Soft Power in Iran's Foreign Policy

Tahseen Wsu Abdullah

Political system and public politics, College of Political Science, Salahaddin University, Erbil, Kurdistan region, Iraq.
Tahseen.wsu@su.edu.krd

Ahmed Babakr Ahmed

Department of Diplomacy and International Relations, College of Law and International Relations, Lebanese French University, Erbil, Kurdistan Region, Iraq.
Ahmed.babakr@lfu.edu.krd

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	This research intends to analyze the concept of soft power within the framework of international relations. The concept of soft power as a modern issue in the field of international relations has in a short period of time gained great importance and has become an important tool in foreign policy of countries. It means that in the current era, this concept consists of one of the main pillars of foreign policy of the state. Iran, as a state with culture and old civilization, has also been reflected as a regional lying force in its foreign policy as a tool. In this context, the research is discussing the main tools that Iran relies on soft power in foreign policy. In addition to discussing the opportunity to use soft force in Iran's foreign policy, the research also discusses the problems and challenges facing Iran's foreign policy in its implementation.

1. Introduction

After 1979, Iran entered a completely different phase with the previous era on the level of relations with western countries, especially the United States of America, in a way that if the Iranian regime was defined as ally or police in the region during the shah's era, the Iranian regime would not have been a strong enemy after the success of the American Islamic revolution. The view of Iran's ruling power has completely cut off Iran's relationship with the United States, and the West, above all, has changed

the direction of working against Iran to impose sanctions and to isolate the Islamic regime from the US. In return, Iran has been working in ideology and the model of governance to transfer the model of theocrats power from Iran to other countries, and Tehran has been trying to create a front against the West.

The shifting of political authority in Afghanistan and Iraq, the process of the Arab world's change, the circumstances in Syria and Yemen, will be interpreted as an opportunity in the light of influence and hegemony for the Iranian state. In this context, the tendency to adopt hard-to-do politics is more visible than using soft power.

The concept of soft power is considered one of the most important and controversial topics within the framework of foreign policy. In this regard, this research highlights one of the most important issues in international relations, namely the concept of soft power. In this context, Iran's soft power in foreign policy will be discussed and investigated. During the research, the issue of power in general and soft power in particular is discussed within the framework of international relations and international politics, and then the general framework of Iran's foreign policy will be discussed, particularly in the view of the Islamic Revolution of the Republic of Iran in 1979, because Iran, as a state with special influence, has a great impact on both the region's state and the events. That is, Iran has a significant role to play as a major actor in the events. Apart from the harsh force (the use of military force and the threat of military force), Iran's tools and fields of soft power are the most important factors that Iran uses as a source of soft power in the context of geopolitics, historical and cultural conditions, ethnic, national, religious, sectarian and linguistic aspects.

1.1. Statement of the problem

The issue of power is generally one of the controversial issues because power has a set of dimensions, so it often becomes one of the most common problems in the field of force research in general, and the types of power can be changed according to different explanations.

The soft power is also a source of what Iran can use as a state to apply its soft power in foreign policy other than using hard power. These are subjects that are considered the main problems facing research.

The issue of differences and conflicts between slogans and practices is another problem facing the Iranian state in its definition of itself outside its borders. In the main view, the conflict and its opposition at the level of the main state discourse between slogans and practices can have a negative impact on the framework of foreign policy from the perspective of soft power. This negative effect also leads to opportunities for the use of soft power to face problems.

The lack of a strong democratic system based on legitimacy by the citizen, the weakness of civil society, the lack of freedom of opinion and printing, the weakness of the state's economic principles, the conflict with the international community, the weakness of Iran's relationship with the foreign policy and other problems directly or indirectly affect the use of soft power within the framework of foreign policy. In other words, these problems will narrow the fields facing Iran in foreign policy to use soft power.

1.2. Literature Review

The concept of soft power was first entered into international relations literature by Joseph Nye, a professor at Harvard University in the United States, in the 1990s. This concept has been in progress since then and has gained a lot of validity at the level of international politics and international relations. The soft force is the ability to create the influence of a state or community outside the refuge gate for using hard power in other words, soft power can be said to be the arrival of a state or actor with its goals without using hard force. (Joseph, 1990) In the field of international relations, soft power is used to achieve the goals of actors instead of using hard power tools. It means that an actor adapts his interests to the interests of an actor without resorting to hard force and to achieve his goals That is, states resort to adaptation instead of thinking about military options. (Cent, 2009)

The issue of soft power in foreign policy has been developed as an important person by academics and researchers in this field, but this issue has been less important in Iranian foreign policy than other related issues. One of the main reasons may be related to the Islamic Republic of Iran's own political system, which is more about the hard power of foreign policy.

In addition, various studies have been conducted on Iran's foreign policy, including: "Foreign Policy, Soft Power of Iran and USA in the Middle East", which has focused on Iran's soft power among Middle Eastern countries (Gholamreza, Soheila, Hamed, 2017). Also "The role of Iran's soft power in Confronting Iranophobia" talks about classical diplomacy, public diplomacy and new diplomacy as the basis of soft power in Iran's foreign policy. From a soft power view, this type of general diplomacy is analyzed. In this context, topics (culture, media, religion, antiques, language, various groups, official and informal institutions, cinema and tourism sectors). (Mirmohammad, 2019). In The "The Modalities of Iranian Soft Power: From cultural diplomacy to Soft War" research, he analyzes the principles of Iran's soft power and determines the sources that Iran uses in its foreign policy. (Edward, 2015) .On the other hand, there is another course under the title "Discourse, Affinity and Attraction: A Case of Study of Iran's Soft Power Strategy in Afghanistan" of Iranian foreign policy institutions that use it as a source of soft force. (Hiva, 2018)

In Turkish, there have been several studies on Iran's soft power, including: "Iran's Soft Power: Components, Challenges" (Doğan, 2016), "Iran's soft power" (Abdullah, 2015), "Use of Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Iran's Foreign Policy: The Case of Middle East" (Ahmet, Doğacan, 2019). In general, these courses discuss the fields, tools and activities of public diplomacy in Iran's foreign policy, which are treated as soft forces within the framework of foreign policy.

