

CRITICISM OF IRAN'S CULTURAL AND FOREIGN POLICIES AND ACTIONS IN PUBLIC AND MEDIA DIPLOMACY IN CONTRAST TO THE POLICY OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

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Abstract:

In the last few years, public diplomacy has had a special place in the development of political and cultural relations between countries, for this reason, the topic of public diplomacy has been the subject of research by many researchers at home and abroad. Obviously, considering the recent developments between the two countries of Iran and the United States, which in the last three years has been unprecedented in terms of the amount of news and media coverage. Representation of the atmosphere governing the media discourse of the two countries is of great importance and necessity. After the events of September 11, 2001 and the military operations of the attack on Afghanistan and Iraq, the United States of America approves the use of public diplomacy as its main action in foreign policy in order to overcome its foreign policy problems and justify world public opinion. Iran is chosen as the focal point of this type of diplomacy. Producing and broadcasting dozens of movies, documentaries, TV series, allocating budgets of several hundred million dollars and many other actions, telling about the impact and importance of this type of diplomacy in the era of information technology and the use of soft power in the field of international relations. has it. The purpose of this research is to analyze the discourse of cultural and media diplomacy between Iran and America. This article tries to answer the question in a descriptive-analytical way, what is the function, position and performance of Iran's cultural and foreign policies in media diplomacy in contrast to the policy of the American government. It seems that the communication model of Iran's media diplomacy has provided a platform for the influence of the media on the structures of the diplomacy and foreign policy model in recent years in terms of goals, tools, methodology and time period, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Overseas Department of Broadcasting in this direction, effective measures have been taken, such as the establishment of the General Department of Public Diplomacy and overseas networks, etc., but it is not as extensive as the American media activities in global networks such as CNN, Fox News, and the virtual network.

Keywords: *public diplomacy, media diplomacy, discourse analysis, Iranophobic discourse, anti-American discourse, CNN influence theory.*

1- INTRODUCTION

Due to the developments that have occurred in the field of the international system, diplomacy has moved away from the common and traditional meaning that refers to face-to-face negotiations with government and official officials, and today there are different types of diplomacy in international literature, which are traditional diplomacy. is one of them. Various other types such as digital diplomacy, media diplomacy, and cultural diplomacy, all of which fall under the category of soft power, can be studied in the framework of public diplomacy. Unlike traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy has several characteristics: first, its audience is different; The audience of public diplomacy is civil society, reference sources and public opinion. Second, the goal of public diplomacy is to shape the thoughts, motivations or wishes of public opinion, which is very important and wants people to think in a way that the government wants and seeks to create moral and value

support for it. Therefore, the phenomenon of public opinion has found a high position in public diplomacy. Finally, in modern public diplomacy, tools such as the media, the virtual space of the Internet, and cultural institutions play an important role. Developments in the field of communication technologies have also increased the importance of public diplomacy. Some tools that were not available in the past have now been provided, and therefore the importance of public diplomacy in general and especially in the foreign policy of countries like Iran and America has intensified (1).

Considering the recent developments between the two countries of Iran and America, which is unprecedented in terms of the amount of news and media coverage in the last three years. Representation of the atmosphere governing the media discourse of the two countries is of great importance and necessity. After the events of September 11, 2001 and the military operations of the attack on Afghanistan and Iraq, the United States of America approves the use of public diplomacy as its main action in foreign policy in order to overcome its foreign policy problems and justify world public opinion. Iran is chosen as the focal point of this type of diplomacy. Producing and broadcasting dozens of movies, documentaries, TV series, allocating budgets of several hundred million dollars and many other actions, telling about the impact and importance of this type of diplomacy in the era of information technology and the use of soft power in the field of international relations. has (2). Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Overseas Department of Radio and Television have taken effective measures in this regard, such as the establishment of the General Department of Public Diplomacy and overseas channels Jam Jam, Press TV, General Network and sports successes in world competitions, sending students and academics. It has been taken, but it is not as extensive as American media activities in global networks such as CNN, Fox News and virtual network. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to analyze the discourse of cultural and media diplomacy between Iran and America. After 2013, the hegemonic discourse of anti-Americanism in Iran's political and media literature was broken and changed. On the other hand, this change of approach can be seen in some moderate American media which are also associated with the policies of Mr. Obama's government. To what extent has the position and function of public diplomacy been in this change? Undoubtedly, the role of public opinion in changing the approach of classic and traditional diplomacy is undeniable. Components of public diplomacy such as cinema diplomacy and sports diplomacy as well as the use of social networks today have proven their impact on the major decisions of political leaders. In this chapter, according to the results of the collected information that were mentioned in detail in the fourth chapter, the summary of the research is first stated, then Discussions and conclusions regarding the descriptive and analytical findings of the research are discussed.

In the public diplomacy of the two countries of Iran and the United States, 4 modes can be considered for the audience:

1. Iranian government - American government
2. Iranian government - American people
3. Iranian people - American government
4. Iranian people - American people

If we consider the most important function of public diplomacy to be the effort to persuade and attract the public opinion of the people of Iran and the United States, the main contacts in Iran's public diplomacy are Persian speakers and Iranians living in the United States, not the mass of the American people. While in American public diplomacy, the main contacts are the people of Iran. This issue is very clear and specific in all their actions, such as cinematic diplomacy, New Year greetings. For example, Mr. Obama's New Year messages are in the form of the American government and the people of Iran, except for the New Year message of 1993, which includes mode 1 and 3. but in Iran's public diplomacy, it has performed very poorly and does not follow a specific structure.

As it has been said before, the breakdown of discourse after 2013 in Iran is due to three factors:

- election
- The demands of the young generation

- Necessity of economic development

It took place and the hegemony of the anti-American discourse finally gave way to the negotiation discourse with the phone message of the two presidents after 35 years. In fact, this discursive rupture is a confirmation of Laclau Mouffe's theory that in political discourses, signs and meaning are not fixed in the relationship between the signifier and the signified. The anti-American and anti-Iranian discourse has left its hegemonic state in the field of media diplomacy and turned into a sub-discourse. have become.

2- RESEARCH METHOD

This research has used the combination of study sources in the two fields of discourse analysis and public diplomacy. Therefore, in this section, it will refer to both theories of discourse analysis and public diplomacy. Among discourse theorists in the field of politics and social sciences, the theory of Laclau and Mouffe has a special place, because these two thinkers better than others have been able to bring the theory that is rooted in linguistics to the field of culture, society and politics. By presenting a systematic formulation of discourse theory, they provided an efficient tool for understanding and explaining political phenomena. Discourse is a system of meaning in which political actions and ideas are formed. Therefore, discourse analysis as a qualitative method to analyze political and social events in recent years has opened a new and emerging horizon for researchers. (4) In this research, by using Laclau's theory, the public diplomacy discourse of Iran and the United States has been analyzed. Today, public diplomacy has an important place in international relations, and various studies have been done about it in the academic world. Some consider public diplomacy as strategic planning and implementation of educational, cultural and informational programs by a sponsoring country for public opinion in a target country, in such a way that the political leaders of the target country are able to make supportive decisions and support foreign policy goals of the sponsoring country. In fact, in this diplomacy, part of the audience are individuals and non-governmental organizations, which require special skills to communicate with them. One of the most important features of public diplomacy is transparency and efforts to disseminate information, while ambiguity is an important feature in traditional diplomacy. The topics and issues of traditional diplomacy are related to the policies and behavior of other governments, but in public diplomacy, the issue is the attitude and behavior of foreign public opinion, and where the policies and behavior of a government originate from the attitudes of its citizens, public diplomacy follows it. To affect the behavior and policies of a country by influencing the citizens of a country and changing their attitude. (5) During the last two years, the analysis of the public diplomacy of Iran-US relations based on the qualitative method of discourse analysis has not been the subject of any dissertation or book, however, there have been good studies in the past examining this relationship from other angles, which are mentioned below. Unfortunately, it was difficult to access the main sources of this research, so the summary of them is given by referring to the website of the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences of the University of Tehran. It was the research work of some students. (6)

