

CONCEPTUAL MODELS OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY: FOR THE RESOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION CONFLICT

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Abstract

Concepts and visualization of media diplomacy have been scantily studied from an international communication perspective. This study discusses the scholarly value of media diplomacy to fill in the gap between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy for solving international conflicts. To focus on the conceptualization of media diplomacy, this study sheds light on the era of traditional mass media, not social media, suggesting three conceptual media diplomacy models under visualization, namely the international media hierarchy of conflict reporting, media diplomacy flow, and four diplomacies model. These models are designed to explain the process of visualizing the concept and practice of media diplomacy in terms of addressing international communication conflicts.

Keywords: *international conflict, mass media, media diplomacy, public diplomacy.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Diplomacy used to represent the exclusive sphere for the international political elite until the emergence of mass media, which began to prevail in the 1950s, with the end of World War II and the advent of the Cold War. Since then, U.S. media have played a critical role in becoming an instrument of international mediation or resolution for conflict, by serving in the international diplomatic field. The media as a driving force for introducing the birth of a new diplomacy from the traditional diplomacy vigorously covered prominent international issues, such as the Cuban missile crisis, the Vietnam War, and the Iranian Embassy hostage crisis in the Cold War era. The main objectivity of such coverage was to inform global citizens about U.S. and foreign governments' foreign policies.

Traditional diplomacy, which assumed to elicit a mutual agreement among nations through secret, formal, and interpersonal relationships, faded away as the new diplomacy, stimulated by the media and development of communication, required diplomats and policy makers to cooperate with journalists and the public. As a result, media exposure would have an impact on international relations that introduced a new form of communicative interactions between traditional diplomacy and media. In relation with such a trend, former U.S. diplomat Edmund Gullion in 1965 coined the term *public diplomacy* and defined it as "the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies ... with the transnational flow of information and idea" (HUKIL, 2015).

The transformation from traditional diplomacy to public diplomacy led to new reasons for building up a relationship between journalists and government personnel, such as politicians, diplomats, government officials, and military officers. Government officials discerned the usefulness of using the media and reporters for creating foreign policy and disseminating it to other nations, as they knew the media would tend to select international pseudo events, succinctly staged, to gain publicity and form public opinion. Meanwhile, journalists paid gradual attention to government's foreign policy and international conflicts in response to the development of communication technologies, which resulted in media intervention in international conflict-resolution processes with open discourses of foreign issues to the public. Such processes were fully exposed in the media

from the inception of conflict to the end of resolution as a means of adaptation of public diplomacy.

Whereas traditional diplomacy mainly depended on the formal and clandestine profession of diplomats, to either antagonize or coddle international relations between sovereign nations, public diplomacy consists of diverse elements including the media, domestic and international institutions, interest groups and public opinion, to maintain mutual international interests. However, the diversity of elements that form public diplomacy is likely to undervalue the power of the media which is placed under a subcategory of the elements that constitute public diplomacy. In other words, it is commonly acknowledged that the media are considered as merely "a part of the process in the communication between governments and publics" about public diplomacy (KUNCZIK, 2003).

Public diplomacy in the last half of the century became a salient international field of practice and study, when it was recognized by massive public opinion, formed by the media and the political elite during the Cold War era, which stirred ideological conflict in international relations (GILBOA, 1998). Despite the end of WWII and of the Cold War, and of the advent of the 21st century with the 9/11 era of war on terror, the concept and functions of public diplomacy have not been clearly classified yet, as numerous public diplomacy-related publications show that many confused scholars referred to public diplomacy as synonyms with public affairs, international affairs, TV diplomacy, international public relations, media diplomacy, global relations, psychological operation, or even still propaganda (GILBOA, 2008).

Even though the collapse of the Soviet Union officially put an end to the Cold War and traditional diplomacy, the clear-cut boundary for public diplomacy has yet to be established because few scholars are eager to define the characteristics of public diplomacy. Such a situation grew more complicated after the September 11 attacks in which the U.S. domestic and international policy in promoting the global war against terrorism called for efforts of national solidarity and international alliances. In fact, public diplomacy has expanded its concerns from the management

of international relations among states and also between the government and the public to that of other actors such as international institutions, NGOs, global corporations, international society groups, and maybe the media; all actors could possibly be categorized as a group of "soft power," as opposed to "hard power," which implies military coercion.

