



Global Relations Forum International Task Force

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

1st Meeting, October 13-14, 2016, Istanbul

Agenda

Thursday, October 13, 2016

Day 1: Preserving the JCPOA

9:20 a.m. Transfer from the Hotel to the Meeting Venue

Yapı Kredi Yeniköy Korusu

Sait Halim Paşa Caddesi No: 4

Yeniköy, Sarıyer

Istanbul

9:30 a.m.–10:00 a.m. *Light Breakfast*

10:00 a.m.–10:15 a.m. *Introductory Remarks*

10:15 a.m.–11:45 a.m. *Session One*

Containing Geostrategic Fault-lines

Guiding Questions: To what extent is the JCPOA resilient to the broader tensions and crises in the region? How robust is it to accruing tensions among global powers? How can it be further compartmentalized from these fault-lines?

How will the JCPOA's resilience evolve with time? Can the regional/global security benefits accrue fast enough and gain political support broad enough to preempt the corrosive impact of ever-present regional/global tensions?

What are the appropriate institutional mechanisms and strategies to increase the JCPOA's endurance against shifting geo-strategic fault-lines?

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

Speakers: **Li Bin**, Senior Associate, Nuclear Policy Program & Asia Program at the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center; Professor of International Relations, Tsinghua University

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

11:45 a.m.–12:00 p.m. *Coffee Break*

12:00 p.m. –1:30 p.m. *Session Two*

Domestic Political Dynamics

Guiding Questions: In what ways can the domestic political dynamics of the US and Iran as well as Saudi Arabia and Israel undermine the JCPOA? Are there ways to shift the JCPOA away from the central rifts of domestic politics and interest groups in these countries?

If forces opposing the JCPOA gain traction, which governmental or non-governmental (civil society, media etc) mechanisms can slow down hasty political action, prevent escalation and allow time for reasoned decision-making? Given the JCPOA's technical, yet politicizable nature, how important is public perception of the deal? What is the most constructive approach to inform the public debate?

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

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

1:30 p.m.–2:30 p.m. *Lunch*

2:30 p.m.–4:00 p.m. *Session Three*

Economic Factors

Guiding Questions: To what extent can economic interests undermine the JCPOA? Are there sub-national economic interest groups, especially in Iran, adversely affected by the deal that can undermine the deal and how can their negative impact be contained? How can the current entangled state of the sanctions be streamlined and rationalized? Or is the current complexity of the sanctions regime a reflection of the underlying political disputes and tenuous compromise in the US? Are there latent tensions and rivalries within the P5+1 about the pace and orientation of Iran's economic integration with the world economy? Can such tensions undermine collective resolve about the JCPOA in general and about snapback sanctions in particular? Which mechanisms can be put in place to prevent such a dynamic? How critical are oil and gas prices for the future of the JCPOA? Would higher prices fuel anxieties about Iran's economic power; would low prices lead to a general disillusionment within Iran?

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

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*

4:00 p.m.–4:15 p.m. *Coffee Break*

4:15 p.m.–5:00 p.m. **Final Thoughts**

Are there other factors or potential scenarios that could trigger the unravelling of the JCPOA? How can they be prevented or their impact contained?

5:00 p.m. Transfer to the Grand Tarabya Hotel

5:00 p.m.–7:30 p.m. Free Time

7:30 p.m.–9:30 p.m. *Dinner and Discussion*

**Hotel Grand Tarabya
Tarabya Meeting Room**
*Yeniköy, Sarıyer
Istanbul*

Friday, October 14, 2016

Day 2: Building on the JCPOA

9:20 a.m. Transfer from the Hotel to the Meeting Venue

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

9:30 a.m.–10:00 a.m. *Light Breakfast*

10:00 a.m.–11:30 a.m. *Session Four*

Leveraging the JCPOA Laterally: Broader Cooperation for Regional/Global Security

Guiding Questions: *Is there scope for building on the momentum of the JCPOA to start negotiations in other security domains like cyber, maritime or even missile capabilities?*

If formal lateral expansion of the JCPOA's momentum into other security domains is not viable at this stage, are there confidence building measures that might set the ground for such efforts at a later date?

Although there is currently much skepticism and opposition to the JCPOA in the region, could the new strategic configuration, once settled, open new pathways for contemplating a broader regional security deal?

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

Speakers: 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*

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

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

11:30 a.m.–11:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

11:45 a.m.–1:15 p.m. *Session Five*

Extending the JCPOA Temporally

Guiding Questions: *As the concerns about the 10-15 year cut-off points in the JCPOA are likely to deepen and become more pressing with time, is there scope for starting negotiations that will address the post-JCPOA period? What incentives are already available or can be devised to engage the parties to undertake such an effort in order to avoid the potentially destabilizing discontinuity of the cut-off points?*

Given that the 10-15 year horizon provides a significant time period to observe Iran's priorities and intentions, can a forward-looking "regional" non-proliferation effort be shaped contingent on the JCPOA's durability and credibility?

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

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

Li Bin, Senior Associate, *Nuclear Policy Program & Asia Program at the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center*; Professor of International Relations, *Tsinghua University*

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*

1:15 p.m.–2:15 p.m. *Lunch*

2:15 p.m.–3:45 p.m. *Session Six*

Iran's Economic Engagement with the Region and the World

Guiding Questions: *Can Iran become a regionally and globally integrated market economy? Can the JCPOA unleash positive economic forces that would weaken internal resistance by certain interest groups to an open, globally-integrated, market economy? As part of this dynamic, are there external measures that can encourage Iran to make advances in the state's commercial impartiality, transparency and regulatory foreseeability as well as the protections of rule of law for global investors?*

Which steps can be taken to alleviate the strong reservations of some regional actors about Iran's economic growth that will result from its integration with the world?

Could a careful sequencing of trade and investment steps (e.g. the aircraft sale provision in the JCPOA) serve as a mutual confidence building process for both internal and external opposition to Iran's economic opening? Which institutional modalities can be

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used to negotiate and oversee such a gradual, calibrated and principled approach to Iran's increased economic engagement with the region and the world?

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

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

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*

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

3:45p.m. – 4:30 p.m. **Final Thoughts**

Are there other ways to constructively build on the JCPOA? What would be the most effective mechanisms or institutional structures to explore those possibilities?

4:30 p.m. Transfer to the Hotel

4:30 p.m.–7:00 p.m. Free Time

7:00 p.m.–7:30 p.m. Transfer to the Dinner Venue (Includes a boat trip across the Bosphorus)

7:30 p.m.–9:30 p.m. *Closing Dinner*

Balıkçı Abdullah Restaurant

Paşabahçe mah. Barbaros cad.

No:18/B, Beykoz

Istanbul

9:30 p.m. Transfer to the Hotel