3- CONCEPTS

- Public Diplomacy

There are many definitions for diplomacy. Only in the book "Diplomat and Diplomacy" 46 definitions are given, each of which explains an aspect of this phenomenon. All these definitions follow a specific purpose. "Advancement of foreign policy" is the common basis of most definitions of diplomacy. (7)

The word diplomacy is derived from the Greek word "diploma" which means rolled or folded paper. Until the end of the 18th century, diplomacy was called the science of studying documents and documents, and after that it was referred to the science of managing international relations. In fact, diplomacy is an effort that an international actor uses to manage and resolve disputes in the international environment by working with another international actor. (8)

In another definition, diplomacy is introduced as the developer and implementer of foreign policy, the mastermind of national power. Based on this, diplomacy has four basic tasks, which include determining one's goals according to actual and potential power, evaluating the goals of other countries, determining the degree of compatibility of these goals, and using appropriate tools to achieve one's goals. (9)

The changes in the international system and the strengthening of the role of non-state actors and public opinion caused new forms of diplomacy to be used alongside traditional diplomacy. The first decades of the 20th century (modern diplomacy) brought major developments in diplomacy. These developments, which were caused by changes in fields such as the international system, technology and public opinion, were manifested in forms such as open diplomacy and the diplomacy of international organizations. (6) In this regard, one of the usual diplomacy that was used well by some countries was public diplomacy. The importance of public diplomacy is especially considered in terms of improving the image of a country and in fact it is considered a mechanism to increase soft power. The concept of public diplomacy is usually used instead of concepts such as soft power, propaganda, cultural relations and soft war. While these concepts have different meanings that refer to different phenomena. (7) In fact, public diplomacy is a comprehensive program that includes all the activities of a country, including media activities that influence global public opinion. gives and directs it in the direction of the interests of a country (9) .

- Cultural diplomacy

The meaning of cultural diplomacy is to try to understand, inform, participate and influence the people of other countries. According to another definition, cultural diplomacy is the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture between nations in order to strengthen mutual understanding. In fact, it is securing national interests by using cultural tools. (5) Cultural diplomacy means the architecture of a two-way highway in order to create channels to introduce the true image and values of a nation and at the same time try to correctly receive the true images of other nations and understand the values. (8) and as an efficient and flexible tool in foreign policy, it lays the groundwork for raising the level of relations between governments and, as a result, increasing understanding between nations and creating international peace and stability. This important tool, through the expansion of cultural and artistic exchanges, the development of scientific-educational cooperation and the interaction of the elites of the societies, language education and the removal of existing linguistic barriers, provides suitable platforms for the mutual understanding of human societies from each other. (10) According to many According to international relations theorists, cultural diplomacy is a clear and supreme example of soft power that allows countries to influence the other side and encourage them to cooperate through elements such as culture, values and ideas, and can play a decisive role in international relations in two ways. : (11)

1- By introducing the cultural characteristics of different societies to each other, it provides the possibility for people to identify their different responses to the single needs that are required by the components of time and place and in the form of different income norms.

2- The exchange of opinions and thoughts and meditation on the lifestyle and context of other societies in the form of cultural communication has eliminated the profit mentality caused by the lack of recognition and the feeling of alienation towards the ideas of queer people, the ground for understanding and creating peace and stability and avoiding tension from It provides alienation.

- Media diplomacy

Since the beginning of the third millennium, "media diplomacy" as one of the main branches of the activities of diplomacy and foreign policy, has emerged and has included a significant part of the public diplomacy of powerful world countries. Now, new communication and information technologies have brought the scope of diplomacy and foreign policy to the editorials of newspapers, social networks, televisions and radios worldwide. This is the same factor that has required the formation of an interactive relationship between diplomats and the media in the era of the information society(11,12). An environment in which the advancement of foreign policy and diplomacy has already become dependent on the effectiveness of news and media tactics; As more

powerful and effective tactics are designed, the wheels of foreign policy will turn more smoothly (12). Media diplomacy in the information age is considered one of the most important tools of political exchange and interaction between countries, which includes a significant part of the public diplomacy of powerful countries in the world. In today's era, the status and position of a country in the world community and its position in the global hierarchy are tied to that country's media diplomacy capability. Leaders today use global communications as an important tool to advance negotiations, as well as mobilize public support for agreements. Media diplomacy is the most appropriate concept to analyze these applications. (13) Some believe that media diplomacy makes it possible to take advantage of new opportunities and promote national interests without provoking and displeasing other countries. (14) Gilboa believes that media diplomacy requires close cooperation between official officials and the media "journalists". (15) According to him, media diplomacy includes the use of media by leaders in order to express their interests in negotiations; Building trust and mobilizing to support agreements.

The most important audience of media diplomacy; They are people, parties, politicians, groups, governmental and non-governmental organizations and institutions, governments and international organizations. (11)

In other words, media diplomacy describes a set of external mechanisms through which a part of policies can be applied to people, parties, politicians, groups, institutions, international organizations and even other governments. Media diplomacy generally means using the media to complement and promote foreign policy. In other words, media diplomacy is the use of media, especially in the development and rationalization of foreign policy. (12)

Ramaprasad, an American researcher, has defined media diplomacy as the role that the media play in diplomatic activities between countries, and he says that to describe media diplomacy, special terms such as newspaper diplomacy, radio and television diplomacy, satellite diplomacy and internet diplomacy are used. is also used. (13)

Professor Molana considers media diplomacy to be the channel of influence of modern global media on negotiations and foreign policy decisions. (9)

- The role and function of media diplomacy

The media plays an important role, if not the most important role, in the sphere of public opinion. Due to the advances made in media technologies and the specialization of the journalism profession, almost all politicians in modern democracies can be closely monitored by the media. be monitored Media plays an important role in policy making. Media news is not only an important source of information for political decision makers, but also a channel for communication between governments. Researchers' interviews with people involved in political decision-making in the past decades show that the media is an important source for them. This is true even in the age of global communication. It is the media that provide information related to global issues, especially wars, crises and elections. (12)

According to Johan Galtung, nowadays media diplomacy is a continuous component of the global power structure in contemporary foreign policy, because the existence of hierarchy in international relations basically indicates the existence of media superiority. Although military supremacy still plays an important role in the world's power structure, superiority in communication technology also affects a country's national identity and international image. The ability of a country to use international media in order to show the position and dignity of its power and to find a suitable place in the political hierarchy of the world and in fact to create a favorable international image that indicates the superior national identity of that country is very important. (13)

According to many considerations, media diplomacy is one of the least dangerous ways to engage foreign audiences and build strong relationships and long-term and stable agreements with them and between their governments. In an age where the use of military force is expensive and ineffective; Being at the heart of public diplomacy, cyber diplomacy provides ideal diplomacy to achieve national goals and interests. Media diplomacy, while being achieved at a low price, has a high capability to design the framework of international negotiations and plays a key role in global policies. This diplomacy grants equal ability and capability to all states in international

interactions, and especially to smaller actors, the power and means to compensate for their hard power lag. many foreign policy decision makers and designers of diplomatic processes and scenarios; This diplomacy is seen as a superior tool to win hearts and follow the path that governments depend on more and more to achieve their goals. (14)