Before being given an overt and independent theory and methodology, the definition and function of public diplomacy have been vaguely perceived as a combination of implementation of international propaganda and performance of a government's goal to directly influence the target foreign government's policy and its people's thinking and behavior in favor of the message customized for government's intent. A paucity of scholarly research in the area, especially within the relationship between public diplomacy and the media, makes it difficult to liberate the media from public diplomacy, meaning that many scholars believe that the media belong undoubtedly to public diplomacy. Again, a huge volume of reports on 9/11 failed to generate an advanced theory and methodology in public diplomacy by "repeating same ideas and principles," which leaves ample space for developing conceptual models and theories in public diplomacy, related to the use of media (GILBOA, 2008).

In doing so, it is strongly anticipated that the media have a chance to reveal their unique differentiation from public diplomacy. In other words, the media need a separate concept that yields the so-called "media diplomacy." Promoting stable international relations is derived from the ability of nations on how to use media diplomacy in line with the equal weight of public diplomacy. In addition, the nature of international relations is subject to change, since the information revolution of mass media took place after World War II. The media became a powerful international relations player by holding the position of a dominant information source for people throughout the world. It is overt that media diplomacy, being equivalent to public diplomacy, is a powerful way to promote and articulate foreign policy. Needless to say, media diplomacy represents the collection of newspaper, television, radio, and satellite diplomacy. Its charm is to

entice traditional diplomacy to come out in public, instead of being conducted behind the scene, in which diplomats used to talk, reach pacts, and sign documents discreetly.

Therefore, this paper, including several models that illustrate conceptual and functional boundaries for media and public diplomacy, examines the different roles and definitions of the two diplomacies in international relations, and suggests revised models and theories for both diplomacies. It also attempts to demonstrate how they have overlapped areas in terms of conceptual convergence, hoping that theoretical confusion and ambiguous boundaries of the diplomacies are eliminated.

2. CONCEPTS OF PUBLIC AND MEDIA DIPLOMACY

Studies of public diplomacy have in recent decades been an area of special interest in international relations, with no single dominant definition of the term. However, the association of international relations and other related fields of studies – public relations, political science, and cultural studies – explain relevant concepts in both theory and methodology. In contrast, the study of media diplomacy has become a new independent field, and the scarcity of research outcomes may attract more bold and expressive theory and practice. Since public diplomacy treated the media as one of its tools to influence foreign audiences for promoting the foreign policy and affecting their thinking, media diplomacy has received scant likelihood of being regarded as a promising field of study in international communication. It is assumed that this study explains and produces subsequent discussion of a clear conceptual and theoretical distinction between public diplomacy and media diplomacy from an international communication perspective.

2.1 Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy, coined by U.S. diplomat Edmund Gullion in the 1960s when the Cold War era froze smooth international relations, was developed to maintain a proper distance from the term propaganda, which acquired negative connotations throughout World War I and II. It

is difficult to deny that public diplomacy – despite its effort to shy away from propaganda – is rooted in war propaganda strategies. The derogatory idea of propaganda includes the use of “lies, distortion, deceit, manipulation, mind control, psychological warfare, brainwashing, and palaver” (JOWETT & O’DONNELL, 2006). During WWII, propaganda was used for the U.S. government and its allies to move enemies to a predetermined view of fear and defeat by a deliberate attempt to destabilize their morale through psychological manipulation with slogans and leaflets, while the U.S. propaganda strategy worked to boost the morale of the U.S. and allies. After the war, Eisenhower’s Cold War operation viewed propaganda as “conceived of as strategically devised messages that are disseminated to masses of people by an institution for the purpose of generating action benefiting its source”. Definitions of propaganda have been to some extent mellow in the 21st century, so that a clear-cut definition is unfeasible. Most recent one can be: Propaganda is the deliberate attempt by propagandists to “shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response”.

Scholars and practitioners of public diplomacy in response to propaganda’s periodic changes of definition attempted to generate alterations of propaganda. The distinctive idea of public diplomacy, which differentiates from propaganda, is to add the concept of communication and drop that of manipulation, assuming that public diplomacy is one of direct communication with foreign people, describing “activities directed abroad in the fields of information, education, and culture, whose objective is to influence a foreign government, by influencing its citizens” (GILBOA, 1998). Another similar concept of public diplomacy is a sovereign nation’s communication with publics overseas with the aim of influencing foreign public opinions. It shows that all communications are inherent to public diplomacy.