1.3. The aim of the research

The Islamic Republic of Iran, as an old state in the Middle East region, has many types of soft forces, and at the same time, the environment of the region has made Iran able to use its soft power in a way that is in line with its interests, which has created a good opportunity for Iran to establish its position and influence more, especially in the Islamic world.

Each scientific study includes several objectives, which the research objectives will become a basic principle for research to focus on, and from this point of view, we will list the objectives in this way:

1. Classifying power from the view of foreign policy in general and soft power in particular.
2. The expressing of the fields or principles that Iran uses as soft force in foreign policy.
3. Presenting the main sources of the soft power of the Islamic Republic of Iran.
4. Searching for the challenges and obstacles that come to the soft power of Iran's foreign policy.

1.4. Methods of the research

From a methodological point of view, relies on the qualitative method to analyze the content of research subjects. In our study, Iran's foreign policy in Iraq will be discussed in two basic theoretical frameworks in general. The first, soft power in Iran's foreign policy be analyzed at the individual level in order to comprehend, explain and interpret the subject to be investigated. In this context, Iran's policy towards outside world will be discussed within the scope of issues related to the perceptions, choices, behaviors and movements of individuals.

The second basic theoretical framework will be the scope of analysis at and main and Sub-Establishments level of the state. The analysis here is not only associated with the state. It means that it will include the investigation of units such formal and informal institutions of the state

In addition to the two basic theoretical frameworks mentioned above, the analysis method will be used at the system level. According to this system; Work with an approach that includes a state and global order will be based on a solid scientific basis. Here, it will be based on a top-of-the-state interaction beyond just one state. Naturally, it is important for this interaction to guide foreign policy.

Generally used to access information about the subject of research, academic research, scientific journalism and official electronic sites, from Kurdish, other languages such as English, Arabic, Persian and Turkish have been used to collect information and have been analyzed from different perspectives for different information and opinions.

1.5. Hypothesis of research

Here we will show some hypothesizes that will try to estimate during research, including;

1. Soft power is seen as an important tool by states in foreign policy.
2. Iran, as an old civilized state, has many opportunities to rely on soft power in foreign policy to achieve its goals.
3. Despite Iran's sources of soft power in foreign policy, there are also obstacles and challenges to the use of its soft power.

1.6. Research Plan

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: Power and Soft Power in International Relations

Chapter3: Iran's Foreign Policy

Chapter 4: The tools of soft power in Iran's foreign policy

Chapter 5: Conclusions

2. The concept of soft power in international relations:

In general, the concept of power in international relations is one of the most common concepts, which means the ability to create an international actor on another actor or on international politics, meaning that the concept of power is one of the most influential factors in the perspective of international relations theories, which always means expansion and expansion. The power factor is not only used for war or peace, but also for economically, as an important element in international politics and international relations. But in general, the concept of power is defined in the context of discipline and international relations literature in general, as "the desire of an actor to do what he wants to do and be able to control the opposite actor". The main characteristics and constituent element of the force include the population, land, natural resources, economic size, military force and political stability (Yılmaz, 2018, 5).

Therefore, within the framework of international relations, the force is to protect the state for its own interests or force the actors to acknowledge the demands of a state,

i.e., forcing one party to go under the demands of one party or another actor. The development of the concept of power in international relations literature has made the subject of power not easy to express or define as decisive. On the contrary, it is superficially recognized and each concept of violence and violence is used as a concept close to power. From this point of view, the concept of power can be divided into international relations as follows:

2.1. Hard Power

The concept of hard power is defined as being able to threaten by force or use of force by a state or international actors against other countries or actors outside the consent of the other states (Ahmed, 2021, 8). This type of force also includes a broad errand, from military intervention by a state to the use of force, bells and political oppression, entering the framework of hardline forces. In other words, the hard force is the use of military force and interference by the military forces of a state against another state. Thomas Schelling believes that hard power comes from threats and acceptance; if gifts and donations are more effective than threats, the situation will be seen as a threat. This includes conditions of complicating, agreeing to pay for a bill, intimidation, purchase and sale (Nye, 2006). Power is generally classified into five types: violence, consent, authoritarianism, violence and affect. In fact, only affect and violence are seen as the main factors of force (Sağlam, 2014, 5).

2.2. Soft Power

The concept of soft power was first entered into international relations literature by Joseph Nye, a professor at Harvard University in the United States, in the 1990s. This concept has been in progress since then and has gained a lot of validity at the level of international politics and international relations. The soft force is the ability to create the influence of a state or community outside the refuge gate for using hard power in other words, soft power can be said to be the arrival of a state or actor with its goals without using hard force (Nye, 2005, 5). In the field of international relations, soft power is used to achieve the goals of actors instead of using hard power tools. It means that an actor adapts his interests to the interests of an actor without resorting

to hard force and compliers to achieve his goals That is, states resort to adaptation instead of thinking about military options (Ahmed, 2020, 123).

