

Global Relations Forum International Task Force

**“The Future of the Nuclear Deal with Iran:
Preserving, Solidifying and Leveraging a
Diplomatic Success”**

2nd Meeting, March 4-5, 2017, Istanbul

Agenda

Friday, March 3, 2017

Arrivals and transfer to the hotel

8:00 p.m.–9:30 p.m. *Dinner*

*Hotel Grand Tarabya
The Brasserie
Yeniköy, Sarıyer
Istanbul*

Saturday, March 4, 2017

9:00 a.m. Transfer from the Hotel to the Meeting Venue

Yapı Kredi Yeniköy Korusu

Sait Halim Paşa Caddesi No: 4

9:10 a.m.–9:30 a.m. *Light Breakfast*

Yeniköy, Saryer

Istanbul

9:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m. *Session One*

Domestic Politics Jeopardizing the JCPOA

Guiding Questions:

Does the Trump administration's negative, confrontational approach to the JCPOA reflect a new set of rigid boundary conditions for the US or a new negotiation strategy? What are the implicit limits to the hardening US position? Can the White House control this trajectory of adversity it has set in train, given the proclivities of a Republican-dominated Congress?

How will Iranian authorities react to the changing US stance until and, more importantly, after the Iranian elections? What will be the underlying Israeli strategy regarding the JCPOA as the US and Iranian positions evolve?

Do the parties fundamentally wish to preserve the deal? Are they simply trying to push it to its limits to change the terms in their favor or at least to exploit the existing margins of discretion maximally for themselves?

In this political context, are we facing a JCPOA that will be on a negative secular trend towards its demise or a period of alive but tense JCPOA, vulnerable to the escalation of even minor perturbations?

What can be done to reverse, slow down or divert the political forces that fuel the current adversity? Is it possible to mobilize existing international institutional mechanisms or imagine new ad hoc structures to preempt and contain crises that can otherwise escalate and destabilize the JCPOA (maritime, Hezbollah, ballistic missiles etc.)?

Moderator: Hikmet Çetin, Former Speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Former NATO Sen. Civilian Rep. in Afghanistan

Speakers: Nasser Hadian Jazy, Professor of Political Science, *Faculty of Law and Political Sciences at the University of Tehran*

David Menashri, Professor Emeritus, *Tel Aviv University*; Senior Research Fellow, *Alliance Center for Iranian Studies and Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University*

Gary Samore, Executive Director for Research, *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University*; Former White House Coordinator for Arms Control and Weapons of Mass Destruction

11:00 a.m.–11:30 a.m. *Coffee Break*

11:30 a.m. –1:00 p.m. *Session Two*

E3+3-US and Preserving the JCPOA: Will they, can they?

Guiding Questions:

How committed are the non-US members of the E3+3 to preserving the JCPOA? What can they do to change the political calculations in favor of the JCPOA in the US and Iran?

How should the European members balance their commitment to the JCPOA with their broader alliance with the US? Could tensions with the US about the JCPOA cause a rift within Europe? Are there any E3 crisis-response policies that should be declared ex-ante to shape political calculations by the US or Iran?

How committed are the Russian Federation and China to the preservation of the JCPOA? Do they have meaningful leverage over Iran's actions, will they use it? Will the JCPOA remain relatively compartmentalized from other bilateral tensions between these two countries and the US? Or will potential crises related to the JCPOA be entangled in overall bilateral relations with a transactional US President?

Can the E3+3-US coordinate their actions in case the JCPOA is threatened by extreme measures by the US or Iranian side? If the US or Iran declares unilateral suspension of commitments, would that be terminal or can the E3+3-US provide life-support to the JCPOA? What could life-support for the JCPOA look like?

Moderator: **Yaşar Yakış**, Ambassador (Ret.); Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

Speakers: **Simon Gass**, Former Political Director, *British Foreign and Commonwealth Office*; Former NATO Sen. Civilian Rep. in Afghanistan

François Heisbourg, Chairman, *Geneva Centre for Security Policy*; Chair, *IISS Council*

Vladimir Orlov, Former President and Executive Board Member, *PIR Center*; Head of the Center for Global Trends and International Organizations, *Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation*

1:00 p.m.–2:00 p.m. *Lunch*

2:00 p.m.–3:30 p.m. *Session Three*

Can the JCPOA Survive Delayed US Sanctions Relief or New Non-Nuclear Sanctions?

Guiding Questions:

If the US imposes new non-nuclear sanctions or is slow in removing existing nuclear sanctions as part of its hardening policy stance, will Iran suspend its commitments under the JCPOA? What are the deal-breakers for Iran? Are there channels of communication to credibly gauge Iran's reactions to new US sanctions before they are introduced to avoid undue escalation?

Is trade and investment with rest of the world growing fast enough to keep Iran in the JCPOA even if progress on the US side is below expectations and if new sanctions are introduced? To what extent has the rest of the world adjusted to extraterritorial US sanctions?

How will oil prices impact Iran's reaction to adverse US moves on sanctions?

How will and should the other E3+3 members and economic partners like India and Turkey react to new US sanctions or prolonged and reluctant elimination of existing nuclear sanctions under the JCPOA?

