

How Netanyahu's New Media Policy is Influencing Israeli, American and Global Politics

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This paper analyzes how the Prime Minister of Israel, Binyamin Netanyahu, uses Israel's technological superiority and innovative use of digital diplomacy to maintain a leading role in social media and an active and on-going impact on American politics. His global policy approach is based on the realization that we live in a world of technology, and since technology improves at a rapid rate, Israel should stand in the front of global change. His political and social media reign is unquestionable. He was elected the 10th most admired person in the United States, according to the "World's Most Admired 2016" YouGov poll that gauged the popularity of famous people in 30 different countries. His personal Facebook page reached two million followers worldwide, more than half of them from the United States. As the research demonstrates, his popularity is the result of the ability to mobilize political skills with an effective media campaign. He derives his power directly from the public and engages that public in direct dialogue, bypassing the traditional media. This demonstrates a calculated and savvy use of new media platforms, as his accounts are able to motivate high rates of interaction and interest among followers and others who can view the posts.

Keywords: social media, Israel, American politics, digital diplomacy

Introduction

In trying to examine how the Prime Minister of a small country has become one of the most popular leaders worldwide and is making an impact on Israeli, American and global politics, a few elements need to be taken under consideration.

Firstly, the technological superiority of Israel and the innovative use of digital diplomacy. Digital media changed Israel's interests presented around the world as the use of the Internet and new information communication technologies help to achieve diplomatic objectives. Israeli diplomacy is focusing on social media rather than official channels, and is highly active in the digital arena. The Foreign Ministry operates some 350 channels on various platforms, including websites, Twitter feeds, Facebook pages; and profiles on Instagram, YouTube, Vine, Pinterest and other social media sites, all of which are constantly updated. Every Israeli embassy across the globe has its own social media platform, run in the host country's language, and Israel conducts digital diplomacy in over 50 different languages. Prime Minister Netanyahu is also the Foreign Minister and thus most foreign policy decisions are taken by himself alone. With him being the only face of Israel in global media, and with all foreign policy forces promoting his personal and the Prime Minister's Office social media accounts, there can be no surprise that "the face of Israel" is highly popular around the world.

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Secondly, the wide use of new media in Israel and the leading role of Netanyahu in social media. The use of technology is widespread and Israelis are leading consumers of new media. Prime Minister Netanyahu has been particularly aggressive in his use of Facebook and Twitter, dominating the political arena in Israel and worldwide. Netanyahu's social media strategy has been highly successful—a recent study concluded that his social media accounts are the third most popular of any world leader. As determined by this research, social media increase public participation in political processes and create an incentive to go to vote. The significance of social media in political campaigns like Netanyahu's is not limited to the extraordinary and instantaneous reach they have, but also in encouraging people across the globe to participate in some kind of political discussion or activity online.

Thirdly, the active and on-going impact of Netanyahu on American politics. Not only that he was elected the 10th Most Admired Person in U.S., it seems that he truly understands American politics. Netanyahu is close to Republicans in his views and temperament. His own policy views are deeply informed by American ideas, and as a voracious reader, he is more likely to be caught carrying an English-language book than a Hebrew one—almost always written by an American author. One of the main reasons that Netanyahu has succeeded to gain support in America is that he succeeded to brand himself as the most effective opponent of the agreement with Iran, led by former President Obama, far more than any American politician. For a leader who has long endured ideological, stylistic, and personal gaps with a Democratic president, while being hailed by GOP Members of Congress and presidential candidates, he says about President Trump: "I think we quote each other. We understand each other and so much of the things that we wish to accomplish for both our countries".

Digital Diplomacy

Technology is crucial in shaping political discourse, and Israel, as a high-tech nation, has been in the front of global media changes. Israel has the largest number of startup companies globally, second only to the USA (Reuben, 2014). Aside from Silicon Valley, Israel has the highest concentration of high-tech companies in the world. Technology in Israel is very advanced and global rankings of the top innovation ecosystem in the world consistently find Israel to be one of the world's top locations for entrepreneurs and venture capitalists (Israel Ministry of Foreign affairs, 2013). The experience with social media in Israel is particularly notable, since the time spent on Facebook per visitor per month among Israelis is one of the highest in the world (Nissan, 2011).