Within the framework of international relations, soft power shall be able to determine or shape the options of the other side, generally personal abilities, culture, values, ideology, idealism and ethics, political institutions, and approved politics are the most prominent tools used by actors in international politics as sources or tools of soft power. Countries with soft power sources are trying to influence the behavior of other countries or change their behavior using these factors (Yegin,2015, 10).

The term of power, generally admonitions from political values and a fascinating foreign policy. Although if a state's policy is acceptable and valid in the view of a state, the soft power in that state's policy will increase. In other words, if in the past states in the field of international politics have influenced each other through self-determination and intervention through military forces, but now states, along with hard forces, are using soft power resources to disseminate political, economic and cultural values. For example, in the current era, the impact of a TV drama has had as much military intervention as it is, without spending much material money. In this respect, each of the concepts of friendship, alliance and cooperation, political leadership, political acceptance and support in international relations are the most common concepts that focus on the attention and discussion of experts and researchers.

2.3. Smart Power

The intelligent force or the power of mind in the modern era, in view of the use of the concept of power, is one of the subjects that investigators and thinkers use to evaluate and read the policies of countries within the framework of types of power. Countries that resort to using intelligent force, in order to achieve their main goals, can avoid or ignore some of their secondary goals, establish good relationships with other actors, evaluate all options, threats and opportunities in detail and use all their abilities to the last opportunity. When mentioned in these expressions of the use of force, it is necessary to emphasize the words of "Nicolae Machiavelli" of "Nicholas Machiavelli" about governing; "The ruler must act in a way that is obliged to appear both in the form of a lion's characteristics and in the characteristics of the fox. For the

lion is in front of the arrows and the fox essay is against the wolves. The sparrow must be like a lion to frighten the wolves in order to empty the arrows and the swords. Micaville believes the authorities should sometimes show themselves strong in their behavior and sometimes resort to tricks and misguided tools (Machiavelli, 2007, 93). Joseph Nay believes that the smart force is neither soft nor hard power, but as a result of connecting both types of power, i.e., the intelligent force is the result of connecting soft power and hard power. He does not give this view during an investigation into the meaning of American intelligence force, which is both the characteristic of soft and hard power to achieve the goals of the tools of soft and hard power. If this idea is shown to require a military structure, at the same time by building a strong alliance, partnerships and institutions have made the US influence expand at any level and provide validity (Armitage & Nye, 2007). At the same time, intelligent power means intelligent diplomacy. According to john Zogby, clever diplomacy means respecting other countries and providing the needs of another state based on the will and will of states (2014, 6).

Table Number (1) classify joseph Nye for military, economic and soft forces (Nye, 2007m 7).

Type of Power	Behavior Models	Main sources and Movements	Government Policies
Military	• Compression • to oppose • protect	• military • severe	• the diplomacy of the forced • war • alliance
Economic Power	• sedan • compression	• rebuttal • Punishments	• Cooperation • rebuttal • Punishments
Soft Power	• attractive • Set a work agenda	• Value • culture • Policies • Institutions	• Public Diplomacy • Bilateral diplomacy • Multidimensional diplomacy

3. Iran's foreign policy:

In general, foreign policy of any country is a decision that determines the goals of the state outside its borders, through many tools, it works to implement these decisions,

foreign policy is related and work with local politics, i.e., factors (the country's economic strength, military force, population and area of the country) will have a direct impact on the state's foreign policy, even though the state is strong and capable from the inside, foreign policy will be strong and effective. In other words, the relationship between foreign policy and domestic politics is a direct one, because the view and worldview of power that is being built inside is the main source of foreign policy.

Iran, as an effective state, has its own foreign policy, both worldwide and at the Middle East level, which means that Iran's foreign policy is tied to its own interests. Iran, as a country with an ancient history and civilization, has the size of power, influence and various abilities, an influential actor in the international and regional system. Iran's ideological and political interests and goals are not only imprisoned in the Middle East, but also Iran's foreign policy is related to the outer the Middle East. Iran has the largest economic and commercial goals outside the region's borders, such as the country's economic interests with the United States, China, Europe and even Africa. The reason is that Iran's foreign policy is the result of the principles of the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, which is more than just ideology and political believes. The Islamic revolution of Iran was the event, which had a huge impact on foreign policy and the decision-making center in the country, to how it dealt with the foreign environment. In a way that the country's policy-making views on the regional and international environment have changed radically, as the new coalition has been decided and reviewed, new rivals and allies have been selected in both regional and international system. This new exchange, from the perspective and perspective of the decision-making on foreign policy, needed to develop a strategy that includes all these new changes, re-determining the goals of the country's foreign policy, in a way that is mixed and ranked between ideological goals and national political needs (Babkaye, 2017)

The 1979 Islamic revolution has turned the country into a fundamental change in terms of worldview, both at the local level and at the level of foreign policy. A political system was built that is very different and rare in the political system of all countries of the world. Iran's foreign policy in the pre-Islamic revolution period in 1979 and the post-revolution phase needs to be read in two different ways, because in the pre-

revolution phase, the shah's era, Iran's foreign policy was directed in a way that was very different from the time after the revolution, and when we compare these two stages from the perspective of Iran's foreign policy to a completely different extent. In the shah's era, Iran's relationship with western countries was at a high level above all with the United States, but with changes in the system and political movement, this was reversed, and the Islamic revolution made it an enemy and hostile state from an allied and friendly state (Yurdakurban, 2007, 2), but this difference was more intended to adapt to the changes based on the restructuring of interests (Rahim, 2014, 120).

