



Metaphor Analysis and Discursive Cycle of Iran's Foreign Policy: “Justice” through the lenses of US-IRAN Presidents

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Abstract. The purpose of the present paper is twofold. It mainly aims at determining and defining different foreign policy discourses in Islamic republic of Iran as well as their developmental trend in the past three decades through explanation and elucidation of their particulars, components and nodal points. Actually, it seeks to explore what kind of discourses have been emerged in Iran's foreign policy during the lifetime of Islamic republic of Iran and what discursive developments have been occurred therein. Finding an answer to this fundamental question necessitates responding to some other subsidiary questions which dominate various dimensions, features and elements of each and every discourses showing a particular meaning system. What are their nodal points? What are their most important components and particulars? What do the signifiers of state-nation, Islamic revolution and international system signify? Are those discursive developments in the Iran's foreign policy regarded as evolutions “from” one discourse to the other or taken as changes “within” discourses? Has foreign policy of Iran undergone a discourse break? In the second part, this paper has also focuses on President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's speeches while at the same time being compared with President Obama's. There is no doubt that the two presidents who have been in the center of attention for many countries in the world for some time now, have taken part in the general assembly of the United Nations in a number of occasions and presented some speeches there and their linguistic features and the phrases particularly the “Justice” metaphors made in their speeches have been scrutinized. The focus in this study has been on finding out about the number of times when the two presidents applied the term "Justice". In order to create an equal and fair basis for the comparison in the study, the authors have made an accurate record and measurement about the frequency of applying the term “Justice” in their speeches in the UN from 2010 to 2012. It seems that President Ahmadinejad has had more focus on the human rights and Justice and tried to present these words more and the reasons he has used this term have been highlighted in this paper. On the other hand, President Obama has shown a little interest in applying this word in his three speeches in the United Nations. This paper tries to analyze the outlook of both presidents linguistically and present some facts about their style of speech and the messages they try to get across.

Keywords: Metaphor, Foreign policy, Typology of Discourse, Discourse, Justice

1. INTRODUCTION

Positivist-based Rationalism has been the dominant research and analysis pattern of Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy so that most authors and analysts have been trying to explore the behavioral nature of foreign policy of Iran within rationalism/positivism theories and approaches. The most important assumptions of rationalist theories, including liberal and realist, are instrumental rationality, supposing all countries as the same, neglecting the consistent role and impact of the non-material and ideational structures toward language, culture, and discourse as well as neglecting communicative and critical rationality in foreign policy. Hence, Islamic republic of Iran, like other states and nations and regardless of ideational and normative structures in international strategic environment, is thought to be a wise entity with certain exogenous benefits and determined priori preferences which intends to provide them. Moreover, like any other international actors, Islamic republic of Iran has been acting based on the logic of

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consequentiality and thinks of results and consequences of various options in advance once deciding about foreign policy.

In the meantime, non-material and ideational structures play a decisive and developmental role in Islamic republic of Iran's foreign policy so that Iran's identity, role and interests are made by these normative and ideational structures which in turn model its behavior in international arena. One of these ideational structures is various discourses which ruled over foreign policy of Iran during the last thirty years and more. Each of these discourses is based on a dominant truth system prevailing in Iranian society, associations, foreign particulars and components and has defined and redefined its basic foreign policy concepts in its own discursive context. Therefore, these discourses have affected Iran's foreign policy and its components and its behaviors in different forms so that the development in foreign policy discourses led into modifications and changes in Iran's foreign policy performance. Hence, in order to perceive and recognize Iran's foreign policy identity and behavior, one must explain and understand its dominant discourses as the first right step in this direction.

The main purpose of this paper is to determine and define various discourses of Islamic republic of Iran's foreign policy and their developmental trends in the past three decades through explanation and elucidation of their particulars, components and nodal points. Actually, it seeks to find an answer to this question what kind of discourses have been emerged in Iran's foreign policy during the lifetime of Islamic republic of Iran and what discursive developments have been occurred therein. Finding an answer to this fundamental question necessitates responding to some other subsidiary questions which dominate various dimensions, features and elements of each and every discourses showing a particular meaning system. What are their nodal points? What are their most important components and particulars? What do the signifiers of state-nation, Islamic revolution and international system signify? Are those discursive developments in the Iran's foreign policy regarded as evolutions "from" one discourse to the other or taken as changes "within" discourses? Has foreign policy of Iran undergone a discourse break?

Discussing and considering foreign policy discourses of Islamic republic of Iran are presented in four sections. In the first section, critical analysis theory is explaining as a theoretical framework. Second section deals with typology of discourse in Islamic republic of Iran's foreign policy. Different discourses of Islamic republic of Iran's foreign policy will be analyzed in section three and finally, the derived logical statements from topics discussed will be presented as theoretical findings in conclusion.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Traditional rationalist approaches of analyzing foreign policy based on positivism are not appropriate theoretical framework for explaining foreign policy discourses and occurred discursive events or acts because of the following reasons:

Firstly, they do not consider any independent and epistemological role for the discourse and intersubjective system at social and political life.

Secondly, instead of emphasizing and concentrating on common and agreed-upon beliefs among political actors and particular viewpoints which are durable and continuous, they are based on individualistic beliefs and decision makers' values (values system) and agreed upon criteria of political decision-makers and actors.

Thirdly, they do not take the appraisal and established nature of language and discourse into account and are based on the logic of language transparency which simply carries meaning.

Fourthly, they prove beliefs based on which ideas and beliefs are often considered as intermediate or interfering variables not as necessary and meaningful references for actors through which they perceive and understand the world.

Fifthly, belief system is based on exogenous criteria and patterns which are defined by analysts and is not based on internal criteria and internal indicators of the system.

Sixthly, traditional approaches such as belief system approach cannot explain and justify the flexibility of values and beliefs. In other words, they cannot analyze the internal changes and developments of belief system.

Therefore, any change and development in a discourse and belief system is thought to be the change and development in the discourse and belief system itself. It means that they cannot justify development "within" discourses and they imagine all these discourse changes as change or deviation "from" discourses. Moreover, traditional rational approaches and viewpoints cannot explain counter-discourses well.

That is why an appropriate theoretical approach is needed which is free from all these meta-theoretical problems in order to explain discourse development and foreign policy discourses of Islamic republic of Iran. For these reasons, critical discourse theory uses as a theoretical framework in order to release from meta-theoretical limitations of rationalism theories. This discourse approach was formed within the framework of critical linguistics. Discourse has a founding and formative nature in critical linguistics. Discourse is defined as a macro concept which forms social processes. Consequently, it has the basic and fundamental role in creating and establishing identities and social beliefs. Discourse is an autonomous and independent entity which not only originates from social power but also itself is an emanation and manifestation of social power (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2005).

Critical discourse analysis is the result of intellectual and theoretical efforts of thinkers such as Foucault, Laclau, Mouffe, Fairclough. Critical discourse analysis goes beyond studying and describing the structure, operating procedures, and discursive practices. Such an analysis for explaining linguistic phenomena and discourse practices investigates subjects such as language and power relations as well as hegemony and inequality in discourse and also studies discursive and non-discursive components about underlying knowledge of political actors (Fairclough, 1995). Actually, discourse theory in critical tradition deals with significant role of actions and social thought in political life. This approach also considers methods through which systems and meaning structure make particular type of action and interaction possible.