The results of Bernard Cohen's studies show that foreign policy decision makers get more information from the media, even if they themselves do not accept it or are not aware of it. For example, although foreign policy officials in the United States obtain their information from domestic and foreign official and unofficial communication networks, they usually refer to the media to obtain real information about the world of politics. Because the media is usually available faster and covers a wider range of issues than other sources such as official sources. According to Cohen, even the reports of important events by foreign diplomats are formed by the media. This is where it should be acknowledged; The advancement of foreign policy and diplomacy has become more and more dependent on the influence of news and media tactics. It is the atmosphere that prompted the politicians to measure the news of the media before any political action and increase the power of their political action by attracting public opinion. (15)

Nicoletta Monteno (2011) in the article "The Role of Mass Media in Preventing Conflict" has well pointed out the roles of mass media before, during and after the conflict and changes in the social system and media system in these three periods of time. related to international conflicts and wars. In the section of changes in the media system before the conflict, Monteno increased censorship and reduced freedom of the press, closing independent or oppositional media, limiting the entry of information from abroad, increasing control, polarizing the media in national, local or ethnic boundaries, prejudice. As for others in the media, attacking non-aligned media, the chaos and confusion of the opposing media in opposing the war and supporting peace, polarizing the issue of human rights violations, ignoring the cases of human rights violations inside and highlighting foreign cases, it is pointed out (16)

- Tools of media diplomacy

Different tools are used to implement media diplomacy. The most important tools of media diplomacy are:

news agencies Almost all media in the world use their news directly or indirectly from famous news agencies such as Reuters, France Press, Associated Press and United Press.

The press. The press does not directly affect the target countries; Their reports have an impact on public opinion, elites and officials of the world, and this means an adverse effect on the third country. (13)

News sites. News sites that include special sites, search engines, etc Emails are filter breakers and hackers. (11)

Radios. Radios are divided into two categories, normal radios and special or short wave radios, such as Freedom is divisible. (13)

Television . Since its inception, television was one of the most active forces of the 20th century, and now it is the most influential cultural phenomenon. (15) Diplomacy is one of the tools of the media, especially global television, to influence domestic and foreign public opinion regarding what constitutes "right decisions and (16) In the era of media diplomacy, television as a diplomatic tool can help diplomats in political negotiations and conflict resolution, although in the current situation, global television is more in the service of interests. political and economic of some imperialist countries and they always adjust and present these networks, programs and global news in line with their interests. (16)

3- Evolution of public diplomacy in the United States

Public diplomacy has been a tool of foreign policy in the United States since World War I, when then-President Woodrow Wilson created the Committee on Public Information, chaired by George Creel. The purpose of this organization, which was also called the "Creel Committee" in other words, was to make America's war goals universally accepted in different parts of the world.

This institution set its goal to spread Americanism all over the world. Then-President Franklin Roosevelt established the Office of War Information at the start of World War II and launched the Voice of America in February 1942. Later, the US government established Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. These radio stations targeted citizens of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, in addition to people from countries that had more friendly relations with America in Eastern Europe or elsewhere. (17) Today, the US government also funds the following stations: : Radio Farda for Iran, Radio/TV Marti for Cuba, Radio Azad Asia, and Al-Hura TV and Radio Sava (both for Arab countries). These radio and television stations are all under the supervision of the United States Public Broadcasting Network Board of Trustees and are funded through congressional appropriations. The emergence of the Cold War institutionalized cultural transfer as an important element of US foreign policy, what has been termed cultural diplomacy. Through political and cultural propaganda, the United States tried to promote the American way of life, celebrate the values and customs of liberal democracy, and defend consumer capitalism. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, many inside and outside the US government called for a revival of American public diplomacy. As Zaharna writes, after 9/11, "U.S. government operatives used the very same approach, tools, and vision to fight terrorism that they had used to fight communism in an effort to take America's message abroad." they do. (16)

4- The importance of public diplomacy in America

The issue of public diplomacy in the American government is very serious. The US public diplomacy budget was 1.5 billion dollars last year. The Republicans followed it, and Mrs. "Karin Hughes" was in charge of American public diplomacy on behalf of Mr. Bush for a while, and there was a very close relationship between Mr. Bush and this lady in the structure of the American government. Even now, the Democrats are strongly following this issue, and the US government's attention to the issue of public diplomacy is currently increasing. Political and cultural leaders who work on American public diplomacy are invited to this committee and provide solutions. In their definition, the purpose of public diplomacy is to advance and support the policies of the US government. The purpose of American diplomacy is to inform the people of other countries and influence them intellectually, so that they support the main and important policies of the American government. Therefore, the purpose of public diplomacy is purely political. The goal of public diplomacy in America is to coordinate the people of other societies with the foreign policy of the United States and support them for the policies of the American government. The source of this analysis is the annual report of the same center and commission, which was published in 2005. (19)

5- The process of formation of US foreign policy in relation to the media

In America, 3 sides of power are defined: the media, think tanks, and the politicians, which includes the government and Congress. All three of them provide their financial resources through capitalists in America. When politicians want to participate in elections, they need a lot of expenses for their campaigns, which are provided by big capitalists. The media is the same. The media are private and do not explicitly use government resources. They provide their financial resources through advertisements and the cost of these advertisements is again paid by the capital owners in the society who are the levers of media control. Think tanks are the same. They are also the big capitalists in the society with their financial resources. (16)

So it is the capitalists who control these 3 sides of the triangle of politicians, media and think tanks and have influence over them. Because they provide financial resources for these three institutions. But what is the duty of these three sides? Naturally, since their financial resources are provided by capitalists, their hypoPart is to provide the interests of that segment of the society. Securing the interests of capitalists in the society is the first goal of these three sides. And generally they move in the same direction. The main goal is to secure the interests of capitalists in the society. The goal and path are clear and everyone moves towards that path. If it happens that politicians don't want to follow this path or criticize this process, then the other two sides will react. Or if a media wants to make a move that is against its main goal, what happens is that the other two sides of this triangle will collide with it. (19)

6- The views of active groups, individuals and centers regarding media and public diplomacy in America

There are various people who work in institutions such as New Washington Policy, Heritage, American Enterprise. Actually, there are 182 people who can be classified into four groups. The first group, which is the Strategic Engagement Group, is 56 people and includes people like Thomas Pickernick, Susan Maloney, and Robert Gard. This group believes that the US foreign policy towards Iran has not been successful in the last thirty years and that Iran is getting stronger. American policies have not been effective in stopping Iran's activities and regime change policy is useless and the time has come for new policies regarding public diplomacy. According to them, the US government's budget for public diplomacy should be stopped and public diplomacy should be applied to Iran in a very conventional way. The second group is the conservative group, whose number is 33, including Michael Leyden and John Bolton, who believe that not only should there be no interaction with Iran, but a very hostile attitude towards Iran should be adopted. Because Iran is considered a great danger for the United States and Israel in the region. (18) The goal of this group's public diplomacy is political war. It means that for once we use public diplomacy as a political war with the aim of changing the government of Iran. This group also offers a series of solutions for American public diplomacy towards Iran, which are: 1- To support the opposition and anti-Islamic Republic groups. 2- Iran should not be the only religious authority and there should be other religious centers and authorities in order to break the monopoly of the Iranian government on religious issues. The third group that believes in stubborn interaction has the most people, that is, 83 people out of 182 people belong to this group. This group is not very different from the second group in terms of thought and belief, that is, they also believe that we should overthrow the Iranian regime and that Iran is a danger to America and Israel and must be fought against. But they differ in some tactics. Of course, this group also accepts the use of public diplomacy to overthrow the Iranian government, but they are a bit more flexible. (20) Among the people of this group, we can mention Paul Baker, George Mitchell, Dennis Ross, Anthony Lake and Martin Indak. The group advocates increasing aid to American radio and VOA. The fourth group is related to the left spectrum who have problems with the American foreign policy system. In fact, the positions of this group are more or less against the American actions in the field of public diplomacy. Most of the people in this group are university professors and there are few media figures among them. This group believes that you should allow Iran to use nuclear energy like any other country, but they do not say that Iran should have nuclear weapons, but they believe that the US approach to Iran's nuclear issue is two-fold and a political issue. is considered. Therefore, in a general summary of existing thoughts, people are usually included in these four groups, and there are some in the government that cannot be said exactly what they think. (21)