"The most effective occupation is ideological occupation, because it is invaded by ideology and the hearts and minds of the people," said Hans Morgenthau, head of the Realism School in International Relations. Since ideology and ideology played a fundamental role in the foreign environment from the Islamic Point of View of Iran, when decision-making worked to export the principles of their country's Islamic revolution abroad. Khomeini's famous statement on this fact is clear evidence, when he said, "Our standing with countries is based on beliefs." In addition, the political system in the country was established on the same principles as the Faqih state. The move further adhered to the country's behavior on the Middle East border, particularly against Arab countries. Exporting the principles of revolution by the Islamic Government of Iran in foreign policy, especially to Arab countries, has in fact caused Iran's relations with those countries to be destroyed and destroyed, as the Gulf countries felt the danger of these foreign policy behaviors, which are behind these behaviors, what purpose and how Iran wants to become an Islamic pole, and to reduce Saudi Arabia's Islamic role and position, particularly to undermine Saudi Arabia's influence on Islamic countries. This is in addition to the fact that the issue of the Iranian-led Shia crescent is jeopardizing the national security of Arab countries by provoking and supporting Shia cases in those countries. For this purpose, Iran has been able to impose its forces and forces on some Arab countries such as Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Yemen because of its support for Hezbollah and now the Popular Mobilization Forces and other Shia forces. What is worth noting is that until now the influence of the Islamic Revolution of Iran has remained ideologically, and sectarian on Arab countries, despite the fact that relations between Iran and Arab countries

have seen many highs and lows in the history of the relations between the two sides since the Islamic revolution (Rahim, 2017). So here, each issue of sending out the ideology of revolution and sectarianism can be designated as two main characteristics of Iran's foreign policy in the post-Islamic revolution phase; with the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran after the 1979 revolution, the state's political system has turned towards fundamental changes. Internal changes in the political system have had a direct impact on the direction of foreign policy. The revolution abroad has become one of Iran's main foreign policy characteristics. Iran believed that the model that succeeded in Iran should be transferred to other countries (Abrahamian, 1993, 85). According to researchers and experts in Iran's foreign policy affairs, the Islamic revolution was an important incident in terms of foreign policy towards the countries of the region, especially against Muslim countries. The issue of sending out the revolution was not supported by radical groups, but supported by moderate groups. The issue was not only viewed ideologically, but was also viewed in the perspective of the governing model (Mutattaqi, 2012, 43). As a result of the policy of sending out the principles of revolution and its ideas, Iran has become an influential and influential force in the region in the Gulf, Lebanon, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan. Iran has continued its activities in these countries within the framework of Islamic views, and ideology (Aspozito, 2004, 55). Iran has first used the issue of sending out revolutions against western countries and imperialism, because from the point of view of local politics, this issue paves the way for Iran to enter the countries of the region through it (Nejibzadeh, 2009, 145). The leader of the Khomeini Islamic Revolution believed that the aim of sending out the revolution was to create a front against imperialism and western countries (Ramazani, 1985, 72). Khomeini's intention on this side was not to put the countries of the region on Iranian soil, but to take power with the same regime of the Islamic Republic (Dehshiri, 1999, 32). In this way, within the Constitution of the Islamic Republic, 8 special articles are allocated for the issue of sending out the revolution (Azgandy, 2016, 67). After Khomeini's death, Iran's foreign policy was changed from an ideologically based ideological lying ideological policy to a policy based on various interests (economic, political, and cultural). In general, this means that the issue outside the revolution has withdrawn compared to the Khomeini era (Shah, 2001, 61(. The theme of "Shi'ism" sectarianism in Iran's

foreign policy after the 1979 revolution as another major feature has had a complete reflection on how to direct politics and behavior outside the Islamic Republic of Iran, in a way that within the constitution, twelve imams have been recognized as the official doctrine of the state within the framework of Islam. In this view, the issue of Shia sectarianism in Iran's foreign policy at the regional level has been a major reason for conflicts and conflicts with other regional actors, above all Saudi Arabia and Turkey. The two countries are seen as two main rival states in Iran's view of Iran's sectarian politics, so Iran is working in every way to strengthen and strengthen the Shia front in the region within the framework of its expansionist policy. Iran wanted to appear as a center for all Shia in the region after the Islamic Revolution, in other words, Shia in the region through Iran within the framework of a policy based on sectarian views towards the countries of the region. Iran is working through the Shia crescent to link the Shia in the area (Onat, 2031, 244). This term was first used by King Abdullah of Jordan in 2004 to describe Tehran's strategic project, which is being played by Sunni countries in the region. The project will start from Iran and will expand towards Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. In other words, the Shia crescent, although a term the Iranian Islamic Republic has not established itself, was designated by Iran as a strategic depth in 2004 after the fall of the Ba'athist regime and Shia rule in Iraq, and the Quds force of the Pasdaran army was assigned to cross the road from Tehran to Iraq and return to Syria. The Shia crescent passes through southern Iran, crossing the Ahwaz border into Basra, Karbala, Najaf, Baghdad province and western Mosul, moving from Syria to the south of Deir ez-Zor province, entering Lebanon from Damascus's south.

Therefore, the most important characteristics of Iran's foreign policy after the 1979 disappearance of the Shah's regime in Iran can be summarized in this way;

From the beginning of the revolution until Khomeini's death, following Iran's foreign policy was within the framework of radicalism and ideology.

- Pan-Islamic ism.
- Sending out the revolution as a governing model.
- Standing against imperialism and Western countries in the region above all the United States.
- Support oppressed and occupied countries.

