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Israel-Palestine War: A Study of Psychological Warfare Techniques Used by Kayhan Newspaper against Israel

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Abstract

After the start of the war between Israel and Gaza, the Kayhan newspaper of the Islamic Republic of Iran launched a severe psychological war against Israel. It has taken fundamental and practical steps in this field to secure Iran's interests. For this reason, consciously, the last section of Kayhan newspaper has been dedicated to foreign news, especially for Israel, during the first month of the Gaza-Israel war. This research aims to highlight and analyze the techniques used by the newspaper against Israel. The methodology used in this research is analytical to highlight psychological warfare techniques from library sources. Then, the methods of psychological warfare against Israel were studied with the qualitative content analysis method. The findings of the present research show that Kayhan newspaper of the Islamic Republic of Iran has used 7 techniques such as rumours, big lies, false tagging, selective arrangement of news, war mongering, and pretending to be the saviour and a unified nation fighting for the rights of the Palestinians. The main purpose of using the psychological warfare techniques of Kayhan newspaper against Israel is to call it an occupier and emphasize the enmity of Israel with the Muslim countries.

Keywords: Israel, Gaza, Kayhan Newspaper, Psychological Warfare

1. Introduction

In today's environment, media shape the thoughts and opinions of people, even the officials and political elites of a country, and are one of the basic foundations of soft power. This is why individuals, parties, economic and established companies, by controlling mass media, seek to advance their goals by influencing public opinion. What we see or hear as news in today's world is selective and purposeful, and the causes and consequences of an event are examined from a special and individualistic perspective. We rarely come across accurately documented news based on statistics and figures.¹ Therefore, the media is considered the most important tool for psychological warfare, and for this reason, the media plays a significant role in war between countries. Media is one of the most prominent aspects of psychological warfare. Media war is going on between radios, newspapers, televisions, press analyses of newspapers and news networks. However, the fact is that behind this journalistic war lies something called

¹ Hadis Ghorbani and Parviz Jafari Fesharaki, "Psychological Operations Techniques in Media and News," in *The First National Conference on Interdisciplinary Research in Engineering and Management* (Tehran, 2021), 2.

media policy, which is directly fed by the official budgets of parliament or secret budgets of intelligence and security organizations or spy services.²

Likewise, in 2016, the Kayhan newspaper in Iran, in line with the policies of Iran, launched an intense news-warfare against Israel using media tools by taking fundamental steps. The Islamic Republic of Iran considers Israel as a dangerous competitor for itself. On 26th May 1942, Kayhan newspaper entered the field of modern Iranian press as a nationwide newspaper. Mustafa Mesbahzadeh, a professor at Tehran University and later an appointed senator of the Senate, and Abdurrahman Faramarzi were among the well-known and established journalists who worked in this newspaper.³ Kayhan newspaper was first published under the management of Abdurrahman Faramarzi. However, later, he handed over its privileges to Dr. Mustafa Mesbahzadeh and retained the title of the editor of the newspaper.⁴ However, before that, he managed "Aindeh Iran" newspaper, whose franchise owner was Hadi Khaltabari. This newspaper was published from 22nd December 1941 to November 1942 and was banned. Two months later, the first issue of the Kayhan newspaper was published in 4 pages with a small cut of six columns in two thousand copies.⁵ Initially, the newspaper's retail price was one and a half Rials, and its editorial office was located on Khajo Street. In 1949, its number of pages increased to 8 pages. A year later, it moved to the current location of the newspaper - Atabek Alley, located on Ferdowsi Street - and its circulation increased with the installation of a semi-relativistic flatbed machine. Mustafa Mesbahzadeh was in contact with the Pahlavi family since the beginning of the 1941s. His father was in charge of Mirza Ebrahim Qawamallek Shirazi, father of Ali Qawam. When Qawamalmolek decided to send his son (Ali) to study abroad, he also sent Misbahzadeh abroad with him. Misbahzadeh and Ali Qawam studied in Beirut and then went to France to complete their studies. In the early 1941s, when the Pahlavi court was weak, he thought of establishing a proponent newspaper. Mesbahzadeh suggested that he would publish such a newspaper if given financial assistance.⁶

Kayhan's specialized newspaper influences Iranians and is considered one of Iran's most established newspapers. This newspaper has been engaged in psychological warfare against Israel for many years, and now it has increased the volume of this media war. Although this psychological war has continued in the past, the psychological war of Kayhan newspaper against Israel has become more intense after 7th October 2023. Kayhan newspaper uses various techniques of psychological warfare and aims to show the plight of Palestinian people and distort the so-called positive image of Israel in the world. The central aim of this paper is to highlight the psychological warfare techniques used by the Kayhan newspaper against Israel in the first month of the Israel-Gaza war of 2023.