Public diplomacy on its way to positive connotations started to bear fruit from an open communication perspective. Being different from propaganda’s coercive and manipulative nature of conveying messages to audiences, public diplomacy focuses on persuasive messages

on audiences who can decide whether accepting or denying them. In addition, based on persuasion, achieved through gaining audience trust and confidence, public diplomacy is more likely to be credible than propaganda, as long as it is associated with accountability (ZAHARNA, 2004). It is understood that public diplomacy builds its strengths on persuasive credibility by leaving the era of Nazi and Communist propaganda behind.

However, like propaganda, ideas of public diplomacy have changed, according to international events and times. At the beginning, traditional public diplomacy was confined to a formal meeting or treaty between sovereign countries with official delegates and diplomats who conducted internal and private diplomacy. As a result, publics of both parties were either informed or ignored, depending on diplomacy participants' willingness to share. However, more recent public diplomacy extends its performance: A sovereign country communicates with publics in other countries, for informing and influencing publics overseas to improve the country's image and reputation as "a way to shape the wider policy environment" in the foreign country (USC Center, 2015). In this respect, public diplomacy can be accomplished through educational exchange programs, philanthropic aids, financial consulting, language training, TV broadcasting, cultural tours, and entertainment supply (USC Center, 2015).

Although it seemed likely that public diplomacy evolved and legitimately escaped from its root in war propaganda, the 9/11 terrorist attacks had propaganda resurfaced as a synonym for public diplomacy, due to lack of development of a new theory and methodology in public diplomacy. In the war on terrorism, Richard Holbrooke, former U.S. ambassador, characterized U.S. foreign policy after 9/11, "Call it public diplomacy, or public affairs, or psychological warfare, or – if you really want to be blunt – propaganda" (HOLBROOKE, 2001). Another U.S. diplomat, Kim Elliott, admitted the resurface of war propaganda in public diplomacy by writing: "Public diplomacy, the current and gentler term for international propaganda, has lately been the subject of task force reports ... in foreign Policy" (ELLIOTT, 2002).

As definitions of public diplomacy vary and change, its models can be traced back to the post WWII era, in which a nation against other nations in a hostile relationship invented a favorable image for a nation's political and economic system from the very outset. The nation intended to persuade the target audience to accept the image, which was supposed to press the target government to react with hospitable attitudes over time. For example, the United States and the Soviet Union, the two super powers during the Cold War in international relations, adopted a model of public diplomacy to propagate their own ideologies toward the world by establishing international radio broadcasting. In 1947, the U.S. government broadcast the Voice of America to the Soviet residents in Russian to promote freedom and democracy and to enhance understanding through communication (Broadcasting Board of Governors, 2016). Radio Moscow was the Soviet's counterpart in English. In the 1980s, the United States launched overseas public diplomacy TV channels, making efforts to prevent the Soviet Union from expanding its influence in African nations and Western Europe. Such performance demonstrated that public diplomacy counted on a government's appealing to another country's audiences: the government leading public diplomacy.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, another model of public diplomacy needed to keep up with the historical public diplomacy pattern as the world entered into the war on terror era. The U.S. government created a new position of undersecretary for public diplomacy in the State Department and the White House, by establishing the Global Communication Office. The office coordinated persuasive messages toward foreign publics as well as U.S. citizens (ZAHARNA, 2004). Such establishments were expected to develop vital information activities in public diplomacy by attracting private individuals and groups. Thus, public diplomacy expands its model to the inclusion of international broadcasting and global citizens with respect to orchestrating public opinion and inflicting on opposite nations or groups. In fact, the expanded model is referred to as non-state actor's diplomacy in international relations theories.

Whereas public diplomacy in the Cold War was conducted between nations and their diplomats with limited access of non-state actors, the war on terrorism diplomacy has engaged in a wide variety of players - such as terrorist groups, civil society groups, the international media, religious organizations, international institutions, and global public relations firms (GILBOA, 2008). Moreover, individuals of terrorist and insurgent groups pushed states and international alliance to promote support at home and abroad.