- After the 1990s, due to the difficult economic situation of compromise policies and the approach of western countries, i.e. following a realistic policy, especially in the field of cooperation with Russia.
- After the Cold War, Iran developed relations with central Asian countries.
- Seeing the leadership role in the Gulf countries.
- By 2003, Iran had pursued a policy of avoiding the existence of western countries in the region.
- Working on strengthening and strengthening a united military front.
- Support Shia groups throughout the region, such as in Yemen and Lebanon.
- Providing military, political, economic and diplomatic assistance to allied governments such as Syria and Iraq.
- Interfere in the internal affairs of the states of the region.

Table Number (2) Soft Power Sources (Gallarotti, 2011).

Local Sources	International Sources
Cultural Source; • Social compatibility • Standard of community life • Freedoms • The conditions of the society's opportunities • Attractive life **Source of Political Institutions;** • Democracy • Constitution/Law • Liberalism/pluralism • A strong and bureaucratic system	• Free economic foreign policy • Legal respect for norms and international institutions • Trusting multi-party and standing against one side • Honesty against international agreements and agreements • Collecting national interests in a short period of time

4. The Tools of soft power in Iran's foreign policy:

Generally, soft power is one of the foreign policy tools of each country within the framework of various tools. From this point of view, Iran, as a country with a soft power in foreign policy, is working to adapt it to its own interests, in a way that serves its soft power in its interests. Iran's soft power is also different, from ideology to

literature and culture. Here in summary, the fields that Iran uses within the framework of soft power in foreign policy;

4.1. Language, religion and nation;

Iran is considered one of the largest and most crowded countries in the Islamic world in terms of population, the population of Iran is above (80) million, 98% of the population is Muslim, about 90% of this rate is Shia sectarian, and what remains is the Sunni component of other minorities. Sunnis make up about 9% of the structure of Iranian society, and 1% are Baha'is, Zoroastrians, Saba's, Ahl al-Haq, The Jihadis and Christians (Fendim, 2014, 155-156). the country's constitution in other words, the identity of the Islamic Republic of Iran is the identity of a Shia sect. Shia sectarianism also make up 16 per cent of the Islamic world, and the Shia structure in the Middle East is generally the main factor in Iran's politics (Sazman Thabt Ahwal Kishver, Website).

In addition to Islam and Shia sectarianism, Persian is a major factor in Iran's soft power, although Persian language was the main factor in Iran's identity and was approved as a national language after the revolution. This issue is described as a factor outside the geographical borders of the Iranian state, meaning that the Persian language should be designated as a large area of Iranian hegemony in the context of the "stage" process in history. This means that The Persian language is influenced by the Persian language in areas that have been published or benefited from, in a way that is influenced by the Persian language, which needs to be evaluated and read in a specific context.

Persian has affected the language and speech essay of India, Pakistan, Turkey, Bosna and Hersch, Serbia, Albania, Croatia and Macedonia. In other words, the language of the countries mentioned has become the influence of the Persian language. In general, Persian is now the official language of the country in Iran and Tajikistan, and in Afghanistan it is one of the official languages of the state. It is also still used as a dialect in India and Pakistan (2015, 14).

Although Persian language in Iran is recognized as the official language of the state, each of the Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic, Turkoman and Baluchi's languages exists within the Iranian community, in areas where the majority of the population is not the

component of the Persian nation, these languages are talked about daily, i.e., outside the official institutions and institutions of the state among the people. From this point of view, Iran can build friendship and cooperation with Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkey, Iraq, the Gulf countries and African countries with Arabic official languages. Therefore, religion, sect, ethnicity and language for the Iranian state are considered as the main factors in the context of their use as a tool of soft power and the linking of the bridge of relations with central Asian and Middle Eastern countries. In this regard, this factor is considered an important field within the framework of Iran's soft power.

4.2. Political and cultural representation;

Iran has 13 embassy offices in the Middle East and offices in Egypt. Iran has political and diplomatic relations with all countries in the Eurasia region, and in each of the 10 states in the region, it has opened two-sided relations and an embassy. Also, in 17 Countries of the Asian Pacific Region, 31, 22 African States, 6 Latin American States of Iran have an embassy and 3 other countries are discussing the opening of their own embassy in those countries (Sazmane Feheng u Ertibat AL- islmi, Website). According to this data and information, 86.67% of Middle Eastern countries, 56.67% of Asian Pacific countries, in Eurasia, 75.61% of European countries, 42.31% in African countries and 20% of Latin American countries in Iran have two-sided relations at the embassy level. In terms of cultural relations, Iran has 11 cultural representatives in 9 middle eastern countries, 17 in 9 countries in the Asian region of Pacific, of which 17 are cultural representatives in Pakistan, only in the Eurasia region has Iranian cultural representation, and 12 have cultural representatives in Europe and 11 representatives from African countries (Hargis -Kani – Jaafary, 2009, 241).

4.3. Friendship Group;

The friendship group is considered one of the most prominent and influential fields in the field of using soft power within the framework of foreign policy of the state. From this point of view, between Iran and various countries, the number of friendship groups and cooperation arrangements (45) groups and organizations, out of this number 5) in the Middle East, 10 in Pacific Asia, 7 in the Eurasia region, 12 in Europe,

15 in Africa, 4 in Latin America, and 2 in North America (Hargis -Kani – Jaafary, 2009, 2443). Iran is also close to 30 countries that conduct various weekly activities.

