

“Is Iran’s Regime Changing? A Content Analysis of Open Source Media 2018-2020”

Association for the Study of the Middle East and Africa Annual Conference  
Thirteenth Annual ASMEA Conference  
November 19-22, 2020

Dr. Neal Coates  
Department of Political Science & Criminal Justice  
Abilene Christian University  
Abilene, Texas

Author: Neal Coates is a professor and chair of the Department of Political Science & Criminal Justice at Abilene Christian University, where he has taught since 1999. He holds a J.D. from the University of Kansas and a M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Connecticut.

Abstract: This content analysis uses a multi-year database of daily media from and about Iran’s government to evaluate whether it, in the words of the current Administration, is acting as a “normal” country, or in the words of Henry Kissinger, if Iran has decided to be a “nation or a cause.”

## Introduction

What is happening now in Iran? Is Iran’s regime changing? Will its hostage taking ever end? Has the government decided to slow its sponsorship of terror? Are the United States’ sanctions having any effect? Will Iran ever lessen its pressure on Lebanon or Bahrain or Yemen? Will a change in Supreme Leader make a difference? Is it possible for Iran to withdraw any of its support for Hezbollah or the Syrian regime? These questions and others have seemingly been part of those asked of Iran for years, even decades. Other governments, regional militaries, non-profits, dedicated Iran watchers, and even Iran’s citizens wonder if and when the regime will moderate its behavior.

These questions and hopes for better government decisions by this particular country have confounded and bedeviled persons for many years, including diplomats and world leaders. Famously, even Henry Kissinger has been quoted on this very issue; here is an excerpt from an associated interview:

“I ask him to outline specifically what his policy on Iran would be. He is firm in his response: “I have advocated that the United States have comprehensive negotiations with Iran ... We need to have an open discussion of all differences.” This, in his mind, requires Iran to decide “whether it is a nation or a cause. If Iran thinks of itself as a nation or can be brought to do so, it can be accorded a respected place in the international system.” America’s relations with the Shah – who was Kissinger’s friend – were never simply personal, he says; they were grounded in an understanding of the strategic importance of Iran, a situation that still holds today. “Any serious effort to compromise differences between the United States must begin in bilateral negotiation, with each side seeking to understand the other’s perceptions. In the end the negotiations must become multilateral, leading to an international accord that will engage all of Iran’s neighbours.” Kissinger sums up his position: “The challenge is to find a formula for resolving the Iran nuclear issue that allows for effective supervision and control acceptable to the international community.”<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Henry Kissinger, quoted in “Lunch with the FT: Henry Kissinger”, Financial Times, May 24/25, 2008, Interview conducted by Stephen Graubard. Accessed at [www.henryakissinger.com/interviews/lunch-with-the-ft-henry-kissinger](http://www.henryakissinger.com/interviews/lunch-with-the-ft-henry-kissinger)

It is the purpose of this paper to explore these issues regarding the trajectory of the Islamic Republic of Iran. This project is not investigating whether that government is changing the fundamental nature of their regime, such as altering its constitution or basic governmental foundations. Instead, this paper asks if the government is moderating its behavior and actions, such as whether it will lessen its support for terror or its efforts to spread the Shia Crescent. Along the way, this project also recognizes that “what” a country is, how it acts, is difficult to quantify. This is because of the different wishes of the outside observer, and varying positions by other countries regarding what they want a subject country to do. Some countries’ leaders may not even want Iran to change. Thus, there are various measures of Kissinger’s “normal.” There are even differing understandings between cultures of what foreign policy should look like. Regardless, this study posits that something can be learned from observing, and in this case by observing international and domestic media regarding how a subject country acts. In the process, individuals and country leaders alike can further utilize open sources to make judgments about other places, and of course make decisions based on what they understand is the reality of the world. In the process, this project implicitly rejects the support that the Iranian regime may receive from some quarters, which encourages it to stay the course for those countries’ own purposes. This paper is grounded in an understanding of “normal” that not only includes the traditional interests of states in trade and peace, but is undergirded by the foundation beliefs in democracy and rule of law and human rights that are the trademarks of what are called “Western” political values.