With the growing roles of non-state actors in public diplomacy, scholars and diplomats are likely to embrace a broader theoretical model of public diplomacy, which inspires conceptual and practical integration of propaganda, international mass media, international public relations, psychological operations, and other channels of communications. In particular, public diplomacy is prone to the integration of public relations, since public diplomacy from a public relations perspective was conceptualized as the management or negotiation of international relations between governments and between states and non-state actors through international communication. In fact, all of them affect each other's attitudes and opinions, which eventually make a contribution to defusing crises - theoretically (BELAY, 1997). Although public diplomacy and public relations are involved in managing communication and relations, their target audiences are different. Whereas Public diplomacy focuses on communication among national leaders and foreign publics, public relations privileges communication among business leaders and consumers. On the other hand, many scholars argue that public diplomacy relies on a coordinated capability to understand, inform, and influence people, private organizations, and governments, as the core idea of public relations does (PETERSON, 2002). The *modus operandi* of public diplomacy is same as the public relations approach in which nations are closely tied with the intervention of foreign policy (MELISSEN, 2005). In other words, public relations responsibility for branding corporations in international market is the replica of public diplomacy's branding work for a nation in international relations.

2.2. Media Diplomacy

Although few definitions of media diplomacy exist in the literature, certain efforts made by Eytan Gilboa, a professor of Bar-Ilan University in Israel, are highly regarded. Gilboa defines media diplomacy as: the use of the mass media by policymakers in specific cases to send signals and apply pressure on state and nonstate actors, to build confidence and advance negotiations, as well as to mobilize public support for agreements.

With the definition, Gilboa pursues a distinction between media diplomacy and public diplomacy: first, the former is more specific than the latter because of its tendency of using the only channel: the mass media, as opposed to multiple channels of public diplomacy; secondly, propaganda and public relations are the backbones of public diplomacy performance to promote favorable image, while media diplomacy focuses on appealing for conflict resolution; and third, shorter time frame with media diplomacy is required to visualize tangible outcomes of international negotiations, whereas longer time frame is used for public diplomacy to create a friendly climate within a target state and its public.

Other scholars - while studying public diplomacy - discuss media diplomacy's characteristics, which are mainly used to moderate a favorable international image and project preferred identity, as well as to have some "influence over other nations in the global political hierarch" (EBO, 1996). During the Cold War, media diplomacy was an integral component of the global structure, because the hierarchical structure of international dominance by the United States and the Soviet Union exerted power on international mass media that complied with foreign policy of the two nations to construct preferred national identities or destroy images of counterparts. Hence, antagonizing or pampering agendas of global politics were structured at national government level and disseminated at international media organization level.

During the Cold War era, the United States sponsored Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty to confront ideological conflict in the Eastern European nations under the impact of the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact. It is said that the radio channels played a critical role in collapsing communism in

the region, and the United States still regards such maneuvers as a significant part of media diplomacy (EBO, 1996). The 1990s welcomed the super rising of transnational English language television channels with the launches of Al Jazeera, Press TV (Iran), CC TV 9 (China), Arirang TV (South Korea), NHK World (Japan), Russia Today, and France 24. They compete with the already-existing channels, such as CNN International, BBC World, and Voice of America in terms of carrying out media diplomacy.

Media diplomacy in a particular fashion before and after the end of the Cold War era allows government officials to use the media to investigate ongoing or potential international conflict, so they promote negotiations and reach quick conflict resolutions - in contrast to public diplomacy, which uses other channels and media to affect overseas public opinion in the long-term resolution (GILBOA, 2008). For instance, media coverage of the Iranian revolution in 1979 demonstrates an exemplary case of media diplomacy, as the United States used the international media to portray the Iranian protesters against the Shah, who was supported by the U.S. government, as disgruntled religious zealots, and the Iran hostage crisis turned into a media diplomacy war through the international media in which the U.S. and Iran launched media campaigns to label detained people in the embassy as hostages from the U.S. view or spies from the Iranian view. One thing apparent from the crisis is that "Iran established the preeminence of television in instant media diplomacy" (KARL, 1982).

