



# TEHRAN RISING

IRAN'S CHALLENGE TO THE UNITED STATES

ILAN BERMAN

Foreword by WILLIAM SCHNEIDER, JR.

# Tehran Rising

**Ilan Berman**



## **Tehran Rising:**

**Tehran Rising** Ilan Berman, 2007-04-24 The Islamic Republic of Iran today constitutes the single greatest challenge to the United States and the War on Terror In the Persian Gulf and Central Asia Iranian policymakers are busy cobbling together alliances intended to elevate it to the status of a regional superpower at the expense of the U S and its European allies In Iraq Iran is spending millions to perpetuate a lingering insurgency that threatens to transform the former Ba athist state into another Islamic Republic Iran remains the world s most active sponsor of terrorism fueling the activities of Hamas the Palestinian Islamic Jihad Hezbollah and al Qaeda And through its nuclear advances mature chemical and biological weapons programs and an expanding conventional military Iran is gaining the capability to catastrophically alter the balance of power far beyond its immediate neighborhood All of this has been guided by an ambitious strategic agenda that is designed to make the Iranian regime the center of gravity in the post Saddam Middle East As evidence of this threat mounts one thing remains crystal clear to Ilan Berman Washington is woefully unprepared to deal with this mounting peril Berman s approach is hard hitting provocative and unflinchingly critical But he takes the exploration of Iran s menace one step further providing what has been missing so far in the foreign policy discourse regarding Iran both within the U S government and outside it practical policy prescriptions designed to contain Iran s strategic ambitions **Tehran Rising** Ilan

Berman, 2007-04-24 The Islamic Republic of Iran today constitutes the single greatest challenge to the United States and the War on Terror In the Persian Gulf and Central Asia Iranian policymakers are busy cobbling together alliances intended to elevate it to the status of a regional superpower at the expense of the U S and its European allies In Iraq Iran is spending millions to perpetuate a lingering insurgency that threatens to transform the former Ba athist state into another Islamic Republic Iran remains the world s most active sponsor of terrorism fueling the activities of Hamas the Palestinian Islamic Jihad Hezbollah and al Qaeda And through its nuclear advances mature chemical and biological weapons programs and an expanding conventional military Iran is gaining the capability to catastrophically alter the balance of power far beyond its immediate neighborhood All of this has been guided by an ambitious strategic agenda that is designed to make the Iranian regime the center of gravity in the post Saddam Middle East As evidence of this threat mounts one thing remains crystal clear to Ilan Berman Washington is woefully unprepared to deal with this mounting peril Berman s approach is hard hitting provocative and unflinchingly critical But he takes the exploration of Iran s menace one step further providing what has been missing so far in the foreign policy discourse regarding Iran both within the U S government and outside it practical policy prescriptions designed to contain Iran s strategic ambitions 49th Publication Design Annual Society of Publication Designers, 2015-07-01 The Society of Publication Designers SPD annual competition seeks the very best in editorial design work Judged by a worldwide panel of top designers the 49th edition of Rockport s best selling SPD annuals celebrates the journalists editorial directors photographers and other talented individuals who brought events of the year 2014 to our

doorsteps and computer screens Stunning full page layouts present everything from products to people and objects to events in ways that make each palpable and unforgettable You ll find featured work published in a wide range of mediums and created by journalistic design and publishing talent from around the world [Die Romische Republik EPUB 2-3,2015-04-22](#) Provides a comprehensive introduction to 20th and 21st century world poets and their most famous most distinctive and most influential poems **Dangerous But Not Omnipotent** Frederic Wehrey,David E. Thaler,Nora Bensahel,Kim Cragin,Jerrold D. Green,2009-04-16 In an analysis grounded in the observation that although Iranian power projection is marked by strengths it also has serious liabilities and limitations this report surveys the nature of both in four critical areas and offers a new U S policy paradigm that seeks to manage the challenges Iran presents through the exploitation of regional barriers to its power and sources of caution in the regime s strategic calculus *Iran's Deadly Ambition* Ilan Berman,2016-12-06 Are we on the cusp of détente with Iran Conventional wisdom certainly seems to believe so Since the start of diplomacy between the Islamic Republic and the P5 1 powers the United States France England Russia China Germany in November 2013 hopes have been running high for a historic reconciliation of Iran s clerical regime with the West Yet there is ample reason for skepticism that the United States and its allies can truly curb Iran s nuclear ambitions by diplomatic means Moreover the West s current focus on Iran s nuclear program is deeply dangerous insofar as it fails to recognize let alone address Iran s other international activities or its foreign policy aims Those objectives are global and they continue to grow in scope and menace In this sobering book Ilan Berman illuminates the multiple dimensions of the Iranian threat and exposes the perils of lodging confidence in diplomacy with the Islamic Republic *Learning cities in a knowledge based society* ,2010