4.4.   Media and communication devices;

The media and printing field in the current era is considered the widest and most widely regarded in terms of the use of soft force in foreign policy, in which Iran publishes 6 newspapers in English and Arabic to its citizens abroad. The newspapers are: Iran News, Iran Daily, Tehran Times, Keyhan newspaper, which is published more English for Europe, North America, Asia and Africa, the Al-Alufaq and Kayhan newspapers in Arabic in the Middle East and Africa for those who speak the language, except that Keyhan used to go to Turkish and Urdu for some time, but then stopped working. Some of these newspapers are sent abroad in print, but most of them reach their readers through the Internet website. In addition, Iran owns the foundation. Radio and television are broadcast on the outer borders of Iran, numbering 10 radio and television; Jami Jami 1, 2 and 3, Al-Alam TV, Sahar TV 1, 2 and 3, Kausar TV, Press TV and Hispan TV (Hargis -Kani – Jaafary, 2009, 244).

Jamjam TV is broadcast in Persian for Iranians living abroad and speak Persian (Jami Jami TV). Al-Alam TV is broadcast in Arabic for 24 hours in the Middle East, which began in 2004. The main purpose of broadcasting this TV is gulf countries, Iraq, Egypt, Mauritania, Algeria, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine. The canal has reporters from Gaza, Ramallah, Israel, Washington, New York and 40 other countries. On the channel's website, news and information will be published in English, Arabic and Persian (Alam TV). Sahar TV broadcasts its programs 24 hours a day in 6 different languages English, Ordo, Tosi, Kurdish, French (Sahar TV). Kawaser TV channel is broadcast in Arabic and its programs are in the context of religious and sectarian subjects (Kawaser TV). The Press TV is broadcast in English, only has 400 employees inside Iran, and has reporters worldwide in 26 capitals of countries. This canon has a significant role in global issues and issues (Press TV). Spanish-language Hispan TV is broadcast in Spain, Venezuela, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, Mexico and Cuba for Iranian citizens living in these countries (Hispan TV)

In addition, Iranian radio is broadcast in many different languages such as Arabic, Turkish, Ordu, Pushti, Iberian, Kurdish, English, Japanese, Indian, Bangladeshi,

Chinese, Indonesian, Armenian, Russian, Georgian, Azeri, Tajik, Kazak, Bosnian, Albanian, Italian, French and Spanish German (Home - IRIB Overseas Deputy Site).

Table Number (4) of Iranian media and press outlets abroad (Ustuntaş, 2016, 64).

Media Types	Media Name	Media language	Explanation
Newspapers	Iran News Iran Daily Tehran Times Keyhan English	English	
	Keyhan Wefaq	Arabic	
TV Channels	Jam e Jam 1,2,3	Persian	This 24-hour-long canon broadcast will be broadcast to Iranians and those who know Persian abroad.
	Al – alem	Arabic	will be broadcast to the Middle East.
	Seher TV	Ordo, Kurdish, Turkish, French, English and Bosnian	
	Al - Kawsar	Arabic	broadcasting religious - sectarian programs
	Hispan TV	Spanish	will be broadcast to South America
	Press TV	English	It is considered one of the most important tv channels.
Radio			In 25 different languages, there are radio broadcasts.
Agencies	AhlulBayt News Agency (ABNA)		In 25 languages, he publishes news and information.

4.5. Universities;

Iran is currently working on opening university offices in Hungary, Venezuela, Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates, Pakistan, Armenia and Tanzania, and on the other hand, is planning to establish offices in Afghanistan, Tajikistan, India and Malaysia at the university level. For this purpose, he has established a Joint Research Center and engineering project aimed at issuing the decision to establish the University of

Afghanistan-Iran. Iran has opened the university's office with an academic staff in Afghanistan, and has also established the Firdausi University website at Haji Abdullah University in Herat, Afghanistan, as well as Iran opened the office of the University of Teachers' Education at Farabi University in Syria in 2009 (Hargis, 2009, 253).

4.6. Iranianism and institutions in Persian;

Linguistics and Iranianism as a major tool in the context of using soft power in Iran's foreign policy are of particular importance. Iran has established 600 Iranian centers among 45 countries, out of which 13 are central to 5 middle eastern countries, 38 in 8 are from the Asian Region of Pacific, 203 in 7 countries in the Eurasia region, 281 in the European State, 1 in Canada and 99 in Latin America. Iran also owns about 100 Persian language learning centers worldwide (The Word travel & Tourism Council, Iran Rapport, 2015)

Given the above data and information, Iran is the most centrally seen in Eurasia, with the list seen in Latin American countries in the field of soft power factors within the framework of language, literature and Iranianism. Therefore, Iran is using its most soft force in practice in areas related to Persian language and literature. Therefore, it can be said that this field is the most successful field for Iran in which soft power is used. According to data, Iran has direct contact with Iran's soft forces in areas where Muslims or most Shia live. According to this principle, both the Middle East and central Eurasia areas come above the areas where Iran wants to use its soft force.

4.7. Tourism;

In general, the tourism sector in Iran is considered a major area within the framework of the use of soft force, meaning that tourism is one of the most important and interesting issues for the Iranian state. But according to a 2015 report by the UN Agency's International Tourism Committee, it was noted that despite Iran's historical, cultural and natural conditions in general, the state has not been able to use it as an important field, but the state has not been able to use it properly. Religiously, due to the presence of a group of religious shrines, particularly the shrines of Shia imams in Iran, which have about 70,000 shrines and holy places for Shia leaders in Iran, most of these shrines and holy places are specific to imams and imams' families, which have

led to a large number of Shia observers visiting Iran every year. Outside Iran, they visit the shrines of Shia imams. Therefore, if Iran has not benefited effectively in other tourism fields, it has been able to attract many disaster tourists in religious fields. Iran has gained and benefited from ideology and religion in this regard, apart from economic benefits (Zolfaghar, 2007, 1-8).