Different definitions of discourse are presented within the critical analysis framework. Some have defined it as an ideology; the only difference is that in contrast to ideology, it does not have the minimalist, fact oriented, universality and hegemony characteristics and it does not justify the world view. Therefore, discourse is beyond traditional ideology so that it encompasses different kinds of social and political practices and actions of institutions and organizations (Howarth, 2009).

Foucault takes discourse more general than political ideology because its mechanisms may sweep boundaries of some ideologies. To him, discourse is distinct from ideology in three ways: first, the ideology concept guarantees, both implicitly and explicitly, the separation of object from subject or value from reality. Second, ideology necessarily refers to subject or autonomous agent. Third, ideology has a superficial and secondary nature in relation to economic and material elements or factors while discourse implies that reality and truth are discourse

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structures and the agent is itself a discourse position. In addition, discourse has a basic and preliminary nature in which everything is defined (Millis, 1997).

Three principles can be extracted and deducted from Foucault's viewpoint on discourse. First, discourse is a comprehensive perception and one can neither think beyond that nor escape from it. Second, discourse is an interconnected semantic network which makes collective mind. Third, collective mind created from discourse construction is constantly in conflict and transformation. Hence, it explains continuity and stability of affairs in addition to expressing changes and transformations.

Laclau's approach to discourse is transcendental like Benveniste's viewpoint. It means that discourse pre-exists which gives meaning to human recognition and action. Human is enabled to understand and perceive universe only through discourse. In other words, the possibility of thought, action and complete understanding depends on the discourse existence which is available before any kinds of factual immediacy, but it goes through changes and developments. Laclau and Mouffe define discourse as a meaningful set of linguistic and meta-linguistic signs and symptoms which goes beyond speaking and writing (Tajik, 2008; p. 809).

According to them, everything has a discursive nature or is a type of discourse structure and is defined in relationship with other things. Consequently, things and actions are only comprehensible and understandable as members of a wider significant system (discourse). In fact, social meaning of discourses and institute's actions are all perceivable in a relationship with a general context to which they belong. Therefore, subjects and concepts must be parts of a wider discourse framework in order to be significantly meaningful.

This discourse conceptualization means that discourse identity has a relationship. In other words, discourse gains its identity through the relationship made among different elements. Therefore, based on how the relationship and disparate element links are, their individual and total identity as a whole unit called discourse forms. Here Laclau and Mouffe refer to "articulation" as an action of different components and elements coming together and their arrangements and orders gaining a new identity. According to them, articulation is the action which creates a relationship among various elements so that their identity changes based on the effect of this action (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985).

Unlike Laclau and Mouffe who treat social world as the only discourse made, Fairclough takes language as a consistent part of the social world. Based on his view, discourse is one form of the social acts and techniques meaning that in addition to discursive world and affairs, non-discursive affairs exist as well. Moreover, based on the Foucault and Habermas's discourse approach modulation, Fairclough places more agency and subjective function for human agent. Human agent is not a passive nor a without-will entity. Human being or social actor is thought to be as both dominator and dominated in discourse. (Fairclough, 1992; 1995).

Based on what has been said in above arguments, discourse can be defined as the following:

A set of related and interconnected logical statements and propositions such as concepts, categories, classifications, and analogies which construct social world or make it sensible in a way that some behaviors and actions become possible and legitimate while others become impossible and illegitimate (Moshirzadeh, 2007; p. 522).

Here again three meanings and functions can be considered for the discourse. First, discourse is a signification system which makes and actualizes social realities consistent. This treatment of discourse is based on constructivist understanding of meaning so that things and affairs do not have any meaning by themselves and the material world does not carry any meaning. But

this is the people using this system or discourse who give them meanings and significance. Second, discourse necessitates generating power and is capable of producing and reproducing things which are defined in this system of meaning and signification. Hence, discourse not only provides a language for classification and interpretation of events and phenomena, but also makes methods and techniques of being and having action in the world understandable and operationalizes a particular type of regime of truth and excludes or eliminates other possible forms of identity and act. Third, discourse explains how to dominate a meaning system and remaking meaning in relation to procedural pragmatics, understanding variability, and legitimization of a behavior and approach framework (Milliken, 1999, p. 229-230).

Therefore, one of the most important issues in discourse theory is the possibility of consolidation, obstruction and hegemony of discourse. Is there any possible discourse hegemony on different dimensions and parts of policy and society? Discourse analysts have different views toward this issue. Foucault believes due to the domination-seeking and pervasive nature of discourse, one discourse achieves hegemony in spite of other counter discourses and puts aside or marginalizes other discourses. That is the reason why one of the discourses will dominate and subsequently form and give meaning to other discourse behaviors and procedures in spite of the antagonism and conflicts of discourses in each period of time and every issue-area. In fact, discourse finds its identity limit based on the principle of "Regularity in Dispersion".

Within discourse relational theory, in contrast to Foucault, Laclau and Mouffe believe that the dynamic nature of language does not let complete stabilization of meaning, and therefore there is no possibility of permanent domination and hegemony for any discourse. Meaning is always subject to change because of polysemy process. Hence, no discourse is a whole, bound and impermeable unit. Discourse is always in a discursive field where there is an ongoing struggle and conflict on meaning determination. There are always components as well as principles for which various discourses compete and have different opinions about their meanings and signified determination. Laclau and Mouffe call this interaction between discourses "Antagonism". Discourse field and antagonism refer to the fact that a discourse identity is always subject to threat and change (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985).

One of the most important struggles and conflicts in our modern society and politics is the conflict on determining meaning and labeling one concept to a particular discourse. Society is full of those antagonism and discourse struggles in various issue areas such as foreign policies. The goal of this discursive conflict or clash is to achieve hegemonic status. In fact, the seeking domination act is a kind of articulation procedure and action in order to determine and define governing and dominating rules and meaning which shape discursive identity and formations. This hegemonic action necessitates marking political boundaries among political forces and also refers to the existence of floating signifiers over which discourses compete and have conflict in order to define and confirm their meanings and those signified as well. The aims of hegemonic actions are to articulate floating signifiers and random elements in a political plan and then give meanings to them. As a result, the consolidation of the relationship between the signifier and signified is called hegemonic.

Therefore, although a discourse may not completely and permanently dominate all dimensions and aspects of a society and may not determine and confirm all meanings due to the conflicts among discourses, temporary access to hegemony would be possible under special circumstances and status. That is why, partial discourse obstruction and partial identity confirmation are all possible to happen. On the other hand, discourse struggle and antagonism and various discourse existences do not necessarily mean that they have struggle and conflict in all aspects and principles. Discourse antagonism and conflict are not always all-out full-fledged, rather discourses may be different from each other in one or more minor premises or

propositions, but have agreement and compatibility in dominated propositions and premises. Hence, there is always a possibility for a development "from" discourse and "within" discourse (Howarth, 2009; p. 209).