Debate continues in 2020 whether U.S. sanctions are influencing change of behavior by Iran. The sanctions have certainly affected the economy during the past three years, and have seemingly limited some of Iran’s malign activity in the Middle East. This project also considers the subject at hand, though, regardless of whether outside pressure exists against Iran—it was already the case that Iran’s government has the daily decision to make about how it will act with regard to any policy or decision, and how it would interpret and apply the revolutionary ideals and goals of the country’s founder, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, even beyond his death in 1989. The current and long serving Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei, makes regular decisions that guide the country, assisted by the President and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps. They are key to Iran’s present and future.

In short, observing and measuring policy change or even support for malign behavior is somewhat challenging but is not impossible. It is the thesis of this paper that an evaluation of open source news during the most recent three years indicates that the Iranian Regime is not changing and does not want to change its behavior. Iran has every intention of remaining a menace to the Middle East and Saudi Arabia and Israel, and to the United States. The same sort of position against other states, also exists, nearby and further afield such as in Europe. Iran wants to dominate the Middle East, and expand its form of Shia revolution. This paper proposes and uses a quantitative analysis by comparing headlines about the country of Iran over the most recent three year period, to the present day, looking to see whether Iran alters its “revolutionary” decisions month to month and in comparison to two other countries in the region, Saudi Arabia and Israel. As a part of the thesis of this project, the author of this article also suggests that Iran has not changed its behavior, certainly not substantively, since the United States Government announced its withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on May 8, 2018. In short, this content analysis uses a multi-year database of daily worldwide media from and about the government of Iran to evaluate the words of Henry Kissinger, asking if Iran has decided to be a “nation or a cause,” and demonstrates that Iran, in the words of the current Administration, is not acting as a “normal” country.

## **Methodology**

Because the author of this article teaches three courses at his university dealing with different aspects of the Middle East, it became appealing and even necessary some years ago to develop a way to monitor and evaluate the news of the region. The courses the author teaches are Politics of the Middle East, Iran and Nuclear Weapons, and Politics of Israel. In addition, the author began over a decade ago to teach related courses including International Law and Organizations, Terrorism Studies, and American Foreign Policy. There are multiple news sources, of course, available to the public and to academics and students, including articles from everything from BBC to RealClearDefense to Tehran Times, to peruse on a regular basis. These types of resources are open, not controlled by some government, and are a valuable source of knowing and, as stated earlier, evaluating the policies and actions of the governments of the region. As Iran is the subject of intense reporting and intelligence gathering due to its alleged nuclear weapons program, and because it has been labeled as the world’s leading state sponsor of terror, it is

---

natural that scholars would want to monitor its actions with what is available to them on a daily basis—open media sources.

On May 26, 2018, just after the United States Government announced its withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on May 8, 2018, the author of this article began a blog about the news of Iran. The blog was found at <https://irannationorcause.blogspot.com>. The blog was enlarged and improved later and was entitled “Iran: Nation or Cause,” and is today found at <https://blogs.acu.edu/coatesn/iran-nation-or-cause>. From the very first day of the blog, based almost entirely of collecting news of Iran and its government, the creator of the blog used Google News alerts to provide over 100 of the top stories regarding Iran every day. The blog author, which can be observed from visiting the site, usually finds about 10 articles any particular day that are on the main stories for that date. Only single versions of a story are selected, sometime combining two articles on the same topic if needed, to cover the main stories but also anything that tends to help explain governmental behavior. The blog author, who is also the author of this paper, uses a qualitative analysis to eliminate articles that are not relevant to the blog’s purpose. Articles are posted every day from the various open sources. Others can use the same technique to replicate this particular study.

As an example of the news selected reflecting policy decisions of the Iranian regime, and how they are commented on by the blogger/author, here is an entry from August 4 of this year:

AUGUST 4, 2020

The first thought I had was that missiles being transferred via boat from Iran to Hezbollah blew up due to mismanagement and corruption. Second thought was we know from past acts that Israel is not defensively involved in this place and type of large explosion. Here’s a quote from one of the first stories, from AP: “The cause of the blast, which sparked fires, overturned cars and blew out windows and doors, was not immediately known. Abbas Ibrahim, chief of Lebanese General Security, said it might have been caused by highly explosive material that was confiscated from a ship some time ago and stored at the port. Local television channel LBC said the material was sodium nitrate. Witnesses reported seeing a strange orange-colored cloud over the site after the explosion. Orange clouds of toxic nitrogen dioxide gas often accompany an explosion involving nitrates.” And “The explosion was reminiscent of massive blasts during Lebanon’s civil war and took place only three days before a U.N.-backed tribunal was set to give its verdict in the killing of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri in a truck bombing more than 15 years ago.” BBC has since cited Lebanon’s President as saying 2,750 tons of ammonium nitrate stored for 6 years is to blame. So, whose ammonium nitrate was confiscated? See the AP story at “Massive Beirut blast kills more than 60, injures thousands,” Bassem Mroue, AP, August 4, 2020.

