version for the moment after the fall of this regime. I am pleased to say that since its publication, thousands of comments and suggestions have been sent to us.

The team of writers and compilers has reviewed, and will continue to review, all of them carefully and will use them to improve the program. Of course, alongside constructive criticism, there has unfortunately also been defamation, obstruction, and false accusations. This did not surprise me, because I know very well that ***in recent months, the regime has launched a new, organized campaign to attack me, my team, and our activities.*** *This campaign intensified after the announcement of the National Cooperation platform to attract military, police, security, and government personnel. It entered a new phase after the successful and remarkable Munich Conference, and it reached its peak with the release of the Emergency Phase.*

As for those who knowingly seek to preserve this anti-Iranian regime, the matter is clear. I only hope that the few who have unknowingly fallen into the regime's trap will separate themselves from its ill-wishers. ***Let me emphasize again: all those who believe in the fundamental principles of safeguarding Iran's territorial integrity, defending individual freedoms and equality for all citizens, separating religion from government, and upholding the Iranian people's right to choose their future system of government must be able to work together.***

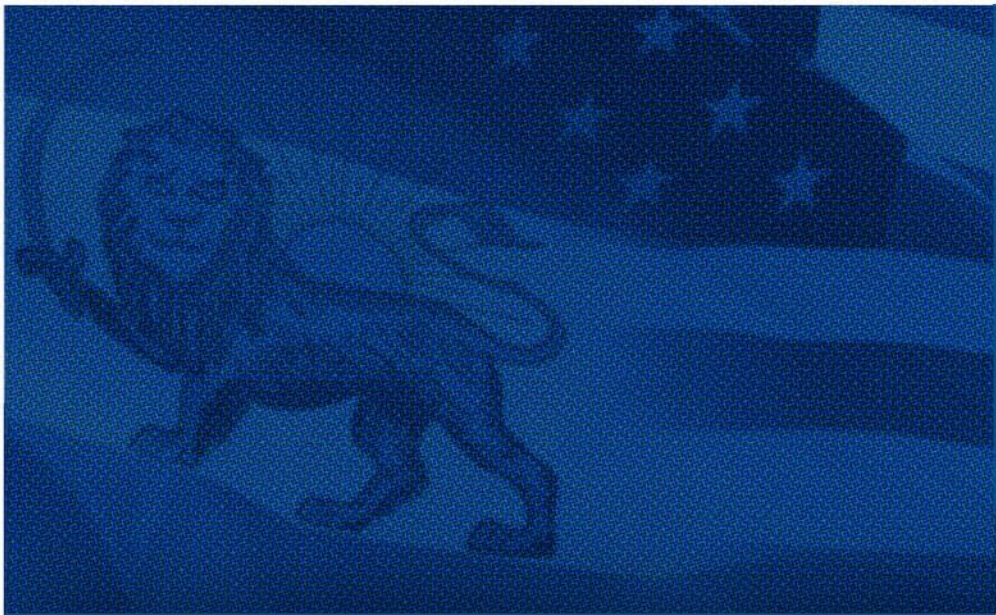
I invite all of them to be part of the solution and to join this national campaign. But for those who insist on remaining part of the problem, we will not waste even a single second. ***This train is moving forward and will not be stopped by obstruction or sabotage.***

Today, the Islamic Republic is in the most fragile condition it has faced in 46 years, unable even to provide the most basic needs of the Iranian people, such as water, electricity, and fuel. In contrast, we are already planning so that once the regime falls, people's problems can be resolved quickly.

Today, we have both a strategy and a program for overthrowing this regime, and we are also proceeding step by step with a structured plan for replacing it. The scope of activities and achievements of our campaign in just the past two months alone is the clearest sign and proof of why we must believe in victory. But before closing, let me share a few points.

This is serious work, and it requires a collective responsibility. *Responsibility must replace resentment and envy, which are our greatest cancers. As has been said before, a country without water has no life, and thus nothing to build upon. As was also noted, I have often said that stopping harm, in any case, is itself a benefit, and it is the very first step we must take.*

Finally, let me stress this point: no matter how capable a driver you have, and no matter how fine the car or race vehicle you put at his disposal, if the fuel tank is empty, that car will not move an inch. ***Never forget that NUFDI, which I have always supported, does not receive a single dollar from any foreign government or external funding. Every dollar spent is the money you, our supporters, have contributed to this campaign and NUFDI's other efforts.*** *Let me remind you: it is your support that ensures the fuel tank is never empty, so that we can reach the final destination. I hope you will continue to be active in this path and sustain your support for this organization and for the broader efforts my team and I are undertaking. Thank you all.*





"This is a project not just to bring down the Islamic Republic, it is a project to build up Iran...soon, we will be able to rebuild our great nation together."

—HRH REZA PAHLAVI, CROWN PRINCE OF IRAN

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