The U.S. media diplomacy in military conflict epitomizes most the effectiveness of the cooperation relationship between media and diplomacy, since communication is one of the key elements in which powers such as troops and weapons use it as a backbone of field operations in a war zone. It is safe to say that the Cable News Network, better known as CNN, pioneered introduction of live coverage of war to the global audience by live broadcasting the Gulf War in early 1991. Iraq's occupation of Kuwait prior to the Gulf War resulted in disconnecting diplomatic channels between the Saddam Hussein regime and the George Bush administration. Although the means of direct communication for both countries' officials broke

down, CNN served as a *de facto* diplomatic broker that broadcast each side's message by the remarks of spokespersons.

While the tension was the highest, the CNN chairman Ted Turner telephoned his correspondent in Iraq by emphasizing media's diplomatic role in resolving the issue; he said, "Both sides aren't talking to each other, but they're talking to CNN. We have a major responsibility" (SEIB, 1997). Both countries and the news company knew that media would function as a diplomatic messenger. The director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Lt. Gen. Thomas Kelly, warned in a news briefing, saying, "You [Iraqis] must understand, any commander who uses chemical weapons is going to be held accountable for his actions". Kelly admitted after the war: "I knew they watched CNN in Iraq, and I wanted those guys to hear that" (SEIB, 1997). Even though official diplomatic channels are disconnected, countries have little difficulty in communicating with each other as long as media convey intended messages, aimed for national interests. In short, media recognize the engagement in diplomacy, and media diplomacy is spontaneously established.

Another way to conceptualize media diplomacy is to look at the relationship between media employees and government officials when they carry out diplomatic tasks. Journalists obliged to report issues under the pressure of time and space obtain a story from diplomats or officials, sometimes without the chance of checking accuracy. Diplomats under certain diplomatic circumstances are prone to building a manipulated relationship with the media; in return, journalists sink officials' feet into the mire of international conflict (SEIB, 1997); sometimes, journalists deal with the consciousness of being used and lied by their governments, or they have to slant stories in favor of their governments. Such a symbolic relationship can be explained by the fact that, if you push too hard, things will get ugly. In other words, if they are reluctant to find an acceptable and cooperative boundary of forming and handling international conflicts, media diplomacy, supposed to resolve foreign-policy issues, will never play a role, or even disappear. Symbolically speaking, a holy marriage of journalists and diplomats/officials

leads to a solid way of achieving successful media diplomacy.

3. VISUALIZATION OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY

To some extent, studies of media diplomacy are expanding to social networking sites (SNS), but it is important to note that, before embracing SNS, media diplomacy needs to be clearly defined and conceptualized. Media diplomacy, of course, originates from the notion that the public opinions of domestic and foreign audiences affect U.S. government foreign policy-making; such opinions put pressure on the government

to intervene or mediate international conflicts. A host of models explaining the processes of media diplomacy in a chronic order is an appropriate method as a way of suggesting the optimal entity of media diplomacy.

3.1. Media Hierarchy in the United States

U.S. public opinion about international conflict is neither built in a day nor disseminated by one single medium. Whwn confining the process of forming the public opinion to traditional media, the following model is introduced in terms of reporting, disseminating, and establishing public opinion in the United States. The model is named international media hierarchy of conflict reporting.