It appears the Supreme Leader’s Regime (its business interests) has taken control over at least one of the climbing routes, to benefit from the climbing fees. “Iran religious endowment eyes slice of Mt Damavand,” Kourosh Ziabari, Asia Times, August 4, 2020.

“A new interactive map of Hezbollah’s activities has shown all the attacks, financing and plots by the terror group revealing for the first time its vast global reach. Researchers, the police and the public will be able to view the group’s activities across the world in a resource that includes information taken from declassified CIA and FBI files. The document is the painstaking work of former FBI agent Dr Matthew Levitt who hopes it will demonstrate the nature of Hezbollah to European countries that have yet to fully proscribe it as a terrorist organisation. If the map proves successful it could also be used as a template to help the fight against other terror groups such as Al Qaeda and ISIS as well as international criminal gangs. The ‘Lebanese Hezbollah Select Worldwide Activity’ is the first-ever publicly available, interactive map and timeline of Hezbollah-related activities and counter-terrorism action taken against it. Dr Levitt said he committed to the project because during forums and seminars on Hezbollah there was always a lack of information. “Discussion about Hezbollah’s covert enterprises was rendered virtually impossible by the dearth of publicly available material on the group’s covert activities,” he said.” The map and the rest of this great open source-based resource is found at <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/hezbollahinteractivemap> See “Interactive maps reveal full extent of Hezbollah’s global reach,” Thomas Harding, The National, August 4, 2020.

This blog will continue to advocate for hostages held in Iran, and argue with much evidence they are held in terrible conditions. And that being held in itself is violation of so many expectations of human interaction, violation of international law, and antithetical to international relations. The very recent report of the Australian ambassador Lyndall Sachs is an aberration for their professor Kylie Moore-Gilbert—she is not “well.” It is cruel to describe the situation as “Dr. Moore-Gilbert is well and has access to food, medical facilities and books,” the statement said. “We will continue to seek regular consular access to Dr. Moore-Gilbert.” ... But “[t]he Center for Human Rights in Iran, a U.S.-based organization, said last week that Moore-Gilbert was being held with violent criminals under harsh conditions.” ... “Moore-Gilbert has gone on hunger strikes during her time in custody and pleaded for the Australian government to do more to free her during almost two years in custody. She wrote to Australia’s prime minister last year that she has been “subjected to grievous violations of my legal and human rights, including psychological torture and spending prolonged periods of time in solitary confinement.”” See “Australia: British-Australian woman in Iran prison ‘is well’,” Rod McGuirk, AP, August 4, 2020.

A story not receiving the attention it deserves. “Iran rules out attack as cause of nuclear site incident,” The Nation, August 4, 2020. “What is certain is that in our view, a drone, missile, bomb or rocket attack is not the case,” ISNA news agency quoted Mojtaba Zolnour, head of parliament’s national security and foreign affairs committee, as saying.” So, if the Supreme Leader orders a retaliatory attack, it is based apparently on no evidence.

One of the more fascinating news pieces one will read, including Iran’s kidnapping practices, tracking phone information, and another hostage taken. Unfortunately, Mr. Sharmahd will never be released. See “Iran Abducted California Man while in Dubai,” Naharnet, August 4, 2020.

“Iran’s regime targets critics’ relatives to silence dissent,” U.S. Embassy in Georgia, August 4, 2020.

“Iran praises Turkey’s conversion of Hagia Sophia again,” Paul Antonopoulos, Greek City Times, August 4, 2020.