**Defending Iran** Gawdat Bahgat,Anoushiravan Ehteshami,2021-09-23 An authoritative analysis of Iran s defense doctrine and security policies set within the context of security and political relations in the Middle East [Insight Turkey / Winter 2023 • Volume 25 - No. 1](#) Ayşe Avcı,Bashkim Rrahmani,Beyza Ceren Aslan,Bilal Bağış,Bilal Salaymeh,Cem Duran Uzun,Cenkay Uyan,Deepika Dahiya,Eldar Hasanoğlu,Fahrettin Altun,Feyza Nur Canalp,Fikriye Karaman,Guo Changgang,Hacı Mehmet Boyraz,Hamit Emrah Beriş,Hatice Karahan,Majlinda Belegu,Mustafa İlter,Nurettin Akçay,Oğuzhan Çağlıyan,Öznur Gülen Ertosun,Ravza Altuntaş Çakır,Resul Yalçın,Serdal Temel,Sırma Feyza Şağban,Şafak Oğuz,Umair Gul,Yenal Göksun,2023-03-01 On May 14 2023 Türkiye will hold both the presidential and the parliamentary elections in which the Turkish people will choose the president and all 600 members of the Turkish Parliament This will be the second elections since the transition to the presidential system in 2017 After the first elections held in June 2018 Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was elected as the first president of the new governmental system and AK Party received more than 42 percent of the total votes winning almost half of the seats in parliament As in the first elections two major political blocs will compete namely the People s Alliance Cumhur İttifakı and the Nation Alliance Millet İttifakı The People s Alliance bloc consists of the Justice and Development Party Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi AK Party led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan the Nationalist Movement

Party Milliyet i Hareket Partisi MHP led by Devlet Bah el i the Great Unity Party B y k Birlik Partisi BBP led by Mustafa Destici the New Welfare Party Yeniden Refah Partisi YRP led by Fatih Erbakan and the Free Cause Party H r Dava Partisi H DA PAR led by Zekeriya Yap c o lu The second political bloc the Nation Alliance also known as the Table of Six Alt l Masa is made up of six plus one political parties The alliance which was initially formed in May 2018 by four political parties now consists of six parties while one party supports the bloc from outside The Republican People s Party Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi CHP led by Kemal K l daro lu and the Good Party yi Parti P led by Meral Ak ener are the two main allies They were are officially supported by four smaller political parties The Democrat Party Demokrat Parti DP led by G ltekin Uysal represents the center right while the Felicity Party Saadet Partisi SP led by Temel Karamollao lu is the continuation of Necmettin Erbakan s Islamic political tradition The two additional political parties the Future Party Gelecek Partisi GP led by Ahmet Davuto lu and the Democracy and Progress Party Demokrasi ve At l m Partisi DEVA Party led by Ali Babacan are breakaway groups from the ruling AK Party They have recently joined the Nation Alliance in an attempt to overthrow the ruling party which has been in power for the last two decades In addition to these six political parties the Peoples Democratic Party Halklar n Demokratik Partisi HDP led by Pervin Buldan and Mithat Sancar also supports the Nation Alliance However it did not become an official partner of the Nation Alliance since some partners of the alliance most notably the P generally representing the secular Turkish nationalists oppose the alliance with HDP due to its close connections with PKK Therefore although HDP has declared its support for the candidacy of Kemal K l daro lu it has not joined the alliance It has become obvious that two political alliances will dominate the election process therefore there are effectively only two main presidential candidates While the People s Alliance has nominated Recep Tayyip Erdo an the Nation Alliance has nominated Kemal K l daro lu for the presidential post Concurrently there are two additional candidates Muharrem nce and Sinan O an supported by other small political parties that will no doubt influence the election results however they are not expected to get more than a small percentage of the vote The two opposing and conflicting political blocs represent an almost absolute mutual exclusive perspective about the future of T rkiye and the politics of the country reflecting the increasing polarization of Turkish politics These two alliances have two opposite and conflictual perspectives of T rkiye The People s Alliance emerged as a consequence of a domestic stance against the attacks T rkiye faced after the bloody coup attempt by FET on July 15 2016 which led to many major changes in the country The alliance aims to maintain the current government to consolidate the current presidential system to continue the country s transformation program to protect the country against both internal and external threats to increase its deterrent military power to strengthen its economic development and to globalize its diplomatic power The Nation Alliance on the other hand was formed as a reaction to the People s Alliance since no one political party was is able to challenge the power of AK Party and its leader Recep Tayyip Erdo an The alliance is determined to reverse the course of politics in the country and to reverse many of the changes made by the AK Party