Psychological warfare is an important part of contemporary developments in which the media plays a central role. Historically, psychological warfare has evolved over the centuries as an effective tool for imposing will on the enemy. With the emergence of mass media and new communication technologies, the modern era has reached more complex

² Saeed Sarabi, Mohammadreza Jaseemzadeh, and Majid Sa'adati, "Understanding Psychological Warfare Tactics of Al Arabiya Satellite Network Against the Islamic Republic of Iran in the First Three Months of 2016," *Quarterly Journal of Modern Media Studies* 5, no. 17 (Spring 2019): 2.

³ Abdurrahman Faramarzi, *Resalat Newspaper*, Tehran, Wednesday, June 6, 2018, Year 24, no. 6715.

⁴ Mahmoud Toloui, *Actors of the Pahlavi Era from Foroughi to Fardoust*, vol. 2 (Tehran: Tek Printing House, 1993).

⁵ Yunus Javanroudi, *Taskhir Kayhan* (Tehran: Marginal Publications, 1980).

⁶ Musbahzada, *Kayhan Newspaper*, Tehran, Tuesday, May 18, 2016, Year 65, no. 1346.

dimensions. According to Nasr (2001), psychological warfare is the purposeful use of propaganda, rumours, and other psychological tools to influence the enemy's or target audience's thoughts, feelings, and behaviour.⁷ He emphasizes that the main task of psychological warfare is to impose the will of one side on the other through civilian means such as the media. Also, Linebarger (1975) points out in his book *Psychological Warfare* that this type of operation is usually used to weaken the enemy's morale and strengthen the position of friends⁸.

As the primary tool of psychological warfare, the media greatly influences public opinion. According to Braden, Colton, and Shelley (2004), the media can change people's perception of an event by highlighting news and using propaganda techniques, and in this regard, help global powers to advance their goals.⁹ The media try to distort the other party's image and direct public opinion in a specific direction by using methods such as labelling, spreading rumours, disseminating targeted information, etc. As one of the oldest media tools, newspapers have always played a key role in psychological warfare. Mohammadpour (2011) emphasizes the importance of examining media content to identify psychological warfare techniques in his analysis of qualitative research methods. Newspapers can play a powerful tool in psychological warfare by using methods such as highlighting, labelling, and distorting news¹⁰.

According to the existing literature, Kayhan newspaper is one of the influential media in Iran that has always played an active role in political and international developments. This newspaper has widely used psychological warfare techniques during regional wars and global crises. Javanroudi (1970), in his review of the history of the Iranian press, points to the strong influence of the Kayhan newspaper among Iranian audiences and considers this newspaper to be one of the important sources for transmitting the government's media policies.¹¹ A review of the literature shows that psychological warfare using media tools is one of the most effective strategies for countries and various groups to advance political and military goals. Tactics such as labelling, spreading rumours, big lies, news organizations, and enemy creation are among the most widely used methods in this field that the media use to influence public opinion and manage crises. In the meantime, newspapers, especially in developing countries, effectively guide and shape public opinion. Therefore, examining media content such as Kayhan newspaper can be a clear example of the systematic use of these techniques in crises.

This paper is based on qualitative content analysis, and since psychological warfare methods are collected from sources in this article, the approach used is comparative. The approach of this research is to use oriented content analysis (deductive strategy). In this approach, the last part of the Kayhan newspaper has been studied by using the methods of psychological warfare gathered from the sources, and how these methods are used against Israel has been described. In this research, all the international news content of Kayhan newspaper from 8th October to 9th November 2023 has been completely downloaded and carefully studied. By choosing the unit of analysis, the research units that include everything related to the psychological war against Israel are identified and

⁷ Saleh Nasr, *Psychological War*, trans. Mahmoud Haqit Kashani (Tehran: Nash Rosh, 2001), 81.

⁸ Paul M. A. Linebarger, *Psychological Warfare* (New York: Devall, Sloan and Pearce, 1975).

⁹ Colton Braden and Shelley, *Comprehensive Geopolitics*, trans. Alireza Farshchi (Tehran: War Era Publications, 2004).

¹⁰ Ahmad Mohammadpour, *Qualitative Research Method: Anti-Method 2* (Tehran: Sociologists Publications, 2011).

¹¹ Yunus Javanroudi, *Taskhir Kayhan* (Tehran: Marginal Publications, 1980).

coded. Psychological warfare methods are extracted from existing sources by studying documents and libraries. The Kayhan newspaper's news is studied using these methods, and how this network uses these methods against Israel is analyzed. Instead of using the terms validity and reliability, most qualitative methodologists use the criterion of reliability or trustworthiness to refer to the quality assessment of qualitative results. In order to achieve the reliability and validity of the respondents, the author discussed the tactics and methods of psychological warfare extracted from the sources and the methods of their operation with the professors of this field, as well as ensuring their accuracy. In addition to paying attention to the four criteria of reliability, the reliability was achieved as follows: reliability in the qualitative analysis method is obtained in two stages: At the beginning of the work, to determine where there is a difference of opinion in the coding, and in these cases, the paper enters into a discussion to evaluate the intermediate reliability of the data, and at the end, after coding the entire text, the reliability is re-examined.

