

American Cultural Politics towards Iran and South Africa; A Comparative Analysis

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Abstract

The U.S., Iran and South Africa are important countries in the world. However, while the U.S. is regarded as a global power, Iran and South Africa are considered as regional powers. With respect to energy and mineral supplies, Iran and South Africa are important and effective countries in the world. Considering the expansion of Communism threat and rich mineral resources such as huge uranium, metals and diamond mines, South African countries have gained America's attention during the Cold War and became subject to special American cultural policies. On the other hand, while the U.S. and Iran enjoyed close bilateral ties before the Islamic revolution, this relationship changed dramatically with the advent of the Islamic Revolution, which swept Iran from 1978-1979, and altered virtually every aspect of these long established ties. This article investigates and compares American cultural policies and diplomacy in post-apartheid South Africa on one hand and post-revolutionary Iran's policies on the other hand and looks for American Diplomatic tools and practices in these two countries to find out the differences of U.S. public diplomacy.

Keywords: *United States, Africa, Iran, Diplomacy, Culture, Policy*

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Introduction

Prior to mid-20th century, Africa was not of much importance for the American politicians. As high-ranking American politicians of the Cold War held their focus on other parts of the world. (Beinart and Coates, 1995: 13-17). The African-American relations were also at a low level in the post WWII. In this regard, decisions related to Africa are usually taken away from elite levels and handed over to the youth. During the Cold War, Africa had little value in American diplomacy (Bredekamp and Ross, 1995).

However, during the Cold War, South African countries including South Africa suddenly attracted the geopolitical attention of the Americans due to the danger of communism in them as well as rich mineral resources especially uranium, metals and diamonds,. In the wake of this rotation, the U.S. adopted certain cultural and public diplomacy toward them. Compared to South Africa's value for the U.S., Iran had a similar situation too. For a long time, Iran was under the influences of Britain in its southern parts and the Soviets in its northern areas. While Iran resources especially its oil and gas were important to the U.S., the Islamic Revolution of Iran changed the U.S. policies toward the country. This article compares American public diplomacy towards post-apartheid South Africa and post-Revolutionary Iran and examines the tools of American diplomacy in both countries.

The U.S., Iran and South Africa are important countries in the world. However, while the U.S. is a global power, Iran and South Africa are regional powers and along with many important issues such as energy and mineral supplies, Iran and South Africa are important and effective countries in the world. On the other hand,

Islamic Revolution in Iran and Apartheid Regime's overthrow, were important phenomena for the American policy-makers to adjust a new policy towards these countries and change the old public diplomacies.

For the case of Iran, it should be noted that the United States of America and Iran first established bilateral ties through a *Treaty of Commerce and Navigation* in 1856, and several noteworthy Americans visited Iran as advisors, missionaries, and tourists during the 19th century. In 1856 Iran dispatched its first Ambassador to the United States (Secor, 2009).

Full bilateral relations began in 1944, with the exchange of Ambassadors. Bilateral relations after World War II went through various phases, and a detailed description of this period is beyond the scope of this paper. However, observers generally agree that the U.S. and Iran enjoyed close bilateral ties during this period. This relationship changed dramatically, however, with the advent of the Islamic Revolution, which swept Iran from 1978-1979, and altered virtually every aspect of these long established ties (Asgharirad, 2012: 32-35).

On April 7, 1980 the U.S. severed diplomatic relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran. Relations had declined during the Islamic Revolution that led to the fall of the Shah to a combination of Islamists, leftists, and secular nationalist forces led by Ayatollah Khomeini. However it was the 444-day U.S. Embassy hostage crisis that ultimately led to the severing of relations between the two countries (Secor, 2009).

Since 1995, the United States has had an embargo on trade with Iran. According to a 2013 BBC World Service Poll, 5% of Americans view Iranian influence positively, with 87% expressing a negative view, which is the most unfavorable perception of Iran in the world (BBC, 2013). Meanwhile, researches have shown that most of Iranians have positive attitudes towards American people, though not toward the US government (Shahghasemi, Heisey& Mirani, 2011).