governments It claims that if it wins the elections it will initiate a process of restoration revive the old political system change the regime revive the old and turn to the status quo ante However the Nation Alliance is quite a vulnerable and fractured opposition bloc It seems that while the Nation Alliance agrees on what it does not want specifically the rule of the AK Party the bloc does not know what it wants instead There is no real consensus among the fragmented opposition parties about the future of the country Not only do different political parties expect different developments even different wings within certain political parties make different suggestions For example some officials of the biggest partner of the Nation Alliance the main opposition Republican People s Party CHP has declared that they will apologize helalle mek to certain mistreated groups such as the women who were excluded from education and work because they chose to wear Islamic clothing On the other hand some other representatives and supporters emphasize that they will take revenge hesapla mak against other groups close to AK Party Another important event that reflects the division within and the brittleness of the Nation Alliance is related to the announcement of their presidential candidate Not only did it take more than ten meetings and several months for them to decide but at the end of the process the leader of P Ak ener left the block as she and her party did not approve the candidacy of K l daro lu Nevertheless she came back to the table just one day later accepting K l daro lu s candidacy but adding two new names Ekrem mamolu and Mansur Yava CHP mayors of Istanbul and Ankara respectively to the existing five vice presidents Indeed for a long time Ak ener had been campaigning that one of these two men be selected for the presidential candidacy The upcoming elections which are held on the centennial anniversary of the Turkish Republic put T rkiye at an important crossroads It seems that two conflictual perspectives the bloc that supports the consolidation of the presidential system and the bloc that supports a regime change will collide While the People s Alliance emphasize autonomy in foreign policy and seeks to achieve regional leadership the Nation Alliance promote an inward looking political system and withdrawal from regional issues Whatever the position of the bloc one thing is for sure The Turkish people want a strong leadership in foreign policy during this crucial global transition period The turnout in Turkish elections is relatively high generally over 80 percent which is one of the highest in the world Considering the politicization in the people s daily lives political polarization and the harsh political dialogue it seems that the turnout in the upcoming elections will be even higher Furthermore the earthquake disaster of February 6 has further exacerbated and aroused the political fault lines However at the end of this high level of democratic competition and turnout in elections Turkish democracy will be the winner and it will be consolidated Taking into consideration these developments and the importance of the elections not only for T rkiye but for the regional and global affairs as well this issue of Insight Turkey tackles some of the most important and determinative topics influencing the results Disinformation has been one of the most noticeable ramifications we are experiencing of the digital revolution At the same time T rkiye situated in a geopolitical hotspot is one of the countries that is both a target and a hub of disinformation campaigns in the region Within this context Fahrettin Altun the Presidency Communications Director