2. Theoretical Framework

Providing a specific definition of psychological warfare or determining its limits is difficult. So far, despite the numerous writings written by foreign authors, the concept of psychological warfare remains unclear. Psychological warfare evokes different and variable concepts in people's minds, and even those specializing in this issue cannot put this term in a clear domain.¹² Looking at history, psychological warfare has existed since the beginning of human existence; however, as humans move away from the distant past and approach the era of communication, the extent and complexity of psychological warfare increase.¹³ There are many historical examples of the use of this type of war. The Greeks' use of "Sep Trava" in the occupation of Trava can be counted as one of these sentences. Military organizations have also widely used this war in the First and Second World Wars.¹⁴

Linebarger and Paul define psychological warfare as the precise use of propaganda and other actions whose primary purpose is to influence the thoughts, feelings, motives and behaviour of the enemy, neutral or friendly people in a way that is a support factor for fulfilling national goals and objectives.¹⁵ The first famous use of psychological warfare was in 1920, and psychological operations were in 1945. JAC Fuller, a British military historian and analyst, is the first to use psychological warfare.¹⁶ The term psychological operation was also used in 1945 by Captain Alice M. Zacharias, who was involved in an operational plan attributed to the intensification of the blockade of Japan by the American naval forces. Without any description or explanation, this term shows that psychological operations will coordinate time and process to prevent the reduction of the effectiveness of this important operation.¹⁷ A manuscript from the US Navy was prepared in 1946, revised in 1950, and then published in a limited circle, which described the main task of psychological warfare as to impose our will on the enemy's will to dominate their actions by means other than military means and means other than economic means.¹⁸

¹² Saleh Nasr, *Psychological War*, trans. Mahmoud Haqit Kashani (Tehran: Nashrosh, 2001), 81.

¹³ Hojatullah Moradi, *Power and Soft War: From Theory to Practice* (Tehran: Saghi Publishing House, 2010), 48.

¹⁴ Hossein Metafker, *Psychological Warfare* (Qom: Zamzam Hedayat Publications, 2007), 56.

¹⁵ Linebarger, *Psychological Warfare*, 82.

¹⁶ Moradi, *Power and Soft War*, 50.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Nasr, *Psychological War*, 82.

3. Psychological Warfare Techniques by Kayhan Newspaper

In this section, the psychological warfare techniques presented are linked to how Kayhan newspaper operated in its psychological warfare against Israel from 8th October to 8th November 2023. Each technique is analyzed with specific examples from the newspaper's content to determine how they were used and the associated goals.

3.1 Labelling

Based on this technique, the media transforms words into positive or negative attributes and attributes them to different people or institutions. Sometimes, the purpose of this function is to condemn an idea, thought or group without giving any reason for condemning them.¹⁹ The media members try to influence our initial perception of the desired topics with positive or negative titles. Using some positive titles such as democrat, libertarian, saviour, or some negative titles such as the terrorist, petrified, axis of evil, etc., may lead us to a different result and change our perception towards a particular person or concept, to affect some have defined labelling as naming a specific thought or belief or a specific group to incite rejection of the thought, belief or that group without examining the evidence.²⁰ The title "terrorist" is one of the titles or nicknames that has been popular in the media since the 1980s. While there is no universal consensus and specific definition of this word, different media attribute it to certain groups and communities based on the interests of their respective governments. The importance of using the label "terrorist" is partly because it has become a tool to justify the new dominance of the great powers, especially the United States.

Labelling means using words and phrases with a negative or positive charge that changes the initial perception of the audience. This technique aims to create a negative mental image of the enemy. Kayhan newspaper has repeatedly used this technique to describe Israel. Phrases such as: "infanticidal regime," "usurper regime," "failed," and "collapsing regime". These labels are used to highlight the negative image and other side of Israel among Iranian and regional audiences. This technique shows its importance in Kayhan newspaper's psychological warfare strategy. Labelling stimulates the audience's emotions and creates a sense of disgust towards Israel.

3.2 News Arrangement

The technique of arranging news means combining several pieces to induce a favourable result to the audience. For example, a news item quoted by Turkish Radio, "Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister visited Türkiye." Then, he adds that a high-ranking American official also visited Türkiye. By putting these two together and not mentioning that there was a meeting between these two Iranian and American officials, this radio is presenting and inducing this story to the audience that there are probably issues between Iran and America behind the curtain far from the eyes of the people. Kayhan newspaper has put

¹⁹ Hormoz Mehrdad, *An Introduction to Theories and Concepts of Mass Communication* (Tehran: Faran Publishing, 2002).