Actually, the first formal act of diplomatic engagement and

recognition between the United States and Iran, both long established states, occurred on June 28, 1850, when U.S. Secretary of State John Middleton Clayton authorized the American Minister Resident at Constantinople, George P. Marsh, to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce with the Persian Chargé d’Affaires there (US Department of State, 2015). Through this paper, by using a comparative study method and library sources, the U.S. cultural and public diplomacy would be analyzed both toward post-revolutionary Iran and South Africa’s post-apartheid.

I. Conceptual Framework

One of the most fundamental concepts that any American diplomat –or any American expatriate– must be fully aware of, is American culture. Cultural programs are an integral part of public agencies and other institutions in the United States. The goal of American cultural programs, often conducted in target countries, is to “make the fundamental aspects of American society and culture understandable to the people of those countries and to familiarize them with the complexities and realities of American culture” (Rugh, 2014: 129).

The main concepts of culture, in association with cultural policies, are the concepts of diplomacy. According to Izadi, diplomacy can be defined as “a state process of communication with the people in other countries, in order to make them understand the ideas, ideals, institutions, culture, political goals and national policies” (Izadi, 2011: 32). The advisory group of the American public diplomacy, considers diplomacy as “the information process, interaction and influence on the people of foreign countries, in a way that the people force their governments to support key U.S. policies” (Izadi, 2011: 33).

Generally, the goal of American cultural diplomacy is to attract and encourage public opinion to support American policies and promote American interests abroad. America has used various means of diplomacy to achieve its cultural policies. From the time

of WWI until the 11th September, these tools were: Public Information Committee, War Intelligence Bureau, Voice of America, Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe and other radio and television networks in other countries and regions of the world, American Department of Culture and Education, U.S. Intelligence Agency and Congress of Cultural Liberty were all among U.S. public diplomacy tools (Bahrami, 2011).

Public diplomacy has been a tool of foreign policy in the United States since World War I when President Woodrow Wilson created the Committee on Public Information which aimed to spread Americanism throughout the world. Later on, President Roosevelt established the Office of War Information at the outset of the Second World War and launched Voice of America in February 1942. Later, the U.S. government established Radio Liberation and Radio Free Europe (Izadi, 2009).

Table 1: American Public Diplomacy Programs

Range/Purpose	Public Diplomacy Initiative
Short-medium term/Information and advocacy	International broadcasts Magazines Books and pamphlets Online media outlets Media hubs
Long and Medium range/ Dialogue and mutual understanding Cultural relations	American libraries NGO empowerment and partnerships Exchanges (academic, athletic, Etc.) Language training programs Reconstruction and aid projects Democracy promotion projects

Source: Asgharirad, 2012: 14

According to Snow, the U.S. government has seen diplomacy as a tool that “works only during a national crisis or in times of war and becomes ineffective when it is ended” (Snow, 2008: 41). After the attacks of September 11th, the United States launched new tools with previous institutions to promote its cultural

policies. During this time, Pentagon along with the Department of State took on a significant part of the work. In 2007, the Pentagon's Africa headquarters under the name of AFRICOM was created and formally launched in 2008. Much of AFRICOM's cultural activities are in Southern Africa, and particularly in South Africa. Although a military entity, AFRICOM conducts extensive cultural activities in line with U.S. cultural policy and diplomacy in South Africa. Areas that AFRICOM operate in are all African countries except Egypt, with an annual budget of approximately 280 million dollars (Mueller, 2015: 83).

For the case of Iran, according to Izadi (2009) “since 2006, the U.S. government has spent more than \$200 million for its Iran-related public diplomacy via State Department democracy promotion programs, National Endowment for Democracy, and the Broadcasting Board of Governors” (2009: xii).