3. TYPOLOGY OF DISCOURSE DEVELOPMENT

Within the critical discourse analysis framework, there are two types of discursive change and development which can be identified and traced in foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran. First is the development from one discourse to another one in a way that one discourse break happens. Therefore, foreign policy is subjected to a profound change and alteration. Discourse break happens when governing discourse statements and infrastructure propositions undergo drastic discursive changes, but if changes in discourse are not fundamental and are just at the derivative and minor levels, then the identity and nature of discourse will not change. In this regard, we will witness development "within" discourse through which some micro-discourses come into existence. These micro-discourses share common governing principles and basic statements and their differences come from minor statements and superficial levels (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2009).

As you can see, two kinds of discourse typology can be derived from the foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran. Although these two classifications have consensus over discourse development in foreign policy, they do not have similar viewpoints regarding its nature. The former classification assumes discourse development as a development "from" one discourse to another discourse while the latter not only accepting development "from" discourse but also believes in development "within" discourse of foreign policy of Iran.

A) Development "from" discourse

Two kinds of foreign policy classifications are possible through typology of development from one discourse to another. The first classification identifies two macro discourses in foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran. In the first place, there is a discourse of realism based on originality of Iran's state-nation and Iran's national interests priority in foreign policy. Secondly, Islamic ideological discourse is based on originality of Islamic Ummah (Muslim community) and Islamic value preferences and interests in the hierarchy of foreign policy goals of Iran. Hence, Iran's foreign policy can be divided into two discourse periods: the interim government period in which realism discourse- focusing on the priority of Iran's national interests- did dominate over Iran's foreign policy. The second period was from dismissal of Bani Sadr from the post of presidency in 20.06.1981 until now in which Islamic ideological discourse has been dominating over the foreign policy. During this discourse period, Iran's foreign policy has been based on Islamic Shiite Ideology and its relevant teachings.

The second classification of Iran's foreign policy discourse according to the development framework "of" discourse is based on five emergent discourses. From this perspective, five different discourses of realism, idealism, economic conservatism, politicocultural conservatism and principlism dominated over Iran's foreign policy. It means, based on each of these discourses, Iran's foreign policy can be divided into five governance periods, namely holy defense, construction, reform and principlism.

None of these two typologies based on development "from" discourse match with discourse development realities in Iran's foreign policy because they do not consider developments "within" discourse while Iran's foreign policy has been always at the mercy of both types of development "from" and "within" discourses. Therefore, another type of typology is needed to justify and explain about these two discourse developments.

B) Development "from" and "within" discourse

This kind of typology of Iran's foreign policy is based on the existence of both kinds of development "from" and "within" discourses. Based on this classification, it is assumed that Iran's foreign policy has already experienced both types of discourse developments. On the one hand, the discourse which governed Iran's foreign policy changed completely following dismissal of Bani Sadr on June, 1981 and was replaced with a different autonomous discourse. On the other hand, Islamic discourse itself, which governed foreign policy since then, went under internal changes and developments. Thus, the impact of development "within" Islamic macro discourse led to the formation of different micro-discourses. From governance, main tenets or propositions point of view, these micro-discourses are the same; the only difference is in their derivative, minor or sub-premises which will not allow us to take them as independent discourses.

Here and in this framework, two kinds of discourse typology regarding Iran's foreign policy discourses can be presented. The first typology divides Islamic republic of Iran's foreign policy discourses into five categories: realist or profit-oriented, idealistic or value-laden, pragmatic or interest-centered, culturalist or peace-oriented and principlist or justice-oriented. According to this classification, the change of realism discourse into idealism is assumed as development "from" one discourse to another because these two discourses are based on different governing principles and nodal points. On the other hand, division of idealism into two sub-discourses of ummah-centered and center-based discourses is an indicative of development "within" discourse since these two discourses have common principles in both governance propositions and premises but differ only in derivative or sub-propositions.

This typology of Iran's foreign policy discourses does not completely and accurately explain its discourse development since pragmatic, cultural and principlist discourses share common governing propositions and their differences come from minor propositions. Hence, they cannot be assumed as independent discourses. Moreover, these three discourses have similar common principles with the two micro ideological discourses. Therefore, another typology is needed to contain these theoretical and practical realities, a new discourse classification which complete previous groupings. Under the framework of this integrated classification, Iran's foreign policy discourses in the past three decades can be divided into two supra-discourses of liberal nationalism and Islamism.

Liberal nationalist discourse which dominated over foreign policy of provisional government continued to exist until Bani Sadr dismissal on June, 1981. Since then, macro Islamist discourse, which is formed on Islamic ideology and religion interests, dominated Iran's foreign policy and continued to remain until now. Because of internal change and development of Islamist discourses, five micro-discourses of idealism, conservatism, realism or conservatism, reformism and principlism were born. As a result, foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran is divided into six discourse periods. The period of liberal nationalism discourse dominating on provisional government until Bani Sadr dismissal, the period of dominating Islamic idealist discourse on the first half of the holy defense, hegemonic conservatist discourse in construction period, domination of peace-seeking discourse in reformism period, and principlist discourse in the ninth government.

4. DISCOURSES EXPLANATION

Identity, manifestation and boundaries of each of these six discourses can be explained based on consistent and distinctive components under three general concepts or signifiers of Iran's state-nation, Islamic revolution and international system. Other minor components and signifiers derived from these three common concepts act as dominant premises and propositions over each discourse. The signifier and concept of Iran's state-nation includes three elements of

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state's identity, national identity, and national interests in general term. Islamic revolution of Iran is also defined according to its identity, objectives or missions. Also the constituent elements of the international system include the nature of the system, international organizations and institutes, international principles, rules, and norms which shape the relations of different actors.

The premises and propositions which are created around these concepts are rules and governing principles which identify and determine the boundaries of each discourse in such a way that each and every discourse is separated and differs from other discourses. Any derived statement from these basic principles would determine different discourses in each discursive period. Consequently, various definitions and meanings of these concepts or their signified differences would cause differentiation of one discourse from another. This is while differences over meanings of inductive concepts in each of these basic propositions and change in derived statements are assumed to be superficial changes. These kinds of changes produce development "within" discourses and cause various micro-discourses forming inside a macro discourse.

Therefore, the meanings of signifiers and basic concepts of state-nation, Islamic revolution and international system and their building-block elements are totally different in two supra-discourses of liberal nationalism and Islamism. Accordingly, these two would be independent and distinct discourses but idealism, conservatism, realism, reformism and principlism have the similar views regarding the governing principles and their difference is in minor and derived statements. That is why, they are regarded as various micro-discourses in macro Islamist discourse.