has penned a commentary addressing misinformation and disinformation with a special focus on Türkiye and the initiatives undertaken by Communication Directorate Within the same line of thought Yenal Gökşun provides an overview of Türkiye's strategic communication policy and evolution of the Turkish communication model and the current strategic communication initiatives undertaken by the Directorate of Communications According to Gökşun Türkiye's evolving development and foreign policy agenda which has developed rapidly in the last 20 years has pushed it to undertake more ambitious efforts in the field of communication and public diplomacy and as a result innovations have been made in strategic communication policies Turning to one of the most discussed issues in recent years in Türkiye's politics Cem Duran Uzun focuses on the country's presidential system and the different government systems proposed by various parties before the 2023 elections He specifically focuses on the differences between the US presidential system and Türkiye's administrative system which overhauled its political system in 2017 and replaced the parliamentary system with a Turkish style presidential system Following up Hamit Emrah Beri evaluates the key issues in Turkish politics before the 2023 elections Beri argues that the 2023 elections are one of the most important in Türkiye's history and four main topics determined the fate of the elections refugees the economy rising nationalism and the Kurdish question The author focuses on serious differences of opinion between the ruling and opposition blocs on the solution to these problems According to Beri the 2023 elections will show whether the approaches of the ruling or opposition wing are in line with the expectations of Turkish society In our next research article Ravza Altuntaş aims to investigate the relationship between ethnic Muslim minority identity and transnational Muslim solidarity with emphasis on HDP the most organized political Islamic organization and the second largest political party in Southeast Türkiye In her paper Akar examines how the concept of ummah motivates the party's domestic ideological national and transnational political discourses and initiatives and also deals with the uncertainties that a mostly abstract and idealist ummahist approach to modern politics brings in the face of Kurdish nationalism regional realpolitik and democratic pluralism As mentioned previously refugees are another important issue for the forthcoming elections In that respect the article by Hatice Karahan and Zeynep Gülen Ertosun examines the various dynamics that Syrian women under temporary protection face in the labor market in Türkiye Technology has become a driving force in the global affairs and Türkiye has been taking all the necessary steps to take advantage of new developments Within this line of thought Serdal Temel in his commentary argues that Türkiye an emerging economy has been attempting to improve its socioeconomic strength through the promotion of research and development R D innovation and technological development activities The author underlines that since the 2000s the government has implemented support programs focused on developing the innovation capacity of small and medium sized enterprises SMEs and universities and emphasizes that these programs are diversified as support for ecosystem improvements as well as support for patenting commercialization and entrepreneurship In another article Nurettin Akay and Guo Changgang discuss China's Belt and Road Initiative BRI and Türkiye's Middle

Corridor MC projects which have a common goal of connecting Europe and Asia as well as facilitating commercial economic political and socio cultural interactions between the two continents In this commentary which aims to examine the history objectives and stages of T rkiye s MC Ak ay and Changgang harmonizes the BRI with the MC and examines the inherent risks and challenges of integration as well as opportunities for the region Our final commentary by afak O uz analyzes the possible consequences of the F 35 fighter crisis between the U S and T rkiye particularly in terms of its effect on the tactical nuclear weapons TNWs deployed in T rkiye as part of NATO s nuclear sharing program Three off topic research articles enrich the scope of our special issue Eldar Hasano lu and O uzhan a l yan investigate with the onset of the COVID 19 crisis how the Israeli diplomacy initiative took on greater importance in maintaining its presence and reputation internationally In their article the authors analyze Israel s approach to COVID 19 diplomacy which involved providing medical teams PPE and surplus vaccines to approximately 20 countries and examine the political and strategic calculations behind Israel s decision to extend assistance to specific countries Focusing on the religious conflicts in Kashmir Resul Yal n and Umair Gul seek to try to contextualize the search for the secular while examining the construction of Muslim identity the institution of martyrdom and its social basis in Kashmir They define Kashmir as a festering political problem receiving little global attention Lastly Bashkim Rrahmani and Majlinda Belegu focus on the Serbia Kosovo dialogue They discuss the important issues linked with the dialogue that is being facilitated and negotiated by the EU including essential activities challenges obstacles antagonisms the approach the EU facilitators mediators undertake as well as the reaction and the expected results that the parties involved in the process have regarding reaching a final solution to the dispute As T rkiye is on the eve on one of the most important elections in its history this issue of Insight Turkey addresses some of the issues that have been dominating the political agenda lately Through this issue we hope to provide our readers with a thorough analysis and the necessary foundations for a better understanding of some of the main issues that will influence the outcome of the May 14 elections