Israel has become a global high-tech superpower while combining free market and advanced technology. Over the past three decades, Israel has experienced an economic turnaround unprecedented in character and scope. The change was from a closed, concentrated economy with a large public sector and burdensome tax regime, to an open and competitive economy that attracts foreign investments and participates in global financial markets. Simultaneously, Israel shifted its economic center of gravity from labor-intensive industrial production to a knowledge-based economy focused on the development of technological innovation (Senor & Singer, 2009).

Israel is being promoted as the "start-up Nation", and one of the leading advocates for technological superiority is Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu. After announcing a comprehensive innovation partnership between China and Israel, he said: "I believe that the future belongs to those countries that innovate. I believe that there is no area in our lives that will not be technologized... Technology is so valuable today that we all can benefit from it. Israel has benefited a great deal".

The global policy approach of Netanyahu is based on the realization that we live in a world of technology, and since technology improves at a rapid rate, Israel should stand in the front of global change. He said: "those countries and those companies that have the edge of innovation are the ones who are going to succeed. Further, I believe that the speed of innovation is increasing constantly, and therefore the need to have systemic policies to encourage innovation is becoming a necessity, a prerequisite for success. We admit that we have certain capacities in this area, but we think that if we partner with you, we'll show unbelievable capacities for change and growth and management and industry and global market reach, and I think the combination is very, very powerful...".

Israel gained strong reputation for its capacity for innovation in various sectors of technology using digital diplomacy and social media to engage with international audiences. Cave (2015) explains that when used properly, digital diplomacy is a persuasive and timely supplement to traditional diplomacy that can help a country advance its foreign policy goals, extend international reach, and influence people who will never set foot in any of the world's embassies. Digital technologies have become an increasingly important tool to increase pro-Israel sentiments with massive increase in funding for it (Aouragh, 2016).

Digital diplomacy reduces the role of the government and gives social media a crucial role in determining the official policy and the media campaign. As noted by Fisher (2013), the advantage of social media provides the opportunity to reach citizens of other countries in near real-time. The use of digital media is easy and accessible, to organizations and governments, and bypasses the restrictions of traditional media. Many individuals respond to events in Israel and abroad and join the efforts to present the interests of Israel in the world. In this way, social media have major weapons in modern conflicts, as had been seen in the military conflicts that Israel was involved in, competing with the Palestinians not only in the battlefield but also on global social networks. Where there is tension between Israel and Palestinian or Islamic organizations, masses of Israelis use Facebook, Twitter, and E-mails to respond. Often they use information published by the government or official sources and in many other cases they use pictures, videos, and information independently obtained.

Social media provide enormous opportunities and challenges for states and international organizations as they seek to engage with new policy spaces developing around the Internet (Adesina, 2017). Israeli society is widely connected to global policy, and the political developments are widely covered in the global media. The principle of free communications differentiates Israel from the countries surrounding her. The media are considered to be independent on the government and enjoy wide freedom of expression in every field except that of security. Hallams (2010) indicates that countries such as Israel, which suffer from a Goliath image problem, may benefit more from messages that encourage online audiences to engage in perspective taking and to think about the conflict vicariously than from messages that refer directly to the positions of the conflicting sides.

Digital diplomacy involves using the Internet and social media platforms to communicate with citizens, businesses, and non-state actors, promote national values, and build public support for policy goals or strategies (Bradshaw, 2015). Lewis (2014) defines digital diplomacy as the use of digital tools of social media by diplomats to communicate with each other and with the general public. Hanson (2012) defines it as the use of the Internet and new information technologies to help carry out diplomatic objectives. According to Manor and Segev (2015), digital diplomacy refers mainly to the growing use of social media platforms by a country in order to achieve its foreign policy goals and proactively manage its image and reputation. They note that digital diplomacy exists at two levels: that of the foreign ministry and that of embassies located around the world. By

operating on these two levels, nations can tailor foreign policy and nation branding messages to the unique characteristics of local audiences with regard to history, culture, values, and traditions, thereby facilitating the acceptance of their foreign policy and the image they aim to promote.