With this introduction and presentation of part of the blog dedicated to evaluating Iran’s actions as compared to what other countries would do as “normal,” thought began to be given to how to evaluate not just qualitatively but quantitatively whether Iran’s acts show change over time. It was already established in a number of country’s minds, such as by the annual State Sponsors of Terrorism report by the U.S. State Department, that an understanding and measurement of Iran’s irregular behavior was possible. The qualitative evaluation of what is normal was also very much a part of senior Administration figures, such as in statements by the Secretary of State when evaluating the apparent poisoning of a political critic of the Russian government.

[Secretary] “Pompeo said efforts to poison political dissidents put “black marks” on countries, and he condemned the poisoning as “not how normal countries operate.” “People all around the world see this kind of activity for what it is,” he said. “And when they see the effort to poison a dissident, and they recognize that there is a substantial chance that this actually came from senior Russian officials, I think this is not good for the Russian people. I think it’s not good for Russia.” He added: “I think people see this and say this is not the way countries that want to be powers, that want to be important and play on the global stage, this is not the way that they should engage in activity.”<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> “Pompeo: ‘Substantial chance’ senior Russian officials were behind Navalny poisoning,” Matthew Choi, Politico, September 9, 2020. Accessed at [www.politico.com/news/2020/09/09/pompeo-russians-navalny-poisoning-411249](http://www.politico.com/news/2020/09/09/pompeo-russians-navalny-poisoning-411249).

Although the blog in question and its title were inspired by the Kissinger statement, it is also noted that Dr. Kissinger did not provide further comment or definition on what is “normal” behavior of countries, nor hold up any examples that he or those operating in the field of international diplomacy believed to be such. This is not surprising since countries considered as acting with the “norm” are designated as such by individual evaluation and can move in and out of the designation. Likewise, the concept of evaluating or measuring “regular” behavior by states is hardly touched upon by the literature or even textbooks of international relations or comparative politics or international diplomacy.<sup>3</sup>

These factors all influenced the creation, maintenance, and then the recent quantitative evaluation of the blog entitled “Iran: Nation or Cause.” The media (and other sources such as think tank reports) on any one particular day do not provide a longitudinal view of state action, nor are some sources as in-depth as readers may require. The blog would have to be studied from its inception in 2018 to the present in 2020. In fact, May 26, 2018 through October 7, 2020, yielded 783 days of measurement. And there were dozens of news items considered on any one day, which eventually produced from five to ten stories capturing the Iran government’s actions of the day. Finally, one month of data was just collected for Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Israel, in the most recent month as a comparison for September 7 to October 7, 2020 of how various countries in the region “act.” Saudi Arabia was chosen because it is a powerhouse oil-based country and is the dominant Sunni opponent to Iran. While it continues to attempt to diversify its economy, it is the leader of opposition to the IRI. Saudi Arabia has also had its own well-known repressive policies and support of terrorism. Would an evaluation of its monthly news headlines be similar to Iran? The second country chosen, Israel, is the region’s most healthy democracy and economy, and exhibits a vibrant society with many human rights protected. It would be expected that it’s scores for the month’s analysis would be better than Iran’s.

It was decided that a content analysis of the headlines collected and contained in the Iran blog would provide the data for such a study. Content analysis has been a widely used method for decades, and across a variety of disciplines in addition to political science and journalism.<sup>4</sup> It has been used to evaluate headlines and press coverage of numerous events around the world.<sup>5</sup> It certainly can be used to evaluate the news collected for a blog on Iran. Each daily article selected for the blog were coded in a binary manner, whether the article represented Nation (“normal” state behavior, qualitatively evaluated by viewing how other countries behave) or Cause (“revolution” type of state behavior, actions that most nation-states do regularly practice, such as performing naval military drills within an international strait while commercial and private vessels attempt passage). The coding used the very descriptive terms supplied by Kissinger. This coding was then compiled by day and by month, resulting in Table 1 below.<sup>6</sup> This evaluation method for the three years of blogging of open news sources can be replicated by other persons. This project’s analysis did not rely on measures of “normalcy” (though other studies could) found in non-academic surveys—those countries are usually ranked by reputation of tourists and business people.<sup>7</sup>

## Findings

---

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, James Danziger and Lindsey Lupo, *Understanding the Political World*, 13th edition, 2020, Pearson, Hoboken, NJ, and Steven Spiegel, et. al, *World Politics in a New Era*, 6th edition, Oxford University Press, New York, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> See White, Marilyn Domas, and Emily E. Marsh. "Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology." *Library Trends* 55, no. 1 (2006): 22-45.