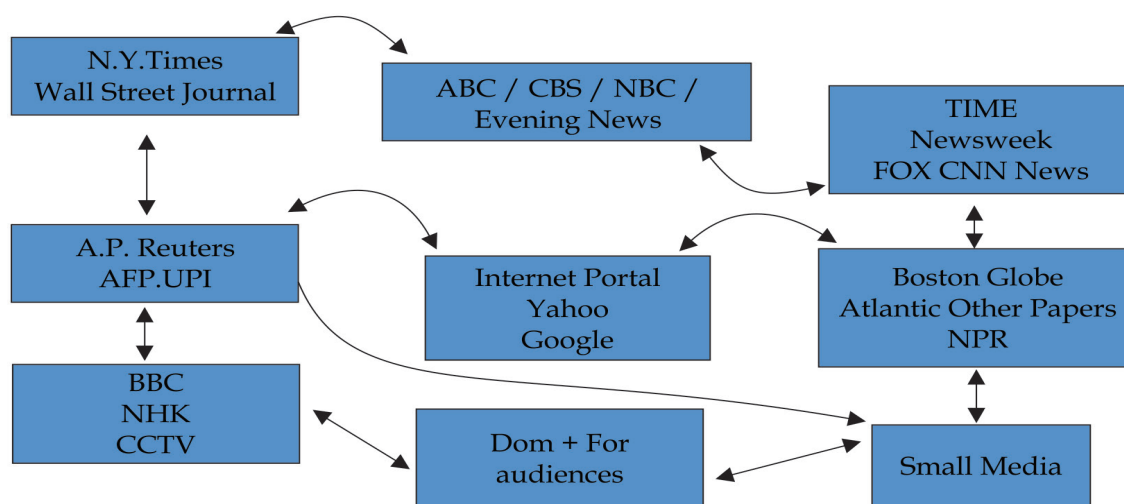


Fig. 1. International media hierarchy of conflict reporting

The New York Times and *The Wall Street Journal* play the dominant role in selecting international conflict issues, according to the model. If the two newspapers print a salient international issue that requires a government action in the front page of their morning editions, Internet portal sites such as Yahoo and Google tend to post the issue on their websites, which lead other news agencies to report the same issue with different format or tone. Initiated by the two top newspapers, disseminated by the Internet, replenished by other news agencies, the international issue catches the attention of broadcasting companies such as ABC, NBC, and

CBS. They have several hours before covering the issue in their evening's main news time.

Once the issue is on air, the model assumes that the majority of U.S. public would recognize the seriousness of the issue that can threaten the national security and interest. On the next day, the issue is published and broadcast on local communities via local media and, more importantly, large international media pick up the issue as part of their story. The issue has become a global one, thus encouraging the U.S. government and the international community to share their thoughts on it. The whole hierarchical process from the two newspapers - until the awareness of

government and community - can be defined as the beginning of media diplomacy. This model assumes, from the perspective of traditional news business, that newspapers have more authoritative power than news stations when it comes to making an issue of international saliency.

As soon as the government and the public discern on the importance of the international issue, whether the media intended it to be that way or not, the media tend to spotlight the issue with a barrage of follow-up stories, expecting that the government comes up with immediate measures of approaching the issue. That is the moment when media diplomacy, triggered by media reporting and implemented by the government, officially kicks off. However, it is worth noting that in order for the media issue to grow at national and international level, and then to be resolved, two communication processes are recognized after media reporting. One is by government officials, who decide to create foreign policy and implement it through diplomatic channels, the other is by opinion leaders who persuade the public to side with their stance if the issue is worthy of pursuing as part of their opinionated media career. Not surprisingly, Bill O'Reilly of Fox and Rachel Maddow of MSNBC do not seem to be afraid of being demagogues of bipolar opinion generators by representing extreme right or left political communities. They have the power of redefining

and pinpointing news events as public, national, or international issues. As they define, and the public agrees with their processed opinion on the issue, media diplomacy from the public sector begins to kick off.

3.2. Media Diplomacy Flow

The quadruple triangle model - shown below - visualizes the two communication paths for media diplomacy. According to the model, government officials or social elites go through policy-making to direct U.S. diplomats stationed in the troubled country in which the media highlighted the issue of the country. The U.S. government and the foreign government, after going through the diplomatic channel to reach an agreement of talk, is slated to set a table for cooperation, which is expected to bring the best result for maintaining both nations' interests. Once the two parties decide to take action against the issues, they give a heads-up to their allies and call for support of their action. On the other part, the public opinion in the United States encourages non-state actors, such as NGOs and international organizations, to engage in the issue by taking a humanitarian approach. In the end, the issue spotlighted by the media, considered a threat to national interest by the government and public, and resolved by state and non-state actors' cooperation comes to the end whether or not, the result is in favor of the U.S. government.