²⁰ Werner Severin and James Tankard, *Communication Theories*, trans. Alireza Dehghan (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 2005).

different news together to convey its desired message. Examples of news arrangements are: "World support for Palestine; from the heart of New York to Glasgow" and "Israel's defeats against Hamas's operations", which aim to show Israel's isolation and widespread global support for Palestine. Putting this news together reinforces the feeling of Palestine's victory and Israel's weakening position in the minds of the audience.

3.3 *Big Lie*

The big lie is one of the old techniques still used to scare and deceive the opponent's mind. This means that they express a message that is not true at all. The most famous use of this tactic was during the time of Hitler and by Goebbels. Goebbels said: "The bigger the lie, the easier it is for people to believe"²¹.

A big lie is a false claim that is easy for the audience to believe, even though it is unrealistic. Using this technique, Kayhan newspaper has attempted to portray Israel in a state of destruction and collapse. Examples of these claims include: "The collapse of the Israeli economy," "The Israeli army has disintegrated," and "Israel has become a ghost town." These claims are intended to create a sense of weakness and defeat in the Israeli audience and to boost the morale of the resistance forces. A big lie is an important tool in psychological warfare because it rapidly impacts the audience and reinforces an overall narrative.

3.4 *Rumor*

An unconfirmed report or news about an event or fact transmitted by word of mouth, but a part or part of the rumour may be true, or it may not be true at all, or a source may have falsified it. This situation is especially true when the incident has many details.²² Rumour means disseminating unconfirmed or incomplete news intending to spread confusion and demoralize the target audience. Kayhan newspaper has used rumours to create a sense of instability and defeat in Israel. Examples of these rumours include: "Zionists are fleeing en masse," "Tel Aviv's calculations are messed up," and " Hamas forces are in complete control." These rumours were spread without providing reliable sources and were intended to demoralize Israeli forces and instil a sense of victory in Palestinian and Iranian audiences.

3.5 *Making Enemies*

The concept of "enemy" is the most effective weapon of society: first, we create the enemy even before we think of weapons to fight. First, we think of killing them, and then we make weapons or ballistic missiles so that we can destroy them.²³ Enemy-making means creating a demonic and inhuman image of the enemy to arouse public disgust and hatred. Kayhan newspaper has attempted to portray Israel as an enemy of humanity by referring to tragedies such as the bombing of hospitals and churches. Examples include: "The killing spree in hospitals and churches" and "The bombing of the Greek church in Gaza" This technique has a strong emotional impact on the audience and helps arouse public disgust towards Israel.

²¹ Mohammad Soltanifar, "Know More About Psychological Warfare," *Biweekly Beshari Magazine*, 2nd year, no. 8-9: 31.

²² Metafer, *Psychological Warfare*, 56.

²³ Colton Braden and Shelley, *Comprehensive Geopolitics*, trans. Alireza Farshchi (Tehran: War Era Publications, 2004).

3.6 Appeal to the Language of Weapons

As Paul Virilio said, "Now fighting without representation, advanced weapons, and psychological influence is meaningless. As much as the weapon has destructive properties, it is also related to the power of perception".²⁴ A soldier who feels that he has better weapons at his disposal feels less threatened, and vice versa; a soldier's feeling that he has a weaker weapon is enough to reduce his effectiveness, regardless of the actual effectiveness of the weapon.²⁵ This technique emphasizes military power and displays of weapons capabilities to instill fear in the enemy and boost the morale of supporters. Kayhan newspaper has used this technique to showcase the military power of resistance groups and instill fear among Israeli audiences. Examples include: "Hezbollah is ready to fire at Israel with 130,000 rockets", "Widespread rocket barrage on Israeli cities", "A loaded gun at Israel's temple" This technique shows that its goal was to intimidate Israel and demonstrate the superior power of the resistance.

3.7 Pretense of Integrity

Based on this technique, "collective" or "all" is used continuously in advertising activities. Conductors of psychological operations always say that all people are with and support us. For example, "all the people of the world believe that we are innocent in this matter," or "all peace-loving people admit that we seek peace". Here, "all", "all", and "majority" play an effective role in deceiving public opinion.²⁶ This technique is meant to portray unity and solidarity between groups or countries to boost the morale of its audience. Kayhan newspaper has attempted to present an image of unity between Muslim countries and resistance groups against Israel. Examples include "Yemeni and Iraqi Revolutionaries Enter the Field" and "The Islamic World against Western hegemony," which aim to create a sense of solidarity among its Muslim audience and increase hope for victory.