7- Iran's public diplomacy and foreign policy

The most important institution and responsible for public diplomacy is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the country. In fact, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the coordinator of all activities carried out in the direction of public diplomacy in the country. Figure 1 shows the organizational structure of public diplomacy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran

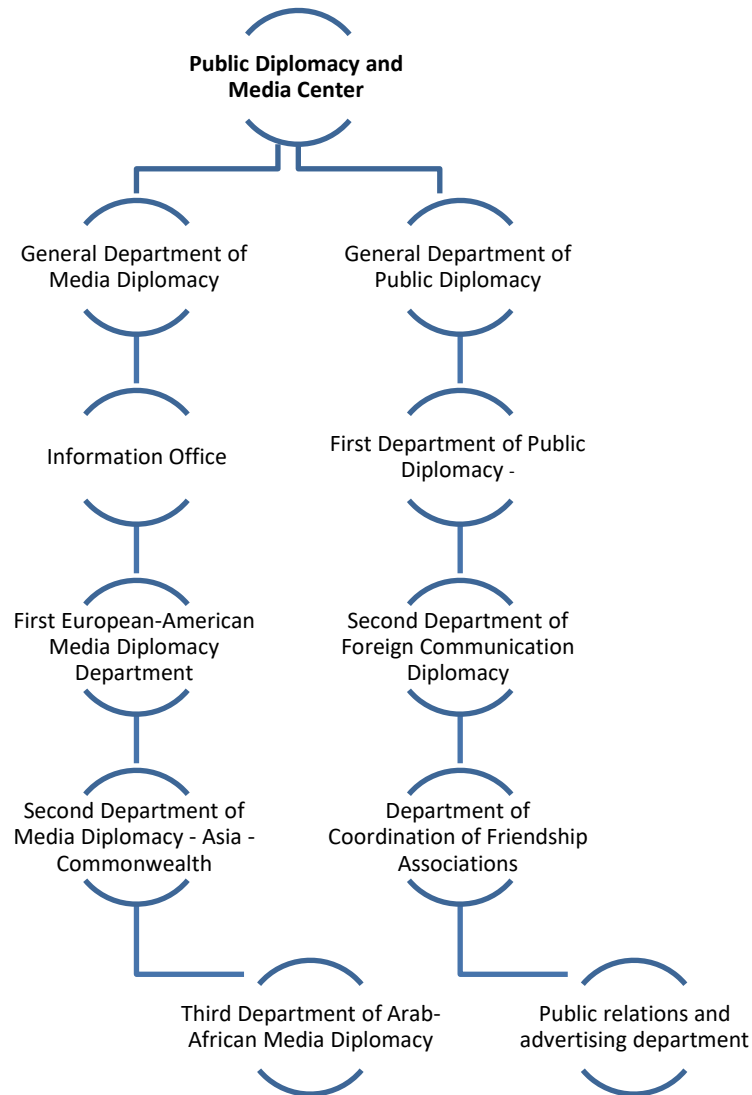


Diagram 1: The structure of the Public Diplomacy and Media Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran

There are many governmental and non-governmental institutions and associations that are trying in some way in line with the public diplomacy of Iran. Unfortunately, the work is scattered and there is no unity of action and common views. The results of some of the efforts and services of these Jandan centers have not been satisfactory. These statistics were extracted from the website of the Organization of Islamic Culture and Communication, one of the most important government organizations involved in public diplomacy, media diplomacy and cultural diplomacy.

- Iran's cultural diplomacy against the soft power of threatening countries

The culture of a society means the totality of beliefs and values of that society, as well as the customs and traditions arising from those beliefs and values. One of the methods of soft war is to destroy Islamic identity and culture in an artistic and imperceptible way, or at least to make it look like wisdom, or to change it as teachings against humanity and the cause of backwardness. If the worldview and value system of a society undergoes transformation, then its social customs and way of life will also change (5). And the Iranian Islamic civilization and its precious heritage and the brilliant historical past of this land, the deep cultural, intellectual and geographical connection shows the potential possibilities for expanding cooperation to strengthen the foundations of Iran's soft power (Pourahmadi, 2009: 95-96. Without a doubt, foreign policy Every country has strategic political, economic, cultural and military dimensions on the one hand and ranked priorities towards

different regions on the other hand, the combination of which shapes the foreign behavior of that country.

In order to achieve the major foreign policy goals, good and effective measures have been taken. Due to the wide range of centers and institutions that deal with media and cultural affairs in the country, the most important ones are mentioned below:

- International Book Fair
- International competitions of reciting the Holy Quran
- Fajr International Film Festival
- International Music Festival
- International sports competitions of Fajr decade
- Khwarazmi international festival
- Farabi International Festival

In the media sector, the Islamic Republic of Iran Radio and Television has started effective measures in this field in the past year and launched the following overseas networks:

Table 1- List of some measures taken by the Islamic Republic of Iran Radio and Television in line with media diplomacy

To provide programs for Iranians living in Europe	Jam Jam Network 1
To provide programs for Iranians living in America and Canada	Jam Jam 2 network
To provide programs for residents of Asia and the Pacific	Jam Jam 3 network) for Iranians living in Asia and the Pacific(
To present the program in Azeri, French and Bosnian languages	Sahar network 1
To provide the program in Kurdish ,English and Urdu languages	Sahar network 2
News network for Arab countries	Al-Alam Network
News network for Arab countries	Al-Kawsar network
Broadcast news in English	Press TV
To present the program in Spanish	HispanTV
Movie and series network in three languages: English, Arabic and Farsi	iFilm

Press TV, Al-Alam, Sahar 1 and 2, Al-Kowsar, Jam Jam 1 and 2, Khabar and Qur'an TV are among the Iranian TV channels that Yotel Set Company, the Hotbird satellite broadcasting service company, pressured to start from Monday 15 October 2012 (Mehr 24) cut the frequency of satellite 12437 and refrain from providing service to these satellite networks.

Access to some news channels such as Fox News, Voice of America and American news sites is currently not possible in Iran due to the distortion of news and spreading of lies, and it is necessary to access them through satellite and filter removal methods. . Some of them are given below.