<sup>5</sup> Nicholas Bowman, Robert Joel Lewis & Ron Tamborini (2014) *The Morality of May 2, 2011: A Content Analysis of U.S. Headlines Regarding the Death of Osama bin Laden*, *Mass Communication and Society*, 17:5, 639-664. See also Berry, Mike, Garcia-Blanco, Inaki and Moore, Kerry 2016. *Press coverage of the refugee and migrant crisis in the EU: a content analysis of five European countries*. [Project Report]. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Available at [www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html](http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html).

<sup>6</sup> The author thanks ACU students Grace Russell and J.D. Schlageter for their assistance in evaluating several thousand news articles covering three years and working with the author on the coding and statistics for this paper.

<sup>7</sup> “The World’s Most Reputable Countries 2019,” Vicky Valet, *Forbes*, October 15, 2019. Accessed at [www.forbes.com/sites/vickyvalet/2019/10/15/the-worlds-most-reputable-countries-2019/#38178714cb8a](http://www.forbes.com/sites/vickyvalet/2019/10/15/the-worlds-most-reputable-countries-2019/#38178714cb8a). Ironically, the Forbes 2019 survey starts with the question, “If you were given the choice between a two-week vacation in New Zealand and one in Iran, which would you choose?” Interestingly, the Forbes survey also ranks the three countries mentioned in Table 2 of this paper as 42 Israel, 52 Saudi Arabia, and 54 Iran, consistent with the findings of the subject study of this project about the Iran: Nation or Cause blog.

The two charts below are reflective of the coding and compilation of daily, monthly, and yearly headlines for Iran, and for the most recent month for Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Israel. The first chart relies on the individual scoring of each story collected about Iran and indicates a trajectory of sorts—toward a hardened position.

Table 1—Iran Monthly “Nation or Cause” Score, June 2018 to August 2020

Month	Score
2018-06	-1.63
2018-07	-1.7
2018-08	-2.29
2018-09	-2
2018-10	-2.25
2018-11	-2.2
2018-12	-3.19
2019-01	-3.09
2019-02	-3.17
2019-03	-5.41
2019-04	-3.4
2019-05	-2.87
2019-06	-3.2
2019-07	-6.25
2019-08	-5.93
2019-09	-4.66
2019-10	-5.77
2019-11	-7.16
2019-12	-7.29
2020-01	-6
2020-02	-5.79
2020-03	-4.22
2020-04	-5.56
2020-05	-6.12
2020-06	-8.53
2020-07	-8.03
2020-08	-5.64
Average	-4.48

The table of daily scores is quite long for the period stretching over three years, so the monthly scores are averaged in Table 1. The average of Iran’s scores is -4.48, indicating a decided lean toward negative or revolutionary types of behavior, not only on a monthly basis but in almost every day. A quick glance at daily blog records the oppression of paramilitary police to the removal of female images from the front of math textbooks. What is also seen in the Table is that the scores by Iran dramatically increase as 2018 moves into 2019, after U.S. sanctions after exiting the JCPOA, and apparently in response to the November 2018 mass protests in Iran. The regime’s intimidation of citizens continues to this day, and its hostility toward the United States. A series of unexplained explosions in the country also has added to the tension exhibited by the Iranian government.

Table 2—Iran v. Saudi Arabia v. Israel Monthly “Nation or Cause” Score, September 7 to October 7, 2020

Date	Iran	Saudi	Israel
------	------	-------	--------

	Arabia		
September 7, 2020	-1	4	3
September 8, 2020	-5	0	2
September 9, 2020	-6	2	1
September 10, 2020	-7	1	0
September 11, 2020	-6	0	1
September 12, 2020	-4	-1	1
September 13, 2020	-3	3	0
September 14, 2020	-2	1	3
September 15, 2020	1	5	3
September 16, 2020	-3	0	2
September 17, 2020	-2	-1	2
September 18, 2020	-3	-1	1
September 19, 2020	-1	-1	2
September 20, 2020	-1	2	2
September 21, 2020	-3	0	0
September 22, 2020	-1	1	3
September 23, 2020	-1	2	3
September 24, 2020	-5	2	4
September 25, 2020	-2	1	2
September 26, 2020	0	2	3
September 27, 2020	1	2	4
September 28, 2020	-5	3	0
September 29, 2020	-4	1	3
September 30, 2020	-3	-1	1
October 1, 2020	-8	1	0
October 2, 2020	-4	2	3
October 3, 2020	0	0	4
October 4, 2020	-2	3	2
October 5, 2020	0	3	0
October 6, 2020	-5	4	1
October 7, 2020	-3	3	-1
Average	-2.838709677	1.387096774	1.774193548