4. Findings

This section presents a sample of the coded tables and the research findings.

Example of Finished Coding

Table 1:
Techniques

Technique	News Sentence
Rumor	This operation upset all of Tel Aviv's calculations. ²⁷
Big lie	Al-Aqsa storm destroyed Israel. ²⁸
Tagging	Failure in the biggest operation. ²⁹
Making enemies	The frenzy of killing reached from hospitals to churches. The Greek church in Gaza was bombed with 400 Palestinian

²⁴ Severin and Tankard, *Communication Theories*.

²⁵ Ben Shalit, *Psychology of War and Conflict*, trans. Nashr Sarir (Tehran: Nashr Sarir, 1994).

²⁶ Judith Lazars, *Public Opinion*, trans. Morteza Katbi (Tehran: Ney Publishing, 2001).

²⁷ Foreign News Section, "300,000 Palestinian Fighters Prepare to Enter War with Israel," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 10, 2023, no. 23414, last page.

²⁸ Foreign News Section, "Al-Aqsa Storm Shatters Israel," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 8, 2023, no. 23412, last page.

²⁹ Foreign News Section, "Failure in the Biggest Operation," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 29, 2023, no. 23430, last page.

News arrangement	Muslims and Christians. ³⁰ Global support for Palestine: From the heart of New York to Glasgow, Scotland. ³¹
Resorting to the Language of Weapons	A loaded gun on Israel's temple! ³²
Pretend to be Torn	Islamic world against Western hegemony. ³³

Source: Kayhan Newspaper

Table 2

Rumor Usage as a Technique in Kayhan Newspaper Against Israel

Technique	Methods
Rumor	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The images brought tears to the faces of millions of Palestinian freedom lovers.³⁴ 2. This operation messed up all Tel Aviv calculations.³⁵ 3. Terror and the mass flight of Zionists.³⁶ 4. Seyyed Hasan Nasrallah personally commands the battle against the Zionists.³⁷ 5. The lever of power is in the hands of Hamas.³⁸ 6. Two hands-on wars.³⁹

Source: Kayhan Newspaper

Kayhan newspaper used the rumour technique six times in October 2023. With these rumours, the aim is to destroy the morale of the Israeli government so that the Israeli forces will not be able to attack the Hamas group. In this section, Kayhan newspaper has emphasized these things without citing any source.

Table 3

The Method of Using the Big Lie Technique in Kayhan Newspaper Against Israel

Technique	Methods
Big Lies	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Al-Aqsa storm destroyed Israel.⁴⁰ 2. This city has become a ghost town.⁴¹ 3. The Hamas army has 300,000 fighters at their disposal.⁴²

³⁰ Foreign News Section, "The Killing Madness from Hospitals Reaches Churches: Bombing of the Greek Church in Gaza Kills 400 Palestinian Muslims and Christians," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 21, 2023, no. 23423, last page.

³¹ Foreign News Section, "Global Support for Palestine; From the Heart of New York to Glasgow, Scotland," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 10, 2023, no. 23414, last page.

³² Foreign News Section, "A Loaded Gun at Israel's Temple!" *Kayhan Newspaper*, November 1, 2023, no. 23433, last page.

³³ Foreign News Section, "The Islamic World Against Western Hegemony," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 23, 2023, no. 23425, last page.

³⁴ Foreign News Section, "Historic Moments on the Gaza Border," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 8, 2023, no. 23412, last page.

³⁵ Foreign News Section, "Battle in the Golden Age," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 8, 2023, no. 23412, last page.

³⁶ Foreign News Section, "300,000 Palestinian Fighters Prepare to Enter War with Israel," *Kayhan Newspaper*, no. 23414.

³⁷ Foreign News Section, "Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah Personally Commands the Battle with the Zionists," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 23, 2023, no. 23425, last page.

³⁸ Foreign News Section, "BBC World Editor: The Lever of Power is in Hamas's Hands," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 26, 2023, no. 23428, last page.

³⁹ Foreign News Section, "Divisions Over War," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 29, 2023, no. 23430, last page.

⁴⁰ Foreign News Section, "Empty Streets of Tel Aviv," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 8, 2023, no. 23412, last page.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Foreign News Section, "300,000 Palestinian Fighters Prepare to Enter War with Israel," *Kayhan Newspaper*, no. 23414.

4. This imaginary aura for Mossad and Israel's Shin Bet collapsed on 7th October, 2023, i.e., a week ago, with the start of Al-Aqsa Storm operation.⁴³
5. The army is disintegrated.⁴⁴
6. Al-Aqsa storm destroyed the Israeli economy.⁴⁵
7. Rain of missiles and drones on American and Israeli soldiers.⁴⁶

Source: Kayhan Newspaper

Kayhan newspaper has used a big lie 7 times in a month; most of these big lies directly emphasize the collapse of the state of Israel. The collapse of Israel, the collapse of the Israeli economy, and the collapse of Mossad and Shin Bet are among the big lies of this part.