II. U.S Foreign Policy towards Iran

Since the 1979 revolution, containment has been the default policy of the United States toward Iran. It has constrained Iran's economic growth. The Carter administration attempted to develop normal diplomatic ties with the Islamic Republic after the revolution. But the White House shifted to a policy of containment after the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran 10 months later. Containment has remained America's core strategy toward Iran because every administration since Carter has opted to pay as little attention to Iran as possible without jeopardizing U.S. interests in the Middle East. However, several presidents deliberately avoided describing their policies as containment (Pollack, 2014).

With Iran, Washington's use of containment has been erratic, ranging from passive isolation to highly confrontational. The core elements of U.S. containment of Iran have remained largely unchanged, although the intensity has varied markedly. According to Izadi (2009), these include:

- Diplomatic efforts to isolate Tehran and enlist as many

countries as possible to help the United States in containing Iran.

- **Sanctions** to prevent Iran from becoming economically or militarily powerful.

- **Covert Action** to support various groups inside Iran that have opposed the government.

- **Red Lines**, spelled out either explicitly or implicitly, that would trigger the use of U.S. force if Tehran crossed them.

- **Military Deployment**, such as basing U.S. forces along the Persian Gulf to defend American allies, deter an Iranian attack, and enforce the red lines.

The failure to accurately conceptualize containment toward Iran over the years has led to unrealistic expectations and disappointing results for U.S. policy makers. A better understanding of containment suggests that U.S. policies toward Iran have significantly strayed from what Kennan had in mind when he created this construct. In this sense, the United States has not yet applied a genuine containment strategy to Iran (Kaye & Lorber, 2012).

III. American Foreign Policy towards South Africa

Rather than focusing on African people and culture, America's view of Africa before the Second World War, was on the wildlife of this continent. At that time, only a handful of Americans had traveled to Africa. They were mostly tourists who were tired of their typical lives in Europe and the US or were slave traders. Americans' superficial perception of Africa at this time was confined to a continent of sophisticated nature and natives with a strange culture (Duminy, 1989: 21-30).

Two influential American sources played an important role in introducing and shaping Africa to public opinion as a continent of primitive nature and culture. Since its inception in 1889, *National Geographic* has identified Africa as the center of all that could be "non-Western", primitive and uncivilized. (Duminy, 1989).

The second source that influenced public opinion towards Africa in a similar way was the American film industry. Based on

popular stereotypes about Africa, Hollywood portrayed Africa and its people more deeply with a fancy flavor. As the basis of cinema works on fantasy, the result of the work was, therefore, far beyond the realities of Africa (Marks, 1994: 9-16).

The Cold War provided a good basis for expanding relationships between the U.S. and other countries, including the African countries. The U.S. government, under President Harry Truman from 1945 to 1952, organized extensive, friendly relations with many countries around the world to counter what they called “the USSR global threat to humanity”. During the Cold War, Americans moved to a stronger relationships with other countries in the Middle East, East Asia, South Asia and Africa (Thomson, 2008: 65-70).

South Africa, which was one of the new independent states from Britain and was a member of Commonwealth nations, experienced widespread changes until 1961, during the presidency of Truman in the United States. As a member of the allies in World War II, it became one of the major countries in the international arena (Welsh, 2010).

South African white government's fanaticism against communism and support for America during the Cold War drew America's attention. Most importantly, in 1950, the South African Union's focus on U.S. monopoly and sale of large quantities of uranium to the United States and Britain made the South African Union the focus of US policy. Thus, the apartheid regime was encouraged by President Truman. By the time of Truman's presidency in January 1953, its close relationship with South Africa had become a major challenge and shame for America in the midst of the Cold War (Posel, 1999).

One of the key themes of American cultural policy in post-World War II was the attempt to promote American values worldwide. The American Declaration of Independence of 1776 states that all human beings are equal and have the same rights, including resisting the corrupt government –though it did not include slaves and women. In this regard, the friendship between

the United States and South Africa could not merely be a relationship between the two countries to avert the danger of communism and to expand trade on the basis of capitalism; apartheid would have prevented that friendship (L'Etang, 2009: 18-22).