A) Liberal nationalism discourse

Liberal nationalism is a system, an implication and a meaning which emerged in foreign policy of Iran from 1978 to 1981. This discourse dealt with articulating Iran's foreign policy concepts and determining the signified of floating signifiers in this respect within the framework of the common policy, nationalism, democracy and liberalism (Ramezani, 2001; p. 60). The objective manifestation of this discourse is in the provisional government's foreign policy. Liberal nationalism is based on nationalism and liberalism which have reasonable necessity and are two faces of a coin or two status of an affair. Nationalism is based on nation originality and its basic principle is national governance. Liberalism also guarantees power monopoly, sovereignty and legislation to the nation and no factor restrict and bind it. Both concepts are also the effects of human originality causes and the *laïcité* or belief in separating religion from government. On the one hand, this discourse, affected by nationalism, emphasizes on the importance and priority of government and national interests in foreign policy. National government is the most important political-loyalty reference to the citizens and its benefits and interests are prior and preferred above any every other benefit or interest. On the other hand, from liberalism viewpoint, it looks at policy and government and emphasizes on political freedom, rule of law, and democracy. Also, as to foreign policy, it is based on peaceful policy in line with norms, legal standards and some sort of optimism

From liberal nationalism discourse point of view, Islamic republic of Iran has a customary, national and territorial nature. Iran has its own government and responsibility in its identified geographical and territorial boundaries so that the government of Islamic republic of Iran has no divine origin and is considered as a system which aroused from collective will of Iranian nation and achieved its legitimacy and acceptability from them. Islamic republic of Iran is based on both nationalism and secularism in which the religion should not have a role in determining and identifying its function. This national and territorial government has an autonomous existence and identity which is the reference to all loyalties, expectations, demands and political activities.

This is Iran's nation which has the originality and priority not the internal nor any other transnational political units (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2005, p. 40).

Accordingly, Iran's national identity has a territorial basis which requires the existence of a national government within Iran's geographical boundaries and Iran's distinct nation. Also, Iran national identity is defined based on two identity-making components of "Iranism" and "Islamism". At the same time, nationality and religion are accepted as two principles in Iran's national identity but priority is always given to the nationality. In other words, the most important sources of Iran's national identity are nationalism and Iranism and nationalism is always prior to Islamism (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2007).

Since Islamic republic is defined as a state-nation in liberal nationalism discourse, which has its own national and territorial identity, therefore, its basic principle and guiding foreign policy is focused on national interests so that Iran's prime motivated action in foreign policy is its national interests which is defined within its geographical area and not according to the Islamic interests and Muslims. Hence, Iran national interests are given priority and preference over the interests of Islamic Ummah. If Islamic interests are in line with national interests and have no conflict with them, the former can be followed as a part of the latter. In other words, Islam and ideology have instrumental roles in providing Iran with its national interests (Bazargan, 1983; p. 116).

Islamic revolution of Iran has national identity and nature rather than transnational within liberal nationalism discourse. Islamic revolution is an Iranian movement which only defines and follows its visions and missions within Iran's geographical boundaries. The main purpose of this revolution is to create change and development in structures, and norms as well as political, social, economic and cultural values of Iranian society. Islamic revolution of Iran lacks Islamic transnational purposes. Therefore, objectives and ambitions such as protecting Muslims and the oppressed, fighting against imperialism and hegemonic powers are not regarded as its foreign policy objectives.

Also, from liberal national discourse viewpoint, Islamic revolution and Islamic republic of Iran lack interests related to world order. Islamic republic of Iran does not pursue change in the existing international system to establish and replace it with an Islamic international system. This means to accept the existing international system and act within the framework of a state-nation system. In addition, vital interests and critical objectives of Islamic republic of Iran will be pursued according to the rules, norms, and laws of international institutes and organizations in the existing international system. The principle of "No East, No West" has a completely defensive and conventional connotation reflecting a non-committed mood and negative balance and does not have any kind of ideological commitment (Bazargan, 1983).

B) Islamism Discourse

All micro Islamist discourses share the same thought about meaning and minimum signified or certainty value of Islamic republic of Iran, Islamic revolution and international system concepts. All of them believe in those basic Islamic rules and propositions in relation to the key concepts. The differences in viewpoints are simply restricted to the sub-premises deviated from the main ones. Therefore, various Islamic sub-discourses hold that Islamic republic of Iran has Islamic nature, function and responsibility. The most important element and inspiring source of Iran national identity are Islamism, religion and Islamic republic -which have two kinds of national, transnational or Islamic interests and purposes. Islamic revolution of Iran is a transnational revolution which has Islamic identity and purposes. The existing international discipline and system has no Islamic originality and validity and is not fair.

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However, Islamic micro-discourses about following issues are different: the relationship between divine sovereignty of God and national governance in system structure of Islamic republic of Iran, the role of Iranism element in shaping and completing Iran national identity, the relationship between Islamic interests and national interests, how to achieve transnational objectives of Islamic revolution and how to establish Islamic world system. That is why, based on each of those Islamic micro-discourses, the foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran would have different nature and behavior (Dehghani, 2005; p. 72).

1. Islamic Idealism: Islamic idealism micro-discourse emerged as a liberal nationalism counter-discourse in foreign policy of Islamic since the beginning of the revolution victory until 1981. Since then until late 1984, it became more common and influential. Idealism has a completely ideal treatment and interpretation of Islamic state, Islamic revolution and Islamic international system.

The state theory in Idealism is based on the principle of maximum religion assumption. Therefore, all duties and responsibilities of Islamic state during Imam (AS) period are also obligatory for Islamic republic of Iran if conditions are met (Haghighat, 1997; p. 75-85). Thus, Islamic republic of Iran is an Islamic state which gets its legitimation from God and Islam not through people and Iranian nation. Additionally, guardianship of the Islamic jurists is here defined and so common that the supreme leader enjoys all governance authority of Imams (AS) and also is responsible for all Muslims of the world. Islamic republic under guardianship of the Islamic jurists is committed and responsible for the entire Islamic Ummah. Moreover, foreign policy of Iran is value-laden, mission driven, and community-based.

Islamic Idealism takes Islam as the most basic element of Islamic republic identity, and similarly it restricts national identity to Islamic and religious identity so that the weight and role of nationality and Iranism would be trivial and secondary in Iranian national identity. Even some kind of opposition and conflict is expected between Islamism and Iranism. The purely Islamic nature and identity of republic of Iran will require this state to define its interests based on Islamic interests and to follow them through foreign policy. Therefore, the foreign policy in Islamic republic as an Islamic state is based on Islamic interests rather than national interests.

This discourse not only takes Islamic revolution as a transnational entity with its own transnational ideals but also gives priority and preference to them over the national and domestic objectives. Hence, establishing Islamic discipline and system through immediate and egregious changing of existing international system is one of the short-term goals of Islamic republic of Iran foreign policy so that no more improvisation and interest should lead this Islamic and revolution ideals into oblivion since one of the most important duties of Islamic republic is to create the Islamic world (Tajik and Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2003).

2. Islamic conservatism: Conservatism was formed inside Islamist discourse which achieved a relative hegemonic status from late 1984 and kept on remaining dominant over Islamic republic of Iran's foreign policy until 1989. The focus and nodal point of conservatism is Islamic interest and Islamic republic of Iran system as the only existing Islamic state. The first and most important Islamic and Muslims' interest is to safeguard Islamic republic existence as Um Alqura and center of Islamic world. Accordingly, this discourse is interest centered or, in other words, center oriented which is distinct from community or value based idealism.