Moderator: **Özdem Sanberk**, Ambassador (Ret.); Former Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Speakers: **Memduh Karakullukçu**, Vice-Chairman and President, *Global Relations Forum*

Steven Miller, Director of the International Security Program, *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University*; Chair, *Pugwash Executive Committee*

Rakesh Sood, Ambassador (Ret.); Former Special Envoy of the Prime Minister for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Issues

3:45 p.m. Transfer to the Grand Tarabya Hotel

3:45 p.m.–7:30 p.m. Free Time

7:30 p.m. Transfer to the Dinner Venue

Sait Halim Paşa Mansion
Yeniköy, Sarıyer
Istanbul

7:45 p.m.–10:30 p.m. *Dinner and Discussion*

Guest Speaker: **Ambassador Alper Coşkun**, Director General for International Security Affairs at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Sunday, March 5, 2017

9:00 a.m. Transfer from the Hotel to the Meeting Venue

Yapı Kredi Yeniköy Korusu
Sait Halim Paşa Caddesi No: 4
Yeniköy, Sarıyer
İstanbul

9:10 a.m.–9:30 a.m. *Light Breakfast*

9:30 a.m.–11:15 a.m. *Session Four*

President Trump's Public Condemnation of the JCPOA: Could it Motivate New Extended Negotiations with Iran?

Guiding Questions:

Given the Trump administration's harsh criticism of the JCPOA, will the President feel politically obliged to choose between an unduly inflexible enforcement of the deal, which will risk termination of the agreement, and the negotiation of a new extended agreement? As senior cabinet members like Gen. Mattis appear to favor the preservation of the JCPOA, could there be an opening for launching new negotiations that will address the key criticisms of senior figures about the JCPOA? Or does the current US rhetoric render it politically infeasible?

Can the temporal limits of the JCPOA, which have been strongly opposed by critics, potentially provide a basis to launch new negotiations in return for further sanctions relief? Are there other areas of potential conflict like maritime or cyber that could generate a similar motivation for new negotiations?

How will Iran respond to such a move? Would the E3+3-US support such a process or oppose it?

If the current US political climate does not prove amenable to new negotiations for a broader agreement with Iran in the immediate future, is there nevertheless room for intergovernmental or non-governmental initiatives to prepare the groundwork for such negotiations in anticipation of the opportune political moment?

Moderator: Hikmet Çetin, Former Speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Former NATO Sen. Civilian Rep. in Afghanistan

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François Heisbourg, Chairman, *Geneva Centre for Security Policy*; Chair, *IISS Council*

Nasser Hadian Jazy, Professor of Political Science, *Faculty of Law and Political Sciences at the University of Tebran*

Gary Samore, Executive Director for Research, *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University*; Former White House Coordinator for Arms Control and Weapons of Mass Destruction

11:15 a.m.–11:30 a.m. *Coffee Break*

11:30 a.m.–1:15 p.m. *Session Five*

**Imagining the Context of Future Negotiations with Iran:
Is it Wiser to Negotiate an Extended Deal Sooner rather than Later?**

Guiding Questions:

Assuming that the worldview and practices of the Iranian leadership do not change in the near future, is negotiating non-nuclear disputes and the temporal extension of the nuclear deal likely to become easier or more difficult with time?

As the economic center of gravity moves towards Asia, will the Western economic leverage over Iran recede? Or will the continuation of US dominance of global economic systems like finance and insurance preserve US leverage?

If Iran's economic growth increasingly becomes intertwined with Asian economies, including energy exports, will big Asian nations use their economic ties to influence Iranian behavior? Do major Asian actors share Western concerns about Iran's policies in the region, especially against Israel?

If energy and economic interdependence increases, will the Asian economies, especially India and China, take a more active role in future negotiations with Iran? Will Iran become Asia's challenge as much as it is the West's challenge?

In light of potential shifts in context, is it wiser to build on the JCPOA and negotiate a broader deal with Iran sooner rather than later?

Moderator: Yaşar Yakış, Ambassador (Ret.); Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

Speakers: Memduh Karakullukçu, Vice-Chairman and President, *Global Relations Forum*

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Rakesh Sood, Ambassador (Ret.); Former Special Envoy of the Prime Minister for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Issues

1:15 p.m.–2:15 p.m. *Lunch*

GIFGRF

2:15 p.m.–3:30 p.m. *Session Six*
Planning the Task Force Report
Guiding Questions:

The US policy towards Iran is in flux and the upcoming elections in Iran entail many uncertainties.

The report will be published in June-July. How should the report be structured to survive possible discontinuities that might impact the JCPOA in the coming months?

Can it be structured to remain relevant even if the US or Iran suspends its commitments under the JCPOA?

Moderator: Steven Miller, Director of the International Security Program, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University; Chair, Pugwash Executive Committee

3:45 p.m. Transfer to the Hotel

3:45 p.m.–6:30 p.m. Free Time

6:30 p.m.–7:15 p.m. Transfer to the Dinner Venue by Boat

7:15 p.m.–8:00 p.m. *Drinks and Museum Tour*

Kaiser Wilhelm II Dining Car

Rahmi M. Koç Museum

8:00 p.m.–10:00 p.m. *Dinner*

Keçeci Piri, Hasköy Cad. No: 5, Beyoğlu, Istanbul

10:00 p.m. Transfer to the Hotel