The Israeli government is increasingly using social media as a diplomatic tool, using both levels of digital diplomacy. Israel's Foreign Ministry is the third best player in the world, behind Britain and France (Ahren, 2016). After generations in which political propaganda in Israel and worldwide was traditionally communicated, it was technology and globalization that changed the way of public diplomacy. Whereas public officials and professionals had based Israeli diplomacy mainly on speeches, digital media changed Israel's interests presented around the world. In the past conflicts between nations had been mainly military, and today nations compete in the digital environment on control over financial markets and public opinion (Hallams, 2010). According to the Foreign Ministry, by using such platforms effectively, Israel can bypass the mainstream press to get its message across, since social media serve as a great equalizer to reestablish the moral strength of Israel's position. Yuval Rotem (2016), Director General of Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, explains that digital diplomacy plays an indispensable role today in promoting Israel's foreign policy goals, and he expects that this role will only grow in the future.

Prime Minister Netanyahu is actively involved in dialogue with political leaders and ordinary citizens around the world, provoking global debate and often drawing widespread criticism. He gave a speech to the UN General Assembly in which he set forward a "red line" of 90% uranium enrichment, stating that if Iran were to reach this level, it would become an intolerable risk for Israel. He used a cartoon graphic of a bomb to illustrate his point, indicating three stages of uranium enrichment, noting that Iran had already completed the first stage. Following this, he tweeted that the Human Rights Council of the UN has become a circus of anti-Israeli, attacking the only democracy in the Middle East and ignoring the gross violations in Iran, Syria, and North Korea. In another incident, he claimed that the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, gave Adolf Hitler the idea for the Holocaust in the preceding months to the Second World War, convincing the Nazi leader to exterminate Jews rather than just expel them from Europe. And when he tried to show that young Iranians should revolt against their religious leaders, so that they would be exposed to western culture, young Iranians mucked him on social media.

The border lines between official and voluntary diplomacy is unclear, and the Prime Minister's Office has established a unit of "shadow students" for public diplomacy on social media. Officially, they do not work for the government nor they are paid by any official organization, and yet they are part of the national diplomacy unit that is involved in Israel's efforts on social media. For their services, they get to study, free of charge, in Israeli universities. As it seems, Israeli diplomacy has changed, and is focusing on social media rather than official channels, and all possible means are devoted to the mission (Ravid, 2013).

Leading Role in Social Media

Social media have become a major tool to disseminate information, opinions, and news, used for political campaigning, offering new opportunities for individuals and politicians alike. Politicians can create a presence on social media platforms to help shape their public perception (Gross, 2014; Lafferty, 2015). Of all world leaders, the Prime Minister of Israel, Binyamin Netanyahu, has been particularly aggressive in his use of social media, with a recent study concluding that his social media accounts are the third most popular of any world leader, following the President of Argentina and the Prime Minister of Cambodia (Keidar, 2016). In another

study, Netanyahu was elected as the 10th most admired person in the United States, according to the "World's Most Admired 2016" YouGov poll that gauged the popularity of famous people in 30 different countries.

This demonstrates a calculated and savvy use of new media platforms, as his accounts are able to motivate high rates of interaction and interest among followers and others who can view the posts. While this use of social media is itself significant, perhaps the more interesting aspect is the fact that Netanyahu's office maintains social media accounts in English, as well as Hebrew. By posting in English, the Prime Minister is able to take full advantage of the nearly limitless reach of new media platforms and create political pressure in the United States to support his conservative policies. Netanyahu's social media campaign is global and his position as a prominent global leader has helped maintaining his popularity at home. In fact, it is fair to say that a large part of his campaign is conducted globally and makes an impact locally. This had an incredible impact on election results, allowing Netanyahu to develop his political base, increase public involvement in political processes, and create an incentive to go to vote.

Netanyahu has succeeded to derive his power directly from the public and engage that public in direct dialogue, bypassing the traditional media. According to Chen (2010), social media positively influence leaders who generally receive limited or unfavorable media coverage. As free content providers, they offer inexpensive opportunities to spread their messages and create public awareness. Accordingly, Netanyahu uses social media as a means to bypass the traditional media and reach directly to the voters. It is interesting, however, the veteran politician, Netanyahu, was able to take advantage of disseminate information over the Internet and become active on his Facebook page, including engaging Internet users in direct dialogue.