Table. 2 - How to access some American media networks and sites in Iran

Access status in Iran		news Network
It is a filter	http://www.fowsnews.com	Fox News
Not a filter	http://www.cnn.com	CNN news network
Not a filter	http://www.ap.org	Associated Press news network
It is a filter	http://www.voa.com	Voice of America website
It is a filter	http://www.abc.go.com	ABC network
It is not a filter	http://www.gallup.com	Gallup polling institute

It is not a filter	http://www.pewresearch.org	Pew Research Institute
It is a filter	http://iran.usembassy.gov	American virtual embassy

8- Fixed discourse structures in Iran's public diplomacy and media in relation to America

The hegemonic discourse of Iran towards the United States in Iran in the past years was derived from the hostile and spiteful policies of the United States towards the great nation of Iran. In the first chapter, more of them were mentioned, however, the main ones are:

which can be referred to the following factors:

- August 28 coup
- Supporting anti-revolutionary groups
- 35 years of economic sanctions and blocking of Iranian property
- Comprehensive sanctions against Iran
- Supporting the 8-year war against Iran
- Passenger plane crash
- Applying the most historic economic sanctions
- Humiliation of the Iranian nation with the dominance of international media

The discourse of anti-Americanism, the discourse of resistance, the discourse of negation of the system of domination, the discourse of confrontation, the discourse of death to America and other sub-discourses that emerged from the beginning of the revolution and before that were caused by the same hostility and sense of dominance of America towards the country of Iran. Is . The main signs formed in the discourse of anti-Americanism are cruel, tyrannical, domineering, arrogant, cosmopolitan, totalitarian, liars.

In addition to that, the compromise discourse, the negotiation discourse, the interaction discourse, the moderation discourse, and the discourse of eliminating death on America, for many reasons, which appeared in the political discourse between Iran and the United States after 1368, are due to the concept of discontinuity in the discourse, which is based on the political, cultural, economy and a new generation has been built. In our country, the effective factors of the discourse breakdown of the last two decades were:

- The demands of the young generation
- Necessity of political economic development of the country
- election

After the 2012 presidential election, moderation discourse became the basis of interaction with the international system and the countries of the world. The main points of this discourse were presented in the program proposed by Mr. Dr. Zarif to the Islamic Council on 5/16/2013. Due to the importance of this program and his reference to the necessity of public diplomacy and new concepts of diplomacy, parts of it are analyzed in this research. We analyze.

8-1- The concept of power

The concept of power has faced content transformation. The transition from focusing on traditional military power to other emerging dimensions of power, finding the authenticity of cultural, semantic, normative, discursive and asymmetric characteristics and the spread of non-military meanings of power such as economic power, technological power, soft power, acting power and consensus-building power from symbols This has been the transformation. For this reason, the space for regional powers, including the Islamic Republic of Iran, has been opened in an unprecedented way. The increasing role of public diplomacy and the growing influence of cyberspace has transformed many components of foreign policy

2-8- Explanation of foreign policy discourse

Moderation means creating a balance between ideals and reality in the direction of directing reality towards ideals. The discourse of moderation in the government's foreign policy is the tact and hope of a realistic, self-confident, balanced and intelligent move from confrontation

to dialogue, constructive interaction and understanding in order to improve the status, dignity, security and development of the country.

3-8-Elements that shape the discourse of moderation

- Realism:

Knowing the international system, its nature, structure and power relations, and its limitations and possibilities, believing in the ideals and values of the Islamic Revolution, knowing the national capacities, capabilities and limitations and avoiding humiliating, discounting or magnifying others;

Self-confidence: Relying on the country's material and semantic capabilities, collective rationality and wisdom, planning, resourcefulness, courage and initiative in foreign policy, perseverance in protecting values, interests and ideals, pacifism and justice, as well as honesty, accountability and modifiability at the national level;

- Realistic idealism

Balance between ideals and reality, national and transnational goals, national, regional and global needs and tools and methods of exercising power, along with continuity and change in foreign policy, appropriateness of goals and tools and the use of diverse and multiple methods in diverse and plural world;

Constructive and effective interaction based on interaction and dialogue from an equal position, respect and mutual benefits, reducing hostility and mutual de-tension and building mutual trust.

- Strategies, grand strategy

The grand strategy of foreign policy is understanding and consensus at the national level and moderation, constructive and effective cooperation and interaction in foreign relations based on the approach of dignity, wisdom and expediency. The said strategy is aimed at achieving the goals of the vision document, strengthening national security, eliminating external threats, placing the economy and national development at the center of foreign relations, neutralizing the anti-Islamic and Iranophobic agenda in the world and especially in the region, enhancing the credibility and increasing the respect and dignity of Iran. It is defined at the level of the region and the international community and the world in transition. Based on this, the grand foreign policy strategy of the Tadbir and Omid government is categorized in the following axes:

Creating a centralized and coherent planning and decision-making system in foreign policy.

Strengthening common understanding and internal consensus in the field of foreign policy through active and effective interaction with the Islamic Council, universities and research institutions.

Designing national security-oriented and national-based interests in the field of relations and foreign policy.

Creating opportunities, removing threats and preventing the increase of tension in the fields of vital interests.

Establishing, strengthening and deepening bilateral and multilateral relations in order to consolidate national security, advance national interests and enhance the authority, dignity, position and role of the country in the region and the international system.

Active interaction with countries and institutions effective in the global economy and large economic enterprises to develop, consolidate and stabilize economic relations, attract foreign capital, expand the export markets of goods and services, and increase Iran's competitive power.

theoretical and diplomatic confrontation with the global power-oriented structure and unilateralism,

Active and purposeful participation in ensuring international and regional stability and security and managing challenges and crises in order to promote global credibility, secure interests and national security.

Strengthening the process of multilateralism, forming political alliances with aligned countries and active participation in shaping regional and global norms and rules based on national interests and Islamic values. Supporting the individual and collective rights of Iranians abroad, strengthening the Iranian-Islamic identity and creating the necessary grounds for their participation in national development.

Promoting Iranian culture and civilization in the world, especially the geographical area of Greater Iran with the aim of converging and promoting Iranian identity. Taking advantage of religious and cultural capacities to develop and deepen the identity of true Islam. Defending the Muslims and the oppressed nations, especially the Palestinian people, based on the principles of the constitution, political wisdom and the interests of the country, and preventing the influence and sedimentation of the Zionist regime in the region, Islamic countries and international institutions.

- Operational strategies

Operational and targeted planning to neutralize the project of Islamophobia, Iranophobia and global security of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

Identifying, strengthening and producing opportunities, capacities, relative advantages, and capabilities of the country for active presence in the regional and global arena by using new tools.

Building trust with neighbors and determining priority issues with neighbors based on recognized legal principles, and with the aim of maintaining strong, rational, coherent, planned and non-reactive public diplomacy.

Clearing global doubts about the peaceful nature of the nuclear program.

Biasing the benefits and disadvantages of continuing the current process for all parties with planning and foresight.

Taking the initiative from the other side to create space with symbolic movements.

Using all political, economic and advertising levers,
removing the level of inequality of the negotiation parties;

Strengthening the public diplomacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

consistent and purposeful use of all tools and methods complementary to diplomacy,

Improving the country's position on the world stage,

neutralizing and changing the direction of the Iranophobia and anti-Islam project,

Special attention to civil society, media, networks and non-governmental organizations, especially in cyberspace;

using parliamentary diplomacy and strengthening bilateral and multilateral parliamentary relations;

- Management of relations with America:

restraining tension and preventing unnecessary tensions in the relations between the two countries,
Realistic identification of goals, policies and mutual concerns.

Determining basic differences, manageable issues and solvable issues,

Taking initiatives from America in various fields of bilateral relations.

Targeted planning to use all official and unofficial political capacities to achieve goals.