Based on conservatism discourse, Islamic republic of Iran is an Islamic state which has divine and human legitimacy. This state theory is based on a kind of appointive guardianship of the jurists theory which sees no conflict between sovereignty and governance of God and national sovereignty and governance since national state is along with the sovereignty of God not in its width. Also, conservatism assumes Islam not Iranism as the basic source and central

component of Iranian national identity. The most important reference to the loyalty or fidelity of Iranians is Islam not the Iranian nationality. However, the two factors of nationality and Iranism have important and significant roles in shaping and completing Iran and Iranian national identity. Iranian identity is a combination and modulation of Iranism and Islamism.

Islamic republic of Iran has two kinds of national and Islamic interests as Um Alqura (of the house of Islam) because Islamic republic has Islamic and Iranism nature and identity which requires addressing the needs of Iranian nation and serving Islamic nation from one hand and defending the rights of Muslims on the other hand. Providing Islamic interests is always prior to Iran's national interests unless it is the matter of preserving or safeguarding the existence totality of Islamic republic of Iran. Supporting the existence of Islamic republic of Iran is prior to any other interests. Therefore, it is not only compulsory for Iranian people but also for all Islamic Ummah or nations. Safeguarding Islamic republic of Iran including its territorial integrity and its governing system is the most important assignment and religious duty that even primary minor Sharia laws can be prorogated to support them, if necessary (Larijani, 1990; p. 45-59).

Conservatism like idealism also assumes Islamic revolution of Iran as transnational and with the aims which goes beyond Iran geographical boundaries. However, it believes on based revolution strategy which means consolidation and stabilization of Islamic revolution in Iran era instead continuous revolution strategy. Unlike idealism, transnational goals of Islamic revolution are one of revolution strategy aims which must be achieved gradually in long-term period in this discourse. Hence, although the existing international system was tried to establish Islamic desirable world system, it is accepted as second sentence. But, it is preceded to changing and developing gradually and peacefully in this system and discipline framework. Conservatism discourse has a reconsideration appeal to international system, structure, rules, and international organizations.

3. Islamic realism: Realism micro-discourse formed inside Islamism macro discourse and governed foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran in construction era (1989-1997). This discourse was also interest centered and is based on more extended concept of benefit and more widespread role of wisdom in foreign policy codification and counsel. The existence of interest component in foreign policy causes its rationalization. The necessary and logical outcome of rationality is also realism. So, two wisdom and interest principles stand besides esteem, rules and basics of foreign policy of Iran. Therefore, realism does not mean neglecting or deviation from Islamic revolution goals and Islamic values and sentences but it means considering and paying attention to time and space conditions and requirements in existing international system, on the one hand, and secondary titles such as necessity, afford rule, graduation and benefit principle and importance and significance for implementing primary rules and duties in foreign policy (Haghighat, 1997; p. 48-51).

Also, Islamic revolution system of Iran has political, divine, and human legitimacy in realism discourse like conservatism and national governing in line with sovereignty of God is applied. Islamic identity of Islamic revolution system varies it from the national government only as liberal nationalism defines it. Although Islamic revolution is territorial government, it has continually Islamic transnational responsibilities as Um Alqura of the Islam world that benefit identifies its limitation and domain. System benefit does not only restrict to protecting the existence of Islamic revolution, but also encompasses other critical benefits because system critical benefits does not only summarizes in existence and survival.

The center of human common concept which distinguishes them from others in this discourse framework is Islam. Although Islamism is the most important identity base of Iran and Iranian, it is not the only identity source but Iranism and Iranian nationality are also considered as other consistent components of national identity. In addition, the consequence of three factors which are national governing, Islamic benefit, and the Islamic world center cause

position promotion, weight gain and Iranian role in Iran national identity. Hence, Islamic and Iranian components are recombined and reconstruct Iranian identity according to compounding Iranism and Islamism in realism discourse.

The most important factor which makes realism distinct from conservatism is how it supports and defines national identity of Islamic revolution of Iran. This discourse unlike conservatism believes that if anything hinder Iran national and Islamic benefits, not only preserving the existence of Islamic revolution is prior and precedent but also all critical benefits of Islamic revolution have priority over Islamic benefits if it is a good intention. Therefore, secondary rules and governing must also be considered as acting factors in order to define Iran national and Islamic benefits as well as identifying their priorities (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2005, p. 123).

Islamic revolution also has transnational nature and identity in realism narrative which comprise following Islamic goals and values in foreign policy. However, realism argues that following and supplying these goals and purposes are possible in existing international conditions associated with observing afford principles and rules, graduation, significance, importance and necessity. Transnational goals and purposes must be graded and classified according to importance, necessity, and urgency and followed according to national possibilities and power. Accordingly, this discourse also like conservatism accepts well-found international discipline based on benefit and urgency, but it has a reformist approach meaning that it tries to achieve well-found discipline and Islamic justly desirable system as a long-term and guideline purpose with criticizing as well as modification existing situation and discipline. Therefore, "Neither East nor West" does not also mean being secluded and disconnecting relations with other countries.

4. Islamic Democratic Reformism: Islamic conservatism discourse governed foreign policy of Iran in reformism era (1997-2005). This discourse was the continuation of realism based on rational counseling and realism in foreign policy on the one hand, and it emphasized policy more than economic and counted political development more important than economic development. Rationality and benefit were also two fundamental principles of foreign policy. However, rationality does not restrict to instrumental rationality; relational rationality is also important and prior, rationality which is based on discourse and understanding of discerning mind, a society free of domination, structural violence and right of free election. Democratic reformism is not a break discourse in Islamism but a democratic reading and liberal of Islamism which differently articulate state-nation, Islamic revolution and international system concepts.

Theory of government in discourse is based on maximum rational interpretation of Islam. Wisdom and reason based on Islam have more important roles compared with conservatism and realism in defining nature and form of Islamic revolution. Not only sovereignty of God has no conflict and opposition to national government, but also it applies through sovereignty of God. Emphasis on republic besides Islamism and rule assignment to Iran comprises and necessitates promotion and role as well as weight enhancement of nationality and Iranism in Iran and Iranian national identity because national government is the most important principle of nationalism which distinguishes one nation from the others. National and religion values which mutually make each other consistent are Iran national axis correlation and form its formal identity. Not only there is any conflict and opposition between Iranism and Islamism, but also these two components are two separation and irresolvable modes of Iran national identity (Khatami, 2000; p. 19-30).

Conservatism also like realism believes that Islamic republic of Iran must follow up Islamic and national benefits in defensive, economic, world discipline and ideological defensive framework in its foreign policy. Islamic benefits should not have inherent conflict and

inconsistency and if they intermingle, any proceeding must be done according to rules and principles, benefit, afford and graduation significance, importance and necessity and constraint. In addition, priority and preference of national profits are not restricted and unique to preserving the existence of Islamic revolution system, but also other critical national benefits may be prior and preferred when there is necessity and righteousness. Moreover, the most critical benefit of Iran is political security which can be achieved through increasing legitimacy and revolutionary-Islamic ideology, promoting trust and international position of Islamic revolution in international system by tensions, building trust, discussion and negotiation (Tajik & Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2003).