5. Challenges and problems facing Iran's soft power:

When compared to the issue of using Iranian soft power between opportunities and threats or positive and negative aspects, there should be a number of problems that are considered as a challenge to the use of Iranian soft power. In other words, despite Iran's view as a state, it has some important aspects as an opportunity to benefit from its introduction to the outside world in the context of directing politics and state perspectives, but this does not mean that these fields are nothing. They do not have problems or challenges, but on the contrary, Iran has many mechanisms in the context of using soft power in foreign policy. These mechanisms are seen as threats, and the most obvious of these problems can be sorted out in this way;

• The existence of a variety of cultures in Iran, whether in terms of ethnic or religious groups, has a different structure, and the existence of this diverse and diverse structure has a negative impact on the united issue of state identity within the framework of directing politics and a common perspective on issues. Therefore, this point can be seen as a threat in terms of using soft force in Iran's foreign policy. For example, within the Iranian community, Sunni components are constantly deprived and oppressed by the state's Islamic regime, thus treating the state with Sunni components, which has led to constant criticism of the state's political system and public policy in Iran. This negative view of Sunnis as a component of the state's system and policy affects the general culture of the state, which is directed on the basis of Persian culture to countries that make up an important part of the Sunni community, such as Afghanistan and Tajikistan, which has made it not easy to satisfy these two countries within the framework of the Persian cultural house. Similarly, this situation is also true for Iran in the context of using soft power fields. All the various ethnic groups that form Iran's society cannot be equal in terms of giving cultural rights, and the lack of this

equality opens the door to the emergence of different problems. Regarding the group's view of the state's public policy, these problems directly or indirectly have a negative impact on a common framework for state foreign policy and the creation of groundwork in front of soft forces, as Iran continues to struggle. That it cannot make the Kurdistan Region of Iraq part of its policy within the framework of its regional policy, and the main reason for this conflict is related to Iran's internal situation, Iran's policy towards the Kurds, persecution and the lack of cultural, political, economic and social rights for the Kurds.

Another problem facing soft power within the framework of Iran's foreign policy is the question of a common identity in which all components can be found, meaning that an identity should be replaced by all components of society. A major question arises here as to whether the main and common identity for foreign policy is the cultural identity of "Shi'ism", "Persian" ethnic culture or "Islam", which is considered one of the problems facing foreign policy for Iran in the context of using soft force and introducing itself to the outside world. In other words, the issue of the lack of a common cultural identity in Iran's foreign policy can be seen as a major problem. Here, if Iran develops its cultural identity on the basis of "Islam" religion, it will be a problem for different religious groups and structures. If it directs itself on the basis of "Shia" sectarian culture, other components that are not Shia see themselves as marginalized structures, and on the basis of national culture and "Persian" ethnicity, it is impossible for different nations and ethnicities outside The Persians to see themselves as a part, so it should not be based on one component or group by a state to make itself a part of the outside world.

The issue of differences and conflicts between slogans and practices is another problem facing the Iranian state in its definition of itself outside its borders. In the main view, the conflict and its opposition at the level of the main state discourse between slogans and practices can have a negative impact on the framework of foreign policy from the perspective of soft power. This negative effect also leads to opportunities for the use of soft power to face problems.

- Western cultural power and influence against Iranian culture is considered as a mechanism for Iran in terms of using soft power within the framework of foreign

policy. In the current era, the spread of the way of life and the view of western cultural freedom in areas where Iran sees its influence and work to see its perspective and to spread its worldview as a threat and challenge to Iran, the views and directions close to western culture continue to stand against Iran's views and believes as an obstacle to Iran's efforts to spread its way of life and worldview, for itself.

• The lack of a strong and strong democratic system based on legitimacy by the people, the weakness of civil society, the lack of freedom of opinion and printing, the weakness of the state's economic principles, the conflict with the international community, the weakness of Iran's relationship with the foreign policy and other problems directly or indirectly affect the use of soft power within the framework of foreign policy. In other words, it can be said that these problems will narrow the fields facing Iran in foreign policy to use soft power.

Table Number (5) evaluating Iran's soft power "strong side - weakness", "opportunities - threats" (2016, 74)

Strong Points/Positive Sides	Weak Points/Negative Sides
• Cultural and historical heritage • Shia propaganda • Speech against America and imperialism • Islamic discourse • Religious tourism • Attitude with some of the regional and global countries	• Lack of freedom of media and journalism • Weakness of civil society • Weak relationship with Diaspora • Shortcomings in the economic and labor market • Wanted a policy based on religion • Conflict with the international community • Weakness of economic base • Not developing educational field
Opportunities	**Dangers and Threats**
• Atomic agreement/ agreement with the international community • Youth/ sport and scientific development • Natural resources	• Following sectarian politics in the Middle East • Opposing speech • Developing towards realism policy • Hostile and suspicious policy against Israel

6. Conclusion

The concept of soft power reflects the ability to influence the thinking and behavior of the other side without using hard power. Soft power is becoming more and more

and more important. Especially in modern terms, with the expansion of the use of the causes of communication and the war of propaganda, soft power is seen as a major dimension. The subjects of culture, religion, ideology, sect and way of life are no longer treated as the main basis of soft power by states than in the past. On the other hand, due to new conditions in the international system, actors have entered a new process to take responsibility for the tasks. After the end of the Cold War, the emergence of new actors, state-based foreign policy institutions and personalities worldwide provided special importance. Actors needed new roads and gates to ensure their national and national interests, one of the most important tools that benefited them was soft power.