The gradual reduction of America's hostile capabilities and its transformation into proof capabilities;

Normalization of relations with other western countries:

removing unnecessary, deviant and irrelevant issues from the agenda of relations with Europe,

Taking advantage of common issues and concerns,

Reconstruction of bilateral and multilateral relations based on mutual respect and benefits.

gradual removal of obstacles and comprehensive reconstruction of relations, especially economic relations;

Two-way and comprehensive relations,

All-round promotion and strengthening of relations based on interests and mutual benefits.

Management of relations with the interests of Iran.

curbing extremism, sectarianism and religious differences in the region,

interaction and convergence with neighboring countries, the region and the Islamic world,

Establishing sustainable bilateral and multilateral economic and political security ties,

Making foreign policy economy-oriented.

Intelligent planning, decision-making coherence and operational integration in order to promote the positive role of foreign policy in national development.

Attracting foreign investment, technology and knowledge, and opening closed and semi-closed markets.

The gradual transformation of trade relations with developed countries into long-term economic cooperation and the deepening of economic and industrial linkages.

Removing restrictions and facilitating and developing Iran's access to capital markets, science and new technologies.

Adopting effective energy diplomacy with the aim of promoting Iran's managerial role in security, energy production and transmission, increasing export opportunities and attracting investment and advanced technology in this field.

Using Iran's special capacities to become a regional pole in various fields of transportation, energy, information; Understanding regional and global structural realities and designing a suitable discourse and action structure:

Creating a structure appropriate to the strategic role of the Islamic Republic, Proportioning the allocation of resources and material and human capital in geographical areas and international issues with its position in the field of national interests; Calculated, planned, coordinated and effective use of bilateral, multilateral, public, economic, cultural, parliamentary, defense, security and unofficial diplomacy in order to achieve the development and security goals of the country; Reviving the position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the cycle of policy-making, policy-making and implementation of approved policies, and program integration and coherence and foreign policy management:

Improving the structural and functional capacity of the foreign policy apparatus, and preparing it to interact with the special challenges of foreign policy in the existing conditions.

Using the capacity, capability and international credibility of national figures in advancing foreign policy goals.

To systematize decision-making in the field of foreign policy, Creating a legal mechanism to prevent the intervention and comments of irresponsible officials in foreign policy issues. Establishing a meritocracy system in attracting and using committed and professional human capital.

8-4- Methods and solutions

Confidence, initiative, smart planning:

Relying on collective wisdom and trying to build a national consensus.

initiative and prevention of imposing domestic, regional and international conditions on decisions, Avoiding hasty decisions and movements.

Based on the opinions and decisions of experts at the national level,

Applying active diplomacy in the global arena;

- Realism:

Realizing and understanding the global conditions and the country's opportunities and challenges.

Explanation and national consensus about the challenges and planning to deal with it,

reality-based policy making;

- Honesty:

Honesty with officials and honesty in dealing with people.

Regulation and adjustment of public demands,

Using all national abilities to increase the power of foreign policy.

By analyzing the above text and extracting the elements that shape the discourse of moderation, the discontinuity of the discourse in public diplomacy and official diplomacy of the country before 2013 is clearly defined.

9- Discourse analysis of media reflection on 13 Aban, 2012

The seizure of the American embassy was and is the most important and main reason for the start of anti-Iranian discourse, Islamophobia by the United States against the Iranian nation for 35 years, and it will not be possible to remove the negative effects of this event from the public acknowledgment of the American people. The production of the film *Argo* in 2013 and the awarding of the award to its director by the first lady of the United States, Mrs. Michelle Obama, shows the hostile view of the American public opinion towards this very important political event in the history of relations between the two countries. The capture of the American embassy was the peak

of the curve of confrontation and conflict by the United States against the Iranian nation. From the point of view of public diplomacy, dedicating a day in Iran's official calendar named "National Day of Fighting America" and the slogan "Death to America" is known as the symbol of this day. Every year, a special ceremony is held by the government. But in 1392, when the government of moderation came into office, this question was raised in the domestic media: "Why death to America" and the phrase "Let this year's November 13 taste the taste of moderation" and a request to the president to "not hold this ceremony" and thank President "based on not participating in the ceremony", we witnessed the change of anti-American discourse in the media, public opinion and the government. By examining the contents of the newspapers for and against, while extracting the main signs and signs of the National Day of Fighting Arrogance and analyzing We are covering the ceremony of November 13, 2012.

10- Analyzing Iranophobic discourse in American movies

Undoubtedly, influencing public opinion through movies is one of the best accepted methods in the world of human and media communication. The impact of television and cinema programs in reproducing an event and inducing it to the audience is far more effective than other means of mass communication. In recent years, the US Department of State, in collaboration with the University of Southern California, has launched a project called the American Film Festival, where American documentary filmmakers sends to the far corners of the world to show documentary films and introduce the culture of this country. The design of this project was carried out during Hillary Clinton's ministry and based on the idea of "soft smart diplomacy". Clinton believed that all diplomatic tools such as film should be used to advance American policies. Alan Baker, vice president of the University of Southern California School of Cinematic Arts, says about this festival: In this festival, some of the best documentaries that have been made in the last few years, for the people Other countries are exhibited and its main purpose is to educate and change minds if possible. American cinema has not spared any effort to intensify the discourse of Iran-phobia and anti-Islamism. The important thing in these films is the significant presence of Iranian actors who, unfortunately, regardless of political issues, are willing to act in these films in order to humiliate the civilization and culture of Iran. Among other important points in the analysis of American cinema against Iran, the discourse of Iranophobia and anti-Islamism has not only not suffered a break in it, but its continuity has been increased in the last eight years. The amount of films produced in the last few years from various angles of Iranian society has greatly increased, and its main signifiers, the humiliation of Iranian society in the anti-Iran discourse, have been able to attract other floating signifiers and make the discourse of American supremacy and the discourse of Iranphobia hegemonic. help. In this section, we will analyze the important anti-Iranian films that were made in America. Iran has not presented a successful film in the field of cinematic diplomacy and challenging the culture of the American society so far. Other Iranian films that entered international festivals mostly reflected the poverty and deprivation of the society itself and are an unpleasant reflection of the culture. Iranians have been depicted.

11- The components of public diplomacy and their role in the breakdown of discourse during 1990-2023

With the final summation of each of the components of public diplomacy and their role in the discursive breakdown during 1990-1402, we examine the results of this research.

Is the priority of public diplomacy or official diplomacy?