**Israeli Development Aid to Sub-Saharan Africa** Karolina Zielińska, 2021-03-01 This book deals with Israeli development aid to Sub Saharan Africa countries as a part of Israeli foreign policy The analysis is framed by the concept of soft power an assumption that development cooperation increases attractiveness of the donor and contributes to constructive bilateral and multilateral relations Israel is a particular case of a donor as it concentrates on technical aid and its aid is motivated by a particular set of ideological and pragmatic motives Covering the period since the 1950s till today the book analyses particular Israeli resources relevant for African development and the system and contents of Israeli development aid with a particular focus on a new phenomenon of the engagement of businesses and NGOs Zieli ska explores the geopolitical context of Israeli aid for Sub Saharan countries and the recipients perception of Israeli aid asking if and how these attitudes influence the recipients behaviour towards Israel within their bilateral relations as well as on multilateral forums Contributing to the knowledge of development diplomacy as a form of expression of soft power and as a tool of foreign policy



it will be of interest to international relations students and faculty as well as to other people professionally dealing with Israeli foreign policies

**A Single Roll of the Dice** Trita Parsi, 2012-01-24 Have the diplomatic efforts of the Obama administration toward Iran failed Was the Bush administration's emphasis on military intervention refusal to negotiate and pursuit of regime change a better approach How can the United States best address the ongoing turmoil in Tehran This book provides a definitive and comprehensive analysis of the Obama administration's early diplomatic outreach to Iran and discusses the best way to move toward more positive relations between the two discordant states Trita Parsi a Middle East foreign policy expert with extensive Capitol Hill and United Nations experience interviewed 70 high ranking officials from the U S Iran Europe Israel Saudi Arabia Turkey and Brazil including the top American and Iranian negotiators for this book Parsi uncovers the previously unknown story of American and Iranian negotiations during Obama's early years as president the calculations behind the two nations dealings and the real reasons for their current stalemate Contrary to prevailing opinion Parsi contends that diplomacy has not been fully tried For various reasons Obama's diplomacy ended up being a single roll of the dice It had to work either immediately or not at all Persistence and perseverance are keys to any negotiation Neither Iran nor the U S had them in 2009

*Dismantling Tyranny* Berman, Waller, 2006 Dismantling Tyranny offers a rigorous set of case studies of seven formerly communist ruled countries and how they resolved the dismantling of their respective secret police organizations Each country profiled had a unique experience e g the Russian experience of cosmetic

Armageddon Nicholas Hagger, 2010-09-16 Armageddon is a contemporary epic poem about the major event of our own time Written in blank verse it narrates the defining event for civilisation today the American President Bush's struggle against the Islamic extremism of Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda in the course of which Bush transforms himself the US and the world It follows the War on Terror from September 11 2001 through the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq which some believe were illegally waged for reasons of oil Covertly supported by Iran bin Laden is shown as possessing at least 20 nuclear suitcase bombs a purchase confirmed by Hans Blix of the IAEA in 2004 some of which he plans to explode simultaneously in 10 American cities hence the title The poem presents all sides of the War on Terror and makes sense of the first decade of the 21st century

Armageddon is Nicholas Hagger's second poetic epic

The World Almanac of Islamism 2019 American Foreign Policy Council, 2019-04-30 Now in its fourth edition The World Almanac of Islamism is the first comprehensive reference work to detail the current activities of radical Islamist movements worldwide The contributions written by subject expert provide up to date assessments on the contemporary Islamist threat in all countries and regions where it exists Each country study will include valuable metrics for gauging the advance or decline of Islamism In places where Islamists are not in power these include year on year comparisons of the number of terrorist attacks that have taken place the level of popular support being received by radical religious organizations and political parties and applicable government responses to these trends if any In places where they are in power metrics encompass relevant changes to domestic human rights practices and social

conditions foreign policy rhetoric and action and the overall stability of the state