Table 4

The Method of Using Tagging in Kayhan Newspaper Against Israel

Technique	Methods
Labelling	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. The usurping regime is dying.⁴⁷2. Now, the Zionists - who are known for their friendship⁴⁸.3. Big failure⁴⁹.4. Failure of a promotional project⁵⁰.5. Failure in the biggest operation.⁵¹6. The Zionists have lost the war in the field and public opinion together⁵².7. The global spread of support for Palestine from the East and West of the world is the most obvious sign of the failure of Tel Aviv's propaganda apparatus⁵³.8. Discord at home, war abroad⁵⁴.9. The successful operation of the Palestinian forces is the result of the definite failure of the American policy in the Middle East⁵⁵.10. Child-killing diet.⁵⁶

Source: Kayhan Newspaper

⁴³ Foreign News Section, "Gaza War, Eighth Day: Zionists Still Under Heavy Resistance Strikes," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 14, 2023, no. 23417, last page.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Foreign News Section, "Al-Aqsa Storm Shatters Israel," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 8, 2023, no. 23412, last page.

⁴⁶ Foreign News Section, "Tel Aviv Rocket Barrage," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 25, 2023, no. 23427, last page.

⁴⁷ Foreign News Section, "Israel's Child-Killing Regime Goes to Palestinian Children in Gaza with Gifts of Bombs and Rockets," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 11, 2023, no. 23415, 2.

⁴⁸ Foreign News Section, "Netanyahu's Nightmare, Are You Changing?" *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 12, 2023, no. 23415, last page.

⁴⁹ Foreign News Section, "The Big Defeat," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 14, 2023, no. 23417, last page.

⁵⁰ Foreign News Section, "The Failure of a Propaganda Project," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 14, 2023, no. 23417, last page.

⁵¹ Foreign News Section, "The Failure of the Greatest Operation," *Kayhan Newspaper*, no. 23430, last page.

⁵² Foreign News Section, "The Zionists Have Lost the War on the Field and Public Opinion Together," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 15, 2023, no. 23418, last page.

⁵³ Foreign News Section, "Anti-Zionist Demonstrations from East to West of the World Israel Also Lost the Propaganda War," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 21, 2023, no. 23423, last page.

⁵⁴ Foreign News Section, "Disagreement at Home, War Abroad Zionist Soldiers Interrupt Netanyahu's Speech," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 16, 2023, no. 23419, last page.

⁵⁵ Foreign News Section, "The Failure of the Propaganda Project," *Kayhan Newspaper*, last page.

⁵⁶ Foreign News Section, "The Child-Killing Israeli Regime Went to Palestinian Children," *Kayhan Newspaper*, 23415, 2.

Kayhan newspaper has made the most use of the tagging technique compared to the other mentioned techniques, the number of which has reached 10 techniques. Most of these labels directly refer to Israel's failures in the fields of propaganda operations, failure in war and failure in propaganda projects. The usurper and infanticide regimes are among the other techniques of this newspaper in the tagging section.

Table 5

How to Use the Technique of Making Enemies of Kayhan Newspaper Against Israel

Technical	Methods
Making Enemies	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Before this operation, the Americans did not give any special tactical warning to Tel Aviv and kept the Israeli regime without the necessary preparation.⁵⁷ 2. The frenzy of killing reached from hospitals to churches. The Greek church in Gaza was bombed with 400 Palestinian Muslims and Christians.⁵⁸

Source: Kayhan Newspaper

This newspaper has used the technique of making enemies only twice a month. With this technique, Kayhan newspaper tried to portray America as Israel's enemy and to blame Israel for this situation. In another way, the aim was to divide the coalition partners and incite a religious war between Christians and Israelites.

Table 6

How to Use the Technique of Arranging News of Kayhan Newspaper Against Israel

Technical	Methods
News Arrangement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Al-Radar site was targeted with six artillery shells and the Roysat Al-Alam site with four mortar shells.⁵⁹ 2. The first humiliation was informational. The next humiliation was the easy passage of the Hamas forces through the barrier wall. The third humiliation was the easy return to Gaza with dozens of Israeli prisoners. The fourth humiliation was Israel's delay in responding to this intrusion.⁶⁰ 3. Global support for Palestine: From the heart of New York to Glasgow, Scotland.⁶¹ 4. The world's decisive support for the oppressed and powerful Palestinian nation, from European athletes to Egyptian Bedouins.⁶²

⁵⁷ Foreign News Section, "The Tel Aviv-Washington Information Failure," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 9, 2023, no. 23413, last page.