This discourse also gives transnational nature and identity to Islamic revolution. Islamic revolution occurred in order to achieve two categories of national and Islamic purposes: first, supplying historical demands of Iran nation, and second, ascertain Islamic goals and values. This discourse like realism prioritize Islamic revolution purposes through national power and their significance as well as necessity based on secondary and governing rules, time and place circumstances, international conditions and ultimate rationalism. Therefore, although trans-boundary goals and purposes of Islamic revolution are not ignored, they stand as aspiration and long-term goals of Islamic revolution which follow-up and supply gradually and in proportion to national equipments and abilities.

The approach of reformism discourse towards international system is reformist, critical, realism, rational and ideal. It does not know reformism, discipline and condition of international existence as desirable, but it believes that action must be done based on tension principles, building trust, peaceful coexistence, mutual respect, discussion and communication logic in order to establish discipline and equitable system of the world. Structure, power relationships in international level and governing model on international relationships must be corrected for supplying peace, security, and justice (Khatami, *Etela'at Newspaper*, 25.06.2000; p. 2).

5. Justice principalism: Justice principalism discourse governed foreign policy in ninth government. This discourse is the same as other micro-discourses of Islamism discourse in governing principles and fundamental sentences. Therefore, the appearance of this discourse in foreign policy of Iran is a development "in" macro-discourse. Articulation and meaning seeking of three nation-government signifiers, Islamic revolution and international system take place around the central point and transcendental "justice" signifier. This is the transcendental signifier which distinguishes the signifiers' articulation and well as concepts in principalism from other micro Islamic discourses. Hence, orientation and base of foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran is through principalism, justice, and justice development discourse frameworks in international arena.

Islamic revolution system of Iran has the same nature and identity in principalism discourse like ideal discourse so that Islamic revolution does not only have secular nature, but also it has completely religion and Islamic nature. The most important characteristic and consistent component of this discourse which gets its legitimation from Islam is its Islamic characteristic. Thus, the responsibility of this government is preserving Islam, commitment and action towards Islamic goals and values. However, the most important application and especial work of Islamic republic of Iran is supplying justice and spreading it in national as well as international levels. Even national and international security also depends on ascertaining justice in internal and world society (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2009; p. 253-256).

School integration takes the place of nationalism in principalism discourse. Identity component which define "itself" and "other", is Islam and Islamic revolution. The central and nodal point of principalism narrative is from national identity of Iran, "Islamism". The primary source of Iranian identity and its primary layer are Islamism, and consequently Islamic revolution. Hence, Islamic revolution and goals, its principles and values are one of the

fundamental constituent and one of determining and identifying components of national identity of Iran. "Justice" is the central identity value and component in Islamic republic of Iran among them. Accordingly, Islamic values define and identify the meaning and the signified interests and national purposes of Islamic republic of Iran so that the best and most important values for Iranian are those values and goals which Islam has set up and Islamic revolution also emphasizes them. Then, Islamic revolution of Iran must follow Islamic benefits and Islamic revolution goals in addition to following and supplying national benefits and purposes. However, what distinguishes principlism discourse from realism and reformism discourses is priority by ideological goals and benefits and global discipline in hierarchy goals of foreign policy of Iran.

Islamic revolution in principlism narrative has Islamic as well as transnational nature. But, this discourse gives more importance and priority to transnational goals and purposes of Islamic revolution in compare to realism and reformism. Also, justice development and anti-imperialism have more importance and priority among transnational purposes since discipline and international system is completely unfair, illegitimate, and adverse in principlism discourse point of view. Therefore, justice and justice development necessitate change in existing discipline and condition of world in order to establishing desirable Islamic discipline in foreign policy of Iran priority.

Developing justice and establishing desirable discipline in international system has two demonstrability and negative dimensions. Its negative dimension focuses on deconstructing the existing international system. In addition, the positive dimension of establishing fair global discipline and system means trying to explaining, promoting, and consolidating Islamic fair discipline and providing its facilities, necessities and preparations. In other words, establishing Islamic international fair discipline and system takes place in two stages. First, destructing and changing existing discipline and condition, and then, promoting and consolidating Islamic desirable discipline. Destruction of international discipline and system means demonstrating contrasts, inconsistencies, dichotomies and hierarchies through which it considers natural and legal and then unsettling and moving it (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2007).

5. METAPHOR-OVERVIEW

History shows that all kinds of politicians have always tried to use language as a tool for persuading people which have aimed to make people accept their political goals. In fact, today surging the importance of all kinds of advisers on public appearances shows that the political speech has found an important role in the dialogue between politicians and the people. Theories in linguistics have always paid attention to the ethical aspect of persuasion.

Metaphorical expressions which structure communication have been keys of finding cognitive linguistics (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Social psychologists interested in finding how systematic metaphors shape particular discourses (e.g., El-Sawad, 2005; Oberlechner, Sluneko & Kronberger 2004). Although considered individually, lots of metaphors are every-day used expressions which shape systematic clusters providing a framework for discourse. We should consider metaphors not as mere words, but as structural devices which make us able to "recover" meanings. This action of creation or inference by metaphor is unconscious (Gibbs, 1999). Metaphor contains several characteristics, but maybe the most important is the ability to comprehend one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain (Kovecses, 2005). Tsoukas (1991) presented another definition for metaphor in a different way: as transforming information from a familiar domain (variously referred to as source or base domain) to a new and unknown domain. Politics is a challenge of power for putting some political, economic and social concepts into practice. In this process, language plays an

important role, so every political action is prepared and played by language. The role of metaphor in political discourse is important because it helps to recognize the meanings of the various subsystems (formation of mind and the culture of the society).

Doing a research in cognitive linguistics shows that using metaphor in language can reveal the way of thinking about an issue related to another one. When talking about metaphor it takes us to the linguistic concept, (Cienki2004). Metaphor can supply a tool for presenting one thing instead of another. It should be considered whether using metaphor can be accompanied with the meaning which is supposed to be presented in audience brains. Not only political language is metaphorical, but also the tools of political analysis are metaphorical. If we assume concepts as tools and tools as metaphor, then we should check for the suitable place for the metaphor. Majority of presidents and political figures try to use metaphor in their speech in order to make some concepts and ideologies tangible for the audience and public. Metaphorical language is a tool for having the message across especially for presidents to be able to persuade people about some critical activities which are going to be done in the country. The concept of persuasion is a key point in the effectiveness of speech for a president that plays an important role in the political decisions made by them.

A) Types of Metaphors

There are different types of metaphors which can be used in variety of conditions based on the theme of the speech and the topic of the talk. Some of the common categories of metaphor are: complex, conceptual, conduit, conventional, creative, dead, extended, grammatical, mixed, ontological, personification, primary, root, structural, submerged, therapeutic, visual.