Apartheid in South Africa was important to America because of the racial issues between blacks and whites in America. In a country where slavery had triggered a full-fledged civil war in the 19th century and blacks were pushing for their rights against whites, Americans needed to be cautious about their actions and their decisions regarding apartheid. (Bozzoli, 1983: 13-18).

The 2002 U.S. National Strategy Paper states that the United States should increase its regional attention and influence through countries that have a significant impact on other neighboring countries, such as South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya and Ethiopia, and increase its importance in its foreign relations with these countries (Chase & et al, 1996: 15-20).

In 1917, a strong relationship was established between the United Kingdom, the United States, and South African countries for exploring the mineral resources of these countries. The use of American and English names became increasingly common among whites in South Africa; even the names of some cities, such as Florida, Denver, and Cleveland, came from American cities. At that time, American culture was also increasingly prevalent in Africa, and people watched American movies, and American-made television programs became one of the most popular television programs in Africa. During this period many electronics and audio and video equipment such as television, computers, radios, typewriters arrived in Africa. Common language also made American music popular among South Africans (Campbell, 2007: 9-14).

In 1920s, American bands often staged performances in South Africa. In 1920 Columbia Music opened a new branch in South Africa. In 1913, an American immigrant named Isadore Schlesinger founded the African Film Company in Johannesburg.

The company had the exclusive right to produce and distribute films in South Africa until World War II. In 1933, the American Metro Goldmine (MGM) set up its Africa branch in South Africa.

In 1925, American Schlesinger established the first African radio station, the African Broadcasting Center. By the early 1990s, seven out of the ten most popular programs in Africa were American programs and the *Cosby Show* –a show about a middle-class African American family living in Brooklyn– was Africa's most popular television program (Keller, 2013: 31 -50).

The history of American diplomatic efforts in South Africa goes back to the years 1799, when the first U.S. consulate was established in Cape Town. In World War II, Voice of America began its African-American broadcasting to combat Nazi propaganda in Africa and shortly afterward broadcast its own two-hour jazz program in South Africa (Wilson, 2004).

Voice of America began broadcasting in 1959 on a continental-wide basis and is broadcasting in Africa since then with a news agency in Johannesburg, South Africa. *Voice of America* launched a live program *Straight with Africa* in South Africa that was aired weekly on radio, television and the Internet, which was one of Africa's most popular programs covering a wide range of topics including politics, health, social and economic issues.

However, U.S. diplomacy in Africa did not end with radio and television programs. In 1947, while actual and potential agents were still ruling American racial policies, the United States launched the first mixed racial library in South Africa, launched first in Johannesburg and later in Durban and Cape Town (Hannerz, 2004: 26-30). The following is an overview of the important tools of American cultural policies in South Africa.

As noted, the Pentagon's African headquarters, AFRICOM, began operating in 2008 with an annual budget of 280 million dollars (Seib and Weil, 2008), launching cultural policies and promoting public diplomacy from the outset. At the beginning of AFRICOM, there was a great deal of debate among U.S.

policymakers about the effectiveness of diplomacy in a military establishment, and finally with the formation of AFRICOM at the same time combining hard power with soft power (Seib and Weil, 2008).

Following China's inauguration to the continent as a trading partner of East African countries, and following wider Russian presence in Africa, the United States decided not only to expand its military presence but to further its diplomacy in Africa. The idea of military development and diplomacy all came to fruition with the launch of AFRICOM (Seib and Weil, 2008).

U.S. diplomacy in Africa through AFRICOM has been steadily improving since 2008's expansion of Chinese influence. Following American cultural policies in Africa, AFRICOM has done a great deal to promote U.S. diplomacy in various parts of the continent, so that even in 2017, although the Pentagon reduced its number of troops in Africa, but invested the same cost on promoting diplomacy there (Vandiver, 2019). On the other hand, the relative stability of the South African region comparing to other parts of the continent provided the United States with an opportunity to promote diplomacy in these areas.