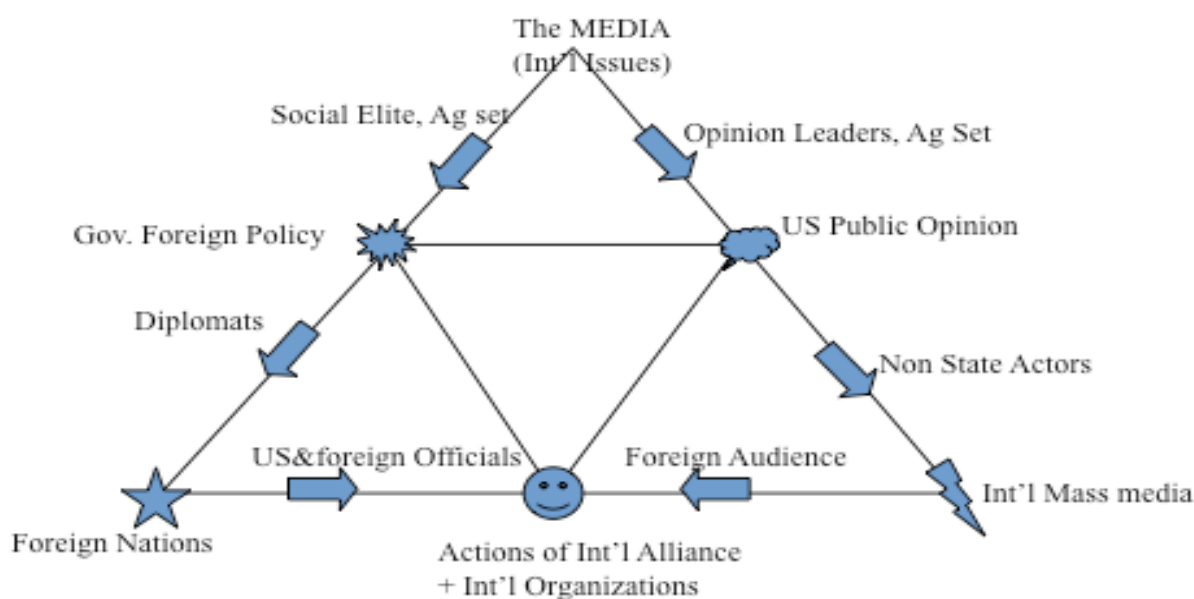


Fig. 2. Media diplomacy flow (quadruple tri)

For example, when famine hit Ethiopia in the early 1980s, and nearly 2,000 Ethiopians were dying of starvation everyday, the Reagan administration turned a blind eye to the devastation because the U.S. media would ignore the phenomenon, assuming that the public would be indifferent to such story (SEIB, 1997). However, the condoned ignorance of both media and government was criticized by Tom Brokaw of NBC, who urged the story appear on the night news. NBC ran a follow-up piece the next day. On the third day, Brokaw announced on the news program, “Last night, after we broadcast the second of two reports on conditions in Ethiopia, the U.S. government announced that it will provide 20,000 metric tons of grain” (SEIB, 1997). In addition, the Agency for International Development (AID), public donations, and relief agencies including the U.N. sent over \$300 million worth aid to Ethiopia. There is no doubt that diplomats of both countries played an important role in accelerating the aid process. After the reporting, famine suddenly became everybody’s business.

However, the model has two distinctive flaws: one is when the foreign government itself turns out to be the center of the problem. For instance, Libya’s tragedy with Col. Muammar Gaddafi’s execution in 2011 reveals that foreign citizens of the troubled country could replace the country’s regime as an actor of the cooperation with U.S. government and international organizations -such as NATO. To amend the flaw of the model, it is to say that the counterpart of the U.S.

government does not necessarily need to be a governmental administration. It can be replaced by another actor, such as a representative group of rebels and military coup leaders. The other flaw of the model is that it can not be always hoped that international media would report a U.S. media recognized foreign issue with the same weight of importance. The case of Ethiopia shows that there was no time for it to be an international issue, although it is overt that both U.S. and international media operate 24-7 monitoring systems for each other’s stories and share some of them in terms of reporting.

4. HOLISTIC APPROACH TO MEDIA DIPLOMACY

The inevitable purpose of media diplomacy is to help resolve an international issue that does not reflect U.S. national interest with less use of power, such as military and economic interventions. Nevertheless, it is a non-sense to say that an international conflict can be resolved by only media diplomacy. Rather, it can serve as one of the four entities of diplomacy in resolving international conflicts. The other three entities are identified as public diplomacy, traditional diplomacy, and non-state actor diplomacy. When these are integrated for combating together international conflicts, the best outcome can be expected. The Four diplomacies model explains how diplomacies function as important players of conflict settlement.