⁵⁸ Foreign News Section, "The Killing Madness Reached the Churches from Hospitals," *Kayhan Newspaper*, last page.

⁵⁹ Foreign News Section, "Has Lebanon's Hezbollah Entered War with Israel?" *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 9, 2023, no. 23413, last page.

⁶⁰ Foreign News Section, "The Great Defeat," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 14, 2023, no. 23417, last page.

⁶¹ Foreign News Section, "Global Support for Palestine," *Kayhan Newspaper*, last page.

⁶² Foreign News Section, "The World's Resolute Support for the Oppressed and Powerful Nation of Palestine, from European Athletes to Egyptian Bedouins," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 14, 2023, no. 23417, last page.

5. Continuation of public support for the oppressed Palestinian nation from in front of the BBC building in London to Naples, Italy.⁶³

Source: Kayhan Newspaper

In this section, Kayhan newspaper has used the news layout technique 5 times in one month. Most of these techniques are related to the support of the people of the world for Hamas's operations.

Table 7

How to Use the Technique of Resorting to the Language of Weapons Against Israel in Kayhan Newspaper

Technical	Methods
Invoking the Language of Weapons	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hezbollah targeted an Israeli army tank with a guided missile⁶⁴. 2. The Mujahideen of the Islamic Resistance attacked the Zionist Hanita barracks with guided missiles on Sunday afternoon⁶⁵. 3. The Qassam battalions continued to respond to the crimes of the Israeli occupiers against Gaza, targeting the occupied cities of Quds and Tel Aviv with a massive missile attack⁶⁶. 4. Hezbollah's guided missile for war purposes⁶⁷. 5. Hezbollah's entry into the war means more than 130,000 rockets, which are enough to burn the big cities of Israel.⁶⁸ 6. . A loaded gun on Israel's temple⁶⁹! 7. Dimona missile launchers.⁷⁰

Source: Kayhan Newspaper

Kayhan newspaper has used the technique of resorting to the language of weapons in the collection 7 times a month. The purpose of using this technique is to show the power of Hamas-aligned groups in front of Israel, from the Baran rocket to the serious threat to Israel from the aforementioned groups, which Kayhan covers daily.

Table 8

The Method of Using the Technique of Pretending the Integrity of Kayhan Newspaper Against Israel

Technical	Methods
Pretending to be United	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The revolutionaries of Yemen and Iraq enter the field⁷¹.

⁶³ Foreign News Section, "Continued Popular Support for the Oppressed Nation of Palestine from in Front of the BBC Building in London to Naples, Italy," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 15, 2023, no. 23418, last page.

⁶⁴ Foreign News Section, "Netanyahu's Nightmare," *Kayhan Newspaper*, last page.

⁶⁵ Foreign News Section, "300,000 Palestinian Fighters Prepare to Enter War with Israel," *Kayhan Newspaper*, last page.

⁶⁶ Foreign News Section, "Massive Qassam Rocket Attack on Jerusalem and Tel Aviv," *Kayhan Newspaper*, last page.

⁶⁷ Foreign News Section, "Netanyahu's Nightmare," *Kayhan Newspaper*, last page.

⁶⁸ Foreign News Section, "Zionists' Genocide in Gaza with Bombs and American Management," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 19, 2023, no. 23422, last page.

⁶⁹ Foreign News Section, "A Loaded Gun at Israel's Temple!" *Kayhan Newspaper*, November 1, 2023, no. 23433, last page.

⁷⁰ Foreign News Section, "Dimona Rockets," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 29, 2023, no. 23430, last page.

⁷¹ Foreign News Section, "Yemeni and Iraqi Revolutionaries Enter the Field," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 10, 2023, no. 23414, last page.

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2. If the crimes of the Zionists continue, no one can stop the Muslims and the resistance forces⁷².
 3. Islamic world against Western hegemony⁷³.
 4. Muslim governments should not lose the rhyme, victory is definitely for Palestine.⁷⁴
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Source: Kayhan Newspaper

Kayhan Newspaper has used the technique of pretending to be integrated 5 times in one month. According to this newspaper, Muslims of the world and anti-Israel groups will stand together against it if Israel commits a mistake. In this technique, the unity of Muslims is emphasized more, But experience has proven that Muslims have not acted unitedly at such times.