Since its inception, AFRICOM has conducted numerous joint training courses and military exercises with South African countries, particularly South Africa. American concerts in various cities of South Africa have been other examples of American public diplomacy (Dobrydney, 2011).

In 2018, AFRICOM, through its American Army officers, launched a technical engineering developmental program in many South Africa's institutions. In these programs, American officers educated African students in the form of training seminars on the latest scientific, technological, technical and engineering developments. The program aims to attract and familiarize African students with the U.S. scientific and diplomatic policies alongside its military dimension. The United States has been building and equipping schools in rural South Africa over the past few years, and has provided a large amount of educational support

to the South Africa's education system, both in terms of financial support and in terms of sending teachers. Building hospitals, dental services, military officers exchange programs, extensive AIDS programs, and helping African governments improve security across their borders are part of the U.S. cultural strategy in South Africa (AFRICOM, 2018).

The U.S. has widely promoted American culture through American books and novels in South Africa. In 1947, at the beginning of the apartheid era, the United States launched the first mixed-racial library with more than 7,000 books –most of them from American authors –in Johannesburg and other cities of South Africa (Hannerz, 2004: 26-30). Promoting reading culture in South Africa was easy because of the common language. In other parts of Africa, however, the United States Information Agency has extensively translated and published famous American books such as *Democracy in America* by DeToqueville, *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution* by James McPhearson and novels like *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Rugh, 2014: 140-141).

In the meantime, there are a lot of American novels about Africa by American writers that even some of them have never traveled to Africa. The subject of many of these novels is apartheid. Some of the examples of these works from a list of selected Telegraph novels about Africa it can be referred to *Vortex*, *White Dog Fell from the Sky*, *Mortals*, and *The Covenant*.

Through representation, cinema can institutionalize macro cultural strategies in the minds of audiences. Given the heavy costs of the hard war, the soft approach of cinema has always been a better alternative to advancing U.S. policies. "Representation is a factor that links Hollywood to U.S. media diplomacy around the world" (Roknabadi and Ismaili, 2013: 117). Hollywood has for years been using representation as a tool for American cultural policy (Roknabadi and Ismaili, 2013: 117-141). In the meantime, it can be argued in these movies Americans represent themselves in Hollywood films with different themes than in other

representation. In this regard, the representation of Americans in the movies as it has been explained in the table below is different from the representation of other people. It is the orientalist concept of us/we vs. they/others.

Table 2: Hollywood Representation of Americans and “Others”

Representation in others’ introduction	Representation in American introduction
Excitement and backwardness	Modernization and development
Violence and bigotry	Tolerance and tolerance
War and evil	Peacemakers
Extremism and madness	Responsibility and rationality
The agent and propagator of terrorism	The victim of terrorism
Violence against women	Women's liberation

Source: Mehdizadeh, 2008: 99

The paper would have a brief look on Hollywood movies about South Africa from the list of top 25 movies about Africa presented by the International Movie Database (IMDB).

District 9 (2009): Unlike many other Hollywood sci-fi movies in which Americans portray the illusion of attacking America and showing the courage of American people and American soldiers to confront these aliens, in *District 9*, aliens in South Africa are depicted. The movie is a mutual product of the U.S. and South Africa and is a post-apartheid critique. It encourages African people and politicians to reach out to the United States in order to resolve their post-apartheid problems.

Invictus (2009): *Invictus* (2009), can be considered as a successful example of American cultural diplomacy in South Africa. The all-American cast is a symbol of American sympathy for the events of apartheid and the bitterness inflicted on blacks.