Peter Jeff mentioned metaphors help a skeptical or apathetic audience better embrace and value a new concept or idea. And make the connection of that new idea to an object the audience already knows. And are Meaningful Bridges in Speeches Think of a metaphor as a connection or a bridge between the new and the familiar. This connection provides a new perspective and a new meaning that can persuade an audience to reconsider its skeptical or apathetic attitude. Metaphors are so powerful that Aristotle said: "The greatest thing by far is to have mastered the metaphor." And the Spanish philosopher and writer Jose Ortega y Gasset added, "The metaphor is probably the most fertile power possessed by man."

Metaphors provide a frame of reference to more fully apply new concepts or ideas. That's why the first trains were called horseless carriages. After all, people already knew the purpose and the premise of a carriage. So a carriage without a horse must roll on wheels (Jeff, 2009). Revsonc used his metaphorical thinking to expand the reach of his business. In the factory we make cosmetics. In the store we sell hope. Likewise Porsche pays homage to the metaphor in its advertising; A Porsche is not a car. It is the best engineered executive toy in the world (Revsonc, 2010). Morgan reminds in his article is a great reminder about how important metaphor is in human thought in general, and public speaking in particular. Most of us reason by analogy and metaphor; it's the way we typically take on board a new idea. Because it's hard to take in new information via a speech, metaphors and analogies are good ways to help the audience understand what you're talking about. Of course, metaphors and analogies are by definition imperfect, things are not usually exactly like each other, and so we have to respect the limits of metaphor as well. But as an aid to understanding, they are essential (Morgan, 2009)

Metaphors try to shape or reconstruct our comprehension of the world. They can simultaneously open and close special positions. Metaphors also can serve an ideological function. This paper utilizes a metaphoric analysis of Barack Obama's 2010 State of the Union Address as a way of addressing his governing metaphor and gaining deeper insight into his ideological concepts. Based on some documents President Obama makes extensive use of "movement" metaphors, especially journey metaphors. The implications of Obama's use of

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metaphors reveal about his perspective on the role of the presidency. History has proven that all different politicians have always used language as a tool for persuading their interlocutors, and tried to make people welcome their political aims.

Today, as we are influenced by the internet and the media. In fact the increasing importance of all kinds of speeches in public shows that the political speech, as a direct relation of the politician to the public, has been playing an important role in the dialogue between politicians and people. According to Kettmann et al. (1995), there are no linguistic criteria which could be the base for making the distinction between persuasion and manipulation, while the ethical factors on which such a distinction is made are said to be outside the power of a linguistic analysis. Ponton (2007: 21), in contrary, says that what is considered to be good persuasive rhetoric is rhetoric that produces the real-world outcome desired by the speaker successfully, as bad persuasive rhetoric does not. We must also point out that there are other factors which can influence the real-world outcome and even intensify the persuasive effect of good rhetoric, such as political Power relations and the broader political situation.

The term *Justice* is a word which is used frequently by majority of politicians especially presidents. As in the world the root of lots of trouble and crises is the lack of rules and justice, hence focusing on this topic and finding some methods to ensure the public to achieve this ideal and presenting some models to reach this term is very crucial. The main content of the motto of majority of presidents in election campaigns is holding *justice* and making practical and effective *changes* in the frame of the government and the society. Considering different speeches of Obama and Ahmadinejad reveals that both presidents have zoomed on these 2 mentioned words through the use of variety of metaphorical expressions. Considering the condition of both countries from different aspects such as economic or social rights, it can be implied that talking about justice by both presidents finds different meanings based on the background about the target country. In Iran unfair share of wealth among social classes has caused some groups of people to get so rich and some others to remain poor. Hence reaching the stable condition as a matter of wealth and welfare is the main concern for both public and politicians. So the use of the term, Justice, by president Ahmadinejad implies bringing parallel condition for all people in Iran and sharing job, education and economic opportunities among people equally. On the other hand comparing the speeches of Obama with Ahmadinejad, one can easily find the difference between the application and interpretation of *Justice* used in variety of political presentations and speeches by both presidents. Based on the condition of life in the USA in that majority of citizens experience the equal position of wealth and social services, talking about Justice focuses more on keeping the current condition of the society stable and caring about holding the situation balance for everybody.

B) Justice in the Eyes of Two Presidents:

The whole speeches of these two presidents in the 65th to 67th United Nation General Assembly have been analyzed and compared in using the word, "Justice". In 65th UNGA, September 2010, Ahmadinejad gave a summary about his last year speech and topics which he had talked about such as Justice and social security, which he again focused on. Then he talked about the activities which have happened in international investments and policies of countries for problems followed by wrong strategies and asked to care about affairs more by focusing on changing political affairs by targeted *justice*. After that in another part of his speech he asked the UN Secretary-General as the top figure to care more about political issues and lead the world to establish *Justice* and remove discriminations among nations. Also he said that the Secretary-General shouldn't be under pressure of some countries and get limited in imposing *Justice*. Ahmadinejad believed that the world needs *Justice* instead of war, sanction, threat, power and dictatorship. He said, some countries threat Iran and want to force our country to

start negotiation. But we only negotiate with any countries based on *Justice* and peace. He added that *Justice* is the main factor in universal peace. Finally he mentioned that we should have cooperation in order to achieve *Justice* in the world. In the same Assembly, president Obama had long speech as well. The focus of Obama in that meeting was on economic crises and he believed that his main concern is solving this problem, but against Ahmadinejad who insists on *justice*, Obama just used the word justice in one part of his speech, and said that the time has arrived when the United Nation gets revived and fortified in order to remove some calamities such as raping and sexual attacks and distribute *Justice* in all the world.

The year later in September 11th, 2011 both presidents were in the United Nations General Assembly and gave speech. Ahmadinejad started his talk by reminding the members there about the issues he had presented in his speech last year and pointed to some points such as family crises, hopes, concern, security and the most important one "*Justice*" and static peace. He talked about prophets that God asked them to invite people to worship the unique God and follow love and *Justice* in their life. Then he continued that during the history human has to some extent changed and the mankind which is talented to discover the facts of the world and like to have Justice in their life has changed to a creature who just think about his personal benefits and advantages far from considering the *Justice* in all aspects of their life. In another part of his speech, Ahmadinejad then pointed to the awful action of burning the holy Koran which is the best guiding book and the great miracle of holy prophet (Mohammad peace be upon him) and said that this book invites all of us to worship God and put our life based on Justice in order to have rich life full of happiness and success. Like the year before, again Ahmadinejad focused on the role of the UN Secretary –General in following "Justice" and doing some activities to establish Justice by finding some solutions for the problems that countries deal with. Also he concentrated on this matter that "*Justice*" is the main factor for bringing security, peace, and happiness to human life. At the end he stated that all Justice Followers in the world have promised the day when Justice covers all our life and the rights of all human being get saved. Finally he said, hello to freedom, hello to *Justice*, hello to God worship and love and hello to the reality of human.