Public diplomacy is the efforts of a government to inform, create mutual understanding and influence the public opinion of other nations. These efforts include: scientific-student, cultural, sports exchanges, using radio, television, and internet media. Unlike traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy has several characteristics: firstly, its audience is different; The audience of public diplomacy is public opinion, and the other thing is that it wants people to think the way that government wants and seeks to create moral and value support for it. Therefore, public opinion has gained a high position in public diplomacy. If the US government wants to threaten a country, the media already prepares the public opinion, or if it wants to impose sanctions on a country, the

media prepares the atmosphere months in advance. Official diplomacy does not mean trusting the other party, it is the indicators derived from national interests that determine the boundaries of a political relationship. But in public diplomacy, this restriction is less. The role of public diplomacy and its applications in Iran is less than official diplomacy. In fact, public diplomacy in Iran is a function of government and official diplomacy. For example, overseas TV programs, sports competitions, domestic media and seminars follow the procedure taken from official diplomacy towards America. One of the weaknesses of the past governments was that they did not use public diplomacy. Public diplomacy does not have the limitations of official diplomacy. Public diplomacy can help official diplomacy and reduce the distrust of countries towards each other. (22)

- Cinematic diplomacy

Unlike traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy has several characteristics: first, its audience is different; The audience of public diplomacy is public opinion, and the other thing is that it wants people to think the way that government wants and seeks to create moral and value support for it. Therefore, public opinion has gained a high position in public diplomacy. If the US government wants to threaten a country, the media already prepares public opinion, or if it wants to impose sanctions on a country, the media prepares the space months in advance by planning. Of course, the Americans have not hidden this issue and have announced it many times, but why many in Iran are not ready to accept this issue is questionable. The American stated that "if we are trying to prevent this country from accessing nuclear weapons by encouraging the Iranians in their struggle for freedom in order to achieve the ability to choose freely, then music and art are very important tools" cinematic diplomacy America strongly reinforces the discourse of anti-Iran and Islamophobia. The interesting point is the growing trend of producing movies and TV series between 2008 and 2013. The production of three movies, *Argo*, *300* and the *Homeland* series, is the peak of this Iranophobic discourse. American film diplomacy has precisely challenged the culture, civilization and lifestyle of the Iranian people and does not hesitate to insult and humiliate it. Although Iranian films' entry into the Oscars is considered a significant success in the field of film cultural diplomacy, the content of these films is a representation of family relationships or problems within the country of Iran and cannot have an impact on the public opinion of the American people in line with Iran's political and diplomatic goals. have

- Diplomacy of political literature of leaders

Between 2010 and 2012, we witnessed a discursive break in the political literature between the officials of the two countries. The country of Iran was constantly under military and economic threat from the United States, and from this side, the country of the United States was the target of attacks from the president of Iran. And undiplomatic expressions were used.

But after 1391, the tone and literature used suddenly changed, and for the first time, in his Nowruz message, the President of the United States called for a direct dialogue with the leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the President of Iran, in his last trip to New York in 1391, called for a direct dialogue. He did not hesitate to make an effort to express his interest in the great American government and nation. The change of discourse that has taken place here is the confirmation of Michel Foucault's theory regarding the place of power in discourses.

- Diplomacy of Nowruz messages

The analysis of the messages contains the point that Obama's speech follows the same principles and axes as the former presidents of the United States, the goal of maintaining and strengthening the hegemonic power of America. In fact, the "change" desired by Obama has only been manifested in the methods used to achieve this goal. From this point of view, Obama's discourse can be seen as an example of Foucault's interpretation of power relations, which, due to the power of access to Obama's discourse, it is possible to establish his dominant position by using linguistic tools, and with the help of this superiority, he can manipulate public opinion for use. From the means of control, pressure and coercion. The sending of Nowruz messages by the American president for 6 consecutive years can be considered as one of the clear examples of public diplomacy in the political apparatus of the American government. The American government has been to contact and talk with the people of Iran. The New Year messages of 1991 and 1992 have a different

approach to the Iranian people and their officials. Iran is also directly addressed by the American president. The Iranian government has not used the diplomatic tool of congratulatory messages like the American government, but it seems that this practice will slowly open its place in Iran's public diplomacy.

- Public opinion and public diplomacy

The components of public diplomacy are closely related to public opinion. The reflection of the public opinion of the Iranian people, in other words, the change of discourse in Iran's elections is emerging. Iran may be considered one of the countries with elections in the world. The amount of votes of the participants and selected people shows well the ability to measure and the tendency of public opinion towards a discourse. In June 2012 elections, the break between the anti-American discourse and the approach of the moderation discourse indicates a change in the public opinion of the people.

- Answering research questions

In this research, three questions were raised that during the last two years, that is, between 1990, 2021 is the dialogue between the two countries of Iran and the United States breaking down from the point of view of media and cultural diplomacy? In other words:

- 1- Has there been a gap between the media discourse of Iran and America and the signs of its construction?
- 2- Can public and media diplomacy play an effective role in shaping the new discourse between the two countries?
- 3- Are the former structures that generated hegemonic discourse between the public opinion of the two countries changing?

1- The answer to the first question

In response to the first question, by examining important events such as the phone call between the presidents of Iran and the United States after 35 years, the non-participation of the country's top officials in the ceremony of the National Day of Struggle with America, as well as the 1992 presidential election, we are witnessing this disconnect. As it was said, this research does not intend to analyze and investigate the causes of this break, and the evaluation of the success or failure of this discourse is not an issue to be addressed in this research, only the purpose of representing and analyzing its media, which shows the marginalization of the discourse. There is anti-Iran and anti-Americanism on the part of two countries at the moment. This discontinuity also confirms the theory of Laclau and Mouffe, who believe that discourses are not fixed and they go to the sidelines by rejecting and highlighting them and leave their hegemonic state.

2- The answer to the second question

The second question refers to the role of public diplomacy in creating a new discourse or making micro-discourses hegemonic. Undoubtedly, the role of public opinion, which is the center of media and cultural diplomacy, is undeniable in today's world. Iran's 1992 elections, as well as the approach of the public opinion of the American people to the slogan of change in the American elections, show the irreplaceable role of public opinion and the media in shaping It refers to the decisions of political leaders. According to CNN's theory, today it is the media and reporters who determine meeting times and agendas for politicians, and public opinion in the age of globalization and communication that emerges through the media, social networks, and elections. The title of an important control factor in the field of international relations is raised.

3- The answer to the third question

In the third question, we accept that according to Laclau Mouffe's theory, politics is a place of conflict of meanings, and we witness the uncertainty of the structural signs of signified and signified relations in political and social discourses. According to them, there are no fixed structures in the sphere of politics and there is no discourse. It can maintain its dominance forever in the conflict between power and politics. In Laclau and Mouffe's theory, the uncertainty of meaning is what makes politics both possible and necessary. Politics is the struggle of signifiers that have been relatively constant in previous political plans. Regarding the change in the structures that generate Iranophobia and anti-American discourse, we accept that the main signifiers derived

from political and idealistic structures are changing, and even if these structures remain the same, at least the relationship between the signifier and the signified is changing and the meaning new relations and signs of discourse between the two countries are being formed.

12- Research results

The function of public diplomacy is based on the approach of the public opinion of the people of one country towards another country. Today, with the expansion of information technology and the change of actors in the field of international relations, public opinion is quickly affected by the one-way flow of information.

From 2006 to 2012, the public opinion of the American people assumed that Iran was its first and most dangerous enemy for 6 consecutive years, and for this reason, the official diplomatic apparatus of the United States did not refrain from imposing any sanctions, threats, and intimidation on the Iranian nation.

On the other hand, due to the lack of attention to the capabilities of public diplomacy in Iran, no effective measures have been taken to correctly reflect the realities of Iranian society and civilization to enlighten the public opinion of the American people. And the civilization of Iranian people is built. Public diplomacy in our country follows the view of realism and neo-realism, which still does not believe in non-state actors, and on the other hand, with an idealistic view derived from its classical diplomacy, it intends to influence the public opinion of the people of the world, which is influenced by new methods and The policies of other countries, especially the United States, do not match. Failure to use new methods and capacities of media and non-governmental organizations will not bring much success to Iran in this field, while the techniques used by the American government are far more advanced and effective.