Blood Diamond (2006): The story of *Blood Diamond* also takes place in South Africa. The movie shows the African people defenseless and barbaric in the absence of the American woman who has long been an American female journalist. Without American help, they cannot defend themselves and their country's assets. Also in this movie, Americans volunteered to help the

African people.

Sarafina (1992): *Sarafina* is a showcase of American sympathy for black Africans during apartheid. More than being about apartheid, *Sarafina* highlights the post-apartheid era and America's values of universal freedom, especially for women. By expressing fantasy and drama, *Sarafina* is concerned with Hollywood's concern for the future of women in Africa with U.S. cultural policies. *Sarafina*, on the other hand, can be described as the U.S. nation-building in South Africa, in which the film claims America's participation in Africa's political future. It also portrays America as a promised land, where sadness and miseries come to an end. In the movie, Sarafina, who is offered a US scholarship, prefers to stay in her country and deal with the problems.

The Color of Friendship (2000): This movie is a perfect example of American diplomacy in South Africa. The film is made in 2000 in America, but its story dates back to 1977. Piper Dellums who is an American black girl is taking part in a student exchange program. She has a wealthy family whose father is a prominent U.S. congressman. On the other side is Mahree Bok a South African white girl, whose father is an apartheid police officer. In this program, the two girls must spend a few months exchanging courses first in the U.S. and then in South Africa. The friendship of the two teens, and the continued exploration of American culture and places represented in the film in a grand manner, changes the skillful view of black life. In this film, America is shown as the perfect example of a high-culture civil society with the freedom of different racial groups, the freedom to read and express the opinions and charities of other people around the world.

A detailed examination of the extent to which U.S. cultural policies have influenced American serials and films in South Africa, and in particular their impact on the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, requires further detailed research; however, to understand the profound impact that these films have on liberation movements in South Africa, it can be referred to the

example of Nelson Mandela, the leader of South Africa's anti-apartheid movement, who spent more than twenty-seven years in apartheid prisons and later became the country's first black president, says in his memoir: "He could watch movies every six months in prison" (Bayles, 2014: 16). One of the films he watched during his imprisonment was the Hollywood movie *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), in which Sidney Poitier played a black police officer. Prior to the screening, prison officials had censored one of the key scenes of the film in which a black detective is slapped by a white suspect and Sidney Poitier responds to white man's with a harsher slap. Mandela says that a few days later, when I was informed of the story of this censored scene in the film, that scene had such an effect on me that I wondered if this was possible in the U.S. then it would not be impossible in South Africa (Bayles, 2014: 16).

IV. U.S. Public Diplomacy towards Iran

After Islamic Revolution in Iran, the U.S. administration greatly augmented State Department's infrastructure and funding for destabilizing Iran's political system, to achieve the policy objective of regime change. The U.S. support for regime change in Iran is not a new phenomenon. In 1996, for example, former House speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) called on the CIA "to force the replacement of the current regime in Iran," for which he proposed an \$18 million package of funding (Izadi, 2009: 126).

In 2006, American appropriations funded \$20 million (\$5 million above request) for democracy programs in Iran administered through the Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI) and in consultation with the State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. The state Department also granted some American organizations and NGOs such as New Haven-based Griffin Center for Health and Human Rights, which received a grant of \$1.6 million of the \$3.5 million the U.S. government spent on democracy promotion in 2004 to start the Iran Human Rights Documentation Center. This center held a

human rights workshop in Dubai for Iranian dissidents. However, when the Iranians attend these sessions, they realize they have gathered to discuss measures to topple the Iranian government (Izadi, 2009: 128-130).

“NGOs with Iran-focused initiatives can also receive grants through the United States Agency for International Development’s (USAID) democracy promotion programs. USAID’s total “democracy and governance” grants for FY 2007 and FY 2008 amounted to about \$12.7 and \$14.0 million, respectively” (USAID, 2008).