After the Islamic revolution in 1979, the issue of sectarianism increased as a matter of attention and became one of the most important factors in the structure of the state and had a direct impact on both domestic politics and foreign policy. Iran's foreign policy was directed on sectarian basis, making sectarianism a key factor in how the state treats the outside world. Iran's foreign policy was based on the old cultural factors of Iranian civilization and the Persian language since 1979, ideologically based on the idea of anti-Westernism, particularly the United States and Israel, anti-imperialism and "Shia" sectarianism. In the light of these factors, Iran is working on using its soft power within the framework of foreign policy.

Iran, as a country with a soft power in foreign policy, is working to adapt it to its own interests, in a way that serves its soft power in its interests. Iran's soft power is also different, from ideology to literature and culture. Despite Iran's view of Iran as a state, it has important opportunities to benefit from its introduction to the outside world in the context of directing politics and state perspectives, but this does not mean that it has no problems anymore. On the contrary, Iran has many challenges in its use of soft power in foreign policy. Although culture has banned Western characteristics within the community, some Iranians are still under western cultural influence, and some Iranians are more directed towards western television channels. The events, particularly those in the Middle East, and the changes that are being dealt with in the context of the use of harsh force, have also affected the reduction of the soft power of actors. Iran, as a strong state in the region, comes before countries where there is

a great deal of opposition to its discourses when compared between the use of hardline soft force.

Religion is constantly seen as an important factor in Iran's foreign policy structure at the regional level, in other words, when we look at Iran's policy in the Middle East, religion is clearly seen as the forefront of all factors that create Iran's foreign policy. At the same time, this view of Iran's policy is reversed in the Caucasus and central Asia regions, as Iran's foreign policy in these areas is less influenced by religious discourse than in the Middle East, but rather in these areas, Iran's soft power is built within the framework of Persian civilization and language.

Following Iran's soft policy at the beginning of the Islamic revolution has attracted the attention of the region, but with the start of the Iran-Iraq war, foreign policy discourse has been further arising from nationalism' discourse, with the end of the Iran-Iraq war, Iran's policy towards a realistic policy of change has changed, especially after the US intervention in Iraq, the events of the Arab Spring, the outbreak of civil war in Syria and Yemen. Therefore, the events and changes in Iraq, Syria and Yemen, which have led Iran to make a pragmatic statement in its foreign policy, have had a negative impact on the use of soft force, as Iran uses direct military force in each of these countries, reducing the use of soft force.

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هێزی نەرم لە سیاسەتی دەرەوەی کۆماری ئیسلامی ئێران

پوختە:

ئەم توێژینەوەیە مەبەستییەتی چەمکی هێزی نەرم لە چوارچێوەی پەیوەندییە نێودەوڵەتییەکان شی بکاتەوە. چەمکی هێزی نەرم وەک بابەتێکی مۆدێرن لە بواری پەیوەندی نێودەوڵەتیدا لە ماوەیەکی کەم گرنگی و بایەخێکی زۆری پەیداکرد و بوو بە ئامرازێکی گرنگ لە سیاسەتی دەرەوەی دەوڵەتان. واتە لەسەردەمی ئێستا ئەم چەمکە یەکێک لە کۆڵەکە سەرەکییەکانی سیاسەتی دەرەوەی دەوڵەت پێکدێنێت. ئێرانیش وەک دەوڵەتێکی خاوەن کلتوور و شارستانییەتی کۆن، وەک هێزێکی کاریگەری ناوچەیی لە سیاسەتی دەوەرەیدا هێزی نەم وەک ئامرازێکی ڕەنگ داوەتەوە. لەم چوارچێوەیەشدا توێژینەوە گفتووگۆی ئەو ئامرازە سەرەکییانە دەکات کە ئێران لە سیاسەتی دەرەوە وەک هێزی نەرم پشتییان پی دەبەستێت. لە پاڵ باس کردن لە دەرفەتی بەکارهێنانی هێزی نەرم لە سیاسەتی دەرەوەی ئێران، توێژینەوە ئەو گرفت و ئالینگارییانەش دەخاتە بەرباس کە وەک بەربەست دێنە بەردەم سیاسەتی دەرەوەی ئێران لە کاتی جێبەجێکردندا.

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القوة الناعمة في السياسة الخارجية الجمهورية الاسلامية الإيرانية

الملخص:

يهدف هذا البحث إلى تحليل مفهوم القوة الناعمة في إطار العلاقات الدولية. إن مفهوم القوة الناعمة بوصفها قضية حديثة في مجال العلاقات الدولية اكتسب أهمية كبيرة في فترة قصيرة من الزمن وأصبح أداة هامة في السياسة الخارجية للبلدان. وهذا يعني أن هذا المفهوم في العصر الحالي يتكون من أحد الركائز الرئيسية للسياسة الخارجية للدولة. كما انعكست إيران، كدولة ذات ثقافة وحضارة قديمة، كقوة كذبة إقليمية في سياستها الخارجية كأداة. وفي هذا السياق، يناقش البحث الأدوات الرئيسية التي تعتمد عليها إيران في السياسة الخارجية كقوة ناعمة. وبالإضافة إلى مناقشة فرصة استخدام القوة الناعمة في السياسة الخارجية الإيرانية، يناقش البحث أيضاً المشاكل والتحديات التي تواجه السياسة الخارجية الإيرانية في تنفيذها.