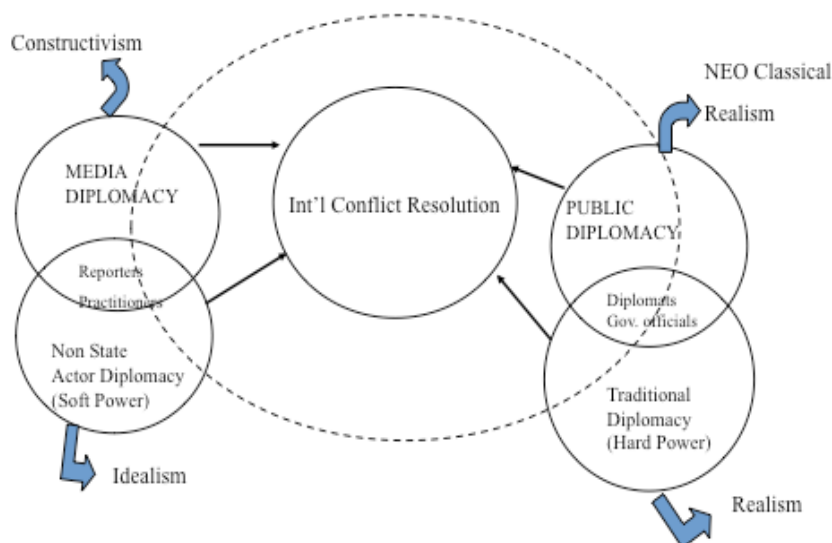


Fig. 3. The Four diplomacies model

Public diplomacy grounded on war propaganda strategies uses diplomats as the main source of communication with foreign governments. In contrast to traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy prefers to maximize the power of diplomatic human resources by striving to take distance from physical power, preferred by traditional diplomacy armed with military equipment and economic sanctions. Theoretically, traditional diplomacy is based on realism, which suggests that a direct physical influence supported by physical power leads to immediate and effective results in removing international conflict. On the other hand, neoclassical realism as public diplomacy basis emphasizes that the actions of power and freedom can be conducted by the effort to distribute power capabilities among states. A flow of tangible and intangible aids – such as financial loans, food assistance, educational equipment, and natural resources supply – from advanced to developing nations through official diplomatic channels can narrow the tension gap between the two parties. Similarly, traditional and public diplomacy requires government resources, such as diplomats and military equipment to solve international conflicts.

The third entity in diplomacies is non-state actor diplomacy, in which the use of soft power is backed up by international organizations and NGOs. In opposition to traditional diplomacy which uses power, non-state actor diplomacy prefers to conduct humanitarian activities organized by civilians for physical military tactics. The Wilsonian idealism can be considered the fundamental foundation for non-state actor diplomacy. The idealism representing the U.S. government perspective on foreign policy during the Wilson administration of the 1910s suggests that it did not directly intervene in international conflict, instead supporting efforts of the United Nations and NGOs to play a contributing role in alleviating the situation. The last one among the four is media diplomacy, which seeks its theoretical basis on constructivism. The theory of constructivism in international relations demonstrates that structures of social institutions and human associations are determined by contemporarily shared ideas and interests of engaged actors in social and international interaction, which establishes meanings for

constituencies. In other words, international reality, recognized by international structures and actors which give meaning to international issues, serves as a vehicle for leading the media to pay attention to issues that can become a international conflict after the media redefine the meaning from a journalistic perspective. Once the issue becomes a conflict to be resolved, media diplomacy begins to function. Unlike traditional and public diplomacy, non-state actor and media diplomacy are performed by civilians and reporters, ruling out the engagement of governmental personnel. On the other hand, all the four diplomacies are inextricably intertwined and need each other's contribution with the aim of targeting international conflict. They are linked and necessary for an optimal resolution of international conflict.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Guilboa defines media diplomacy as the use of the media by policy makers to put pressure on the actors in troubled state and to mobilize public support for agreements (2008). This paper in addition to the definition argues that media diplomacy should be defined as a broader concept: Media policy, as an entity of the four diplomacies in terms of resolving international conflict, is the use of domestic and international media by government officials and journalists to inspire troubled foreign nations and citizens to build confidence with actions on the conflict.

In addition, it is important to note that media diplomacy cannot stand alone to resolve international conflicts. Rather, it can complete its mission when assimilated to the four diplomacies. More peaceful international relations can be accomplished in the functional balance of all diplomacies.

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