President Obama also gave speech in this general assembly and mentions some points about Justice. Obama started his talk by focusing on the world Peace. He said that those who established the United Nations had a big concern which was getting to peace in the world. He mentioned that those men and women who founded this place had recognized that peace is something more than the lack of war. He believed that constant peace depends on conserving human rights and applying "Justice" in all affairs. Later he talked about the duty of the United Nation that all countries' representatives gather together to achieve peace, security and Justice. People stand on their rights and try to set Justice among all nations. The last part of his speech which Obama pointed to Justice was his speech about Syria and the war in this region. He said "now that we all have gathered here, lots of Syrians are killed because of defending their country and rights". They are killed because they want to have *Justice* and human rights. They want other countries to respect their rights and follow Justice in their life. These three cases mentioned were the parts which Obama used the vocabulary of Justice in his speech.

The last UNGA (67th assembly) was held in 2012 which both presidents found a chance to talk about their general views about the problems of the world and focusing on the word Justice was tangible in their both speech. In 67th UNGA, Ahmadinejad talked about the first and second war in Europe and war in Vietnam, Korea, Africa and Syria and focused that if there were *justice* and the facts of the second war were revealed, peace and justice would stop all these crises. He addressed some countries which acted based on *justice* and fair to increase the level of welfare and ideal human interaction in societies, and then compared them with those imperialistic countries which aim to dominate and rule the world cruelly. He mentioned that the discipline and regulation in the world is *injustice* and human values have been spoilt because of

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this chaotic condition and lack of overall *justice* in a society. Ahmadinejad stated that based on justice and parallel conditions, all people in the world should be equal and united. In creating common universal management, he insisted on running a social *justice* and fortifying nation's unity in all economic, social, political and cultural interactions. In producing and publicizing literature and essential structures for making universal management based on *justice* and freedom, we need considerable effort and perseverance. President Ahmadinejad talked about the appearance of two saviors, Imam Mahdi and Jesus Christ who love mankind and will expand *justice* and security in the world. They are the spring of all proponents of *justice* and humanity.

The president of the US also pointed to some examples of justice. Obama started his speech by talking about Chris Stevenson, an American diplomat. Obama gave a great compliment about Chris, and he said that this man has tried to make unity among different cultures, also has had huge effort to elevate the level of international cooperation and affairs. This man was really honest and modest and believed that people should have freedom in changing their destiny and should live with justice and honor.

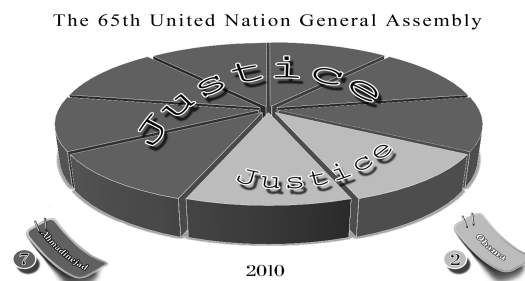


Table 1. The 65th united nation general assembly



Table 2. The 66th united nation general assembly

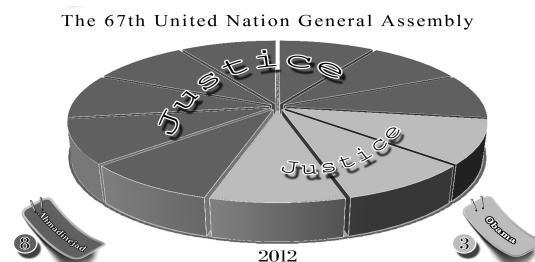


Table 3. The 65th united nation general assembly

In another part of his speech, Obama talked about the presidential election in Egypt, Tonus and Libya and said that, people in these countries went for voting freely and followed *justice* in running the elections. He focused that this this type of justice and freedom is not just limited to western countries, it should be run in all over the world.in this speech Obama pointed to many different issues and topics which have been the most important cases of conflict in the world, but the vocabulary of justice was not used any more. Justice was the topic of his speech about Chris and presidential elections in those 3 mentioned countries. In the following, 3 other speeches of these two presidents in the United Nations congress from 2009 to 2011 have been analyzed as a matter of using some expressions about *Justice*. Also their different point of views in talking about this term (justice) will be compared with each other in order to show some linguistic information of both presidents with few charts which have been presented in the following section to illustrate the number of times that they talked about this term or metaphor.

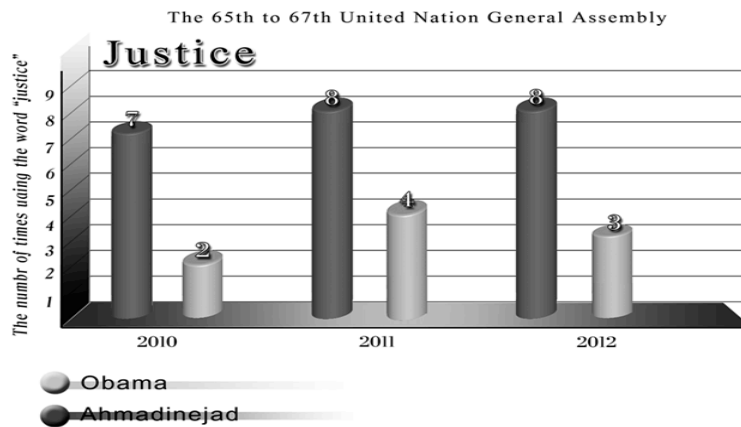


Table 4. The 65th to 67th united nation general assembly

6. CONCLUSION

Studying foreign policy discourses of Islamic republic of Iran in the last three decades demonstrates that both development "from" and "in" discourse has been existed. Replacing liberal national discourse with Islamism explains development "from" discourse. Appearance of micro-discourses of idealism, conservatism, realism, democratic reformism and justice-oriented principalism in foreign policy of Islamic republic represents development "in" Islamic discourse. However, none of discourse change and development and various discourses forming achieved complete and absolute hegemony so that other counter discourse existed in foreign policy arena of Iran at governing time of each of these discourses and formed their behavior and action. Moreover, history and performance of foreign policy of Iran explain this fact that some kind of discourse cycle exists in it so that foreign policy of Iran was a witness in traffic of various discourses in this discourse cycle revolution framework which are similar in some concepts and wording. In other words, a discourse which went to margin and its counter discourse too its place reproduced in other discourse solemnity and came back to the arena. Accordingly, after the appearance of idealism of Islam, discourse development was so that democratic realism and reformism discourses were formed and governed which are close as well as similar to liberal nationalism in some derived theorems. On the other hand, relative

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idealism came back again to foreign policy of Iran arena with the appearance and governing of principalism discourse. Hence, it can be prognosticated that the possibility of reappearance of realism discourse in a new format of idealism exists in foreign policy of Iran; a discourse which emphasizes and concentrates on national interests of Iran more than Islamic transnational values and Islamic interest. Based on complete instability and permanent stabilization of discourses in foreign policy, political actors as well as decision makers have identifiable roles in defining and explaining them. Therefore, political leaders as agents and carriers of one discourse have central roles in replacing one discourse with another. Also in this study, following the analysis of content and manner of speeches and focusing on the word “Justice” used by the two presidents of Iran and America, one can conclude that president Ahmadinejad tends more to use the word Justice and he tries to clarify this point that Justice is the most important factor in holding the world safe, and bringing happiness and security to peoples life. On the contrary, president Obama did not use this word a lot as he finds other issues and factors more important in leading any countries and their people to relax and enjoy life with security and freedom.

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