**Winning the Unwinnable War** Elan Journo, 2009-09-29 Eight years after 9 11 and in the shadow of two protracted U S military campaigns in the Middle East the enemy is not only undefeated but emboldened and resurgent What went wrong and what should we do going forward

Winning the Unwinnable War shows how our own policy ideas led to 9 11 and then crippled our response in the Middle East and it makes the case for an unsettling conclusion By subordinating military victory to perverse allegedly moral constraints Washington s policy has undermined our national security Owing to the significant influence of Just War Theory and neoconservatism the Bush administration consciously put the imperative of shielding civilians and bringing them elections above the goal of eliminating real threats to our security Consequently this policy left our enemies stronger and America weaker than before The dominant alternative to Bush esque idealism in foreign policy so called realism has made a strong comeback under the tenure of Barack Obama But this nonjudgmental supposedly practical approach is precisely what helped unleash the enemy prior to 9 11 The message of the essays in this thematic collection is that only by radically re thinking our foreign policy in the Middle East can we achieve victory over the enemy that attacked us on 9 11 We need a new moral foundation for our Mideast policy That new starting point for U S policy is the moral ideal championed by the philosopher Ayn Rand rational self interest Implementing this approach entails objectively defining our national interest as protecting the lives and freedoms of Americans and then taking principled action to safeguard them The book lays out the necessary steps for achieving victory and for securing America s long range interests in the volatile Middle East

**Losing Legitimacy** Clifton W. Sherrill, 2018-09-15 This book contends that the transition of leadership from Ayatollah Ali Khamenei will result in a crisis of legitimacy for the Islamic Republic of Iran Using Max Weber s typology of legitimacy the book explains that the Islamic Republic s legitimacy was based on the charismatic authority of the regime s founder Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini Since Khomeini s death in 1989 the regime has failed to develop the rule of law necessary for legal rational authority Moreover it abandoned the logical underpinnings justifying clerical rule when a mid ranking cleric rather than a Grand Ayatollah was placed in the position of Supreme Leader With neither a legal basis nor a traditional basis of authority the new leader relied extensively on the cover of Khomeini s charismatic shadow for legitimacy After nearly four decades this shadow is fading Not only will Khamenei s successor lack the same direct ties to Khomeini but the demographic and societal changes in Iran have made the charisma of Khomeini a historical concept rather than a viscerally felt experience First the book analyzes the likely succession scenarios finding the most probable outcome is the appointment of a hardline conservative backed by the regime s security forces Next the regime s economic political and social failures are presented in order to explain why the new leader is likely to try to return to a traditional basis of legitimacy religion Thereafter the book explains how this hardliner focus on religion is likely to result in an aggressive Iranian foreign policy toward the United States Israel and Saudi Arabia impacting the region s security

**Financial Disclosure Reports of Members of The U.S. House of Representatives**

**For the Period Between..., Vol. 4 of 4, June 28, 2007, 110-1 House Document 110-43 ,2007**      **The Coming Oil Storm** Ron Rhodes,2010-07-01 Ron Rhodes a leading scholar on biblical prophecy reveals how looming tensions over oil factor into end time global alignments and how they may lead to a dramatic shift in the balance of power in the world Much of the world s oil is in the custody of unstable and sometimes hostile regimes Nations around the world are positioning themselves to protect their shrinking piece of the pie of dwindling oil reserves Global tensions continue to rise In The Coming Oil Storm Rhodes documents the role of Islam as the religion in control of most of the world s oil reserves and shows convincingly that once Muslims are in possession of the two swords of oil and nuclear weapons they will feel empowered to act as they wish Oil could even play a role in the path to Armageddon The Coming Oil Storm is an essential guide for understanding the state of the world today and what s yet to come      **Judging Bush** Robert Maranto,Tom Lansford,2009-09-02 Judging Bush incorporates the diverse voices of presidential scholars policy experts and members of past administrations to present a balanced and systematic initial evaluation of the two terms of George W Bush      **Hezbollah's Global Reach** United States. Congress. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Nonproliferation,2006

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