With the establishment of the Office of Iranian Affairs (OIA), the U.S. institutionalized its moves to bolster opposition to Iran. According to Adam Ereli one of the American founders of this center, “Iran is and is going to continue to be a very important country. We need to develop a cadre of Foreign Service officers who speak Farsi, who understand the region, not just Iran but the region where Iran has influence and reach.”¹(U.S. Department of State, 2006).

The mission of this office is to create an initiative that will enhance U.S. capacity “to respond to the full spectrum of threats Iran poses, to reach out to the Iranian people to support their desire for freedom and democracy, over the long-term, reestablish a cadre of Iran experts within the Foreign Service” (ibid).

The Americans established some shadow embassies in other countries in order to “to reach out to the Iranian people to support their desire for freedom” among them were American embassies in Baku, Istanbul, Frankfurt, and London through which the U.S. aimed to enhance its political/economic reporting on Iran and direct public diplomacy outreach to Iranians (Izadi, 2009: 139-140).

In its concerted effort to undermine Iran’s government, the

1. U.S. Department of State, State Department Regular Briefing, Briefer: Adam Ereli, Department Deputy Spokesman (Washington, DC: Federal News Service, 2006), www.lexisnexis.com.

Bush administration used all public diplomacy assets available for influencing the elite and general Iranian public, including the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). On the occasion of the anniversary of NED's establishment in 2003, Bush said "The regime in Tehran must heed the democratic demands of the Iranian people or lose its last claim to legitimacy."¹

NED has a Farsi website, Panjereh (window in Farsi), that targets both Iranian and Afghan populations. While the information for the Afghan target audience appears to be benign, such as a book about family rights, the information targeting the Iranian public openly espouses regime change in Iran (Izadi, 2009: 152).

According to Izadi (2009), "Freedom House is another important actor in United States public diplomacy toward Iran" (153). It is an "independent nongovernmental organization" that receives more than 80 percent of its funding through congressional appropriations and other government grants. The organization was founded in 1941 by Eleanor Roosevelt to give support to President Franklin Roosevelt's advocacy for United States to enter World War II. Upon the ending of the war, "Freedom House took up the struggle against the other 20th century totalitarian threat, Communism." Today, the agenda of the organization is to fight the threat of "radical Islam." (Izadi, 2009: 153-155).

The origin of American international broadcasting goes back to the birth of *Voice of America* in 1942 during the Second World War. Ever since, international broadcasting has been an important element of United States propaganda measures. This has been the case during the Second World War, the Cold War, and in the years following the September 11 terror attacks. Broadcasting to Iran has been a high priority, especially after September 11, 2001.

1. George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at the 20th Anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy," National Endowment for Democracy., <http://www.ned.org/events/anniversary/20thAniv-Bush.html>.

The ones targeting Iran include, the Voice of America Persian News Network and Radio Farda, Azeri Language Broadcasting (a specific Azeri language radio targeting Iran's largest ethnic minority) (Bahrami, 2011)

Hollywood Movies about Iran: After the Islamic revolution of Iran, the West's retrospect to Iran saw a great change, for the revolution brought a new political and cultural nature to the country. Following the U.S. policies, American media took a deferent point of view towards Iran, which was pertained in their products related to Iran. In this case the movies and programs and documentaries related to Iran, had a special picture of the society and the situation of the country. The U.S. film industry is important because its films are popular worldwide (Wasko, 2003: 10). Here are some well-known American movies about Iran from the IMDB list of 12 Anti-Iranian movie.

Oklahoma (1955): One of the first Hollywood films to ever feature a Persian (Iranian) in a main role was *Oklahoma* in 1955. Eddie Albert who is not Persian at all and in fact is a World War II hero who was decorated by the United States, played the role of the peddler, Ali Hakim from Persia. *Oklahoma* won two Academy Awards in 1956 and was nominated for two others. Some of the most memorable scenes and quotes come from the Persian character Ali Hakim. These are memorable perhaps because they make fun of and mock Hakim. When asked why he was engaged to Ado Annie, Hakim states "I wanted to marry her when I saw the moonlight shining on the barrel of her father's shotgun". When Ado Annie's American beau, Will Parker, finds out that Hakim is engaged to his girl, he asserts: "I don't know what to make of you! You're too ponging to be a skunk! Too thin to be a snake! Too little to be a man, and too big to be a mouse! I reckon you're a rat!" Hakim merely replies, "That's logical." (Totman, 2009: 61-2).