Before the 2013 elections in Israel, Netanyahu used social media to great effect in his campaign against the nuclear deal struck between the United States and Iran. Netanyahu argued that the economic sanctions against Iran should be strengthened, instead of the scaled-back policy in exchange for a cessation of nuclear weapons research and development. Using pithy statements on Twitter, for example, he argued that, "There aren't just two options: A bad deal or war. There is a third: continue the sanctions. A bad deal might lead to the second undesired result" (Paraszczuk, 2013).

Netanyahu's campaign promoted his defiance in seeking to address Congress despite White House opposition. An advertisement posted on Netanyahu's Facebook page compared his campaign with legendary Israeli first leader David Ben Gurion's refusal to bow to State Department opposition to create the state of Israel. The advertisement, with black-and-white graphics, flashed back to 1948 as a voiceover intoned the following: "In 1948, Ben-Gurion stood before a fateful decision: the creation of the State of Israel. The U.S. secretary of state firmly objected. Ben-Gurion—contrary to the State Department's position—announced the establishment of the state. Would we be here today had Ben-Gurion not done the right thing?". This was accompanied by text declaring his commitment to addressing Congress: "Congress is the only place where a bad deal can be stopped. It is the right and essential thing to do to safeguard Israel's security and existence", Netanyahu wrote.

Perhaps the most significant use of new media by Netanyahu occurred during the 2015 national elections in Israel. He was running a tight campaign against the Liberal Zionist Union Party and his campaign used unconventional tactics, based on the ability of new media to communicate directly with voters while bypassing traditional media. By turning a potential defeat into victory after weeks on the defensive, Netanyahu vindicated his reputation as one of the world's most cunning political operators who would stop at nothing to win.

The major foreign policy focus of Netanyahu during this campaign was to “prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear capability, by turning world opinion in favor of maintaining and expanding economic and diplomatic sanctions against Tehran”. He reiterated his position on Iran before a joint session of the United States Congress, using the global arena to boost his local campaign: “For over a year, we’ve been told that no deal is better than a bad deal. Well, this is a bad deal. It’s a very bad deal. We’re better off without it. Now we’re being told that the only alternative to this bad deal is war. That’s just not true. The alternative to this bad deal is a much better deal—A better deal that won’t give Iran an easy path to the bomb; a better deal that Israel and its neighbors may not like, but with which we could live, literally. And no country has a greater stake than Israel in a good deal that peacefully removes this threat”.

The new media campaign set up splash pages to direct people in Hebrew and English to the live stream of the speech and made sure the voters of Israel watched the speech on the website so they could capture their data. Then they checked their browsers so that they could chase them around the internet to remarket to them. They also had an English version so that they could reach out to the English-speaking community in Israel and America who were defending Netanyahu online. The campaign used search-engine and display advertisements to drive users to watch the speech and stud positive comments from elected officials and re-tweeted comments on Twitter. In the 48 hours around that speech, the engagement rates were insane, and at the Instagram page was a live feed of geo-located tweets around the speech.

Readers may be confused as his campaigns against the deal with Iran in 2013 and 2015 were similar, even using the same slogans. Indeed, in both elections Netanyahu took his campaign against the deal to social media, calling on the West not to allow the deal with Iran. In both elections, he used global media to promote his political campaign: in 2013 he appeared before the general assembly of the United Nations, and in 2015 he appeared before a joint session of the United States Congress.

Netanyahu’s social media reign is unquestionable in terms of engagement on Facebook. In 2015, US President Barack Obama was rated as the world leader with the most “likes” on his Facebook page, according to the global public relations firm Burson-Marsteller’s study analyzing online activity by government leaders. Pope Francis came in second, and Netanyahu was the third. He ranked higher than Democratic presidential candidate Sen. Bernie Sanders, who was sixth, and then presumptive Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump who ranked eighth, and even higher than former President George W. Bush, actor Johnny Depp, and former President Bill Clinton, who came in 11th, 12th, and 13th, respectively. The poll was conducted using “open-ended nominations from panelists across 30 countries”, YouGov said.

Since then he has even extended his global reach and popularity. In early 2017 his personal Facebook page reached two million followers worldwide with over a million (51.1%) from the United States and only 543,000 (27.3%) from Israel (these numbers relate to his personal page, while the official page of the Prime Minister’s office has much less followers). He is the most likeable of all Israeli politicians and constantly leading in user engagement figures. Recently he started a daily news briefing on his Facebook page in which he speaks directly to his followers.