Conclusion

In the present era, the media is known as one of the most effective soft power tools. The media shape public opinion and play a key role in guiding the behaviour of politicians, elites, and even nations. Modern wars, which have often been transferred to psychological domains instead of the battlefield, rely heavily on the media. In this regard, psychological warfare, as a form of soft warfare, has replaced classical military methods by directly affecting the emotions and beliefs of individuals. The paper examined the role of the Kayhan newspaper in exploiting psychological warfare against Israel amid the Gaza War from 8th October to 8th November 2023 and attempted to identify the techniques that this newspaper used for psychological warfare. As one of the main players in psychological warfare, the media plays a pivotal role in disseminating information and managing public opinion. Kayhan Newspaper, one of the most important media outlets in the Islamic Republic of Iran, has systematically used psychological warfare tools to undermine Israeli morale and strengthen the public belief in Palestinian superiority. This article analyzes the newspaper's use of seven main psychological warfare techniques, including rumours, labelling, big lies, creating enemies, news production, resorting to weapons language, and pretending to be united. The labelling technique is used to highlight the inhumane policies, excessive brutality and negative image of Israel among its audience. Kayhan Newspaper used phrases such as "child-killing regime," "usurping regime," "failed," and "collapsing regime" to incite public perceptions against Israel. This technique, repeated 10 times, has been the most widely used among the psychological warfare techniques used by the newspaper. The reason for the success of this technique is its simplicity in conveying the message and its power to attract the audience's attention. Rumor-spreading, Kayhan newspaper used rumours such as "Zionists are fleeing en masse," "Tel Aviv's calculations have been disrupted," and " Hamas forces are in complete control." Their main purpose was to weaken the enemy's morale and instil a sense of victory among Iranian and Palestinian audiences. This technique was used six times during the period under review.

The big lie is an old but effective tool in psychological warfare. Kayhan newspaper made claims in its news stories such as "Israel's economy is collapsing," "the Israeli army has disintegrated," and "Israel has become a ghost town." This technique was used seven

⁷² Foreign News Section, "300,000 Palestinian Fighters Prepare to Enter War with Israel," *Kayhan Newspaper*, last page.

⁷³ Foreign News Section, "The Islamic World Against Western Hegemony," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 23, 2023, no. 23425, last page.

⁷⁴ Foreign News Section, "The Revolutionaries of Yemen and Iraq Enter the Field," *Kayhan Newspaper*, October 10, 2023, no. 23414, last page.

times, and its goal was to create an impression of Israel's inability to deal with the upcoming crises. For the news arrangement technique, Kayhan newspaper combines different news items to induce a specific conclusion for the audience. For example, by publishing news of global support for Palestine alongside reports of Israel's defeats, the newspaper tried to present an image of Israel's isolation and widespread support for Palestine. This technique was used 5 times and was mostly used in the field of international news.

Enemy-making technique was used to create a negative image of Israel and incite a sense of public disgust towards it. Kayhan newspaper tried to introduce Israel as an enemy of humanity by referring to the "madness of killing in hospitals and churches". This technique was used only 2 times, possibly due to the difficulty of creating credible evidence. The technique of resorting to the language of weapons and the military power of resistance groups, such as Hamas and Hezbollah, is highlighted. Reports such as "Hezbollah is ready to fire 130,000 rockets at Israel" or "Massive rocket barrage on Israeli cities" have been published to scare the Israeli audience and create a sense of power among the resistance supporters. This technique has also been used 7 times and has played an important role in instilling military superiority in the audience.

The technique of pretending to be united, this technique, by emphasizing the solidarity of resistance groups and Muslim countries tries to present an image of the unity of the Islamic world against Israel. Reports such as "Yemeni and Iraqi Revolutionaries Enter the Field" or "The Islamic world against Western hegemony" are examples of this technique. This technique has been seen 5 times in Kayhan news.

The article clearly shows that Kayhan newspaper, as an influential media in the Islamic Republic of Iran, has used psychological warfare techniques effectively and purposefully. The newspaper has attempted to manage public opinion inside and outside Iran by focusing on highlighting the negative image of Israel, boosting the morale of its domestic audience, and creating a powerful image of resistance groups. The labelling technique has been the most widely used. This is because of its simplicity of implementation, rapid impact, and ability to stir up emotions in the audience. This technique has been particularly effective in creating distrust between Israel and other countries or between different nations. Rumor-spreading and big lie techniques have also been widely used. Due to their low cost and simplicity in conveying the message, these techniques have played an important role in creating a sense of instability in the Israeli audience and reinforcing a sense of victory in the Iranian audience. Although the enemy-making technique can be very effective, it has been used less often than other techniques. This may be due to the difficulties of creating evidence or its ethical and legal risks.

The results of this study show that the media are a powerful tool in psychological warfare and can profoundly impact public opinion. For future studies, it is recommended that the role of other regional and international media in psychological warfare be examined. Also, analyzing these techniques' impact on target audiences' behaviour can be an important step towards a better understanding the effectiveness of psychological warfare. The article emphasizes that psychological warfare is not only a tool for advancing political and military goals but also a tool for managing public perceptions and emotions on a global level.

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