TABLE. 3- PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OF IRAN AND AMERICA AND RELATED THEORIES

CNN theory	Structuralists	Neoliberalism	liberalism	New realism	realism	Theory
	Structuralists				realism	Public diplomacy of Iran
CNN theory		Neoliberalism				American public diplomacy
				New realism		Iran's media diplomacy
CNN theory		Neoliberalism				American media diplomacy
				New realism		Iran's cultural diplomacy
CNN theory		Neoliberalism				American cultural diplomacy

In table number 4, a summary of the actions taken between the two countries is given as research results:

TABLE 4-SUMMARY OF SOME MUTUAL CULTURAL AND MEDIA MEASURES BETWEEN IRAN AND AMERICA

Action by Iran	Action by the United States	Public Diplomacy
*****	Argo, 300 ,Iskandar, Rose	Cinema diplomacy

*****	Homeland and 24 series	Television diplomacy	
Fajr Music Festival	presence of" Pittsburgh "orchestra in Tehran	Musical diplomacy	
Received the Oscar award, Jadei Nader, from Simin	Awarding by Michelle Obama to the producer of the film Argo	Oscar diplomacy	
Wrestling and football team	Wrestling and football team	Sports diplomacy	
Formation of elite diplomacy in Iran	The recommendation of 300 American elites to the new approach of American public diplomacy	Elite diplomacy	
100thousand Iranian students in America	Facilities for recruiting Iranian students and financial aid	Student diplomacy	
Increase in Iranian visitors to America	The presence of 13 American tourists in Tehran	Tourism diplomacy	
	Facilitating tourist visas for Iranians		
	The luck of American citizens for leisure and tourism trips to Iran		
2million Iranians living in America	Advice to American people not to be in Iran	Diplomacy of resident compatriots	
Congratulatory message from Rouhani and Iran's Foreign Minister	Nowruz congratulatory messages of Mr. Obama and the US foreign ministers to Iran	Congratulations Diplomacy	
Iranian carpet		Art diplomacy	
*****	George Clooney, Gerard Robinson,	Ambassador of Peace	Diplomacy of artists and celebrities
*****	Richard Fry's will to be placed in Iran	Bhak Separi	
Rouhani's message in English to the American people	The use of Persian language in Obama's Nowruz greetings	Language diplomacy	
	65Persian language sites		
Marzia Afkham	Hillary Clinton, Madeleine Alberlit, Wendy Sherman, Catherine Ashton	Women diplomats	Women's diplomacy
The presence of women in full coverage at the UN summit	Katherine Ashton donates traditional Iranian clothes	Hijab diplomacy	
Aid to the Orléans flood	Helping the victims of the Bam earthquake Hassan Rouhani's visit to earthquake victims, American Field Hospital, Bam2002 ,	Diplomacy of humanitarian aid	
Iranian Foreign Minister	*****	Smile diplomacy	
	American virtual embassy "Ask Alan "site Voice of America Farsi website	Internet diplomacy	
Jam Jam 2 network Press TV news channel	65Persian language satellite networks sponsored by the United	Media diplomacy	

IFilm network	States	
	CNN Theory) The CNN Effect (
The Iranian journalist along with the presidential delegation became a refugee	Farid Zakaria ,Larry King, Christian Amanpour and their numerous interviews with Iranian officials	<i>Diplomacy of journalists</i>
*****	Preventing Iran's membership in the World Economic Organization	Business diplomacy
*****	Sanction of Iranian companies	Corporate diplomacy
*****	Banking embargo and international financial network	Commercial diplomacy
*****	The most unprecedented economic sanctions against Iran in all economic fields	sanctions diplomacy
Emphasis on having the right to enrichment	The most and most severe political and economic measures against Iran's nuclear program	Nuclear diplomacy
Trying to get rid of the oil economy	Sanctioning Iran's oil exports in order to give up Iran's right to use peaceful nuclear energy	Oil and energy diplomacy

12- Discussion and conclusion

The difference between the post JCPOA conditions and the time of nuclear negotiations with 5+1 and before that, causes the country to need a new approach and a different bias in the field of foreign policy and following it in media diplomacy. During the nuclear negotiations, the government of Dr. Hassan Rouhani with 5+1, there was a relative convergence between the domestic media, both traditional and modern, and the media diplomacy department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the media of the negotiating countries were also in an apparent alignment. , to conclude the nuclear negotiations with Iran. While in the spring of 2018 and with the withdrawal of the United States from the JCPOA, the pressure of the Western media centered on the United States media apparatus on Iran doubled and the American foreign policy apparatus, in an all-round cooperation with the American media, justified the sanctions. He paid his economic unprecedented against the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In fact, at this time, the Islamic Republic of Iran, more than ever, needs to activate its media arms in the form of media diplomacy to justify the public opinion of the world in order to defend its legitimacy in the nuclear issue and reproduce national interests in new conditions. had This is despite the fact that media diplomacy is a priority to create a cultural and economic foundation in order to counter the economic sanctions of the United States, the Islamic Republic could not use its media capacity to convince the public opinion of the world as it should. and benefit from economic grounding. According to the results of the research, it is possible to summarize the solutions to improve Iran's diplomacy, in the post-JCPOA era, in two qualitative and quantitative aspects. In a quantitative aspect, the number of media in the Islamic Republic of Iran should be increased, especially in the field of news websites and news agencies in English and Arabic, and also, within the framework of the balance of power, media cooperation with countries in the same position as Iran, such as China, Russia, Syria and Iraq will increase in the regional and global arena. In the qualitative aspect, the media arms of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran should, more than ever, focus their activities on creating the basis for economic and cultural cooperation with different countries, especially

neighboring and allied countries, and indirect and non-direct advertising. Replace ideological with direct advertising. In fact, one of the criticisms of Iran's media advertising is that it is ideological, while the western media, using media techniques and coverage, try to portray and indirectly induce their opinions. . Also, the national media still does not have the necessary complexity and maturity to direct its audience indirectly, therefore, most of the time, it acts as a propaganda horn of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and easily provides a platform for the influence of western media advertisements. In the field of persuading public opinion, the process of conceptualization, streamlining, and institution building is usually incomplete, and this problem arises from the fact that, except in limited cases, such as the time of nuclear negotiations with 5+1, the government and the national media They do not have convergence of positions. Finally, Iran's media strategy can be focused on three aspects: politics, public opinion and media tools, according to the results of the research in the post-Jama era. 1. In the political aspect, Iran's foreign policy apparatus, centered on the government, should work with the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in terms of using the media and aligning their positions, and for soft power in the media war, from the domestic media and the media Foreign alignment should be used against the United States of America in order to provide the basis for the balance of power and the provision of Iran's national interests, both in the economic and political fields, in the new conditions. 2. Regarding public opinion, it should be pointed out that despite the media capabilities of two networks, Al-Alam and Press TV, the news arms of the Islamic Republic of Iran abroad, as well as the relatively appropriate performance of other overseas networks, such as Sahar and Ai Film in the field of cultural foundation, the process of persuasion and representation and cultural modeling, has not been done as it should be and Iran has not been successful in the media battle; The media that are in line with American policies have been able to portray Iran as the cause of tension in the region. Therefore, Iran's media diplomacy should be focused on changing the attitude of the countries of the region towards Iran, as the factor that establishes stability and security in the region, and by using media cooperation with aligned and allied countries, towards creating Balance the forces in the regional and global arena. 3. Regarding media tools, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran should develop media tools such as television, radio, press and news agencies, in both qualitative and quantitative aspects. Employing new experts who are familiar with media war and employing foreign experts who are familiar with the conditions and media atmosphere of America and Europe, as well as using anti-propaganda techniques, such as observing the social and political shortcomings of hostile countries and using them as Alternative advertising is one of the other strategies that should be considered.

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