As is seen on Table 2, Iran's average for the 30 days was -2.83, Saudi Arabia was 1.38, and Israel was 1.77. This is consistent with the knowledge and opinions that many observers have of these three countries. The news headlines and their media sources are available from the author upon request. Iran is more repressive and malign than Saudi Arabia, and Israel acts much more consistent with Western democracies.

A word must also be added here about the full two-point drop, from August to September of this year, for Iran. Analysts including the author attribute that decline to Iran's not wanting to have confrontations with U.S. President Donald Trump in the run-up to the U.S. election, preferring that he not be re-elected as reported by the media and some U.S. government agencies.<sup>8</sup> This is also an indication that Iran's leadership can control much of what happens in the country, certainly the actions and policies of the government.

---

<sup>8</sup> See "Report: Iran showing restraint in Gulf in effort to make Trump lose election," AP, Israel Hayom, September 21, 2020.

## Conclusion

The quantitative analysis of the news from the last three years of the Iran: Nation or Cause blog reinforces the belief that Iran's government is not changing, and does not want to change. It is a conscious decision. This is seen as indicated by the two tables, reinforcing what many believed who deal with issues involving the Regime on a daily basis. It is also the opinion shared by persons whose interaction with the Iranian government was much more sinister. Here is a quote from Xiyue Wang, a Ph.D. candidate in history at Princeton University, who was imprisoned in Iran from August 7, 2016, to December 7, 2019:

“American policymakers and the public should understand that at the heart of Iran's problematic relationship with the United States lies the following fact: theocracy's survival and its elite's prosperity require maintaining hostility against the United States. In order to sustain a state of conflict, without its leading to war or the destruction of the regime, the Islamic Republic is constantly playing a delicate game—one that unfortunately entails real consequences in suffering for someone like me, as well as for ordinary people throughout Iran and the Middle East.”<sup>9</sup>

In a similar vein, another quote from a person who has regular interaction with Iran, the Deputy Police Chief of Dubai, Dhahi Khalfan Tamim, is indicative of the situation the headlines capture and that we can all study. The Deputy recently said to Kuwait's Diwan Al-Mullah Online TV that, “Iran has three choices. It can die economically, or it can sign a peace agreement with Israel and coexist with the region. The third option is the fall of the regime of the mullahs.”<sup>10</sup> While it is not the purpose of this paper to predict the truly revolutionary event of the Islamic Republic of Iran falling, it is instructive at this time of recognition of Israel by the United Arab Emirates and by Bahrain that momentous change in the Middle East is possible. Even though this project does show quantitatively that Iran can control its actions, and that an evaluation of open source news indicates that the regime does not want to change its behavior, the past month's limited activities by Iran, and now the pressure by the two peace agreements, challenges the Supreme Leader and those who work for him as to how they will consider their headline position of the past against the new Middle East and the changing world.

---

<sup>9</sup> “Lessons From Three Years in an Iranian Prison: Rapprochement Is a Fantasy—the Islamic Republic Thrives on Tension With the United States,” Xiyue Wang, *Foreign Affairs*, September 3, 2020, accessed September 3, 2020. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/north-america/2020-09-03/lessons-three-years-iranian-prison>

<sup>10</sup> “Dubai deputy police chief: Iran and Turkey, not Israel, threaten the Gulf states,” *Cleveland Jewish News*, September 3, 2020. [www.clevelandjewishnews.com/jns/dubai-deputy-police-chief-iran-and-turkey-not-israel-threaten-the-gulf-states/article\\_3a24b312-d218-5f28-be9a-d9ab1331b3fe.html](http://www.clevelandjewishnews.com/jns/dubai-deputy-police-chief-iran-and-turkey-not-israel-threaten-the-gulf-states/article_3a24b312-d218-5f28-be9a-d9ab1331b3fe.html)