Domination of Israeli and American politics

Netanyahu has been involved in Israeli politics for over two decades. He became the leader of Likud party in 1993 and won the 1996 elections, becoming Israel’s youngest Prime Minister, serving his first term from June 1996 to July 1999. He moved from the political arena to the private sector after he was defeated in the

1999 elections by Ehud Barak. He returned to politics in 2002 as Foreign Minister (2002-2003) and Finance Minister (2003-2005) in Ariel Sharon's governments, but he departed the government over disagreements regarding the Gaza disengagement plan. As Minister of Finance, Netanyahu engaged in a major reform of the Israeli economy, which significantly improved Israel's subsequent economic performance.

Netanyahu retook the Likud leadership in December 2005, after Sharon left to form a new party, Kadima. In December 2006, he became the official Leader of the Opposition in the Knesset and Chairman of Likud. Following the 2009 parliamentary elections, in which Likud placed second and right-wing parties won a majority, Netanyahu formed a coalition government. After the victory in the 2013 elections, he became the second person elected to the position of Prime Minister for a third term, after Israel's founder David Ben-Gurion. In March 2015, Netanyahu was elected to his fourth term, matching David Ben-Gurion's record. Netanyahu is the only Prime Minister to be elected three times in a row and the longest-serving Prime Minister in Israel's history.

In order to understand his political domination, it is important to understand the role Netanyahu plays in the development of traditional media. Despite being in office for more than a decade, he is in constant conflict with the mainstream media. He styles himself as an anti-establishment figure, a fearless leader who fights the old elite, fighting for the people, even when the media, the system, and the political arena are allegedly all against him. This allegation gives him the opportunity to control and limit the expansion of the mainstream media and be actively involved in regulating the media (Michaeli, 2017). As a result, social media have determined dramatic changes in the balance of Israeli political power, and although the main channels for public debate remain the traditional media, the exposure of the public to social media is accelerating with a wide unmediated public debate taking place on Facebook and Twitter (Press, 2015).

His domination of Israeli and American politics is based to great extent on his relations with the media, mainly *Israel Hayom*—the paper with the largest daily circulation in the country. Owned by the American casino mogul Sheldon Adelson, it was first published in 2007 with a clear agenda to bring Netanyahu back to the Prime Minister's office. In November 2014, the Knesset gave a first reading approval to the bill to outlaw the free distribution of newspapers, aimed to limit the influence of *Israel Hayom* (Dvorin, 2014). Netanyahu soon afterwards dissolved the Knesset and called an election. When he returned to office, he appointed himself communications minister to make sure the bill would not be discussed again. He also added a clause to the coalition agreements saying that the coalition members would have to support his media initiatives without any objections.

In order to understand how deep the changes to Israeli politics ran, it is necessary to examine the heavily involvement of the media in the elections. Many observers characterized the 2015 elections as a contest between *Israel Hayom* and its owner, Sheldon Adelson, on the one hand, and *Yedioth Ahronoth* and its owner, Arnon Mozes, on the other hand. This view led to political demonstrations in front of the editorial offices of the newspapers as these two players made little effort to conceal their partisan stance. The resounding failure of public opinion polls to predict the actual election results reinforced the perception of media bias. The mistaken polls were seen not only as a professional error, but also as a deliberate distortion. However, as explained by Levy (2014), one can disagree with the editorial policies of Israeli newspapers *Israel Hayom* and *Yedioth Ahronoth*, but not with the importance of an unfettered press.

One of the main reasons that Netanyahu has succeeded to gain support in America is that he succeeded to brand himself as the most effective opponent of the agreement with Iran, led by former President Obama, far

more than any American politician. Netanyahu and Obama clashed over the American role in brokering a nuclear deal with Iran, which Netanyahu actively lobbied against. The deep opposition of Obama to settlements helped Netanyahu navigate the thorny politics of the issue. In one Oval Office encounter in 2011, Obama grimaced as Netanyahu lectured him in front of the cameras on the suffering of the Jewish people through the ages. The icy relationships between President Obama and Prime Minister Netanyahu hit a new low, almost too hard to believe, with the American president “unfriending” the Israeli Premier on Facebook. “The bond between the United States and Israel remains strong”, the White House source said. “But if the President had to read one more post somehow tying whatever bullshit Jewish holiday it happened to be with the Iranian nuclear threat, he would have snapped”.