Argo (2012): *Argo* narrates the historical event of the escape of six U.S. diplomats from Iran during the 1979 hostage crisis and presents Iranophobia and Islamophobia. In *Argo*, every Iranian

character in the film is a shouting indigenous nuisance, a suspicious bureaucratic stooge, or an absolute moron. *Argo* generalizes violence, belligerence and hostility to all the Iranians (Mousavi, 2013: 81).

300 (2006): This American movie was an insult against Iran, where the first Persian Empire emerged to become the world's most powerful in the sixth century B.C. This Hollywood's blockbuster, depicting the 480 B.C. battle between the Persian army and a band of Greeks, was a "hostile behavior which is the result of cultural and psychological warfare" in a time that U.S. together with other European countries were negotiating with Iran over the issue of Iran's Nuclear program. The representation of Iranians in the movie was considered offensive (Asgharirad, 2012: 63-65).

Rosewater (2014): The movie has been directed by Jon Stewart –famous American comedian who has hosted the Daily Show (a satirical news program). The movie was directly funded by Zionists and Stewart was working with the CIA during its production (Douglas, 2013). It is an anti-Iranian movie based on the memoir of Maziar Bahari. In this movie, the behavior of Iranian forces with Maziar Bahari who is an Iranian-Canadian journalist and is arrested as spy is shown with extreme anger and brutality which creates a sychomental thinking of all Iranian people in the minds of audiences.

Not without my daughter (1991): It is an anti-Iranian movie depicting the escape of American citizen Betty Mahmoody and her daughter from her abusive husband in Iran. Betty's husband Moody is represented as the symbol for all Iranian men with fretfull, sullen and moody behaviors. The Iranian society has been represented as masculine society that is against women and their freedom. The movie is the representation of an Iranian man vs. an American woman. The movie warps up with representing the country as a prison for all women. While the American lady of the movie is justified as a symbol of sacrifice and logic, the Iranian man is represented as a brutal and illogical being.

Conclusion

After September 11th the U.S. expanded its influence in Africa. At the same time, the increasing presence of China and Russia in the continent has led the United States in various ways to promote its cultural and public diplomacy policies alongside military presence in Africa. The relative stability of post-apartheid South Africa compared to other countries on the continent, as well as the linguistic affinity, made it possible for cultural activities there.

Given the vast volume of minerals, metals, and uranium available there, South Africa appears to remain an important area of American public diplomacy in the coming years. There are countless Hollywood films on Africa, especially South Africa, as well as novels, works of art and music written and performed there, all confirming its importance in American cultural policy.

Researching the American public diplomacy in Southern Africa, the most important tools of America for implementing its cultural and diplomacies there, were investigated. These tools are AFRICOM, Hollywood movies, books and novels about Southern Africa and finally one of the most favorite American Sitcoms in Southern Africa, *the Cosby Show*, would be studied briefly.

Considering the American cultural policies in Southern Africa, we can say that American security is tied to African security in one way or another. The position of Africa in counter-terrorism activities has improved and the strategic countries of Southern Africa have special significance for America. The foundation of AFRICOM and its wide range of American cultural policies in Southern Africa is a witness for the significance of this region in American public diplomacy.

Finally it can be concluded that while the American public diplomacy toward post-apartheid South Africa is constructive and persuasive, but their public diplomacy toward post-revolution Iran is dissuasive. This issue is utterly evident in the study of American cultural and public diplomacy tools and activities towards Iran's post-revolution and South Africa's post-apartheid.

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