His great support in the U.S. is the result of the ability to mobilize political skills with an effective media campaign. His own policy views are deeply informed by American ideas and he is close to Republicans in his views and temperament. Yet, Netanyahu's three-year term in the 1990s coincided with Bill Clinton's presidency, and his three terms since 2009 until 2017 were with Barack Obama's. Now Netanyahu finally has a Republican president in the White House, with a Republican House and Senate—the perfect match for his right-wing coalition.

Netanyahu and Trump have known each other for many years. He was a friend of Donald Trump's father when Netanyahu lived in New York during the 1980s, serving as UN ambassador. In 2013, Trump made a video endorsing Netanyahu during the Israeli elections, saying: “vote for Benjamin—terrific guy, terrific leader, great for Israel”. Netanyahu talks publicly about his long-time relationship with Trump: “I've known the President and I've known his family and his team for a long time, and there is no greater supporter of the Jewish people and the Jewish state than President Donald Trump”.

Indeed, President Trump offered the sort of harsh language on Iran that Netanyahu wanted to hear. In his visit to Israel, first official tour overseas as President, Trump said: “the United States would work with Israel to roll back the threat of an Iranian regime that is threatening the region and causing so much violence and suffering”. He also took the unprecedented step of visiting the Western Wall, something no sitting American president has ever done because of the sensitivities around the site and Jerusalem's disputed status. Netanyahu celebrated the act, telling Trump that “the people of Israel applaud you for it”.

Netanyahu's personal relationship with the American administration has become even more apparent after Trump appointed his son-in-law Jared Kushner as his special adviser on the Middle East. In a joint press conference with Trump, Netanyahu sought to show how well he knows Kushner, whose father, Charles Kushner, donated generously to Israeli causes. “Can I reveal, Jared, how long we've known you?” said Netanyahu, looking to Kushner. “Well, he was never small. He was always big. He was always tall”, Netanyahu said, implying he had known Kushner since he was a baby. Indeed, Kushner visited Israel since childhood and more recently to do business. He was educated at Jewish schools and his family used its real estate fortune to donate millions of dollars to American Jewish and Israeli hospitals, schools and other institutions. About 30 years ago, Netanyahu had even stayed at the Kushners' home in New Jersey, sleeping in Jared's bedroom, as the teenager moved to the basement that night.

Conclusion

Social media changed politics. As the research determines, social media strategy is crucial to gain political success in modern era. The Prime Minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu, provides the best possible strategy

to gain popularity in social networks, in Israel and global. As seen from the findings of the research, there are some major elements in the strategy of Netanyahu, which are combined into a successful media strategy.

Firstly, he uses the technological superiority of Israel and the innovative use of digital diplomacy to advance his social media activity. As a high-tech nation, Israel is in the front of global media changes and at the center of global news, and through social media Netanyahu is able to communicate with followers worldwide. As examined in the research, the role and use of digital diplomacy is different from traditional means of media campaigns launched by governments. The use of social media by governments allows them to impact policies and control public agenda as it best suits their interests. As Netanyahu is the leading face of Israel's diplomacy, this policy helps him to maintain his leading role in global politics.

Secondly, he takes advantage of the wide use of new media to gain a leading role in social media, thereby bypassing traditional media. The research demonstrates that social media is an interactive medium, different from traditional media services, as it increases public participation in political processes. Netanyahu uses social media to directly connect with his followers, and that use has proven successful. His success can lead to a conclusion that success of politicians is dependent upon their use of social media, and the best way to connect with the public is through interactive use. Additionally, it can be concluded that the interactive capabilities of social media make the difference in the strategy used by politicians in today's "new politics".

Thirdly, Netanyahu is deeply involved in global politics, and maintains tremendous impact on American politics, primarily through social media. The global approach of Netanyahu is based on the realization that we live in a world of technology, and technology is the best means for public diplomacy, in Israel and global. His success to mobilize American politics is based on the ability to combine political skills with an effective media campaign. Thus, it can be concluded that politicians in the era of social media need not only to be politically correct in the main issues that are on public agenda, but rather they need to make an impact on public agenda through social media. That is what Netanyahu has done successfully, as he succeeded to brand himself as the most effective opponent of the agreement between the United States and Iran, and bring this issue to worldwide discussion.

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